

Food Security and Financial Success in Central Arizona Farmers' Markets:
Presences, Absences, Lived Experience, and Governance

by

Carissa Taylor

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Rimjhim Aggarwal, Chair
Abigail York
Christopher Wharton

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ABSTRACT

Farmers' markets are a growing trend both in Arizona and the broader U.S., as many recognize them as desirable alternatives to the conventional food system. As icons of sustainability, farmers' markets are touted as providing many environmental, social, and economic benefits, but evidence is mounting that local food systems primarily serve the urban elite, with relatively few low-income or minority customers. However, the economic needs of the market and its vendors often conflict with those of consumers. While consumers require affordable food, farmers need to make a profit. How farmers' markets are designed and governed can significantly influence the extent to which they can meet these needs. However, very little research explores farmers' market design and governance, much less its capacity to influence financial success and participation for underprivileged consumers. The present study examined this research gap by addressing the following research question: How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable market for local farmers? Through a comparative case study of six markets, this research explored the extent to which farmers' markets in Central Arizona currently serve the needs of farmer-vendors and underprivileged consumers. The findings suggest that while the markets serve as a substantial source of income for some vendors, participation by low-income and minority consumers remains low, and that much of this appears to be due to cultural barriers to access. Management structures, site characteristics, market layout, community programs, and staffing policies are key institutional design features, and the study explores how these can be leveraged to better meet the needs of the diverse participants while improving the markets' financial success.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Farmers' markets are a growing trend both in Arizona and the broader U.S., as many begin to recognize these markets as desirable alternatives to the conventional food system. The shortcomings of the conventional system are well known and publicized. In the U.S., food travels an average of 1500 miles from farm to plate, and chemical pesticide use has increased tenfold since 1945 (CSS, 2013; Pirog & Benjamin, 2003). Meanwhile farm profits have plummeted from 60 cents on the retail dollar in 1950 to about 15 cents on the dollar in 2013 (NFU, 2013), and 15% of U.S. households experience food insecurity (Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2009), while 5.7 million live in food deserts (Ploeg et al., 2009).

As icons of sustainability, farmers' markets are touted as embodying a number of environmental, social, and economic benefits when compared to mainstream food outlets (Deelstra & Girardet, 1999; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Feenstra, Lewis, Hinrichs, Gillespie, & Hilchey, 2003; Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, & Stevenson, 2005; Pirog & Benjamin, 2003). Farmers' markets provide local farms with a direct-market for their agricultural products, allowing them to by-pass middle-men and retain all the profit from their goods, as opposed to the 15-20 cents on the dollar that they would earn selling to a warehouse or grocery store (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; NFU, 2013; Stewart, 2006) The direct, face-to-face links between farmers and consumers may help foster community, build trust, expand local agro-ecological knowledge, and bolster regional economies (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Feenstra et al., 2003; Hinrichs, 2000; Kloppenburg et al., 2005). Shortened

farm-to-plate distances potentially offer the environmental benefit of decreased food miles and lower fossil fuel use (Deelstra & Girardet, 1999; Pirog & Benjamin, 2003), while local farms provide a number of ecosystem services for the region (Goldman, Thompson, & Daily, 2007; Mendes, Balmer, Kaethler, & Rhoads, 2008; Porter, Costanza, Sandhu, Sigsgaard, & Wratten, 2009). Meanwhile, the markets themselves deliver fresher, more nutritious food to urban communities that may have had limited access to fresh, healthy food.

However, a growing body of research suggests that farmers' markets may not be living up to these claims. While farmers' markets help preserve farmland and the ecosystem services it provides to metropolitan regions, (Deelstra & Girardet, 1999; Goldman et al., 2007; King, 2008; Porter et al., 2009; Seyfang, 2006), and buying local can reduce 'food miles,' -inefficient local transport, storage and other tradeoffs may lead to higher overall carbon emissions, and possibly a net negative environmental impact. (Garnett, 2011; C. L. Weber & Matthews, 2008). While the benefits and tradeoffs of farmers' markets is not the focus of this study, they are important to understand as they play central role in influencing participation in the markets.

There is growing evidence that the benefits of farmers' markets accrue to a small proportion of U.S. farmers and consumers. Despite the claim that farmers' markets are often ideal sources of revenue for small-scale farmers, a mere 6.3% of farmers in the U.S. participate in *any* form of direct-marketing (Low & Vogel, 2011). This is a very small fraction of the 75% of U.S. farms classified as 'small farms' – earning under \$50,000 in annual gross cash farm income. (Hoppe, Macdonald, & Korb, 2010) Likewise, studies are increasingly finding that local food outlets such as farmers' markets primarily serve the

urban elite, with low-income and ethnically diverse consumers often absent (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Alkon, 2008a; J. K. Bond, Thilmany, & Bond, 2009; D. Conner, Colasanti, Ross, & Smalley, 2010; Guthman, Morris, & Allen, 2006; Guthman, 2008a; Payne, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Slocum, 2007). This calls into question the assumption that farmers' markets are necessarily panaceas for some of the ills of the conventional food system, and suggests particularly that these alternative food outlets are subject to the same socio-economic inequities as mainstream sources.

While researchers have begun to document the absence of low-income and minority consumers in farmers' markets,¹ little research has explicitly explored *why* this might be the case. In the limited body of (largely unpublished) research exploring the formal rules and informal norms which govern farmers' markets (DuPuis, 2006; Hamilton, 2002; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004), there is some indication that the design of the market may effectively exclude certain stakeholders from participating. In some cases this is done purposefully – for example, non-local producers may be excluded to uphold the integrity of the market's mission as a local food outlet. In other instances, the effect may be un-intended but no less profound – for example a market may label itself organic-only; with arguably healthier, more environmentally sound products, but at price increases that effectively restrict attendance to only middle-upper income consumers. While exclusion of certain vendors or consumer groups may lead to a more profitable market, it can also result in reduced access for vulnerable populations.

¹ See for example: Alkon, 2008a; Allen et al., 2006; Colasanti et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Guthman et al., 2006; Larsen & Gilliland, 2009; Manalo et al., 2003; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Racine et al., 2010; Slocum, 2007; Stephenson & Lev, 2004; Winne, 2008; Marianne McGarry Wolf et al., 2005; Zepeda, 2009.

This, in turn, can have significant economic, ecological and social implications for the sustainability of the local food system particularly in regards to food security for low income populations, and economic viability for farmers.

In order to be successful, a farmers' market must meet the needs of its farmers *and* its consumers. However, meeting these dual goals becomes problematic as they often lie in tension; while consumers require affordable food, farmers need to make a profit (Allen, Guthman, & Morris, 2006; Fisher, 1999; Guthman et al., 2006; Kirwan, 2006). The way in which farmers' markets are designed and governed can significantly influence the extent to which they can meet both farmer and consumer needs. However, with the exception of a handful of studies, very little research explores farmers' market design and governance, much less its capacity to influence these competing goals. Therefore, this study will explore the following research question:

How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable market for local farmers?

This study examines the level of farmer and consumer participation in the farmers' markets – with a particular focus on minority and low-income consumers. It attempts to understand the extent to which farmers' markets are currently meeting the food security needs of consumers while staying afloat financially, and explores potential barriers to financial and participatory success. Specifically, the study focuses on potential 'institutional design' solutions. By comparing the cases of several different markets in Central Arizona, it seeks to understand the ways in which the governance, as manifested through the formal

rules and informal norms that structure farmers' markets can potentially be shaped to increase the participation of diverse farmers and underprivileged consumers. Thus the overarching research question is effectively broken down into the following sub-questions:

1. *Who participates in Arizona farmers' markets and who is absent?*
2. *Why are certain customer and vendor groups disproportionately absent from Arizona farmers' markets?*
3. *How can Arizona farmers' markets be designed to increase participation of under-represented populations while maintaining financial viability?*

Farmers' markets must navigate the difficult balance of meeting the overarching financial needs of the market as a whole, the needs of market farmers and other vendors, and those of a diverse array of consumers. Understanding the degree to which farmers' markets are able to meet the needs of farmer-vendors and consumers first requires a basic understanding of those needs.

FARM VS. FOOD SECURITY

Despite increases in global food availability, many remain food insecure – they do not have access to enough food for an active, healthy life at all times throughout the year. In 2008, 17 million American households (14.6% of all households in the U.S.) were considered to be food insecure. These rates were the highest on record since 1995. Part of this is due to changes in infrastructure and food access. Following World War II, the spread of the automobile had led to a steady exodus of upper and middle income households from city centers. As people migrated to the suburbs, supermarkets followed, leaving many urban areas without grocery stores (Larsen & Gilliland, 2008; Nord et al.,

2009; Shaffer, 2002). With greater access to convenience stores and fast food but limited access to fresh fruits and vegetables, consumption of fresh produce declined for many with low incomes. A 2004 study found that in any given week, about 19% of low-income households bought no produce at all (Blisard, Stewart, & Jolliffe, 2004). Beginning in the 1970s, some farmers markets began to emerge in U.S. cities with an explicit mission to reconnect low-income, urban dwellers with fresh, local produce (Winne, 2008). At the same time, increased demand for local produce provided avenues of sufficient profitability to allow metropolitan area produce farms to maintain a sustainable livelihood, and continue farming in spite of rising development pressure (Ellis & Allison, 2004; Heimlich & Anderson, 2001; Scoones, 1998). However, what on the surface seems like a win-win situation does not always work out that way in reality.

Financial Success & Farm Security

Farmers markets can only contribute to overall food system sustainability to the extent that they themselves prove a financially viable outlet for producers over the long term. This, of course, is not always the case. Though the number of farmers' markets has skyrocketed in recent years – leaping from 1,755 in 1994 to 7,864 in 2012 – this figure masks the fact that many markets fail. Stephenson, Lev & Brewer (2008), note that the topic of farmers' market failure is rarely addressed by researchers – a sentiment echoed by United States' Department of Agriculture (USDA) report which notes that “one of the most important areas that merits further study is why markets fail” (Payne, 2002). Even in financially stable markets, it is important to keep in mind that not all producers are

able to access these farmers' markets, and the benefits are not evenly distributed even amongst those who do.

Some producers are excluded from participation at the outset. Markets which adhere to strict organic-only or local-only guidelines may effectively bar admittance to producers who have not undergone formal organic certification, and/or those whose farms are beyond the boundary which the market defines as "local."² Even those who are technically allowed into the market may choose to opt out for a variety of reasons: unsatisfactory profits, upfront costs, and time and labor constraints, to name a few. Farmers' market "burnout" is an all too common occurrence. (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Jarosz, 2008; M. N. LeRoux, Schmit, Roth, & Streeter, 2010; Trauger, Sachs, Barbercheck, Brasier, & Kiernan, 2010) Despite these disadvantages, for some producers, farmers' markets remain a viable option. Surveys of farmers' market vendors indicate that many are satisfied with their market sales and find their economic status improved and their marketing opportunities expanded after joining farmers' markets. (Govindasamy, Italia, Zurbriggen, & Hossain, 2003; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hunt, 2007; M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010; Schmit & Gómez, 2011) However, as we will see, the types of markets that are financially successful enough to attract producers and help maintain farm security are not necessarily those that increase food security for underprivileged consumers.

² See, for example: Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Duram & Oberholtzer, 2010; Grace, Grace, Becker, & Lyden, 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; Oberholtzer & Grow, 2003; Oths & Groves, 2012; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Smithers, Lamarche, & Joseph, 2008; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004

Participatory Success & Food Security

While farmers' markets may provide farm security for some farmers, studies increasingly find that they only contribute minimally to food security for consumers. Food security, or a situation in which "all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life," (FAO, 2006, p. 1) is comprised of several core dimensions: availability, access, utility, and stability (Barrett, 2010). The dimension of availability is not addressed in this study, as on a broad scale, food scarcity is not an issue in the United States. However, the other dimensions and their sub-factors are relevant: affordability, physical accessibility, cultural accessibility, utilization, and stability (Barrett, 2010; Bickel, Nord, Price, Hamilton, & Cook, 2000).

The most obvious of these needs is that of *affordability*. High prices are often cited by low-income consumers as one of the key reasons they don't shop more at farmers' markets. (Colasanti, Cole, & Smalley, 2010; Flamm, 2011; Grace, Grace, Becker, & Lyden, 2007; Kunkel, Luccia, & Moore, 2003; Racine, Vaughn, & Laditka, 2010; Ruelas, Iverson, Kiekel, & Peters, 2011; Webber & Dollahite, 2008) However, the affordability of farmers' market products means little if the markets are not *physically accessible* to underprivileged consumers. Unlike conventional markets, farmers' markets typically have limited locations, highly restricted hours and/or limited seasons, and do not offer one-stop shopping. As a result, the inconvenience of farmers' market locations, hours of operation, and time spent traveling to and from the market can prove barriers to many consumers (J. K. Bond et al., 2009; Briggs, Fisher, Lott, Miller, & Tessman, 2010;

Dollahite, Nelson, Frongillo, & Griffin, 2005; Eastwood, 1996; Grace et al., 2007; Hunt, 2007; Manalo, Sciabarrasi, Haddad, & Jellie, 2003; Racine et al., 2010; Wolf, Spittler, & Ahern, 2005). Even physical access to affordable food is not always sufficient to encourage participation in farmers' markets. The market must also be *culturally acceptable* in terms of the types of food available, the languages spoken, and the overall environment (Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007).

Physical access to affordable, culturally acceptable food may not lead to participation in farmers' markets if one is unable to adequately *utilize* the products purchased there, whether due to unfamiliarity with the food being sold, or a lack of proper appliances or time to cook the food (Daborn, Dibsall, & Lambert, 2005; Devine, Connors, Bisogni, & Sobal, 1998; Eastwood, 1996; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; Wolf et al., 2005). Addressing these barriers can be an enormous challenge for farmers' markets – particularly those dedicated to providing a profitable outlet for small scale, local-only farms.

GOVERNANCE

Many of the barriers discouraging producers and consumers from participating in farmers' markets may be heavily influenced by the underlying governance of the market, and the internal institutions which shape its everyday operations. This study employs Ostrom's (2005) definition of institutions as the *rules and norms* which govern a system. Institutions serve to restrict populations from behaving in certain ways, while guiding and encouraging them toward other behaviors. Rules may be employed to formally enforce and sanction particular behaviors, while cultural norms regarding values and beliefs may

develop and informally regulate behavior through the approval and disapproval of others (Boyd & Richerson, 2001; Henrich et al., 2001; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Ostrom, 2005). The way in which a particular system is governed and the institutions designed to facilitate this can have profound impacts on the environmental, social and economic sustainability of the system being managed be it farmers' market, fishery, or forest (Adger et al., 2003; Berkes, 2005; Ostrom, 2005; Wyatt, 2008). The rules and norms which shape the farmers' markets in this study are heavily influenced not only by the broader context of farmers' markets in the U.S., and by consumer and farmer needs, but by the local, metropolitan Phoenix context.

THE PHOENIX CONTEXT

Challenged by a higher than average incidence of food insecurity, and arid farmlands threatened by a rapidly expanding urban fringe, metropolitan Phoenix offers a unique opportunity to examine the level of socio-economic and cultural inclusion/exclusion in farmers' markets and its impact on the overall sustainability of the food system. Understanding the Phoenix area context is critical to understanding the challenges which farmers and consumers face, and therefore the ways in which the structure and function, strengths and vulnerabilities of farmers' markets come into play.

Small scale farms on the urban fringe have faced increased development pressure in recent years. Phoenix faces particularly acute development pressure due to its uniquely tied land and water rights policies. From 1975 to 1995, the region's population doubled, and by 2000 the metropolitan Phoenix population reached over 4.3 million. As a result, from 1980 to 2000 Maricopa County experienced a 50% decline in farmland (U.S.

Census, 2009; Cromarty, 1995; Gammage, Hall, Lang, Melnick, & Welch, 2008; Redman & Kinzig, 2008). Urban population growth, coupled with the lack of alternative sources of water and the intense desert climate continues to threaten one of Arizona's most agriculturally productive regions.

Farming requires a certain amount of physical infrastructure such as roads, processing facilities, irrigation, and on-farm technologies in place in order to be successful. While farms in the Phoenix area enjoy a relatively well established irrigation network, lack of fruit and vegetable processing facilities often forces farms to choose between remaining fairly small-scale and processing their products on-farm or growing substantially larger in order to make cost effective the option of shipping their products to California for processing, or alternatively, shifting away from fruit and vegetable production altogether. This, it could be argued, increases the regional importance of direct-marketing outlets such as farmers' markets, which are typically utilized by small-scale farms.

Consumers may also require substantial infrastructure in order to participate in a retail food system; in addition to some sort of retail facility, consumers need adequate transportation in order to access the facility, as well as sufficient refrigeration and cooking supplies to store and prepare the food once purchased (Daborn et al., 2005; Grace et al., 2007; Ploeg et al., 2009). Approximately 5.4% of American households, live more than ½ a mile from the nearest supermarket and do not have access to a private vehicle (Ploeg et al., 2009). Though some consumers will travel considerable distances to purchase at farmers' markets, a 2007 survey of farmers' market managers found that nearly 60% of their customers travelled less than 5 miles to the market (Ragland &

Tropp, 2009). Availability of a nearby farmers' market as well as adequate private or public transportation to access that market is therefore crucial to the farmers' markets' capacity to meet the food security needs of low-income consumers.

In order to achieve a sustainable livelihood, farmers need to be sufficiently profitable. In urban areas, "adaptive" farming enterprises that specialize in high value crops earn more per acre, achieve sales of \$10,000 or more per year and as a result are more often able to persist in urbanizing regions (Heimlich & Anderson, 2001). In contrast, most of the farms in Maricopa County are very small, with low annual sales. Approximately 67% of the farms in the County grossed less than \$10,000 in annual sales in 2007(USDA, 2007). This suggests a potential vulnerability of the current farming patterns in the county to development pressure. Increasing urban development across the U.S. has led to increasing agricultural land values, and in many cases the value of selling agricultural land for other uses becomes greater than its value for agricultural use. Arizona is particularly susceptible. In 2007, farm real estate value in Arizona was estimated to be about \$1000-2000 higher per acre than the U.S. average (Nickerson et al., 2012; USDA, 2007; Vilsack & Clark, 2009). While produce farming can result in higher profits per acre than other field crops, the intensity of labor and inputs required to grow fruits and vegetables can be prohibitive. Coupled with the intense desert climate of Central Arizona, many farmers in the region opt out of the produce game. According to the USDA, only 10% of the farms in Maricopa County reported sales of fruits and nuts, and just 2% sold vegetables or melons (USDA, 2007). This reveals a very limited farming population that might pursue farmers' markets as an outlet for their products, and

highlights a potential challenge to viable local farmers' markets in the region: lack of producers.

Farmers' markets can prove profitable, but only if the market is able to maintain a sufficient customer base and adequate sales. In recent years, farmers' markets across the U.S. have been highly successful. In the Rocky Mountain region in which Arizona lies, there was an 8% increase in farmers participating at each farmers' market, and a 74% increase in farmers' market customers from 1996 to 2000 (Payne, 2002). In 2007, the U.S. Agricultural Census found that about 7% of Maricopa County's farms sold some of their products directly to consumers through an outlet such as a farmers' market.

Consumers need to have the financial means to access farmers' market products if these markets are to help them achieve food security. According to the American Community Survey, Maricopa County residents have a median household income (MHI) of \$55,099, making them slightly wealthier than the average Arizonan (\$50,752 MHI), and the average American (\$52,762 MHI). A slightly lower percentage use the federal Supplemental Nutrition Program (SNAP) to subsidize their food expenditures – 9.1% of Maricopa County residents participate in SNAP, as compared to 10.2% of all U.S. residents. Overall, this suggests that Maricopa County residents could be in a better position able to pay a farmers' market premium (if such is the case). However, this could also indicate that markets – both farmers' markets and conventional – may cater to those in higher income brackets, resulting in higher prices and less subsidy options for those living at the lower end of the income spectrum. This appears to be the case in terms of the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program which provides farmers' market coupons to about 2.3 million low-income women and children across the U.S. The coupons can be redeemed to

purchase fresh fruits, vegetables or herbs from approved farmers' markets and roadside stands (Tessman & Fisher, 2009). The Rocky Mountain region in which Arizona lies, however, lags far behind the rest of the U.S. in terms of markets participating in FMNP and SNAP/EBT programs (Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Exploring the socio-cultural context in which the participants and potential participants in the farmers' market is critical to understanding the motives and barriers of these groups. The social norms of one's subculture shape the types of foods that are considered desirable to eat, the methods via which they should be grown, and the places from which one feels comfortable purchasing these foods. In this sense, exclusion from a market may occur not only due to physical or financial barriers, but due to sub-conscious traditions or choices shaped by cultural norms.

Farm and farmer demographics in Maricopa County seem to reflect characteristics very similar to those found in farmers markets. Most farms in Maricopa County produce on relatively small acreages, and have low annual sales. In 2007, approximately 80% (or 1,427) of the 1,793 farms in the region grew on less than 50 acres (Vilsack & Clark, 2009).

Vendors selling at farmers' markets typically earn limited annual sales from these markets. Approximately 71% of vendors at U.S. farmers' markets and 80% of vendors at Rocky Mountain region markets earn \$5000 or less annually from farmers' market sales. However, not to underestimate the importance of farmers' markets for small and part-time farms, 25% of farmers' market vendors earn *all* of their farm-related income from farmers' markets (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Farm and farmer demographics in Maricopa County seem to reflect characteristics very similar to producers who utilize farmers

markets. Most farms in Maricopa County produce on relatively small acreages, and have low annual sales. In 2007, approximately 80% (or 1,427) of the 1,793 farms in the region grew on less than 50 acres (USDA, 2007).

Farmers' markets and other local food establishments are often perceived as the domain of the highly educated, wealthy and white (Brehm & Eisenhauer, 2008; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; Jarosz, 2008; Lyson & Guptill, 2004; Macias, 2008; Starr et al., 2003). However, a review of the research reveals conflicting results in regards to consumer demographics. Most studies find that farmers' market consumers tend to be highly educated, white, female and have above-average incomes (Adams & Adams, 2011; Alkon, 2008a; Eastwood, 1996; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Govindasamy, Italia, Zurbriggen, & Hossain, 2002; Henneberry & Agustini, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Payne, 2002; Smithers, Lamarche, & Joseph, 2008; Suarez-Balcazar, Martinez, Cox, & Jayraj, 2006; Wolf et al., 2005). Other studies, however, have found that income does not always seem to significantly influence participation in a farmers' market (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Wolf et al., 2005; Zepeda, 2009), and still other studies have found that in certain markets, those with below average incomes constitute the bulk of farmers' market customers (see, for example: Alkon, 2008a; AMS, 2001; PPS, 2003a). Less well studied are the subtle, socio-cultural factors that shape food-related subcultures and influence the decision-making processes of farmers' market shoppers and non-shoppers. Gaining a deeper understanding as to the nature of who is included and who is excluded indicates an important avenue for future research.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to explore the ways in which farmers' markets can be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable outlet for local farmers, my research used a mixed-methods case study approach with case-study markets selected from the Phoenix Metropolitan area, and data gathered between June 2011 and April 2012. Surveys with market managers were used to glean information regarding market institutional design characteristics and to select six case study markets that represent a diverse spectrum of success relative to financial indicators and participation of low-income and minority consumers. Surveys of market customers and vendors at these case study markets provided further insight as to the types of participants each market was actually reaching, as well as to the degree of their participation in the market and its governance. Extended interviews with both market customers as well as with residents of the neighborhoods surrounding the markets provided a more in-depth picture of the barriers to participation in farmers' markets. The findings from the surveys and interviews were then integrated with those regarding the institutional design characteristics of the case study markets in order to reveal any themes regarding the impact of institutional design on financial success and what in this study I term "participatory success" (success at reaching low income and minority consumers).

DISSERTATION CHAPTERS

My dissertation chapters are organized as follows:

Chapter 2 examines key literature on the subject of farmers' markets, as well as broader farm and food security, and governance literature. While an

increasingly substantial body of literature explores farmers' market demographics, and who participates and does not participate, less explores the underlying reasons and lived experiences that may be excluding particular groups of producers and consumers from participating. Of particular use is an underlying understanding of the importance of social norms, identity and the broader, underlying context from which decisions are made. The consumption of food is an intimate process, and one which molds and is molded by one's culture. The strength of social norms and the influence of governance on the way the norms of a marketplace are experienced by participants and potential participants plays a key role in understanding the findings of this study.

Chapter 3 outlines the research process. First is a discussion of the general research approach, followed by a breakdown of the various data collection and analysis methods. This includes descriptions of the purposive case study selection methods, the survey design and collection format, the interview process, and the other data collection methods, including document collection and participant-observation.

Chapter 4: *Presences and Absences* marks the beginning of the research findings. In this chapter, I explore who is present and who is absent from the market, drawing largely from the findings of my farmers' market producer and consumer surveys, augmented by participant-observation and comments from interviews. While I did not restrict myself to purely demographic characteristics, many of the key survey findings and comments from participants did in fact

reveal interesting disparities in the socio-economic, ethnic, and cultural make-up of farmers' market participants.

Chapter 5: *Lived Experience* builds on the findings in the previous chapter, exploring not just who is present and absent, but why they choose to participate or not to participate in a given market. In this chapter, I draw on the survey data – both on the closed-ended questions regarding motives and barriers as well as the open-ended comments portion of the survey. The themes uncovered by the survey are more deeply explored through an examination of the narrative stories of those interviewed in and around the case study markets. Their stories reveal diverse definitions of good, healthy food, and provide insights into their decision-making process regarding food choices and food purchasing. Their lived experiences obtaining, preparing, and consuming food in Central Arizona reveal physical, ethical, economic, and cultural barriers to participation in a variety of food markets – both farmers' markets and otherwise. These stories highlight the challenge of accessing healthy, affordable, culturally acceptable foods, particularly through the current farmers' market system.

Chapter 6: *Governance* analyzes the underlying formal and informal institutions which shape the case study markets, and explores how management structures, rules and social norms appear to be affecting who is present and absent from the market, as well as impacts on the lived experiences of participants and potential participants in those markets. In this chapter, the case studies are examined not as a whole, but in contrast to one another. In this way, some of the

key governance approaches for increasing viability of the markets for both producers and underprivileged consumers are revealed.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation with an exploration of the theoretical and practical implications of the research. Like many farmers' markets across the United States, the markets in Central Arizona struggle to meet the needs of a diverse set of consumers in addition to the needs of local producers. While the traditional issues of affordability and physical access remain a barrier to some, this study highlights the power of cultural barriers to accessing markets, and explores the varying degrees to which particular markets have structured themselves to overcome some of these barriers.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to explore the ways in which farmers' markets might be designed in order to increase the participation of low income customers while maintaining a financially viable market, several bodies of literature will be explored. First I will examine the context in which farmers' markets arise, and then explore how this influences the way in which markets are designed and the types of consumers and producers who are drawn to these markets. Finally I will examine current research regarding the extent to which farmers' markets currently meet the food security needs of low-income consumers and the ways in which providing for these needs appears to conflict with the establishment of a financially viable market.

Local food systems such as farmers' markets are often posited as potential solutions to the problems generated by the conventional food system. The mainstream food system in the United States is increasingly viewed as highly unsustainable in both the popular and academic press. Its negative environmental, social and economic impacts suggest that without adaptation, the system will not be viable in the long term (Feenstra, 2002; Halweil, 2005; Heller & Keoleian, 2003; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; Peters, Bills, Wilkins, & Fick, 2008; Pretty, 2008). Understanding farmers' markets and the underlying missions which drive them, and the rules and norms which shape them first requires a deeper look at what they lie in response to: the conventional system.

THE CONVENTIONAL FOOD SYSTEM

Environmental Impacts

The environmental costs of the conventional, globalized food system are well documented. In the shadow of WWII, spurred on by new technologies and cheap fossil fuel, the industrial food system emerged, ushering in an era of farm consolidation, chemical agriculture, homogenized food, and the transportation of food through an increasingly complex web of processors, distributors and retailers (King, 2008; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; O'Hara & Stagl, 2001; Pretty, 2008). The conventional food system requires extensive use of non-renewable fossil fuel resources for use in agricultural chemicals, processing, packaging, and transportation. Recent studies suggest that in the U.S., food travels approximately 1,500 miles from “farm to plate” and the average American meal contains ingredients from at least five different countries (Pirog & Benjamin, 2003). In a related and bizarre twist, many of the *same* items are both imported to and exported from countries, resulting in enormous unnecessary energy expenditures for transportation used in this “food swapping” process (Pretty, 2001). Ultimately the system is highly inefficient – producing 1.0 units of food energy for every 7.3 units of fossil fuel energy input (Heller & Keoleian, 2003). Halweil (2005) notes that the food system's reliance on fossil fuel energy will become increasingly problematic as oil resources are expected to peak sometime between 2007 and 2035. Modern agriculture also plays a significant role in contributing to greenhouse gas emissions. Research from the IPCC suggests that agricultural production accounts for approximately 14% of total anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions. Some suggest that this figure may be much

higher if a full life-cycle analysis of the system, including livestock production is incorporated (Peters et al., 2008).

Social Impacts

The food system has become largely disembedded from its local, social context. As the food system has consolidated, power and control over the system is increasingly concentrated in a few large corporations who control long supply chains. As consumers and producers are increasingly distanced from one another, social capital - community involvement, communication, coordination, cooperation, local governance, and the network of care and trust between community members - is lost. Local knowledge, community organization, shared values, and sense of identity deteriorate, leading to a decrease in communities' ability to support themselves, and making them increasingly reliant on "faceless commitments" and the global market for their food (Feagan & Morris, 2009; O'Hara & Stagl, 2001; Pothukuchi, 2004). In recent years, the mainstream food system has increasingly lost the public's trust, with a succession of "food scares" - salmonella, "mad cow disease" and pesticide residues (Renting, Marsden, & Banks, 2003).

Resilience

Total reliance on distant food sources undermines local resilience - increasing regional vulnerability to shocks from fluctuating markets, mass-scale food contamination, rising fuel costs, breakdowns in the global transportation system, and decreasing communities' capacity to respond to such stresses (O'Hara & Stagl, 2001; Peters et al.,

2008). Many argue that as fossil fuel resources “peak” and decline globally in the coming century, a city’s ability to produce many of its own resources will play a critical role in its ability to thrive (FAO, 2008; Feenstra, 1997; Guptill & Wilkins, 2002; Halweil, 2005; Hendrickson & James, 2005). Furthermore, as people become increasingly disconnected from their food, their decision-making becomes disembedded from the local socio-ecological context. The myriad impacts of the globalized food system are distant, and therefore people are unable to see the consequences of their decisions (Goland, 2002; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; O’Hara & Stagl, 2001). Ultimately this results in a perpetuation of the cycle.

Health Impacts

The health costs of the conventional food system have also begun to emerge, with the poor and minorities feeling the worst of the effects. Despite a 25% increase in the amount of food available per person worldwide, and a doubling in food production in the U.S. (Pretty, 2008), in 2008 nearly 15% of the households in the U.S. were *food insecure* – meaning that they did not have access to enough food for an active, healthy lifestyle at all times throughout the year (Nord et al., 2009). Rates of food insecurity are higher than average in urban areas (17.7%), in households that are below the poverty line (42.2%), and in Black (25.7%) and Hispanic (26.9%) households. Interview data from the years 2006-2008 indicate that approximately 13.2% of Arizonans experience food insecurity, slightly higher than the U.S. average of 12.2% for the same time period (Nord et al., 2009). Food security is typically described as consisting of four dimensions: availability, access, utility, and stability. The concepts are hierarchical in that availability is necessary

but not sufficient to ensure access, and access is adequate but not sufficient to ensure utility, and so forth (Barrett, 2010; FAO, 2006).

Many Americans now live in what are known as “food deserts” - socially distressed neighborhoods with low average household incomes and inadequate accessibility of healthy food. Post World War II, the spread of the automobile led to a steady exodus of those with upper and middle incomes from city centers. As people migrated to the suburbs, supermarkets followed, leaving many urban areas without grocery stores (Clifton, 2004; Larsen & Gilliland, 2008; Nord et al., 2009; Shaffer, 2002). Approximately 5.7 million people in the U.S. now live more than a mile from a supermarket, and have no access to a vehicle (Ploeg et al., 2009). Low-income and minority neighborhoods have significantly lower access to supermarkets and higher access to convenience stores than do White and middle to upper income neighborhoods (Powell, Slater, Mirtcheva, Bao, & Chaloupka, 2007). With greater access to processed, convenience store food but little access to fresh fruits and vegetables, fresh produce has become an irregular purchase for many with low incomes. A 2004 study found that in any given week, about 19% of low-income households bought no produce at all (Blisard et al., 2004). The rising affordability of cheap, calorie-rich, and nutrient-low food further contributes to the ‘obesogenic’ environment (an environment which encourages obesity) disproportionately impacting low-income populations. As a result, many low-income and minority neighborhoods have poor diets and higher rates of obesity (Glanz, Sallis, Saelens, & Frank, 2007; Larson, Story, & Nelson, 2009; Monsivais, McLain, & Drewnowski, 2010). Even in cases when adequate, healthy food is physically available, and economically affordable, however, the food may be culturally unacceptable, or

otherwise not be able to be utilized by those who need it. Lack of utilization may occur for a number of reasons, including: lack of proper cooking implements or access to clean water, or lack of time to cook (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Devine et al., 1998; Eastwood, 1996; Fisher, 1999; Manalo et al., 2003; Wolf et al., 2005).

Economic Impacts

Meanwhile, farm profits are dropping dramatically, as export-driven national agricultural policies, and constantly evolving technology has pressured farmers to continuously invest in new technologies, and to sell through the complex network of middle-men who require a cut of farm profits. Concurrently, many new environmental and health regulations have emerged as a result of a need for oversight in this increasingly complex food system. As a result, farmers must invest additional resources to comply (Renting et al., 2003). In the 1950s, farmers received about 60 cents per retail dollar. By the year 2000, this had dropped to about 19 cents per dollar (CSS, 2013; Feenstra et al., 2003; Pretty, 2001, 2008; Stewart, 2006). The rising costs and decreasing prices are felt most acutely by small farms and ranches. Since 1982, the U.S. has seen a 242% increase in the number of very large farms, and a 40% decrease in the number of small and midsized farms (Feenstra et al., 2003; Hoppe et al., 2010).

In urban areas, “adaptive” farming enterprises that specialize in high value crops earn more per acre, achieve sales of \$10,000 or more per year and as a result are more often able to persist in urbanizing regions (Heimlich & Anderson, 2001). In contrast, most of the farms in Maricopa County are very small, with low annual sales.

Approximately 67% of the farms in the County grossed less than \$10,000 in annual sales

in 2007, and few could be considered “produce” farms – approximately 10% of the farms sold fruits and nuts, and just 2% sold vegetables or melons (USDA, 2007). This illustrates a potential vulnerability of the current farming patterns in the county to development pressure. Urban development in the United States has resulted in increasing agricultural land values – to the point where the value of selling agricultural land becomes greater than its value for agricultural use. Arizona is particularly vulnerable – the value of its farm real estate is about \$1000-2000 higher per acre than the U.S. average (USDA, 2007; Vilsack & Clark, 2009).

FARMERS’ MARKETS & LOCAL FOOD: A RESPONSE TO THE CONVENTIONAL SYSTEM

The lack of transparency of the conventional food system, and its failure to meet the ecological, social, and economic needs of the public and the planet has led many to shift towards local food systems (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Feenstra, 1997; Hinrichs, 2000; Kirwan, 2006; O’Hara & Stagl, 2001; Renting et al., 2003). As a rapidly growing component of the local food movement, farmers’ markets are often presented as a more sustainable alternative to the conventional food system, in which people can reconnect with farmland, food, and those who produce it (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Goland, 2002). From 1994 to 2006, the number of farmers’ markets in the United States more than doubled, from 1,755 markets to 4,385 markets (Hardesty, 2008; Tropp, 2008). In the Rocky Mountain region where Arizona lies, there was a 74% increase in weekly customers served at farmers markets from 1996 to 2000 (Payne, 2002). Within farmers’ markets, economic relations are embedded in a social system of rules and norms specific

to the local environmental, economic and social context, whereas global markets are often driven by efficiency (O'Hara & Stagl, 2001). As Lyson, Gillespie, & Hilchey (1995, 108) state:

Farmers' markets occupy social spaces in which formal market transactions are conditioned by local community norms, values and culture. (Lyson et al., 1995)

Environmental Benefits

Research indicates a number of environmental benefits from local food systems. Local food systems may also increase ecosystem health and biodiversity in and around cities (Colding, 2007; Deelstra & Girardet, 1999). In the United States, where food is estimated to travel 1,500 miles from “farm to plate,” many would argue that perhaps the most significant environmental benefit of buying locally produced food is the substantial reduction in fossil fuel used for storage and transportation of non-local food items (Cromarty, 1995; Halweil, 2005; Peters et al., 2008; Pirog & Benjamin, 2003; Stagl, 2002; Strohlic & Shelley, 2004). Along with reduced transportation comes the added benefit of lowered greenhouse gas emissions and air pollution levels. In addition to the biodiversity benefits and potential energy use reductions, agriculture provides cities with a highly important service: urban heat island mitigation. During the day, pavements and buildings soak in significant amounts of heat, which is released at night. This process has resulted in what has come to be known as the “Urban Heat Island Effect” – whereby many cities’ temperatures are significantly higher than the surrounding environment. The evaporative cooling provided by agricultural landscapes is known to significantly reduce

temperatures in cities, and could be particularly important in Central Arizona's urban/desert environment (Deelstra & Girardet, 1999)..

Social Benefits

Local food systems reconnect producers and consumers, and can empower individuals and communities to rebuild networks of trust, cooperation, shared values, rules, and norms within their own local food systems (Hinrichs, 2000; O'Hara & Stagl, 2001) (Hinrichs, 2000; O'Hara & Stagl, 2001). Support for one's local community and economy is one of the most commonly cited motives for interacting in direct, local markets by producers (Alkon, 2008a; Bills, Roth, & Maestro-Scherer, 2000; Gregoire, Arendt, & Strohbehn, 2005; Starr et al., 2003), and consumers (Alkon, 2008a; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Goland, 2002; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; Hunt, 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). Similarly, face-to-face interactions, and the development of social relationships and traditions are also described as important motives for participating in local markets by producers (Gregoire et al., 2005; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hunt, 2007; Starr et al., 2003; Tegtmeier & Duffy, 2005) and consumers (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Kirwan, 2006; Smithers et al., 2008). The face-to-face experience of a farmers' market is increasingly appealing to consumers who desire to know where their food came from and how it was grown, and who seek to regain a sense of trust, community, local tradition, social interaction, responsibility, and morality that are perceived as lacking in the conventional system (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Feenstra et al., 2003; Kirwan, 2006; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; Renting et al., 2003; C. Sage, 2003). In this way, local food systems such as farmers' markets are understood to be socially embedded – that is to say:

where economic behaviors between producers and consumers are moderated by personal relationships of trust, reciprocity, regard and friendship, and furthermore may be expressions of support for the local region and shift toward a localized “moral economy” (Hinrichs, 2000; Kirwan, 2006; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; C. Sage, 2003).

Resilience Benefits

A shift towards food system localization can contribute to regional resilience by building up food-related local knowledge and skill sets, stimulating economic development and job creation and ultimately shifting the region toward a more self-reliant food system (Allen, 1999; Anderson & Cook, 1999; Colding, 2007; Kloppenburg et al., 2005; Seyfang, 2006). It has been argued that the nearness of food production to those consuming it will result in an increased practical concern for environmental, social, and economic impacts of the food system – thereby encouraging a constant push toward increased stewardship (Kloppenburg et al., 2005). Local agricultural systems also contribute to the overall resilience of a metropolitan region through the ecosystem services they provide, including: creation of green space, nutrient recycling and conservation, urban heat island mitigation, and increased urban biodiversity (Goldman et al., 2007; King, 2008; Mendes et al., 2008; Porter et al., 2009; Sandhu, Wratten, Cullen, & Case, 2008). In arid regions such as Central Arizona, agriculture can arguably have the added benefit of serving as a water buffer in times of drought (Gammage et al., 2008). Many argue that as fossil fuel resources “peak” in the coming century, a city’s ability to produce many of its own resources will play a critical role in its ability to thrive (FAO,

2008; Feenstra, 1997; Guptill & Wilkins, 2002; Halweil, 2005; Hendrickson & James, 2005).

Health & Food Security Benefits

Local produce often entails greater freshness, which is positively correlated with nutritional content. Studies have indicated that if consumption of produce is delayed by 5-10 days due to transportation and storage, some nutrient levels are reduced by 30-50% (Bellows, Brown, & Smit, 2003; Breene, 1994). Local food systems minimize the time and distance food travels from farm to fork, thereby increasing the potential nutritional benefits.

Beginning in the 1970s, some farmers markets began to emerge in U.S. cities with an explicit mission to reconnect low-income, urban dwellers with fresh, local produce (Winne, 2008). Many cases have now been documented in which farmers' markets have successfully integrated themselves into urban centers, and in many cases low-income food deserts – providing fruits and vegetables to regions that formerly had little to no access to fresh produce (Fisher, 1999; Larsen & Gilliland, 2009; PPS, 2003a). In addition to increasing the accessibility of fresh fruits and vegetables, there is some evidence that farmers' markets can provide more affordable products. In Ontario, one farmers' market was shown to contribute to a lowering of grocery store prices in the region (Larsen & Gilliland, 2009), and many markets, such as the East New York Farmers' Market, Broad Street Farmers' Market in Providence, RFK Stadium Farmers' Market in Washington DC, Louisville's Smoketown/Shelby Park Market, and long-standing Adams & Vermont Certified market in Los Angeles, obtain a substantial proportion of their its sales from

food stamps, and subsidized WIC coupons through the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a, 2003b).

The Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, implemented in 1992, helps subsidize the cost of produce for low income consumers (Dollahite et al., 2005). This program currently provides farmers' market coupons to about 2.3 million low-income women and children across the U.S. The coupons can be redeemed to purchase fresh fruits, vegetables or herbs from approved farmers' markets and roadside stands. Despite struggles to cross-over from the paper-based food stamp system to the electronic EBT system from 1996-2004, the use of food stamps (now called the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program – or SNAP) at farmers' markets is also on the rise, with over \$4.1 million in SNAP benefits claimed in 2009 (Briggs et al., 2010). It should be noted, however, that the Rocky Mountain region in which Arizona lies lags far behind the rest of the U.S. in terms of markets participating in FMNP and EBT programs, with only about 36% of the markets participating in the WIC FMNP, 14% participating in the SFMNP, and 5% accepting EBT (as compared to nearly 61%, 45%, and 7% participation, respectively, for the U.S. as a whole).

Economic Impacts

Farmers' markets provide farms with a direct-market for agricultural products, allowing producers to by-pass the middle men and maintain higher profits. Some have reported earning 80-90 cents on the dollar, and up to four times the amount of profit they would earn selling the same product in a supermarket (Cameron, 2007; Feenstra et al., 2003; Govindasamy et al., 2003; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Kambara & Shelley, 2002;

Sanderson, Gertler, Martz, & Mahabir, 2005; Vogt & Kaiser, 2008). Urban demand for local produce can provide an avenue of sufficient profitability to allow metropolitan area farms to maintain a sustainable livelihood, and continue farming in spite of rising development pressure (Ellis, 2000; Heimlich & Anderson, 2001; Scoones, 1998).

Farmers' markets provide a crucial (and in some cases, primary) market outlet for regional producers (C. Brown et al., 2007; Ragland & Tropp, 2009). The markets serve as business incubators for small farms – providing avenues for social networking, and the exchange of innovative management, marketing, and product development techniques. The development of these skills at farmers' markets often help producers expand their business to other markets (Cameron, 2007; Feenstra et al., 2003; Lawson, Guthrie, Cameron, & Fischer, 2008; M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010; Sanderson et al., 2005). In a 2006 survey of farmers' market managers, mean annual sales per vendor was estimated at \$7035, and approximately 25% of the vendors used farmers' markets as their *only* point of sale (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Nearly 80% of vendors in a survey of New York, California and Iowa farmers' markets said that farmers' markets served as their “most important opportunity for business development” (Feenstra et al., 2003). Market sales have a ripple-effect across the local economy. Unlike supermarket purchases, where much of the profits ‘leak’ to distant corporate headquarters, money spent at farmers markets is re-circulated in the local economy. It is estimated that for each dollar spent on local food, more than double this amount is then able to re-circulate in the local economy (Barney & Worth Inc, 2008; Cameron, 2007; Lawson et al., 2008). Several states, provinces and metropolitan regions have estimated the direct and indirect economic impacts of their farmers' markets using the Impact Analysis for Planning (IMPLAN)

Input-Output model. The estimated economic impact of farmers' markets in these studies ranged from \$1.6 million in Mississippi, \$1.9 million in West Virginia, and \$7.8 million in Oklahoma, to \$31.5 million in Iowa and \$1.5 billion in Ontario (Cummings, Kora, & Murray, 1999; Henneberry et al., 2008; Hughes, Brown, Miller, & McConnell, 2008; Myles & Hood, 2008; Otto & Varner, 2005). Metropolitan area farmers' markets can have a particularly significant impact. Farmers' markets in Portland Oregon were estimated to have an economic impact of approximately \$17 million (Barney & Worth Inc, 2008).

Farmers' markets may create new job and volunteer opportunities both directly and indirectly. Market organizers at a New Zealand market, for example, estimated that their market created 34 new jobs in the community (Guthrie, Guthrie, Lawson, & Cameron, 2006) . Otto & Varner (2005) estimated that the presence of farmers markets in Iowa resulted in the equivalent of 146 full-time jobs that would otherwise not exist. Another study calculated that for every person employed at an Oklahoma farmers' market, an additional 2.44 jobs were created throughout the state (Henneberry et al., 2008).

Those who travel to a farmers' market to shop frequently also visit nearby businesses. Customer surveys in New Zealand and Canada suggest that 50-80% of farmers' market shoppers make purchases at other nearby businesses when making a trip to a farmers' market. Businesses frequently note that since the opening of a farmers' market they see increased sales and/or expand their business hours due to the additional traffic generated by farmers' market shoppers (Cummings et al., 1999; Guthrie et al., 2006).

FARMERS' MARKETS: A PANACEA? ... FOR WHOM?

Despite the many potential benefits of local food systems, many have begun to question the utopian vision of local food as a panacea for all of society's ills. Born & Purcell (2006) argue that food researchers and local food activists frequently fall into the *local trap* – assuming that something about providing food on a local scale is inherently better than a national or global food system. Recent research findings bring into question many of the assumed environmental, social, and economic benefits of local food systems (Allen et al., 2006; Born & Purcell, 2006; Guthman et al., 2006; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; C. L. Weber & Matthews, 2008; Winter, 2003).

One key shortcoming of the local food system, and the focus of this study, is that participation in local food outlets such as farmers' markets is very limited. Currently, evidence is mounting that local food systems primarily serve the urban elite, with relatively few low income or minority customers (D. Conner et al., 2010; Eastwood, 1996; Guthman, 2008b; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; Howard & Allen, 2006; Slocum, 2007).

Likewise, despite the fact that farmers' markets are touted as ideal avenues for small-scale farms to sell their products and maintain a sustainable livelihood in the face of urban development pressure, only about 6.2% of farms in the U.S. participate in direct-marketing in *any* form, farmers markets or otherwise. This represents a very small fraction of the 50% of U.S. farms that are classified as "small farms" – or farms grossing under \$5000 per year (Heimlich & Anderson, 2001; Hoppe et al., 2010; USDA, 2007).

Local food systems can provide many benefits for those who participate, but for whom? Understanding *who* is absent from farmers' markets, *why* they do not or cannot participate, and how markets might be *governed* in a way to increase participation among currently marginalized populations is critical to improving the sustainability of these markets. Very little research explicitly exploring these questions has been performed to date, but the review which follows summarizes related, relevant literature.

Consumer participation

Farmers' markets have increasingly come under fire for their failure to garner the participation of low-income and minority consumers (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Allen et al., 2006; Colasanti et al., 2010; Guthman et al., 2006; Markowitz, 2010; Slocum, 2007, 2010). Lack of socio-economic, racial, and ethnic diversity in farmers' markets and other local food venues has been examined as part of broader studies by several authors, with mixed results. Some studies have found that those with lower income may be *more* likely to purchase local foods (AMS, 2001; C. A. Bond, Thilmany, & Bond, 2008; PPS, 2003b; Seyfang, 2008), while others indicate that income level does not significantly increase or decrease participation in local food markets (J. K. Bond et al., 2009; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Wolf et al., 2005; Zepeda, 2009). However, the majority of research regarding farmers' market customer demographics indicates that farmers' market customers are largely highly educated,³ white⁴ and earn above-average incomes.⁵ These findings reflect

³ Abello, Palman, Anderson, & Waller, 2012; Adams & Adams, 2011; A. H. Alkon, 2008a; A. H. Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Arrington, Dennis, & Mazzocco, 2010; Blanck, Thompson, Nebeling, & Yarroch, 2011; Bubinas, 2011; Bukenya, Mukiibi, Molnar, & Siaway, 2007; Crandall et al., 2010; Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010; Farmer, Chancellor, Gooding, Shubowitz, & Bryant, 2011; Govindasamy, Italia, & Adelaja, 2002;

a broader trend whereby local food systems have become closely associated with an elite, insular culture in which low income and minority consumers are disproportionately absent (Allen et al., 2006; Colasanti et al., 2010; Eastwood, 1996; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; Slocum, 2007). In some instances the farmers' market culture is so insular that those from other socio-cultural backgrounds feel uncomfortable participating (Guthman, 2008a, 2008b; Sbicca, 2012; Slocum, 2007). In particular, the glaringly visible coding of farmers' markets as 'white spaces', (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Guthman, 2008a; Slocum, 2007) , and the 'sticky' connection between whiteness, income and privilege, (Saladanha, 2006) can serve to make farmers' markets feel exclusive to those who perceive themselves as falling outside those categories.

However, it is important to understand that exclusion does not always occur. Several case studies have found that certain farmers' markets attract customer bases which are largely African-American, (Alkon, 2008a; Bukenya, Mukiibi, Molnar, & Siaway, 2007; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Oths & Groves, 2012; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2006) Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, (Inda, Washburn, Beckham, Talisayan, & Hikuroa, 2011) Latino/a, (PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ruelas et al., 2011) Asian, (PPS, 2003a) or racially diverse. (PPS, 2003a; Slocum, 2008) Likewise, some markets

Govindasamy, Italia, Zurbriggen, & Hossain, 2002; Hunt, 2007; Manalo, Sciabarrasi, Haddad, & Jellie, 2003; Nie & Zepeda, 2011; Rainey et al., 2011; Marianne McGarry Wolf, Spittler, & Ahern, 2005

⁴ Abello et al., 2012; Adams & Adams, 2011; A. H. Alkon, 2008a; A. H. Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Arrington et al., 2010; Bond et al., 2009; Bubinas, 2011; Bukenya et al., 2007; D. Conner et al., 2010; Crandall et al., 2010; Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010; Farmer et al., 2011; Govindasamy, Italia, & Adelaja, 2002; Govindasamy, Italia, Zurbriggen, et al., 2002; Henneberry & Agustini, 2004; Leone et al., 2012; Middleton & Smith, 2011; O. Onianwa, Mojica, & Wheelock, 2006; PPS, 2003a; Payne, 2002; Rainey et al., 2011

⁵ Abello, Palman, Anderson, & Waller, 2012; A. H. Alkon, 2008a; A. H. Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Arrington, Dennis, & Mazzocco, 2010; D. Baker, Hamshaw, & Kolodinsky, 2009; Bubinas, 2011; Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010; Farmer, Chancellor, Gooding, Shubowitz, & Bryant, 2011; Guthman et al., 2006; Henneberry & Agustini, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Manalo, Sciabarrasi, Haddad, & Jellie, 2003; Varner & Otto, 2007

attract mostly middle income (Darby, Batte, Ernst, & Roe, 2008; Nie & Zepeda, 2011; PPS, 2003b; Wolf & Berrenson, 2003) or lower income customers. (Alkon, 2008a; AMS, 2001; Fisher, 1999; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Markowitz, 2010; Oths & Groves, 2012; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ruelas et al., 2011; Zepeda, 2009) In this light, farmers' markets are not *only* spaces of whiteness and privilege. However, even embedded within these examples of inclusion there is evidence to suggest that African-Americans, those with less education, and those of low-incomes are still under-represented.(Alkon, 2008a; AMS, 2001; Kropf, Holben, Holcomb, & Anderson, 2007; Ruelas et al., 2011) A recent study of the distribution of farmers' markets in New York revealed that farmers' markets improved access to healthy foods most in Hispanic/Latino and Asian neighborhoods, and least in black neighborhoods (Bader, Purciel, Yousefzadeh, & Neckerman, 2010).

What is emerging, then, is a portrait of farmers' markets divided by race and class, but ultimately largely catering to a white, wealthy population. Some research finds that one of the keys to a successful market may be involve developing a distinct ethnic identity - whether it be African-American, Latino/a or White (PPS, 2003a). Given the socio-cultural exclusivity of many larger, mainstream food outlets, it should not be surprising that farmers' markets are also markets with inherent inclusive/exclusive tendencies. However this does raise a number of ethical and practical questions for those involved in the alternative food and food justice movements. Little research explicitly explores how and why this sort of compartmentalization occurs, and what markets might do to more effectively reach low-income and minority consumers. However, current

research on consumer motivations for and barriers to shopping at farmers' markets can provide some insight.

Ultimately, the reasons for lack of consumer participation in local food markets are complex, and not well understood. In order for a certain food purchasing strategy to be pursued, the strategy must meet the food security needs of the individual or household. Elements of the concept of food security therefore provide a useful framework for organizing existing knowledge regarding consumer participation. Food security, or a situation in which “all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 2006, p. 1) is typically conceived of as comprised of four dimensions: availability, access, utility, and stability. The concepts can be considered hierarchical in that availability is necessary but not sufficient to ensure access, and access is adequate but not sufficient to ensure utility, and so on (Barrett, 2010; FAO, 2006). *Availability* refers to supply-side issues, and a requirement for adequate quantities of quality food in the given region. *Access* encompasses a number of demand-side factors related to an individual or group's capacity to access acceptable food. While measured in different ways depending on the context, access typically incorporates measures of *affordability*, *physical accessibility*, and *cultural acceptability*. *Utilization* refers to factors related to an individual or household's use of the food they have access to. Measured in several ways, utilization may incorporate measures of capacity to safely and properly *prepare* food, *dietary quality*, and *capacity to metabolize* nutrients. *Stability*, the final dimension of food security, refers to the maintenance of availability, access and utility at all times – requiring that food access and availability is not inhibited during

sudden shocks nor seasonal events (Barrett, 2010; Bickel et al., 2000; FAO, 2006). In the U.S., the supply of quality food is not an issue, so the dimension of availability is not addressed in this study. However, the other dimensions and their sub-factors are certainly relevant.

Affordability

In order for consumers to participate in farmers' markets, the food sold there must be affordable. Very few studies have actually compared the price of local food with that which is found in the supermarket, but those studies that have suggest that there may not be a significant difference in produce prices between the two (Pirog & McCann, 2009; Zepeda, 2009). However, despite ambiguity surrounding whether or not local food is actually more expensive, many consumers cite the 'high cost' of local food as a barrier towards purchasing it (Eastwood, 1996; Grace et al., 2007; O'Hara & Stagl, 2002; B. L. Oberholtzer, 2004; Seyfang, 2008; Stephenson & Lev, 2004; Zepeda, 2009), and those for whom cost is an important factor in their decision-making tend not buy locally (Feagan & Morris, 2009; B. L. Oberholtzer, 2004; Zepeda & Li, 2006). There is some indication that regardless of the actual price of local food, those who *perceive* it to be more expensive than conventional food will not attempt to purchase it (Zepeda, 2009).

For affluent customers, price is often a relatively unimportant part of the decision to shop at farmers' markets.(D. Conner et al., 2010; Govindasamy, Italia, & Adelaja, 2002; Hunt, 2007) Some even feel that prices are lower at farmers' markets. (Govindasamy, Italia, & Adelaja, 2002; O. Onianwa, Mojica, & Wheelock, 2006; Wolf et al., 2005) Many express a willingness to pay more for farmers' market products and

local food even when it is more costly.(Adams & Adams, 2011; C. Brown, 2003; Cole, Montri, Montri, & Hamm, 2009; Darby et al., 2008; Farmer, Chancellor, Gooding, Shubowitz, & Bryant, 2011; Stephenson & Lev, 2004; Toler, Briggeman, Lusk, & Adams, 2009; Velasquez, Eastman, & Masiunas, 2008; Zepeda & Leviten-Reid, 2004) For those of higher incomes, the elevated prices often associated with farmers' markets do not seem to be a substantial barrier. For those with lower incomes, this is a different story.

Customers from disadvantaged backgrounds often cite the high prices of farmers' markets as a barrier to participation. For these customers, prices are often an extremely important 'make-or-break' factor in selecting a place to obtain food. Many describe a tension between finding low prices and obtaining healthy food (Colasanti et al., 2010; Flamm, 2011; Grace et al., 2007; Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; Park et al., 2011; Racine et al., 2010; Ruelas et al., 2011; Webber & Dollahite, 2008). Farmers' market prices are often fixed, and many vendors frown upon those who attempt to bargain. For those coming from cultures where haggling over prices is the norm, this may be a barrier (Slocum, 2008). As one Oregon food stamp client described: "Farmer's markets are for rich people" (Grace et al., 2007). While some may be willing to travel to a farmers' market if they know that prices will be lower (Colasanti et al., 2010; Inda et al., 2011), knowing when and where farmers' markets are more affordable is not knowledge easily accessible to all. As Slocum (2007) notes,

Knowledge that farmers' market prices are lower and the ability to just get to the market is classed and raced. Thus some Euro-American, Hmong, Vietnamese and African buyers know about price and availability but lower income whites and African Americans may not...
(Slocum, 2007, p. 527)

Participation in federal benefits programs can increase the affordability of farmers' market products for low income consumers, making farmers' markets a viable option (Freedman, Bell, & Collins, 2011; Joy, Bunch, Davis, & Fujii, 2001; Kropf et al., 2007; Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; Middleton & Smith, 2011). In particular, farmers' markets may choose to accept SNAP/EBT (formerly known as food stamps) or participate in FMNP (the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program - a voucher system specifically designed to provide benefits to WIC users and seniors at farmers' markets). In a study of an FMNP pilot program in Seattle, one participant noted "I don't think I'd eat that much food if I had to pay for it." Several studies have noticed that farmers' market attendance rose noticeably when WIC FMNP coupons were available and declined when they were gone. (Grace et al., 2007; Kantor, 2001; PPS, 2003b)

However, these federal benefits programs come with their own set of challenges. In 2004, the SNAP program switched from paper-based food stamps to an electronic EBT debit card system. This created a substantial barrier for farmers' markets (especially those without electricity), who find it both logistically difficult and costly to install the credit-card machines necessary to accept the new electronic benefits. The start-up costs for wireless SNAP/EBT terminals can be prohibitively high – at \$1,000-\$1,500 per terminal.

As a result of these obstacles, many farmers' markets have been slow to make the shift. In a 2006 study, only 7% of U.S. farmers' markets reported accepting EBT cards (Briggs et al., 2010; D. Conner et al., 2010; Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

With government funding now set aside to remedy the cost issue, the number of markets with terminals is on the rise.(Bertmann, Ohri-Vachaspati, Buman, & Wharton, 2012; Briggs et al., 2010; Ragland & Tropp, 2009) However, even when markets are able to purchase the terminals, customers may not realize that the option is available (Colasanti et al., 2010; Flamm, 2011).

Even in markets that do participate in SNAP/EBT and FMNP, restrictions regarding who can participate in federal benefits programs may lead to many fringe households falling just outside the guidelines. For these groups, ineligibility for the subsidies may push farmers' market and other local food prices outside of their means (Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002; Tessman & Fisher, 2009). Furthermore, while SNAP benefits can be substantial, the value of FMNP coupons is very low - ranging from a total of \$10 to \$30 per recipient per year (Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; Tessman & Fisher, 2009).

Despite the advances in government subsidies for low-income farmers' market participants, price remains a barrier. While some are willing to pay more in order to support local farms and the local economy, (Adams & Adams, 2011; Webber & Dollahite, 2008) many find that farmers' market prices are overly expensive. (Colasanti et al., 2010; Flamm, 2011; Grace et al., 2007; Kunkel et al., 2003; Racine et al., 2010; Ruelas et al., 2011; Webber & Dollahite, 2008) As one consumer put it: "farmers markets are for rich people." (Grace et al., 2007) The extent to which farmers' markets can

provide a viable solution for those seeking to eat healthy in urban food deserts will rely heavily on their ability to increase affordability for underprivileged customers – particularly those who do not meet the criteria to receive federal benefits (Chaufan, Davis, & Constantino, 2011). While some markets have been established with an explicit mission to provide local food to low-income customers, price reductions often come with their own cost – one often borne by the farmers. (Alkon, 2008b) Currently, most farmers and managers earn low-incomes themselves and “are not in the position to pick up the difference” (Allen et al., 2006, p. 7). In this regard, the goals of farmers’ market producers and consumers are at odds. Therefore, while reducing the prices at farmers’ markets seems an obvious solution to the potential problem of affordability, a sustainable, long-term solution regarding to who could step in to subsidize this price difference is less clear. This sort of endeavor may be difficult to achieve without reducing fair wages for farmers and managers. More research is necessary to determine the actual cost differential between locally grown and mainstream products, and to understand what types of interventions might be employed to reduce prices for consumers without sacrificing farm and market profitability.

Physical Accessibility & Convenience

The affordability of farmers’ market food is not enough to ensure participation. The market must also be *physically accessible and convenient*. Unlike many supermarkets, farmers’ markets have limited locations, are open for limited hours and/or limited seasons, and do not offer one-stop shopping. As a result, the inconvenience of farmers’ markets is often cited as key barriers for consumers (J. K. Bond et al., 2009;

Briggs et al., 2010; Dollahite et al., 2005; Eastwood, 1996; Grace et al., 2007; Hunt, 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; Racine et al., 2010; Wolf et al., 2005). While studies indicate that white and wealthy customers may travel an average of 4-17 miles to farmers markets, (Arrington, Dennis, & Mazzocco, 2010; D. Baker, Hamshaw, & Kolodinsky, 2009; Hunt, 2007; O. Onianwa et al., 2006; Varner & Otto, 2007) low income and minority customers are mostly drawn from the community in which the farmers' market is located. (Grace et al., 2007; Ruelas et al., 2011; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2006) Lack of a nearby market (notably, lack of a market that accepts federal benefits such as SNAP/EBT or FMNP) is one of the key reasons that low-income and minority customers don't shop at farmers' markets (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Jilcott, Hurwitz, Moore, & Blake, 2010; Joy et al., 2001; Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; Racine et al., 2010). Therefore, where a market is located can significantly influence its capacity to meet the needs of typically underserved populations. Long distances and other logistical challenges can prove particularly burdensome for seniors, parents, low-income consumers, those who lack adequate private or public transport to the market, (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Jilcott et al., 2010; Joy et al., 2001; Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; Racine et al., 2010) or work long/odd hours.

Even those with vehicles are frustrated when markets are located in highly congested areas, (Colasanti et al., 2010) or too far from grocery stores, (Colasanti et al., 2010) thereby requiring an extra shopping trip. Hours of operation can be difficult for those with restricted schedules. Many express a need for markets open more frequently than once a week, (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Joy et al., 2001) on days besides Saturday, (Colasanti et al., 2010; Inda et al., 2011) and with longer opening

hours. (Colasanti et al., 2010; Jilcott et al., 2010; Joy et al., 2001; Leone et al., 2012; Webber & Dollahite, 2008) Those who do attend the market can feel as if they're sacrificing too much time when navigating the farmers' market crowds to find staple item, only to end up needing to visit other stores to purchase the remainder of their weekly groceries when not everything is available at the market (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007). With limited hours in the day, many decide that the one-stop-shopping experience is preferable to participation in farmers' markets = which are ultimately not worth the time investment (Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Dollahite et al., 2005; Grace et al., 2007).

Cultural Acceptability

Physical access to affordable food is not always sufficient to encourage participation in farmers' markets. The market must also be *culturally acceptable* in terms of the types of food available, the languages spoken, and the overall atmosphere (Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Slocum, 2007). Food has deep ties to social identity. What we choose to eat, where we obtain it, and how we cook it are at once closely intimate and highly public expressions of our cultural identity (Slocum, 2010). There are certain products to which people are accustomed, which they find acceptable, which they *need*. When these are unavailable at farmers' markets, they are likely to turn elsewhere.

Lack of selection at farmers' markets can be a substantial obstacle for low income and minority farmers' market customers. Particularly, they want to see more fruit, (Freedman et al., 2011; Grace et al., 2007; Ruelas et al., 2011; L. T. Smith, Johnson,

Beaudoin, Monsen, & LoGerfo, 2004) sweet corn, (Freedman et al., 2011; Grace et al., 2007) ethnic produce, (Colasanti et al., 2010; Ruelas et al., 2011; Slocum, 2007) canned/frozen vegetables, bulk, high-calorie, long-shelf life items, (Grace et al., 2007) and non-food items such as cleaning supplies and toys, (Ruelas et al., 2011) all of which make the market more of a one-stop shopping experience. Unfortunately, these items are typically only available seasonally or non-locally. Feeling forced to shop seasonally, (Grace et al., 2007) and finding the quality of available products diminishing over the course of the market-day (Colasanti et al., 2010) are other sources of frustration – highlighting the importance of a broad, stable selection of product offerings.

What makes food “good food” varies from subculture to subculture. The culture with which we identify can play a key role in shaping what we perceive to be acceptable foods and acceptable locations to purchase those foods (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Devine et al., 1998; Fischler, 1988; Fournier, 1998; Luomala, Laaksonen, & Leipamaa, 2004) While very little farmers’ market literature explores this phenomenon, a few studies highlight key characteristics and qualities that are important to those of certain ethnic minority cultures. Organic and hormone-free products, (Alkon, 2008a, 2008b; Colasanti et al., 2010; D. Conner et al., 2010; Park et al., 2011) herbs with roots intact, non-leathery, “non-hippie” spinach, and chicken with chewable bones are desirable to consumers and chefs from various Hispanic and Asian backgrounds. However, because these items are not frequently demanded by white clientele, they are not often available at farmers’ markets. In this way, the whiteness of farmers’ markets manifests itself in the very way products are grown, harvested and displayed (Slocum, 2007).

While farmers' markets are often thought of as vibrant community gathering places, their atmosphere does not feel welcoming to everyone. The fact is that farmers' markets remain primarily white spaces. White voices dominate the local food discourse, and shape farmers' market institutions – formally and informally establishing the structure, function, values, and cultural undertones of farmers' markets. (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Allen, 2010; Slocum, 2007) While exclusion of non-white bodies is certainly not the intent – the effect is often the same. The dominating presence of white persons at farmers' markets can be a substantial barrier to non-whites. Markets coded as white spaces are racialized spaces. Slocum (2007) explains the whiteness of farmers' markets in this way:

Here, whites come together, stick together and then become impenetrable to others despite their desire to be otherwise....The capacity to shop in alternative food tends to be an economically and culturally middle class thing to do. (Slocum, 2007, p. 527)

The issue of whiteness is made more complicated by the fact that to be white has become associated with economic privilege. In markets where white bodies cluster, this can inadvertently set off a signal of “high prices” – despite the fact that the prices may in fact be lower. In this manner, the true cost of food items becomes obscured by whiteness – reverting to knowledge only accessible to certain classes and races. (Slocum, 2007) This phenomenon is seen not only in farmers' market research, but in mainstream food-shopping studies as well. (Ayala, Mueller, Lopez-Madurga, Campbell, & Elder, 2005)

Ethnic and cultural barriers to shopping at farmers' markets also come in less subtle forms. Consumers from minority cultures sometimes describe feeling judged by

vendors and other customers, (Colasanti et al., 2010; Slocum, 2008) encountering problematic language barriers, (Chaufan et al., 2011; Grace et al., 2007; Slocum, 2007) and feeling disrespected by the sloppy appearance of farmers' markets and their vendors (Colasanti et al., 2010). Vendors in one study were noted to complain about and point at customers of color (Slocum, 2008). In another study, a focus group found that Latina customers felt watched, judged, and discriminated against by the vendors (Colasanti et al., 2010). Research on farmers markets in the San Francisco area revealed that without careful planning, subsidies, and the acceptance of the community, efforts to move farmers' markets into low income areas often failed. Successful farmers' markets were those that incorporated community involvement from the outset, sold ethnically appropriate produce, relied on local, bi-lingual, community members as staff-persons, and allowed street vendors to sell nearby - embedding the market in the local culture (Fisher, 1999).

Utilization

Physical access to affordable, culturally acceptable food may not lead to participation in farmers' markets if one is unable to adequately *utilize* the products purchased there. Lack of proper appliances or time to cook food are frequently cited as reasons for avoidance of local foods and fruits and vegetables in general (Daborn et al., 2005; Devine et al., 1998; Eastwood, 1996; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; B. L. Oberholtzer, 2004; Wolf et al., 2005). Fresh food items can be problematic to store and prepare – especially for those without refrigeration, (Herman, Harrison, & Jenks, 2006) or who dislike refrigeration (Park et al., 2011). For these

groups, the once-a-week model of many farmers' markets means that meat, dairy and produce could spoil before it's used (Grace et al., 2007; Herman et al., 2006; Park et al., 2011). For this reason, some prefer their vegetables to be canned or frozen (Grace et al., 2007). Furthermore, preparing fresh produce can be a barrier to those who lack the know-how or physical ability (Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; L. T. Smith et al., 2004). For others, the cooking process is overly time-consuming – a barrier particularly troublesome for those with children, working multiple jobs, in school, or otherwise strapped for time (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007). The unfamiliarity of certain types of produce and lack of knowledge about how to cook them may be exciting for some consumers, while others recoil at the thought of cooking foreign items (Grace et al., 2007; Kunkel et al., 2003; Slocum, 2008; L. T. Smith et al., 2004). These customers may prefer familiar food experiences to the 'exotic unknown' that farmers' markets sometimes offer.

Stability

Lack of capacity for farmers' markets to provide a *stable source* of affordable, physically accessible, culturally acceptable food may also prove a significant barrier to consumers. Farmer's markets and the local produce they carry are inherently seasonal. The quantity and variety of products that they carry may vary from week to week and month to month. Many markets are not open year-round. Lack of a consistent year-round supply of the food that they desire may be enough to deter an individual or household from shopping at a farmers' market. With the prevalence of extended food storage and globally traded items in supermarkets, many in the U.S. are used to food being available

year-round – even when it is not in season locally (Briggs et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Wolf et al., 2005). The variety and quality of food available at markets may also diminish as the market day progresses and producers sell out. This significantly narrows the timeframe in which it is desirable to shop at the farmers’ market (Colasanti et al., 2010).

Financial Success

In order to meet the needs of their customers, farmers’ markets must first be successful financially. Unfortunately, despite their best efforts, many farmers’ markets fail. Farmers’ market success or failure and the factors which may contribute to that success or failure is a topic not often addressed in the literature. Those that have studied the phenomenon define successful farmers’ markets as those which have high rates of vendor and customer participation, have a high volume of market sales, are financially self-supporting, and persist over the long term (Hofmann, Dennis, & Marshall, 2009; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Stephenson, Lev, & Brewer, 2008). The studies suggest a number of characteristics potentially related to farmers’ market success – such as: markets located in wealthy areas, paid market managers and staff, vendor stall fees, cooking demonstrations and other amenities, community events, participation in federal benefits programs, markets which ban re-sellers, locally-produced and organic markets, weekend markets, and markets open more than seven months of the year (Barney & Worth Inc, 2008; Hofmann et al., 2009; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Rimal, Onyango, & Bailey, 2010; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Stephenson et al., 2008; Varner & Otto, 2007). However, as this body of literature is relatively sparse, there is very little agreement as to the extent to which these design characteristics are

broadly associated with farmers' market success or failure. To this end, I seek to examine many of these characteristics as they apply to the relative financial success of the six case markets researched for the current study.

Drawing on previous studies, in the current study, I define farmers' market financial success in a broad sense, using a combination of indicators: market sales, vendor and customer attendance, market longevity, and self-sustaining capacity. It is important to understand, however, that farmers' market success on a broad, market-level scale, does not necessarily equate to success for each of the market's vendors. Like certain subsets of consumers, some farmers may also experience barriers to participation in farmers' markets.

Farmer Participation

While less well studied than consumer barriers, some producer barriers to farmers' market participation have also been documented. As a result of these barriers, only 6.2% of farms in the U.S. participate in any form of direct-marketing, such as farmers' markets (Heimlich & Anderson, 2001; Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Farmers' markets primarily attract small-scale, white, highly educated produce farmers from a narrow geographic region (Govindasamy et al., 2003; Grace et al., 2007; Hunt, 2007; Ragland & Tropp, 2009). According to a 2007 survey of U.S. farmers' market managers, however, approximately 11% of farmers' market vendors are non-white – substantially more diverse than the 4.8% of U.S. farmers who self-identify as ethnic minorities (Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Most farmers' market vendors are produce farmers. According to a 2006 nationwide survey of market managers, 45% of vendors sell fresh produce, 15% sell herbs and flowers, 9% sell honey, nuts and/or jams, 9% sell baked goods, and 8% sell crafts while others sell meat, dairy, prepared foods, and other products (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Producers who emphasize farm performance and efficiency, (J. L. Sage & Goldberger, 2012) or who are not organic farmers (J. L. Sage & Goldberger, 2012) may be less likely to participate in farmers' markets.

In order to adopt a particular marketing strategy such as participating in farmers' markets – the strategy must help the farm achieve a sustainable livelihood. If a producer perceives a lack of capacity to maintain a sustainable livelihood by participating full time or part time in a farmers' market, that producer may not participate. According to Scoones (1998), in order to assess a sustainable livelihood, one needs to understand the broader context in which these decisions are embedded. The economic, political, and socio-cultural context will play into the decision to pursue a given production or marketing strategy, ideally with beneficial outcomes in terms of working days, poverty reduction, household well-being, household resilience, and a sustainable natural resource base. Regarding farmers' markets, producers express a number of barriers related to these factors. While several types of barriers have been expressed by producers, dominating all others are those related to economics.

Economic Barriers

Producers often describe economic challenges as barriers to their participation at farmers' markets. Farmers' markets can provide an outlet for adaptive farms, but only if

the market is able to maintain sufficient profitability. In recent years, farmers' markets across the U.S. have been highly successful. The number of farmers' markets in the U.S. nearly tripled between 1994 and 2006 – rising from 1,755 to 4,385 markets (Hardesty, 2008; Tropp, 2008). Farmers' market sales are also increasing and in 2005, market sales reached \$1 billion (C. Brown & Miller, 2008; Tropp, 2008). However, individual vendors selling at farmers' markets typically earn limited annual sales from the market.

Approximately 71% of vendors at U.S. farmers' markets and 80% of vendors at Rocky Mountain region markets earn \$5000 or less annually from farmers' market sales (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). In several studies, unsatisfactory profit was found to be one of the key barriers to ongoing vendor participation in farmers' markets (Alkon, 2008a; Gregoire et al., 2005; Jarosz, 2008; Kambara & Shelley, 2002). Some describe earning such meager profits that they themselves cannot afford to buy their own products (Jarosz, 2008). Unsatisfactory profits at farmers' markets may result from a number of factors, including competition, low customer volume, and miscellaneous costs and fees associated with farmers' market participation (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003).

Stall fees, and insurance requirements can prove to be significant and increasing barriers for farmers wishing to sell at farmers' markets (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Jarosz, 2008; M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010; Trauger et al., 2010). Likewise, the indirect cost of travelling to an urban center to sell at a farmers' market may significantly diminish the economic viability of this marketing model for producers. In one case study, producers travelled over 200 miles to Seattle in order to sell their products – at substantial reductions in overall profit (Jarosz, 2008).

In New York study, producers found that participating in a farmers' market required 30-37% of the farm's weekly labor, but only resulted in 28-30% of its sales. (M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010) The heavy workload can be especially problematic for small-scale farms for whom affording additional labor is a challenge (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Jarosz, 2008; M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010). In addition to barriers of time, fees, and travel costs, farmers' markets producers often discuss competition from supermarkets and grocery stores as a barrier to a successful market. With food sourced globally from large-scale farms, the prices, comfort and convenience of large supermarkets can prove to deter customers from participating in farmers' markets, resulting in lower profits for farmers' market producers (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Jarosz, 2008).

Small-scale producers frequently describe unfair internal farmers' market competition from large-scale vendors and/or "box farmers" who re-sell produce from other farms or warehouses as a major barrier to their profitability and participation. These large vendors have the volume and variety to sell large quantities of produce at low prices, and as a result are able to undercut many of the smaller scale producers. Small producers take pride in their self-grown, local produce, and resent the presence of resellers, whom they see as "lying" and "selling garbage" (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). To address this problem, some farmers' markets institute policies to ban non-local or re-selling vendors, or eliminate competitive pricing, and instead establish cooperative pricing mechanisms in which the price for products is standardized across the market (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Smithers et al., 2008; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004). As a result, large-

scale and re-sale vendors may find some types of farmers markets to be unprofitable, while small-scale producers will likely encounter problems in different types of markets.

Low customer volume and loyalty also contributes to lack of profitability at some markets (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Jarosz, 2008). The difficulty which many markets face is balancing the needs of farmers with those of consumers. Farmers' market producers and consumers have very different, and seemingly competing agendas – producers desire high profits and low labor inputs, while consumers prefer affordable prices and pre-processed foods to encourage their participation (Allen et al., 2006; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Guthman et al., 2006; Kirwan, 2006). Some anecdotal evidence suggests that the very re-sellers which many small-producers so vilify actually help bring down the costs and increase the diversity of products available at the market – attracting a broader customer base, and therefore increasing profitability for all farmers' market vendors (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). Many markets struggle with the balancing act required to maintain farmer profitability while catering to consumer needs, and have led some to question the capacity for a given farmers' market to meet the needs of *both* farm and food security (Allen et al., 2006; Guthman et al., 2006).

Physical, Psychological, and Social Barriers

The amount of time and labor that must be expended on a small-scale farm and at the farmers' market can be daunting for many producers (Jarosz, 2008; Kambara & Shelley, 2002). Farmers' market “burnout” is a common phenomenon amongst farmers' market producers, (Jarosz, 2008) especially in markets which require the farm owner themselves to be present at the market stall. (L. Oberholtzer & Grow, 2003). Due to the additional labor required to prep for and sell at the market, lack of affordable labor can

prove another barrier to participation in direct markets such as farmers' markets (Kambara & Shelley, 2002). There is some indication that inadequate social relationships may also prove a barrier to producers. While farmers' markets seemingly offer opportunities for face-to-face relationship building between producers and consumers, some producers describe the quality of these interactions as poor - that customers seem to be disengaged from conversations with producers (Smithers et al., 2008).

THE GOVERNANCE OF FARMERS' MARKETS

Many of the barriers discouraging producers and consumers from participating in farmers' markets may be heavily influenced by the underlying governance of the market. While very little research explicitly explores farmers' market institutions, and much of this is non-academic in nature (Bachmann, 2008; DuPuis, 2006; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004), the broader body of literature on farmers markets provides some insights to the rules and norms which may govern and guide these markets (Alkon, 2008a; Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). In examining the literature, several categories of farmers' market institutions emerge:

1. Management
2. Site Criteria
3. Operational Rules
4. Pricing Rules
5. Vendor Rules
6. Community Institutions

Farmers' markets are formed for a variety of reasons, and are typically established by a non-profit or governmental organization. The overarching mission of a given market will vary from market to market. Many seek to provide a sustainable and profitable outlet for farmers in the region. Others wish to revitalize urban cores or build community. Still others are explicitly created to increase the availability and accessibility of fresh food for low-income populations. While these goals are not necessarily mutually exclusive, there is some indication that the institutions created to achieve one goal may make it difficult to achieve another. Seeking to maximize farmer profitability, for example, may directly conflict with maintaining reasonable prices for low-income consumers (Hamilton, 2002).

Certain types of vendors and consumers may be intentionally or unintentionally excluded from participation in the market through the institutions which govern it. In this study, the term "institutions" employs Ostrom's (2005) definition – institutions are the *formal rules* and *informal social norms* which govern social-ecological systems.

Very little research explicitly explores the way farmers' markets govern themselves and the rules and norms they establish to do so, and virtually none of this specifically seeks to understand institutional factors which may influence farmers' market financial success, while impacting vendor and customer participation in farmers' markets. However, broader institutions literature which explores user exclusion in common-pool resource systems can provide some insight. This body of research suggests that resource users may be excluded in order to preserve the essential character of the industry (Eggerston, 2003), minimize potential for overuse of the resource (Ostrom, Gardner, & Walker, 1994) and to maximize profits or other benefits for approved users. This can

result in the exclusion of users if they don't meet certain demographic, skill or knowledge requirements (Lee & Webster, 2006; Ostrom, 2005), or if their actions/practices do not meet certain criteria (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002). It is important to note that while some forms of exclusion are intentional (or what Sen, 2000 refers to as "active" exclusion), many may be unintentional (passive), and will indirectly discourage participation. With these ideas in mind, we now turn to an exploration of farmers' market rules and norms. While food is considered a market commodity and not a common-pool resource, one could conceive of the farmers' market itself as a commons. Regardless of how farmers' markets are conceptualized - commons or no - the key message remains the same: farmers' markets, like many other urban commons, are not open-access. Certain types of vendors and consumers may be intentionally or unintentionally excluded from participation through the market's rules and norms. Tables 1-3 provide an overview of some of the common farmers' market rules that, in theory, may (a) lead to increased financial success, (b) encourage the higher vendor participation, and (c) higher participation of low income and minority consumers, as well as some of the rules that may (d) have conflicting outcomes, and/or exclude certain populations.

Table 1*Institutional Design Characteristics of Financially Successful Markets*

	Design Characteristic	Source	
Management	Clear Mission/Vision	Barney, 2008	
	Financial/Future Plan	Barney, 2008	
	Full Time Managers	Schmit & Gómez, 2011	
	Paid Managers	Barney, 2008; Stephenson, 2008; Ragland & Tropp, 2009	
	Long-term/Consistent Managers	Barney, 2008; Stephenson, 2008	
	Regular Manager Presence On-Site	Rimal et al., 2010	
	Paid Staff	Barney, 2008	
Site Criteria	High Visibility	Barney, 2008; Rimal, 2010	
	Dense, urban population	Varner & Otto, 2007	
	High Socio-economic population	Varner, 2007	
	Distant from other markets	Varner, 2007	
	Local Pop. Highly Educated	Varner, 2007*	
Operational Rules	Dedicated parking available	Rimal et al., 2010	
	Amenities (e.g. Restrooms)	Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Rimal, 2010*	
	Incubator Programs: Co-op Table, Farm, Kitchen	PPS, 2003a	
	Concessions	Hoffman, 2008; Barney, 2008*	
	Open 7 or more months	Barney, 2008; Ragland & Tropp, 2009	
	Weekend vs. weekday	Varner, 2007*	
	Federal Benefit Programs: FMNP, SNAP, CVV	Hoffman, 2008; PPS, 2003a, 2003b	
Pricing Rules	Cooperative Pricing Norm	Rimal et al., 2010	
	Vendor Membership Fees	Hoffman, 2008	
Vendor Rules	Low Startup Fees	PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b	
	Locally Produced Emphasis	Barney, 2008; PPS, 2003a	
	Reseller Ban	PPS, 2003a; Rimal et al., 2010	
	Fresh Produce Emphasis (few crafts, concessions)	Barney, 2008	
	Product Variety	Hoffman, 2008; Stephenson, 2008; Ragland & Tropp, 2009	
	Large Size / Many Vendors	Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Stephenson, 2008	
	Outreach to Immigrant farms	PPS, 2003a	
	Outreach to Urban Gardens	PPS, 2003a	
	Community Institutions	Cooking Demos	Hoffman, 2008
		Events	Barney, 2008
Vibrant Public Space		Barney, 2008	
Clear market identity (eg. ethnic)		PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b	
Partnerships with the City		Barney, 2008	
Partnerships with other orgs		Barney, 2008	
Drawing consumers from large radius		PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b	
* indicates a mixed result			

Table 2

Institutional Design Characteristics of Highly Participatory Markets

	Design Characteristic	Food Security Factor	Source
Management	Bilingual staff	All	Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Grace, 2007; Slocum, 2007
	Community-based staff	All	Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010
	Paid subsidized staff	All	Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a
	Nonprofit or Government	All	Allen, 2006
Site Criteria	Few Grocery Stores (Need for market)	Access	Briggs, 2010; Larsen & Gililand; PPS, 2003a
	Food Insecure Region	Access	PPS, 2003a
	Fringe Market - (near Higher Income)	Access / Affordability	Fisher, 1999
	Proximity/Walkability	Access	Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007; PPS, 2003b; Racine, 2010; Fisher, 1999
	Public Transit Access	Access	Briggs, 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace, 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b
	Visible & High Traffic	Access	Colasanti et al., 2010; PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b
Operational Rules	Long hours of operation	Access	Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007; Tessman, 2009
	In sync with Fed Benefit Cycles	Stability	Briggs, 2010
	Year-Round Market	Stability	Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007
	Parking Available	Access	PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b
Pricing Rules	Low Prices	Affordability	Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007; Larsen, 2009; Oberholtzer, 2004; PPS 2003a; Seyfang, 2008; Stagl, 2002; Stephenson, 2004; Zepeda, 2008
	Perception of low prices	Affordability	Briggs, 2010; Grace, 2007; Zepeda, 2009
	Consumer Discounts, coupons	Affordability	Grace, 2007
	SNAP / EBT acceptance	Affordability	Allen, 2006; Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007; Kantor, 2001; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a; Ragland, 2009
	CVV acceptance	Affordability	Dollahite, 2005; Tessman, 2009
	FMNP acceptance	Affordability	Allen, 2006; Briggs, 2010; Fisher, 1999; Dollahite, 2005; Grace, 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS 2003a; Tessman & Fisher, 2009
	Resellers permitted	Affordability	PPS, 2003a
	Competitive Pricing	Affordability	Bachmann, 2008; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004
	Benefit matching programs	Affordability	Briggs, 2010; IRC, 2006; Schumacher, Winch, & Park, 2009
	Partnership w/ Profitable market	Affordability	Fisher, 1999
	Cost sharing w/partners	Affordability	PPS, 2003a
	Draw wealthier customers from large radius	Affordability	PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b
	Grants/subsidies for EBT Equipment & Training	Affordability	Briggs, 2010; Kim, 2009; Markowitz, 2010; Tessman, 2009; Schumacher, Winch, & Park, 2009

Vendor Rules	End of day Buyout Agreement	Affordability	Gillespie, Hilchey, Hinrichs, & Feenstra, 2007; Markowitz, 2010
	Low Rent	Affordability	Fisher, 1999
	Subsidized Staff	Affordability	Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a
	Volunteer base	Affordability	PPS, 2003a
	Culturally Sensitive / Bilingual	Cultural Acceptability	Colasanti et al., 2010; Slocum, 2007
	Basic, Low Cost Products - for example, non-organic	Affordability	Fisher, 1999; Grace, 2007
	Ethnic Foods	Cultural Acceptability	PPS, 2003a; Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Slocum, 2007; Slocum, 2009
	Ready-to-eat products	Affordability	Grace, 2007
	Variety for One-Stop Shopping	Accessibility, Utility	Briggs, 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace, 2007; Slocum, 2007
	Large market, many vendors	Accessibility, Utility	Allen, 2006
Community Institutions	Ethnic Vendor Representation	Cultural Acceptability	PPS, 2003a; Fisher, 1999; PPS, 2003a; Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Slocum, 2007; Slocum, 2009
	Awareness of available benefits	Affordability	Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007
	Cooking Demos	Utility	PPS, 2003a
	General Outreach / Advertising via community	Cultural Acceptability	Fisher, 1999; Racine, 2010
	Info Table - Nutrition, Recipes	Utility	PPS, 2003a
	Nutrition Ed Prog - on & offsite	Utility	PPS, 2003a; Briggs, 2010
	Youth programs	Cultural Acceptability	Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a
	Events (eg. music, kids activities, gathering space)	Cultural Acceptability	Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a
	Public Gathering Place	Cultural Acceptability	PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b
	Social Atmosphere	Cultural Acceptability	Grace, 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a; PPS, 2003b; Slocum, 2009
	City partnerships	Cultural Acceptability	Fisher, 1999; Markowitz, 2010
	Community org partners	Cultural Acceptability	PPS, 2003a; Briggs, 2010; Dollahite, 2007
	Sponsor orgs	Affordability / Cultural Acceptability	PPS, 2003a

Table 3*Conflicting Institutional Design Characteristics*

	Financial Success Characteristic	vs.	Participatory Success Characteristic	Sources
Governance	Paid Staff		Volunteer Staff	Barney, 2008; PPS, 2003a
Site Criteria	High socio-economic region		Food insecure region	Varner, 2007; PPS, 2003a; Fisher, 1999
Pricing Rules				Rimal, 2008; Fisher, 1999; Briggs, 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace, 2007; Larsen, 2009; Oberholtzer, 2004; PPS 2003a; Seyfang, 2008; Stagl, 2002; Stephenson, 2004; Zepeda, 2008
	Profit Maximization		Lower prices	Rimal, 2008; Bachmann, 2008; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004
	Cooperative pricing		Competitive pricing	Rimal, 2010; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Fisher, 1999; PPS, 2003a; Slocum, 2008
Vendor Rules	Reseller bans		Resellers permitted	Barney, 2008; PPS, 2003a; Grace, 2007; Rimal, 2010
	Local-only restrictions		Variety & low prices	

In the sections that follow, the institutional design characteristics listed in the tables above are examined in more detail. I draw upon a broader body of farmers' market literature, and examine it through a lens that seeks to uncover potential mechanisms for consumer and producer inclusion and/or exclusion.

Management

In this study, I use the term 'governance' to describe the overarching decision-making and management process and structure of the market. This includes what types of roles the various stakeholders in the market may play (for example, customer, vendor, market manager, staff, market board member, sponsor or other decision-maker), who has a voice in the decision-making process, and how much influence the various participants have (Bachmann, 2008; Hamilton, 2002; Speier & Krueger, 2006).

Research in non-profit management indicates that maintaining a diverse and democratic nonprofit board that is representative of the stakeholders involved in and served by the non-profit will help increase the overall effectiveness of the organization (W. A. Brown, 2002; Fischer, 2006; K. LeRoux, 2009). Who is involved in the rule-making process influences the types of rules that are generated, the extent to which the rules embody the original mission of the organization, power relationships, as well as the perceived legitimacy of the rules (DuPuis, 2006; Ostrower & Stone, 2006; Risse, 2006).

While many argue that alternative food systems such as farmers' markets are inherently more democratically-inclined or "civic" (DuPuis, 2006) there are still power relationships that come into play when a limited group of stakeholders are the ones making the rules, and certain markets may be more or less democratically inclined. Formal farmers' market governance typically employs a structure in which a market manager and/or a vendor-operated board of directors determines and enforces the formal rules which govern the market staff and vendors. However; the presence, structure, level of democracy, and selection process of advisory boards or committees varies from market to market (Alkon, 2008a; Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; DuPuis, 2006; Hamilton, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Tiemann, 2004). An "advisory board" or "Board of Directors" often guides the establishment and level of enforcement utilized for farmers' market rules. This board typically consists of select vendors, the market manager and/or representatives from government or community organizations (Hamilton, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009). However, the day-to-day operations of the market are usually seen to be by a market manager, whose duties may include collecting fees, responding to questions or complaints by the vendors or consumers, enforcing market regulations, and other

administrative tasks. The level of autonomy and influence which the market manager has in regards to market governance and rule enforcement can vary widely.

In a 2006 survey of farmers' markets across the U.S., it was determined that farmers' market rules and bylaws were most frequently created by a market manager (37%), a vendor-operated board of directors (32%), city, county or municipal government (21%), a non-profit/community organization (19%), or state government (14%) (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). While not explicitly examined in the aforementioned study, broader literature on governance suggests that who is invited to participate in the rule-making and enforcement process, and the level of democracy that occurs within the governing body may have significant influence over the types of rules that are created, and the level of exclusion resulting from these rules. The extent to which exclusion specifically relates to the structure and level of democracy of farmers' market boards is not well studied. Governance approaches vary widely from market to market (Alkon, 2008a; Hamilton, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Tiemann, 2004), and few studies that explore market governance also explore issues of participation and exclusion.

Site Criteria

Site criteria refer to the characteristics of the site chosen by market management when the market is established. These may include attributes such as neighborhood demographics, crime and safety, centrality and visibility of the location, parking availability, proximity to other food outlets, proximity to public transportation, and the overall attractiveness of the site and its facilities. The site in which a market is located may have a significant impact on its accessibility and utility to vendors and consumers. A

highly visible location near a neighborhood of high socio-economic status can increase a market's attractiveness to vendors. Meanwhile, markets located in close proximity to a low-income neighborhood, in an area of low crime and high access to public transit may be more successful at meeting the needs of low income residents. While site criteria are somewhat difficult to manipulate once the market is established, others may later be altered through the implementation of programs and partnerships to enhance the vitality and attractiveness of the location. For example, pre-established markets can increase their accessibility by petitioning for additional public transit options (PPS, 2003a).

Operational Institutions

Operational institutions define the day-to-day operations and amenities of the market; its hours of operation, guidelines for set-up and clean-up, market layout and parking, rules regarding signage and labeling, smoking, food safety and handling, and the availability of amenities such as bathrooms, electricity and free parking (Hamilton, 2002; PPS, 2003a). The nature of the operational rules and their enforcement can make a given market more or less attractive or accessible to certain populations, particularly in regards to hours of operation. For example, many markets restrict themselves seasonally - only 12% of U.S. farmers' markets are open year-round (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). These rules may make it difficult for consumers to regularly visit the market during their typically limited hours of operation (Grace et al., 2007).

Pricing and Payoff Institutions

Pricing and payoff institutions define how a given market chooses to structure its economic interactions. This includes compensation structures for market managers, the process for setting product prices, vendor fees, and the types of subsidies made available for certain customers.

There is some evidence that markets which have a paid market manager are more likely to be successful. However, this is somewhat a chicken-or-the-egg issue. Relatively few farmers' markets offer paid positions to their market managers and staff. Across the U.S. only about 39% of farmers' markets had paid managers, and just 22% had paid staff members. In the Rocky Mountain region, these numbers are slightly higher: 47% and 25%, respectively (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Markets that hired paid managers had approximately 5 times higher monthly and annual sales, and farmers may wish to participate in markets with higher sales. It is difficult to determine from these statistics, however, whether the managers began to be paid as a result of the sales, or if the hiring of a manager up-front results in increased profitability.

In terms of product pricing, some markets use *competitive pricing* – that is market management encourages farmers to set their own prices – effectively setting up a market in which farmers may compete for customers by lowering their prices. Obviously, this can make prices more attractive to consumers (Grace et al., 2007). However, while this can be effective in lowering costs for consumers, it may result in a significant tradeoff for farmers. This type of scheme may advantage large scale farms who are able to produce at

economies of scale, and effectively undercut small farms while maintaining profitability. There is some evidence that small scale farms (which have higher input costs) may find it difficult to maintain profitability under competition-based pricing schemes (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003). In light of this, many markets will (whether formally or informally) employ *cooperative pricing*. Under this scenario, farmers are encouraged to jointly discuss and set prices for their goods that are consistent market-wide. While this results in a market structure where prices are relatively equal across vendors, the prices are often artificially high. Therefore, ultimately this strategy may result in prices that favor farmers, but discourage low-income consumers from participating (Bachmann, 2008; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Rimal et al., 2010; Tiemann, 2004). In addition to different pricing structures, farmers' markets may choose to participate in a number of federal benefit programs which offer food subsidies to low-income consumers. However, due in part to the fact that start-up costs (both financial and in terms of personnel training) required for some of these programs are high, not all farmers' markets participate in these programs. Furthermore, due to lack of knowledge, lack of convenience, social stigma, and other factors these are often underutilized by consumers as well (Briggs et al., 2010; Markowitz, 2010; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Tessman & Fisher, 2009).

Vendor Institutions

In this study, vendor institutions refer to the rules and norms that establish who can become a farmers' market vendor, what products they may sell, and what they must or must not do as a vendor. In order to establish a market emphasizing fresh, local produce, many markets choose to restrict the types of vendors and products allowed.

These rules may include reselling bans, local-only restrictions, organic-only restrictions, insurance and permitting requirements, and limits on non produce-vendors (Hamilton, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Many farmers' market rules directly restrict the types of vendors or products that can be sold in order to maintain a desired market that emphasizes local produce sold directly from farmer to consumer. One of the most common is a re-seller ban. Inter-vendor competition can be particularly fierce in markets which allow re-sellers - farmers' market vendors who re-sell boxes of produce bought at warehouses (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). Known variously (and derogatorily) as 'box-farmers,' or 'banana-sellers' (Slocum, 2008) these vendors may significantly impact the market's profitability and the profitability of the other vendors. Local, small-scale farmers are often unable to compete with the low prices and wide variety which box farmers can offer. Many producers view re-sellers as con-artists who steal their business and sell customers substandard products.(Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Slocum, 2008; Smithers & Joseph, 2010; Smithers et al., 2008) In response, many market managers opt to become a grower-only market by banning re-selling, or severely restricting the amount of product that may be resold. (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Duram & Oberholtzer, 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; L. Oberholtzer & Grow, 2003; Oths & Groves, 2012; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Smithers et al., 2008; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004) According to a 2006 survey of market managers, reselling restrictions are in place in 63% percent of farmers markets across the U.S. (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Smithers et al., 2008; Speier &

Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004). However, like many rules, re-selling bans can prove difficult to enforce. Furthermore, there is an increasing body of research that suggests re-sellers may also help sustain year-round markets in months when local fruits and vegetables are in short supply, and attract customers with the increased variety and product stability they offer (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers & Joseph, 2010; Smithers et al., 2008). This benefit can be a crucial one for markets needing otherwise unable to maintain a large enough customer base. When customer participation is low, vendor participation also drops, (Hofmann et al., 2009) and low-traffic, low-profit markets often result in high vendor turnover. (Alkon, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Inda et al., 2011) Therefore, while the concept of re-sellers vending non-local products might go against what many feel to be the key mission of farmers' markets – to provide an outlet for local food – there may be practical reasons necessitating incorporation of some re-selling into the market model.

However, other markets go the opposite direction, and impose even tighter restrictions on their vendors. Approximately 53% of U.S. farmers markets restrict the types of products that can be sold (Hamilton, 2002; Ragland & Tropp, 2009) and nearly 47% of farmers' markets restrict the geographic region from which their vendors may produce the products they sell (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; DuPuis, 2006; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004). Other rules may prohibit certain farming practices, such as non-organic farmers, or those that grow genetically modified foods (Alkon, 2008a; DuPuis, 2006).

These rules intentionally exclude certain types of vendors in order to achieve particular goals of the market, uphold core values, and/or cater to a particular clientele.

However, in addition to excluding vendors, these rules may also indirectly serve to exclude certain consumer populations as well. Prohibition of re-sellers, non-produce vendors, and non-local vendors may limit the variety of food available. When the resulting variety is too low, many consumers may be unable to justify the extra time and effort it will take to visit the market (Grace et al., 2007). Similarly, organic-only markets, or markets with very high quality standards may significantly impact the affordability of the markets for low-income consumers.

Other rules and restrictions may indirectly impact the extent of exclusion in farmers' markets. Some rules restrict the application process, including the times at which a vendor may join a market, and the processes that must be completed before acceptance (Tiemann, 2004). Limits may be set as to the min/max number of vendors allowed (Marr & Gast, 1995), and many markets require that vendors pay a fee to maintain membership (Govindasamy & Nayga, 1997; Hamilton, 2002; Hofmann, Dennis, & Marshall, 2008; Marr & Gast, 1995; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004). Some markets require vendors to join particular external organizations such as grower associations, or provide their own insurance (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Miller, 2005; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004). These types of rules may serve to dis-incentivize certain vendors from participating.

It is important to note that it is not just the presence of certain rules that can lead to exclusion of producers and consumers, but also the *absence* of particular rules. Consumers participate in farmers' markets not only for purely practical reasons, but also ideological ones. Markets which allow non-organic, non-local vendors or "box-farmers" who resell warehouse produce may be effectively driving away consumers who wish to

attend farmers' markets for the explicit, ethically-grounded purpose of purchasing organic or local products directly from the farmers who produced them. Likewise, lack of rules mandating that farmers participate in food subsidy programs such as the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP) may effectively exclude low-income consumers. Furthermore, the absence of rules of inclusion or direct attempts to integrate diversity into the market may lead to a farmers' market culture that is disconnected from the culture and values of certain vendor and consumer populations. Ultimately the broader impact of a single rule (or absence thereof) regarding vendors and their products can have a significant number of unintended consequences across the system.

Community Institutions

Community institutions refer to the programs, partnerships and events related to community outreach and education. Educational programs include cooking demonstrations, youth summer courses, gardening workshops, nutritional classes and information tables. Cultural events such as live music, kids activities, and a space for community events may also be utilized (Briggs et al., 2010; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a).

NEED FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY

Recent studies of the local food system and farmers' markets in particular have revealed that despite their many potential benefits, participation in these markets may be difficult for certain producers, and for low-income and minority consumers (Allen et al., 2006; Colasanti et al., 2010; Guthman, 2008a; Heimlich & Anderson, 2001; Hinrichs &

Kremer, 2002; Slocum, 2007). In the small body of largely unpublished, non-academic work exploring the institutions which govern farmers' markets (DuPuis, 2006; Hamilton, 2002; Marr & Gast, 1995; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004), and in research that indirectly describes farmers' market institutions (Alkon, 2008a; Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002; Feagan & Morris, 2009; Grace et al., 2007; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008) some evidence suggests that the rules and norms of a given farmers' market may play a substantial role in their overarching financial success, and in regards to who is able to participate in the market. Complicating the situation is an indication that in many cases the overarching financial needs of farmers' markets are at odds with those of certain groups of customers and producers. Furthermore, the needs of producers may conflict with those of low-income and minority consumers (Allen et al., 2006; Guthman et al., 2006; Kirwan, 2006). This may result in farmers' market institutions that favor one particular stakeholder group over the other.

To the best of my knowledge, there has been no systematic investigation of the relationship between farmers' market governance and its impact on financial success, and consumer and vendor participation. Therefore, this study seeks to use Arizona farmers' markets as a case study to explore how farmers' markets are institutionally designed, and how this in turn influences farmers' market financial success as well as consumer and farmer participation. In doing so, the findings of this research study will also have implications for broader issues of participation and exclusion in local socio-ecological system governance, and the social, economic, and environmental tradeoffs inherent in local systems of governance in general.

Chapter 3

METHODS

In this chapter, I describe the research approach and methods that were used to undertake this study. First I present the research design, followed by the case study selection, protocol development, data collection and analysis techniques.

RESEARCH DESIGN

In the current study, I set out to explore the question:

How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable market for local farmers?

My review of the literature on food security, farmers' markets, and governance revealed that while, in theory, farmers' markets have significant potential to meet the food security needs of low income and minority consumers, most currently fail to do so. At the same time, it appears difficult for markets to reach underprivileged consumers while still remaining financially successful. However little of the farmer's market literature explicitly explores why this might be the case.

Most of the academic research regarding farmers' markets examines consumer/producer demographics, perceived motives/barriers, and economic, environmental, and nutritional impacts. Most of these studies are in the field of market research or consumer studies, with a small, but growing amount in the fields of health sciences and social justice. A very small amount of literature explicitly explores the

structure and function of farmers’ market governance and institutional design, and nearly all of this is non-academic in nature – consisting primarily of “how-to” documents compiled by non-profits or farmers’ market organizations. Nearly completely absent from the farmers’ market literature are non-market-goer perspectives on farmers’ markets (see Figure 1).

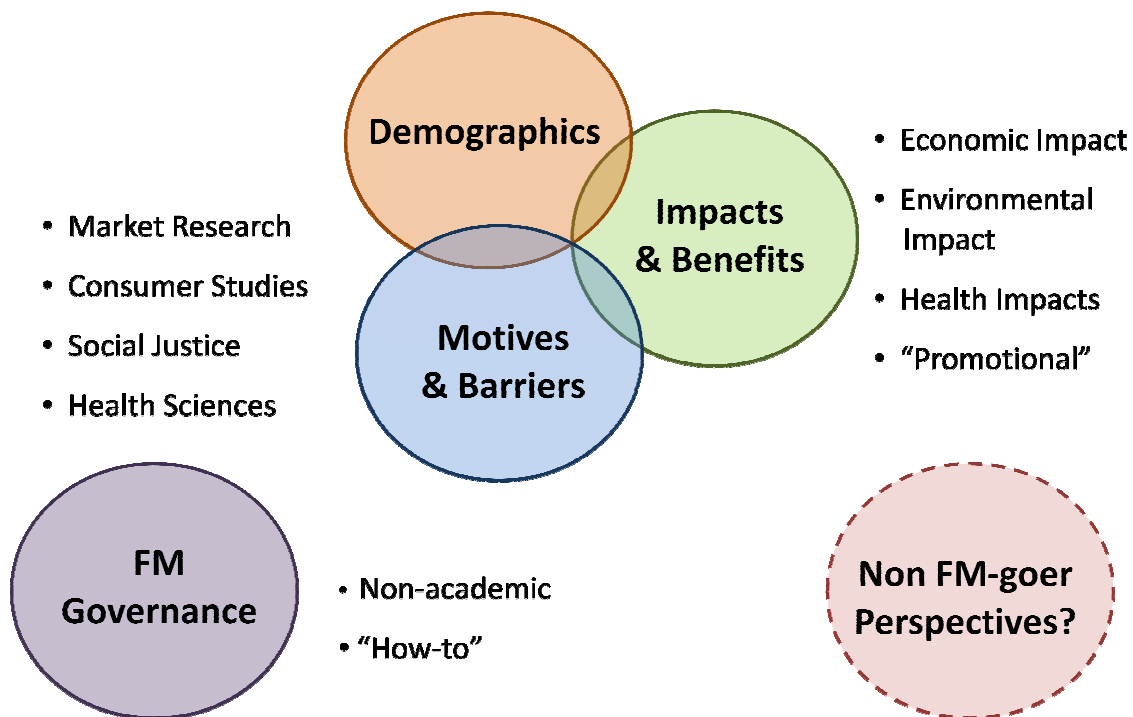


Figure 1. Farmers’ Market Research Gap

Independently, these bodies of research provide limited insight as to how the institutional design and governance of farmers’ markets might influence a market’s financial success and their success at reaching low-income and minority customers. Given this research gap, the rising need for improved access to fresh, healthy food sources in urban centers, and the rising popularity of farmers’ markets as a ‘sustainable’

alternative to the mainstream food system, I designed my research to bring together these divergent bodies of literature (see Figure 2. Current Study Research Niche).

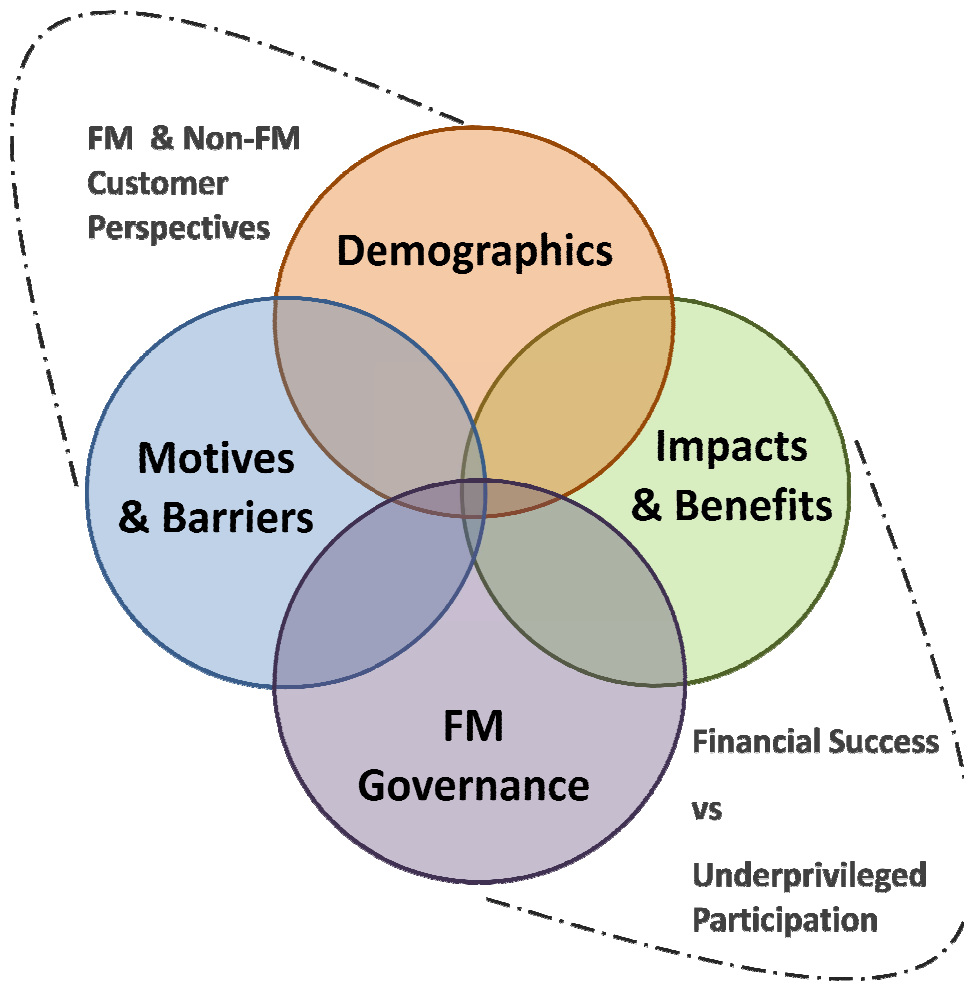


Figure 2. Current Study Research Niche

By integrating these aspects I seek to provide a baseline assessment of: (1) who (in terms of demographics and values/attitudes) is present at farmers' markets and who is absent, (2) the underlying motives and barriers behind the decision to participate or not to participate in farmers' markets, and (3) the ways in which the institutional design of

farmers' markets appears to impact these decisions as well as the financial success of the markets.

In the current study I wanted to gain an in-depth perspective regarding the barriers encountered by low-income and minority consumers when attempting to make food-related decisions. Concurrently, I wanted to develop an understanding as to how these perceived barriers appeared to be influenced by the specific institutional designs of various farmers' markets. To achieve this, I used a comparative case-study approach limited to six Central Arizona case-study farmers' markets. This approach allowed me to pursue more focused research, with thicker narrative depth than a broad, U.S.-wide study would have afforded.

Specifically, a comparative case study method provides the underlying framework for a concurrent, exploratory mixed-methods approach, with emphasis on the qualitative aspects. It has been well established in the literature that farmers' markets vary widely in their capacity to meet the needs of low-income and minority consumers while remaining a financially viable business venue for producers. The case study approach which this study employs provides an opportunity for inter-market comparison, allowing me to examine the differences between farmers' markets in Maricopa County, Arizona, and explore the possible linkages between the governance of markets and levels of producer and consumer participation.

While the research for this study was conducted from June 2011 to April 2012, the origins of the research question and the mixed methods, case study approach were born out of my previous Masters' research on local food systems stakeholders in Central Arizona. In 2009, I engaged producers, food distributors, market managers, restaurateurs,

grocers, and consumer representatives across the Phoenix Metropolitan area to examine their perspectives on local food, and in particular, perceived barriers to participation in the local food movement in the region. One of the key themes that emerged in that research was the tension between maintaining markets that were authentic, local, and profitable for farmers, while shedding the exclusive “yuppie” atmosphere and high prices associated with farmers’ markets and other local food outlets in the valley. With these findings, the impetus for the current study arose. My overarching research question regarding the impact of institutional design on financial and participatory success led to a number of other sub-questions which were explored (see Table 4).

Table 4

Research Questions

Overarching Research Question

How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a viable outlet for local farmers?

Research Sub-questions

4. **Presences & Absences: Who participates in Arizona farmers' markets and who is absent?**
 - a. To what extent are particular customer demographic groups present or absent?
 - i. *Are low-income groups adequately represented?*
 - ii. *Are minority ethnic groups adequately represented?*
 - b. To what extent are particular customer subcultures present or absent?
 - c. To what extent are particular vendor demographic groups present or absent?
 - i. *Are farms of varying economic scales and financial statuses adequately represented?*
 - d. To what extent are particular vendor subcultures present or absent?
 - i. *Are farmers of varying subcultures and food-related value systems adequately represented?*
5. **Lived Experience: Why are certain customer and vendor groups disproportionately absent from Arizona farmers' markets?**
 - a. What motivates residents to choose the food outlets they do?
 - i. *What food security and procurement needs are being met by the food outlets residents attend?*
 - ii. *What food-related values/ideologies are being met?*
 - iii. *To what extent do farmers' markets currently meet these needs, as compared to other food outlets?*
 - b. What barriers discourage residents from selecting particular food outlets?
 - i. *What food security and procurement needs are not met by the food outlets residents attend?*
 - ii. *What food-related values are perceived as being unmet?*
 - iii. *To what extent do farmers' markets currently fail to meet these needs, as compared to other food outlets?*
6. **Governance: How can Arizona farmers' markets be designed to increase participation of vendors and residents?**
 - a. Are certain farmers' markets better than others at encouraging the participation of traditionally underprivileged consumers (low-income and minorities)?
 - b. Do certain farmers' markets provide a more financially successful environment for their vendors?
 - c. What institutional designs (including specific formal rules and informal norms) are associated with higher levels of underprivileged participation?
 - i. *Are particular management, site criteria, operation, pricing or vendor rules or community institutions associated with higher levels of underprivileged participation?*
 - d. What institutional designs (including formal rules and informal norms) are associated with higher levels of financial success?
 - i. *Are particular management, site criteria, operation, pricing or vendor rules or community institutions associated with higher levels of financial success?*

In this study, I purposively selected six case study markets to represent a diversity in financial and participatory success to examine variation in who is absent and who is present in farmers' markets across Maricopa County. Drawing on the theories of planned behavior and social identity, I explore the ways in which individuals of divergent backgrounds experience food and food production and consumption - with particular emphasis on the socially normative, behavioral, and control-related forces which drive decision-making regarding food. Finally, I explore the ways in which the divergent models of governance and the rules and social norms present in the markets may influence access to and participation in farmers' markets in Maricopa County, and the broader institutional design implications for farmers' markets in general.

The research was carried out in three key phases: 1) Case Study Selection – Market Manager surveys, 2) Consumer and Producer surveys, and 3) Consumer and Producer interviews. The survey research approach and protocols were reviewed and approved after being considered exempt by the Arizona State University Office of Research Integrity and Assurance (IRB Protocol #: 1107006702). The interview research protocols were also approved by the Arizona State University Office of Research Integrity and Assurance (IRB Protocol #: 1110006931). Because the research was considered exempt, information letters were used to inform participants prior to their undertaking a survey or interview.

CASE STUDY SELECTION

The first phase of research involved identifying the case study markets to be examined in the study. Yin (2003) defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that

investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.” The case study strategy involves a recognition of multiple variables of interest, the need for triangulation between multiple sources of evidence, and the need for expanding upon previously built theories. Case studies are a method frequently employed in the social sciences when one is exploring questions of *how* and *why* in a *contemporary* setting in which experimental control of the participants’ behavior is *not required* (Yin, 2003). In this study an embedded multiple-case study design is employed to explore the impact of different farmers’ market institutional designs on both consumer and producer farmers’ market participation.

The first step in case study selection process was to classify each of the farmers’ markets into one of four categories based on their relative level of (1) Financial Success and of (2) Participation from Underprivileged Consumers as measured by data gathered from surveys of farmers’ market managers. Each market was rated as “high” (above average) or “low” (below average) in terms of their financial and participatory success. This provided a preliminary, baseline categorization by which markets could be compared, and selected as case studies. This was an important first step as one of the key purposes of the study was to investigate and compare markets that had varying degrees of success in providing a profitable environment for farmers and/or meeting the needs of underprivileged consumers.

Participation	High	<i>Reaching Underprivileged Only</i>	<i>Ideal Market</i>
	Low	<i>Struggling</i>	<i>Financially Successful Only</i>
		Low	High
		Financial Success	

Figure 3. Case Study Selection Criteria

Defining what constituted a high vs. low level of financial success and a high vs. low level of participatory success was both an iterative and comparative process, in which markets were compared against one another against a variety of indicators drawn from literature on farmers’ market accessibility and financial success (Allen et al., 2006; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Guthman et al., 2006; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Rimal et al., 2010; Schmit & Gómez, 2011). As the literature on measures of financial or participatory success is sparse, and no standardized thresholds have been established, the thresholds for the classification system in this study were developed via inter-market comparison – using a median.

In order to collect information with which to calculate the indicators, in summer of 2011, surveys were requested from 59 market managers representing 104 Arizona farmers’ markets. The survey protocol included questions regarding farmers’ market characteristics, sales, vendor and consumer participation, market goals, and institutional design. Eight managers responded that they were not interested in completing the survey,

five surveys were returned to sender and 27 managers did not respond to the request. In total, 19 market managers completed the survey, yielding a 32% response rate. Out of the 24 managers located in Maricopa County, 11 responded to the survey – yielding a 46% response rate for the geographical subset of markets I sought to study in this work. With these responses, I was able to categorize the responding markets into the indicator typology in order to identify appropriate case study sites. The first phase of elimination involved cross-checking that the markets met the current study’s definition for an established farmers’ market. This required that the markets meet of four criteria:

- 1) Self proclaimed farmers’ market
- 2) At least two vendors selling agricultural products
- 3) At least 51% of sales are direct, retail to consumer (not wholesale)
- 4) Established for a minimum of two years

In order to restrict the pool of markets to the most directly comparable markets, the pool was further limited to urban (as opposed to rural) markets. Rural markets differ greatly from urban markets in scope and mission, making it difficult to draw useful comparisons. Secondly, to adequately assess the market’s realistic capacity to garner the participation of low-income and/or minority consumers, only markets located within or adjacent to a census tract with above-average concentration of low-income or minority residents were considered.

After analyzing the data, it was discovered that several markets did not fit the required criteria for the study. All markets had at least two vendors selling agricultural products and at least 51% of their sales were direct to consumers. However, one market

stated that it had recently converted from a farmers' market proper to a CSA model, and three markets had only been in existence for under two years. Therefore, these four markets were removed from the potential pool of markets to be selected as case studies. Once these were removed, the remaining markets were categorized into the typology found in Figure 3, according to their financial and participatory success indicators. These indicators are discussed in greater detail below.

Financial Success Indicators

Several indicators were utilized to categorize the markets according to their relative level of financial success. While a number of indicators were considered, the final suite of indicators used to classify markets as financially successful vs. financially struggling necessarily had to draw from the information that market managers were willing and able to provide. Thus, the indicators ultimately used in the typology were:

- 1) Market Sales
- 2) Vendor Participation
- 3) Customer Participation
- 4) Market Longevity
- 5) Self-Sustaining

In each of the categories, a median split method was used to assign points. For example, the median sales for all responding farmers' markets was calculated. Markets that achieved above the median were assigned a 1. Markets that achieved at or below the

median were assigned a 0 for that category. Descriptions of each of the financial success indicators are provided below.

Calculating Financial Success Indicators

Market sales were assessed based on responses to the following multiple-choice question:

What was the total annual revenue from producer/vendor sales at the market in 2010? Please estimate if you do not know the exact figure.

Managers were allowed to choose from a number of ranges. These ranges were based on those used in the National 2006 Farmers' Market Manager survey (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). The minimum value of each of these ranges was used to calculate a median annual revenue value for all markets. It was determined that the median annual revenue was \$50,000, and responses ranged from under 5,000 to 1,000,000 or more. Markets that earned annual revenues above the median were assigned a point value of 1. Markets that earned at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0.

Vendor Participation was assessed based on responses to the following open-ended question:

How many of the following types of producers/vendors participated at your market in 2010? Do not count return visits: vendors selling agricultural products.

Markets reported anywhere from 3 to 50 vendors selling agricultural products, with the median being 13 agricultural vendors. Markets that had more vendors than the median

were assigned a point value of 1. Markets at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0.

Customer Participation was assessed based on responses to the following open-ended question: *On average, how many customers patronized your market each week in 2010?*

Markets reported a range of 15 to 3200 weekly customers. The median was 350 weekly customers. Markets that had more customers than the median were assigned a point value of 1. Markets at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0.

Market Longevity was assessed based on responses to the following open-ended question: *What year was the market established?*

The oldest market was established in 1990, while the youngest was founded in 2009. The median age of the markets was 3 years. Markets above the median age were assigned a point value of 1. Markets at or below the median age were assigned a point value of 0.

Self-Sustaining capacity was assessed based on responses to the following yes-no question:

Was your market economically self-sustaining in 2010? (ie. was market income sufficient to pay for all costs associated with operating the market)

Three of the markets reported that they were *not* economically self-sufficient in 2010 and received a point value of 0. All other markets reported that they were self-sustaining and were assigned a point value of 1.

Overall FM Manager Perception of Financial Success was assessed based on responses to the following Likert-type question:

How satisfied are you with the market's current performance in meeting the following goals? – Financial goals. Very unsatisfied? Somewhat unsatisfied? Neutral/Uncertain? Somewhat satisfied? Very satisfied?

Two of the markets reported that they were very satisfied with their financial performance. An additional five markets stated that they were somewhat satisfied. Markets responding somewhat satisfied or very satisfied received a point value of 1. Markets that reported that they were neutral, somewhat unsatisfied or very unsatisfied received a point value of 0.

The points for each category were then added together and a cumulative score (out of a possible 6) was found for each market. Using these scores, a second median-split ranking was used to rank the cumulative scores as above or below the median. Markets that scored above the cumulative median were considered to be financially successful relative to the other markets. In total, three of the 11 markets were found to be above average in terms of financial success.

Calculating Participatory Success Indicators

Several indicators were utilized to categorize the markets according to their relative level of participatory success. It was challenging to identify concrete and measureable indicators that farmers' market manager might have the information and willingness to provide. The indicators ultimately used in the typology were:

- 1) Estimated number of underprivileged (low income/minority) customers

- 2) Market participation in Federal Benefits Programs (SNAP, FMNP, CVV)
- 3) SNAP benefit redemption rates
- 4) FMNP benefit redemption rates
- 5) CVV benefit redemption rates
- 6) Overall FM Manager Perception of Participatory Success

The method used to assess these participatory indicators was much the same as for the financial indicators. In each of the categories, a median split method was used to assign points. Markets that achieved above the median were assigned a 1. Markets achieving at or below the median were assigned a 0 for the category. Descriptions of the participatory indicators are provided below.

Number of underprivileged customers was estimated based on responses to the following open-ended question:

On an average week, what percent of your customers fell into the following categories? Please estimate: (a) % low-income customers, (b) % Hispanic customers, (c) % other ethnic minorities

Markets reported a range of 5-75% low-income customers, 2-40% Hispanic customers, and 0-30% customers of other ethnicities. The medians for these categories were 25%, 13%, and 10%, respectively. Markets that reported percentages above the median were assigned a point value of 1 for each category. Markets that reported percentages at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0 for each category. Therefore a given market could score a minimum of zero and a maximum of 3 points for this indicator.

Market participation in federal benefits programs (SNAP, FMNP, CVV) was determined based on responses to the following multiple-choice question:

In which of the following federal benefits programs does the market participate: (a) WIC FMNP, (b) SFMNP, (c) CVV, (d) SNAP(EBT)

Markets reported participating in anywhere from zero up to all four programs. The median was two programs. Markets that reported participation above the median were assigned a point value of 1. Markets that reported participation at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0.

SNAP, FMNP and CVV Redemption Rates were estimated based on responses to the following multiple-choice question:

On average, in 2010, what percent of market sales were generated by the following types of market patrons? (a) SNAP benefits users, (b) FMNP benefits users, (c) CVV benefits users?

Markets reported a range of 0-30% sales from SNAP, 0-20% from FMNP, and 0-5% from CVV users. The medians for these categories were 1.2%, 5%, and 0.5%, respectively. Markets that reported percentages above the median were assigned a point value of 1 for each category. Markets that reported percentages at or below the median were assigned a point value of 0 for each category. Therefore a given market could score a minimum of zero and a maximum of 3 points for this indicator.

Overall FM Manager Perception of Participatory Success was assessed based on responses to the following likert-type question:

How satisfied are you with the market's current performance in meeting the following goals? – (a) Reaching low income consumers, (b) Reaching Hispanic

consumers, (c) Reaching other minority consumers: Very unsatisfied? Somewhat unsatisfied? Neutral/Uncertain? Somewhat satisfied? Very satisfied?

Six of the markets reported that they were somewhat satisfied with their market's ability to reach low income consumers. Five were somewhat satisfied with their capacity to reach Hispanic consumers, and five were somewhat satisfied at their ability to reach other ethnic minorities. Markets responding somewhat satisfied or very satisfied received a point value of 1 for each category. Markets that reported that they were neutral, somewhat unsatisfied or very unsatisfied received a point value of 0 for each category. Therefore a given market could score a minimum of zero and a maximum of 3 points for this indicator.

Once each individual indicator was scored, the points were tallied and a cumulative score (out of a possible 6) was found for each market. Using the cumulative scores, a second median-split ranking was used to rate the markets as above or below the median. Markets that scored above the cumulative median were considered to be more successful at garnering the participation of low income and minority consumers relative to the other markets. In total, four of the 11 markets were found to be above average in terms of participatory success.

Case Study Selection

Once farmers' markets were designated to a preliminary category within the financial-participatory typology, one to two case studies were selected from each quadrant (see Figure 4) for a total of six case study markets representing a broad diversity

of financial and participatory success – thereby allowing for later comparison of institutional design factors that differ from successful vs. less successful markets. Profiles of each of the markets are discussed below. The names have been changed to preserve anonymity as was the request of the market managers.

Participation	High	<i>Participatory Markets</i> <i>Village Market</i> <i>Parkland Market</i>	<i>Ideal Markets</i> <i>Urbana Market</i> <i>Weekday Market</i>
	Low	<i>Struggling Markets</i> <i>Courtyard Market</i>	<i>Financially Successful Markets</i> <i>Foodie Market</i>
		Low	High
Financial Success			

Figure 4. Case Study Markets

Village Market: High Participation, Low Financial Success

Village Market is an open-air market held one night week, fall through spring. A relatively new market to the valley, it is currently struggling to make financial ends meet. Compared to the other markets surveyed, the market earns approximately the median annual revenue but has less than average numbers of vendors and weekly customers.

However, despite its shaky financial situation, the market does appear to have a high success rate in reaching minority consumers in the area. The market manager estimates that 25% of its customers are low-income, 25% are Hispanic and 25% are other ethnic minorities. An estimated 10% of its sales are to low-income customers, and 20%

are to ethnic minorities. The market participates in the WIC Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP), but is not yet equipped for SNAP or CVV.

Geographically, it is located in a socio-economically and ethnically diverse census tract with a relatively high (59%) Hispanic population and a moderately high annual median household and per capita income (\$40,460/yr and \$16,430/yr respectively), but also a high poverty rate (22%). It is adjacent to a census tract with relatively low per capita income (\$12,293/yr).

Parkland Market: High Participation, Low Financial Success

The Parkland Market is a year-round, open-air market held one day on the weekend in a neighborhood park. It is one of the older markets in the valley, indicating that financially, it has done well in the past, but the market manager is currently unsatisfied with the market's current level of revenue, possibly due to competition from other, newer markets. The market participates in WIC FMNP, CVV and SNAP federal benefits programs. The manager estimates that 40% of market sales are from low-income consumers and 45% from ethnic minorities (note that there may be some overlap in these two populations). Approximately 30% of sales are estimated to come from SNAP (EBT) users. The customer base is estimated at 40% low income, 20% Hispanic, and 30% other ethnic minorities. Geographically, the market is located in a census tract with a relatively high median household income (\$52,088/yr) and a low poverty rate (7.57%). The Hispanic population in the census tract is moderate, at approximately 14%, but in a 2 mile radius is a region with a 21.4% Hispanic population.

Urbana Market: High Participation, High Financial Success

Urbana market is a year-round, open-air market held twice a week in a central area of one of the valley's major cities. The market is 'middle-aged' compared to many of the markets in the region – having been open for nearly a decade. It is a financially self-sustaining market, and one of the highest earning in the study, it pulls from a substantial customer base and attracts many vendors.

Though the manager is unsatisfied with the market's current capacity to reach low-income and minority customers, the market does participate in all four federal benefits programs available to farmers' markets: WIC FMNP, SFMNP, SNAP/EBT and CVV. The market manager estimates that about 1.4% of market sales come from SNAP users, 2% from FMNP customers and about 0.5% from CVV users. However, 30% of the market's sales are deemed to derive from low income customers, and 30% from ethnic minorities. Many of the market's patrons are thought to be low income or minority customers – 30% low income, 5% Hispanic, and 10% other ethnic minorities. Overall, compared to other markets, Urbana performed relatively well in terms of reaching low income and minority customers. This market is located in a census tract with a relatively low median household income (\$14,938/yr) and a high poverty rate (34.2%). The Hispanic population in the census tract is somewhat high, at approximately 27%.

Weekday Market: High Participation, High Financial Success

One of the older markets in the valley, the Weekday market has been held for nearly 20 years and is an open-air market held once a week on a weekday. While the market earns slightly less than other valley markets, it is self-sustaining, sees an above

average level of customer traffic and has shown the ability to stand the test of time. For these reasons, it was considered to be above average in terms of financial success.

In terms of reaching low-income and minority customers, the market also ranked highly. The market manager estimates that 25% of its customers are low-income, 40% are Hispanic and 10% are other ethnic minorities. An estimated 25% of its sales are to low-income customers, and 40% are to ethnic minorities. The market is one of the few in the survey that participates in all the available federal benefits programs: WIC FMNP, SFMNP, SNAP and CVV. The manager estimates that 15% of market sales come from FMNP users, and 10% from SNAP users, with 1% from CVV. The market manager is somewhat satisfied with the market's current ability to reach low income and minority populations, noting that it has had significant success compared to other Valley markets, but is always eager to improve access.

Compared to other markets in the study, this market is located in a census tract with a relatively high (32%) Hispanic population and a somewhat low annual median household and per capita income (\$23,702/yr and \$15,490/yr respectively). It is considered in an area of poverty, as 23.36% of the residents are classified as living in poverty.

Foodie Market: Low Participation, High Financial Success

The Foodie Market is an open-air market held seasonally (fall through spring) once a week on weekends. A relatively new market to the area, it has been in operation under five years. Despite its short life span, the market does well financially. It is financially self-sustaining and earns well over the median annual revenue of the surveyed

markets. It has a relatively high number of vendors and weekly customers compared to other markets in the study. The manager did not specify how satisfied they were with the market's ability to meet its financial goals.

The market participates in the WIC FMNP and CVV programs, but is not yet equipped for SFMNP or SNAP/EBT. The manager estimates that only 5% of market sales come from FMNP customers and 2% from CVV customers. Approximately 10% of the customers are thought to be low-income, 15% Hispanic and 10% other ethnic minorities. The manager did not explicitly specify how satisfied they were with the market's ability to reach low-income or minority populations, though they did note that due to regional demographics reaching these populations might be more difficult.

As the manager pointed out, the market is located in a census tract with a relatively high income compared to the others in the survey (\$36,728 annual per capita income and a low 9.33% poverty rate). There is only an 11.9% Hispanic population in the census tract within which the market is located. However within a 2 mile radius, there is a census tract that has a high (30.7%) Hispanic population.

Courtyard Market: Uncertain status

The Courtyard market is an open-air weekday market located in an area of high pedestrian traffic from nearby establishments. A relatively new market, its financial status remains shaky, and though it does participate in FMNP and SNAP/EBT federal benefits programs, it was unclear to the manager the extent to which these programs were being utilized, or the number of low-income or minority customers who participate. Part of the difficulty in gaining an understanding of this lies in the fact that the market is in a

high-traffic area. Therefore not all bodies that wander through the market - and not all who take samples- are actually doing any purchasing. For these reasons, this market was labeled as “struggling.” There are large uncertainties surrounding its financial and participatory status. Geographically, the market is located in a census tract with a relatively high income compared to the others in the survey (\$45,341 annual per capita household income and a low 15% poverty rate). Within the census tract there is a 13% Hispanic population.

SURVEYS

Following case study selection, consumer and vendor surveys were developed to gain a deeper understanding as to the demographics of farmers’ market participants, as well as to gain some preliminary insights as to their lived experiences producing and consuming food in the valley – both in and out of farmers’ markets.

Surveys of farmers’ market vendors and customers provided preliminary data regarding the market’s actual success at meeting farmer and consumer needs, and illustrated who participates in the markets and who does not. Specifically, the survey contained 15 closed and 6 open-ended questions regarding consumer and producer demographics, level of participation in the market (frequency, money spent/earned, involvement in governance), attitudes and behaviors associated with farmers’ market participation, perceptions regarding how well the market met their needs, incentives for participation, barriers to participation, and recommendations. (see APPENDIX A for survey instruments).

Sampling Procedures

For the customer survey, two sampling approaches were used. The customer survey was part of a broader study examining not only the case study markets, but 14 markets across Arizona. In all 14 markets, market managers advertised a link to an online version of the survey through their e-newsletters, on their market websites and/or via social media. An additional sampling procedure was used to add breadth and depth to the case study market surveys. These markets were visited on one or two days during the market season and surveys requested from every 5th customer passing the survey table.

In total, 450 Arizona farmers' market customers responded to the survey, with 336 of these responses being from one of the six case study markets. One shortcoming of the study is that it is difficult to calculate a response rate to the survey requests, given that many of the surveys were completed online, and the number of potential survey-takers was therefore unknown due to the survey's availability via newsletters, e-mail, social media and possibly word-of-mouth. The benefit of the online survey is that it likely substantially increased the amount of surveys that collected during the data collection timeframe, given that there were only two researchers available to implement in-person surveys, and six markets to survey. It is also perhaps interesting to note that this method of soliciting surveys in many ways mimics the markets' own advertising methods, and in that sense may add an additional layer of interest to the study.

Due to the small sample size of vendors at many of the markets, the sampling procedure for vendors involved requesting surveys from *all* vendors at the case study markets. This involved both approaching farmers' market vendors at the case study

markets in person and via an e-mail or social media notice posted by the market manager that included a link to the online survey. In total, 102 vendors responded to the survey. Seventy-four of these were from the case study markets. Of the case study market vendors, 37 sold farm-grown products, 18 of which sold produce. Several vendors reported attending more than one market per week, however the survey responses were in regards to the market in which they participated the most, and this is how the responses were analyzed.

Survey Analysis

As most of the data from the closed-ended questions in the survey were utilized to explore the presences and absences of certain types vendors and consumers, the analysis was performed largely with descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics were used to examine the demographics, participation levels, motives, and barriers of customers and vendors in the case study markets. In addition, statistical t-tests, and Mann-Whitney's U were used to examine the characteristics of the customers in terms of ethnicity, market utilization, and perceived motives and barriers to participating in farmers' markets. Data were analyzed using SPSS 20.0.0 for Windows. Additionally, the open-ended responses to the survey questions helped inform the interview protocol used to gain more in-depth insights as to the utilization of the markets, producer and consumer decision-making processes and the barriers they experience to participating.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews with consumers provided a deeper, more in-depth understanding of the lived experience of the community in and around the case study farmers' markets. Two distinct populations were interviewed: farmers' market customers, and members of the community in a 2-mile bikability radius from the market.

Specifically, the interviews examined how well the farmers' market and its institutional design elements truly met farmer and consumer needs and expectations. Both the survey and interview protocols were informed by the theories and frameworks described above (Theory of Planned Behavior, Social Identity, Socio-Ecological Systems Framework).

The interviews were semi-structured, lasting approximately 20-80 minutes, and sought to uncover stakeholder narratives reflecting on their participation at farmers' markets and the broader food system, the extent to which farmers' markets and grocery stores were currently meeting their needs, barriers to participation in farmers' markets and other food outlets, and recommendations for improving the current system. Participants were asked to fill out a brief written questionnaire following the interview, to assess demographic information. Questions for this survey were drawn directly from the demographics section of the survey used with farmers' market customers (see Appendix for protocols).

Several distinct populations were studied within each farmers' market case study: (1) consumer farmers' market shoppers, (2) consumer non-shoppers, and (3) farmer vendors. A total of approximately 5 in-depth customer interviews were sought for each

case study, with an approximately equal number of farmers' market shoppers and non-shoppers interviewed for each market. Initially, it was thought that more interviews might be deemed necessary to reach theoretical saturation. However, as the interviews commenced, and the narrative themes began to repeat, it was determined that theoretical saturation was reached after about 4-5 interviews for each site (Charmaz, 2006). Participant selection for the interviews was purposive, and required slightly different approaches for each population in order to gain access. Each specific participant selection strategy is described below.

Consumer Farmers' Market Shoppers

A total of approximately 2-3 consumer farmers' market "shopper" interviews were carried out for each case study. For the purposes of this study, farmers' market "shoppers" were identified by selecting participants who had responded to a survey at the market itself. As part of the survey, consumers at the farmers' market were asked whether or not they'd be willing to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Those who agreed to an interview were placed in a pool of potential interviewees. The selection of interviewees was semi-purposive. If possible, at least one low-income or minority participant was selected from each case study. Additional interviewees were selected from the pool via random sampling. The potential interviewees were contacted via email and a time/date/public location was arranged to perform the interviews. Many interviewees opted to carry out the interviews over the phone.

Consumer Farmers' Market Non-Shoppers

A total of approximately 2-3 consumer farmers' market "non-shopper" interviews were carried out for each case study. These participants were randomly selected from a database of addresses of persons living within a bikeability buffer of 2 miles (Dill & Gliebe, 2008). Those selected were asked to be interviewed in-person. For those who were willing at the time of initial contact, interviews were carried out on the spot. Those who agreed to an interview but needed to give it at a later time were contacted by email and/or phone to arrange a subsequent interview date/time/location.

Farmer Vendors

While initially, the study sought to obtain interviews from farmer vendors at the case study markets, this proved extremely challenging. Every vendor who was surveyed for the study was asked if they would be willing to answer some follow-up questions. All but one farmer vendor declined, and when the 'vendor' was contacted it was discovered that there had been a mix-up in the interview sign-up sheet, and the individual was actually a customer, not a vendor. Follow-up emails were subsequently sent to vendors thanking them for their participation and requesting an interview. All but one vendor declined again. However, the farmer who initially agreed to the interview did not show up to the scheduled interview, and did not respond to further emails. The lack of response from farmers was unfortunate, though perhaps not entirely unexpected. There is likely a certain level of "burn-out" in regards to participation in these sorts of studies. Several of the farmer produce vendors (of whom there were total of 29 in the study, 18 of which

were from the case study markets) had already been interviewed by myself just a few years prior, during work for my Masters' thesis.

Interview Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. The interviews were analyzed qualitatively using line-by-line coding, axial coding and a constant comparative method as described by Charmaz (2006), as well as several techniques from Ryan & Bernard (2003) in order to develop themes. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, a generally inductive approach using techniques from grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) was employed, and the themes emerged from the data itself rather than through a preconceived theoretical construct. However, in order to link these themes to the broader theoretical literature on complex systems, institutions, and decision-making, and specifically Ostrom's (2009) framework for analyzing socio-ecological systems, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 2002), and social identity theory (Armitage & Conner, 2001), the interview questions were structured in order to explore the relative importance of the following factors on farmers' market accessibility and participation:

- a. Formal rules
- b. Informal institutions
- c. Cultural identity
- d. Behavioral beliefs
- e. Normative beliefs
- f. Control beliefs

In order to facilitate linking the qualitative analysis with existing theory, unique themes were explored within of these categories. The data analysis process began with the transcription of the interviews from the audio-recordings. Once transcribed, the interviews were re-read and brief notes regarding key points or overarching/recurring topics were jotted down in field notes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Next, a line-by-line or sentence-by-sentence coding procedure was used (Charmaz, 2006; Ryan & Bernard, 2003) to summarize the meaning of each thought expressed in the interview. As much as was possible, the use of in-vivo coding was employed in this phase, in order to keep codes closely tied to the data itself (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

The intensive, line-by-line coding procedure was utilized for an initial 2-3 of the interviews from each case study market, and potential key themes were developed. Once the initial coding was performed on a given interview, preliminary themes were developed using a cut-and-sort method (Taylor & Bogden, 1998), in which codes were grouped and organized into hierarchical categories of themes and sub-themes.

Subsequent interviews were coded using a *focused coding* procedure, in which the codes and themes developed in the first interviews were utilized to help code larger portions of data in subsequent interviews (Charmaz, 2006). This was done by hand, rather than using computer software. Once the categories were established, these were analyzed using an *axial coding* technique to illuminate the nature of the tensions, juxtapositions, differentiations, and distinctions that the participant uses to describe each theme – revealing each theme’s *properties* (sub categories within a theme), as well as the *dimensions* of those properties. The axial coding process was aided through identification and memo-writing regarding the various juxtapositions and opposing values presented by

the interviewee as they describe the variations of a theme or sub-theme (Charmaz, 2006; Luomala et al., 2004).

For each interviewee, a *conceptual model* and thick narrative was developed to illustrate the causal conditions which lead to a choice to participate in the market and those which lead to a choice not to participate (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Personal beliefs and attitudes, formal and informal institutions and social/cultural identity influences were all taken into account as shaping the conditions in which the decision to participate is made. Alongside the axial coding performed for each study, a constant comparative technique was used in which the themes, properties, dimensions and conceptual models of decision making were compared between each interview to elicit the fundamental themes and relationships at play (Charmaz, 2006).

Chapter 4

PRESENCES AND ABSENCES

In recent years, farmers' markets have proliferated across the United States. Lauded for their capacity to provide urban residents with a sustainable source of fresh produce, there is also increasing evidence that they may not be serving the populations who need them the most. In this chapter I examine the question of who is present and who is absent from farmers' markets. Through field observations, interviews and survey findings from my fieldwork in Fall of 2011, I explore who Arizona farmers' market customers and vendors are, and who they aren't.

CUSTOMER PRESENCES AND ABSENCES

Farmers' markets can increase access to and reduce the cost of nutritious food in the neighborhoods in which they are present (Bader et al., 2010; Larsen & Gilliland, 2009), and may be associated with increased fruit and vegetable intake (Freedman et al., 2011; Herman et al., 2006; Johnson, Beaudoin, Smith, Beresford, & LoGerfo, 2004; Joy et al., 2001; Kropf et al., 2007; McCormack, Laska, Larson, & Story, 2010; Racine et al., 2010; Ruelas et al., 2011; L. T. Smith et al., 2004), more positive attitudes regarding fruits and vegetables (Freedman et al., 2011; Joy et al., 2001; Kropf et al., 2007; Kunkel et al., 2003; McCormack et al., 2010; Middleton & Smith, 2011; Ruelas et al., 2011), decreased instance of obesity (Jilcott, Keyserling, Crawford, McGuirt, & Ammerman, 2011) and diabetes (Salois, 2012), and lower BMI (Jilcott, Wade, et al., 2011). Increased access to affordable fruits and vegetables can be particularly important for both low-

income communities, and communities of color. Low-income households are disproportionately affected by food insecurity (Nord et al., 2009) as well as higher rates of obesity and its related diseases (Darmon & Drewnowski, 2008; McLaren, 2007; Ogden, Lamb, Carroll, & Flegal, 2010; Powell et al., 2007; J. P. Smith, 2004). Communities of color, often have lower access to supermarkets (Powell et al., 2007) and are disproportionately impacted by food insecurity (Nord et al., 2009) and obesity and overweight (Flegal, Carroll, Kit, & Ogden, 2012; Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2012).

With the migration of supermarkets out of city centers into the suburbs in the post WWII era, there is a growing disparity between the cost of healthy, nutrient-dense foods and less nutritious and energy-dense options (Monsivais et al., 2010), and many low-income urban dwellers find themselves living in ‘food deserts,’ neighborhoods characterized with poor access to affordable, healthy food (Bader et al., 2010; E. A. Baker, Schootman, Barnidge, & Kelly, 2006; Beaulac, Kristjansson, & Cummins, 2009; Larson et al., 2009). In theory, farmers’ markets located in urban centers can provide an important source of fresh produce to neighborhoods without access to healthy food (Ruelas et al., 2011; Winne, 2008).

However, despite these potential benefits, the real question remains: who are these markets actually serving? The research on farmers’ markets and customer demographics has resulted in mixed findings, leading researchers to question whether farmers’ markets can meet the needs of low-income and minority consumers while maintaining a profitable venue for farmers (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Allen et al., 2006; Colasanti et al., 2010; Guthman et al., 2006; Markowitz, 2010; Slocum, 2008).

Many studies find that farmers' markets primarily cater to those with above-average incomes. (Abello, Palman, Anderson, & Waller, 2012; Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Alkon, 2008a; Arrington et al., 2010; D. Baker et al., 2009; Bubinas, 2011; Farmer et al., 2011; Guthman et al., 2006; Henneberry & Agustini, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; Varner & Otto, 2007) A study at two farmers' markets in Vermont found that approximately two-thirds reported household incomes above the median in their county, and 24% reported incomes in the highest income quintile in the U.S (D. Baker et al., 2009). Incomes of farmers' market customers were higher than the average population in studies in Texas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, California, and Wisconsin (Abello et al., 2012; Bubinas, 2011; Eastwood, 1996; Henneberry et al., 2008; Wolf, 1997). Farmers' market customers in Chicago and East St. Louis had income distributions shifted substantially to the upper end of the income spectrum, with 65.4% earning incomes above \$50,000 as compared to just 42.1% of the broader U.S. population (Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010). Similarly, another study found that farmers' market shoppers in Maine had a median income of approximately \$70,000, while that of the broader Maine population was only \$45,000 (Hunt, 2007). Income was positively correlated with increased likelihood of shopping at direct-markets in families with children in a Louisiana study (Okwudili Onianwa, Wheelock, & Mojica, 2005). Less than 25% of food stamp clients utilized farmers' markets in one study, and farmers' markets accounted for 0.02% of total food stamps redeemed in the U.S (Kantor, 2001). Other studies have found a relationship between income and willingness to pay for local food. Missouri residents who earned above \$50,000 a year were more likely to pay a higher price for local food than other

customers (C. Brown, 2003) and higher income was associated with higher monthly purchases at Minnesota farmers' markets (French, Wall, & Mitchell, 2010).

However, the evidence is not so clear-cut. While many studies indicate that farmers' markets appear to be predominantly attended by those of mid to upper class, there are other studies which suggest that income distributions are similar between farmers' market shoppers and non-shoppers, (Zepeda, 2009) and other studies find that certain markets may attract middle or lower-income customers (Alkon, 2008a; AMS, 2001; Fisher, 1999; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Markowitz, 2010; Nie & Zepeda, 2011; Oths & Groves, 2012; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Wolf et al., 2005; Zepeda, 2009). In many cases these markets are located in low-income communities, and are designed to specifically cater to the needs of this customer demographic – with varying degrees of success. One Washington DC area market started through an initiative from a local food bank found that 24% used EBT (AMS, 2001). In another Louisville, Kentucky market, the manager estimates that about half the clientele use food stamps, constituting about 5-10% of the total sales (Markowitz, 2010). Similarly, a Bay-area market manager estimated that one-third of all their farmers' markets' sales come from purchases with food-stamps (Fisher, 1999). Food stamp use at farmers' markets has declined precipitously in recent decades, due to a 1996 switchover from paper-based benefits to an electronic based system. Many markets were initially unable to implement the electronic system to lack of start-up funds, telephone lines and/or electricity (Kantor, 2001). Less than 7% of farmers' markets had wireless EBT terminals in 2006 and only \$4.1 million in SNAP benefits were claimed at farmers' markets in 2009, as compared to \$6.4 million in 1994 (Briggs et al., 2010; Kantor, 2001; Markowitz, 2010; Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Likewise farmers' markets are often criticized as being spaces of pervasive whiteness. Not only are most farmers' markets spaces dominated by white shoppers (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Payne, 2002; Slocum, 2007) and white vendors (Ragland & Tropp, 2009), but the local food and farmers' market discourse regarding what constitutes 'good,' 'sustainable' and 'ethical' food are predominantly shaped by white voices. By remaining 'color-blind,' market managers and those who attend and participate in farmers' markets can unwittingly reinforce a universalizing and whitened vision of the market, its structure, and its mission. The tangible outpouring of a whitened farmers' market discourse is often a market space physically dominated by white bodies. The resulting market environment is not racially neutral but instead coded as a "white space" in which people of color may not feel welcome, and therefore self-exclude themselves from participating (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Alkon, 2008a; Guthman, 2008b; Slocum, 2007).

The extent to which whiteness and the absence of low-income consumers persists in farmers' markets across the U.S. is currently understudied. The current research draws on my surveys, interviews, and experiences as a participant-observer, and seeks to take an income and color-sensitive approach to examination of farmers' market shoppers in Central Arizona – examining who is present and who is absent from Phoenix area markets.

Arizona Farmers' Market Customer Demographics

Walking through any of the case study farmers' markets in Central Arizona, one immediately feels a sense of vibrant community. Vendors and customers greet each other

by name, comment on the seasons, on birthplaces, and on the differences between this week's and last week's products, commiserate about the weather – in the Arizona desert inevitably too hot or too cold. There is a sense of camaraderie and a feeling that many of the customers and vendors know one another, and have had a relationship for years. Indeed, many of the market mission statements note explicitly that they seek to be “socially embedded” spaces for “community revitalization” through partnerships, collaborations, educational opportunities, and face-to-face connections between customers and vendors. Certainly, as one strolls the aisles of Arizona's open-air farmers' markets, there is no doubt that community is being built, but the question remains: who gets to be a part of this community? Who is present and who remains absent?

As a participant observer and 5-year customer at several valley farmers' markets, and as a formal researcher having spent 50+ hours at a survey booth in case study markets across the Phoenix metro area, I have had a great deal of opportunity to “people-watch” at Arizona farmers' markets. As a casual observer and in the initial phases of research, my field notes reveal that my eyes were drawn to the activities happening in the market: to the bustle of men and women with their ‘alternative market’ logo emblazoned cloth tote-bags bulging to the point of awkwardness, elbowing their way through the crowds to the produce stands. The mothers with strollers making their way slowly down the line of well stocked booths, stopping to sample and trying not to run over feet. Groups of women in near-matching t-shirts and capris debating the merits and “vegan-ness” of prior purchases. Pet owners chatting as their dogs eye and sniff one another, tangling the owners in their leashes. Prepared food vendors offering passerby triangle samples of

tortilla or pastry or dried, un-identifiable bean-like snacks. Produce farmers explaining seasonality to customers disappointed with the selection. Orange juice runs down arms, lips smack, and eyes water as people walk away with samples of fruit, crisp kale chips, pickled vegetables, and spicy salsa. Older women with rolling carts stop and fan themselves in the shade of trees or umbrellas or booths with white plastic chairs. Nearby, stall owners and market staff dash from booth to booth securing sandbags to keep umbrellas and tents from toppling in the wind.

Over time, my observations at the market shifted, from who was present to who was absent. The shift was an abrupt one – one I can trace back to an exact moment in time. I was sitting at a cluster of tables at a market in 2009, taking fieldnotes as I observed, and overheard a goat cheese vendor telling customers that she would be at the market the subsequent week too. I turned to see her addressing a group of five or six Hispanic/Latina women, clustered around the booth and realized, in that moment that they were the first customers of any (visible) ethnic minority that I'd seen. Dressed fashionably, in strappy sandals, flowy shirts and designer capris, they moved on to the next stall – one overflowing with bags of colorful pasta, and chatted with the vendor. During their conversation it came out that they were not from Arizona at all, but on vacation from San Jose, California. I was struck by this moment, and the realization that one – these were the only non-white customers I'd seen all day, and two – that they were, like nearly all the other market-goers that day, from a privileged, wealthy social class. This was the moment that shifted and honed the direction my dissertation research would take for the next three years.

My eyes attuned to the potential ethnic and socio-economic absences at the marketplace, I realized that many of my field notes took these characteristics for granted: a woman was a woman, a man was a man, nothing more. This is not to say that my notes were being intentionally color-blind – a tendency in research and practice to ignore and blur racial lines which essentially turns a blind eye to racial injustices and effectively bolsters the continued dominance white cultural norms and practices. What was occurring in my notes, rather, was evidence that most of the bodies at the market were invisible to me. Their color was my color. I did not see them as ‘other’ and therefore I never bothered to note the color of their skin. It would have been extremely repetitive. In that sense the absence of description spoke more loudly to the truth than words could have: the market on that day (and on many days previous and subsequent) was a mass of white bodies.

Slightly less visible, but with traces still present, were class differences at the markets. On the fringes of the markets, in the alleys and at the corners I saw thin men and women with torn jeans, faces darkened by sun and grit – signs of homelessness or perhaps in some cases a long day’s physical labor. These were people that glanced into at the market as they walked or cycled by. In markets where the aisles were narrow and the crowds close, I never saw any venture into the heart of the market. At other markets, where the space between rows of vendors came in courtyard-sized gaps, these sorts of people were more likely to pass through the market itself. Still, they rarely lingered, walking through quickly as a short-cut thoroughfare to their intended destination, stopping to talk to no one but their friends, who were often waiting for them at the far side. Their stained clothing, torn backpacks, and mussed hair stood in stark contrast to the sea of bubblegum pink capris, pastel polos shirts, French manicures, and long flowery

sundresses that bedeck the bodies inside the market. Though more superficially similar to the subset of market-goers sporting tattoos, and skinny jeans and sketchbooks, there are still tell-tale markers in their appearance that label them as ‘other’ – their sun-weathered skin, grit-encrusted fingernails, and multi-layered plastic sacks bulging with newspapers and spare jackets and aluminum cans and odds and ends. The farmers’ market is of one subculture, and they are of another.

The absence of certain types of bodies and skins and clothings from the market is evident also on the markets’ Facebook pages, websites and blog photo galleries. There, amidst seas of white tents and neat jars of gourmet pickles, artisan breads, and woven baskets of produce, are the customers. White, birkenstocked, with bikes or without, cloth tote bags, silver bangle bracelets and flip-flops, sunhats and strollers, cargo shorts and tees sporting university logos, sunglasses and halter tops. With virtually no exceptions, all of them white, all with markers of wealth or higher education. These of course, are all personal observations, and therefore only speak to the visible differences in bodies present and absent from the market. Wanting to dig a bit deeper than this, I designed a farmers’ market survey with questions regarding demographics, in addition to degree of market participation, attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of motives for and barriers to participating in the market. The surveys were completed by 450 farmers’ market customers across Arizona in Fall of 2011.

Corroborating my fieldwork, and the findings of many farmers’ market surveys across the U.S. (Abello et al., 2012; Adams & Adams, 2011; D. Conner et al., 2010; Crandall et al., 2010; Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010; Farmer et al., 2011; Leone et al., 2012; Rainey et al., 2011), my survey found that Arizona’s farmers’ markets are frequented by

a disproportionately high percentage of white, wealthy, highly educated consumers. Table 5 provides details on the demographics of Arizona farmers' market customers as found in my survey. Most farmers' market shoppers were white (82%), female (76.5%), under 50 (65.8%), and had received a college degree (67.8%). Compared to the rest of Arizona and the U.S., more farmers' market shoppers reported incomes in the middle and mid-upper income quintiles (between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per household per year). Only 19.7% of Arizona farmers' market customers reported household incomes under \$25,000 a year, as compared to 25.0% of the U.S. population and 25.2% of Arizona residents. Just 11.9% of Arizona farmers' market customers reported themselves in the very low income bracket of under \$15,000 per year, as compared to 13.7% of Arizonans and 13.5% of the broader U.S.

Racially, Arizona farmers' markets are dominated by white bodies. While Arizona is a very racially diverse state, this diversity does not appear to translate over to its farmers' markets. Over 82% of Arizona farmers' market customers listed their race/ethnicity as white - a disproportionately high fraction, when one considers that only 64% of U.S. residents and 58% of Arizona residents are white/Caucasian. Dramatically under-represented at Arizona farmers' markets are those of Hispanic/Latino descent. While nearly 30% of Arizona residents identify as Hispanic/Latino, only 9.3% of farmers' market customers do.

Some caution does must be employed when interpreting these results, however. I observed that at some markets, ethnic minorities declined to take the survey at a slightly higher frequency than other customers. This was particularly noted at Village, Weekday, and Parkland markets. While the reason for this is unclear, many factors including the

whiteness of the researcher, and the language in which the survey was administered (English) may have played a role. Therefore it is possible that minorities could have been somewhat undersampled in this study. However, the level is likely somewhat minimal.

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of Arizona Farmers' Market Customers

Variable	Arizona Residents (ACS 2010)	All Arizona Farmers' Markets (n=450)	Courtyard Market (n=91)	Village Market (n=28)	Weekday Market (n=38)	Urbana Market (n=101)	Parklands Market (n=40)	Foodie Market (n=38)
Gender								
Male	49.7	23.5	20.7	28.6	23.7	29.2	26.3	35.3
Female	50.3	76.5	79.3	64.3	76.3	70.8	73.7	64.7
Age								
18-20	5.8	7.4	32.3	0.0	2.6	1.0	0.0	0.0
21-29	14.5	17.0	32.3	11.5	10.8	19.8	5.4	14.7
30-39	18.0	24.6	17.4	23.1	16.2	25.7	32.4	26.5
40-49	18.0	16.8	8.1	23.1	16.2	19.8	29.7	8.8
50-59	17.1	18.7	5.8	15.4	24.3	12.9	18.9	35.3
60+	26.6	15.6	3.5	26.9	29.7	5.0	13.5	14.7
Ethnicity								
White	57.8	82.2	66.3	73.1	89.5	83.5	84.2	88.6
Black	3.7	1.2	1.2	3.9	2.6	2.1	0.0	0.0
American Indian	4.0	2.1	4.7	11.5	0.0	1.0	2.6	0.0
Hispanic/Latino/a	29.6	9.3	17.4	7.7	5.3	7.2	7.9	8.6
Asian	2.7	3.3	10.5	3.9	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0
Hawaiian/Pac. Isl.	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.6	3.1	5.3	2.9
Education								
Some High School	14.4	0.7	0.0	3.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
High School graduate	25.1	5.9	10.5	3.9	16.7	3.1	10.5	0.0
Some College	26.5	25.6	39.5	23.1	25.0	13.4	31.6	20.0
Associate Degree	8.1	9.5	9.3	11.5	13.9	10.3	2.6	14.3
Bachelor's Degree	16.7	30.8	16.3	46.2	25.0	36.1	34.2	34.3
Graduate Degree	9.2	27.5	24.4	11.5	16.7	37.1	21.1	31.4
Home Ownership								
Owned	65.2	62.3	37.3	76.9	69.4	63.5	73.0	74.3
Rented	34.8	36.3	61.4	23.1	25.0	35.4	27.0	20.0
Occupied w/o payment of rent	-	1.4	1.2	0.0	5.6	1.0	0.0	5.7
Employment								
<i>Employed</i>	<i>88.3</i>	<i>70.0</i>	<i>71.1</i>	<i>54.2</i>	<i>45.2</i>	<i>82.1</i>	<i>81.6</i>	<i>69.7</i>
Employed 1-39 hours	-	26.8	32.5	29.2	19.4	26.3	31.6	24.2
Employed 40+ hours	-	43.2	38.6	25.0	25.8	55.8	50.0	45.5
<i>Not Employed</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>30.0</i>	<i>25.3</i>	<i>29.2</i>	<i>22.6</i>	<i>11.6</i>	<i>10.5</i>	<i>15.2</i>
Not Employed	-	5.5	10.8	8.3	3.23	3.2	5.3	3.0
Looking for Work	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not Employed	-	9.2	14.5	16.7	19.4	4.2	2.6	6.1
Not Looking	-	12.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Retired	-	2.5	3.6	16.7	32.3	5.3	10.5	15.2
Disabled	-	-	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.2	2.6	6.1
Household Income								
Less than \$15,000	13.7	11.9	21.0	12.0	9.4	8.5	6.3	13.3
Less than \$25,000	25.2	19.7	29.6	28.0	21.9	12.8	9.4	13.3
\$25,000-\$49,999	27.5	23.3	30.9	12.0	34.4	21.3	18.8	23.3
\$50,000-\$74,999	18.8	20.7	18.5	12.0	28.1	22.3	15.6	16.7
\$75,000-\$99,999	11.3	16.6	7.4	12.0	6.3	21.3	34.4	23.3
\$100,000 or more	17.2	19.7	13.6	36.0	9.4	22.3	21.9	23.3

That farmers' markets are primarily spaces for a certain demographic is something not always at the forefront of people's minds when considering the pros and cons of farmers' markets. Often, these sorts of dialogues outline benefits to individual health, the farming community, the local economy, and the broader environment. Any disadvantages that people list almost invariably come from a distinctly personal perspective: lack of selection, inconvenience, high prices, difficulties finding parking. In my experience interviewing community members in and around Arizona farmers' markets, and in my reading of literature on farmers' markets elsewhere, it seems that the issue of farmers' market exclusivity and the tendency to cater only to a certain demographic virtually never comes up in conversation unless prompted by the researcher.

In order to start conversations regarding the presences and absences of certain people groups from farmers' markets in Central Arizona but without 'leading' the discussion too much, I asked those customers and community members I interviewed to speculate, from their own perspective and experiences, who attends farmers' markets and who doesn't. Upon reflection, many had interesting things to say about presences and absences at the market and some fascinating dichotomies emerged.

An Elitist Crowd

Some noted that farmers' markets were places attended by those from wealthier households. The quotes below illustrate that they view farmers' markets as spaces for those whom lack of convenience and high prices are not an issue. This, they explain, could exclude large families with many mouths to feed, students on a tight budget, or those on federal food assistance programs such as SNAP.

It seems like everybody is a little more affluent and a little bit younger, you don't see people coming in who have eight kids they're trying to feed. It's a well heeled crowd....If you can afford it is fine but if you're pinching your pennies it's hard to shop there. – Interviewee #33

I tend to think it's an elitist crowd. I mean they say they take food stamps, but I've never seen anybody spending food stamps there so I tend to think it's those of us who have jobs and have money to you know to pay the premium that you do at the farmers market. – Interviewee #34

Even for those low-income customers who do attend, the products that are realistically feasible to purchase may be limited. For the university art student below, attending the farmers' market meant two shopping trips a week: one to purchase produce and one to purchase all other food items, as processed foods were too expensive at the market.

They tend to cater to people who can spend a lot of money on food ... you can get pasta sauce for \$1.99 maybe \$3.50 at Trader Joes. And then \$8.00? That's two and a half times! That sucks. So I don't shop there for ANYTHING other than straight produce when I go into the [farmers' market]. - Interviewee #8

For this student, her flexible university schedule allowed her to make the time for both farmers' market shopping plus an additional trip. In this way she was able to take advantage of the low prices at a standard grocery store, while buying the bulk of her produce from local farmers. Not everyone, however, has the luxury of flexible time. Those whose main goal at the market is not socialization or relaxation view food provisioning, and hence farmers' markets as a utilitarian endeavor. They have little time or patience for markets that are crowded, difficult to navigate, that lack the variety they need or that have excess 'clutter' in the form of arts and crafts items. For these customers who 'want to get in and get out' these things detract from the utility of the market, and

make one more reason why they might not shop there. Convenience and utility may be particularly crucial for those with families, working long hours, or simply strapped for time and money. Thus finding a balance between building a market that encourages community through a fun social atmosphere and one which provides maximum utility to the time-conscious customers is critical.

The quotes below highlight some of the types of professions that may make it difficult to find the time for farmers' markets. Those in hospitality, restaurant, and other service-related industries may work on the weekends when many farmers' markets are scheduled. The same goes for business-persons and airline workers who travel for a living. Others may simply have a difficult time fitting the market in as one more thing to add to their already busy-schedules.

I know my co-worker she works on Saturdays and she says oh I'd love to go to a farmers market but I work so it's hard when markets are only offered on the weekend or off times when the rest of the working public in hospitality or restaurants wouldn't be able to go to. – Interviewee #40

I personally have not been shopping at any of the farmers' markets...we work so much and are constantly busy with this and that. It's all I can do. I just made a trip over to the grocery store at Safeway which is a stone's throw away. – Interviewee #16

I haven't actually gone out here yet ... there's like a farmers' market right down the street ... [but] this is like the first Saturday I've had off like EVER. –Interviewee #2

I travel for a living so I'm not around on the weekends sometimes, so you know, that doesn't make it convenient for me. - Interviewee #21

I have class all weekend and the Saturdays I didn't have class I have work and the Sundays that I didn't have class or work I have church so that's pretty busy. – Interviewee #36

These observations – that farmers’ markets are primarily for those who have the time and money and are therefore difficult for low income customers to attend – mirror what I found in my survey question regarding frequency of market attendance. Participants were asked to describe their market attendance on a 6-point scale which was converted to a Likert-type scale, where 6 represented attending the farmers’ market “once or twice a week” and 1 represented “never.” Independent samples t-tests were used to examine the relationship between income and frequency of attendance. Those of “low incomes” (from households earning under \$25,000 a year) attended the market with significantly less frequency than those earning more than this amount: at a mean frequency of 4.63 compared to 4.85 ($p=0.025$, $t\text{-value}=1.354$). Those of “very low incomes” (from households earning under \$15,000 per year) attended the market even less, at a mean frequency of 4.39 ($p=0.027$, $t\text{-value}=2.278$).

Table 6 illustrates the frequency of farmers’ market attendance for different income groups. Only 26% of low income customers and 22% of very low income customers attended the farmers’ market on a weekly basis, as compared to 30 percent of non low-income farmers’ market goers. Low-income and very low-income customers were also more likely to state that they “never” attended the farmers’ market. Approximately 5.3% and 8.1% of low and very low income market-goers responded that they never attend as compared to 1.4% of other farmers’ market customers. Curious as to why these customers were at a farmers’ market, filling out a survey if they “never” attend – I asked one customer who was discussing their responses with their family while completing the survey. She responded that while they enjoy walking through the market in the evenings on their way to their car, they never purchase anything. This may be the

case for other customers who responded “never” as well. For them, the market offers an atmosphere to enjoy, but not a place to buy food.

Customers with lower incomes were slightly more likely to purchase all or almost all of their fruit, but less likely to purchase all or almost all of their vegetables at farmers’ markets. Table 7 shows that approximately 24.0% of low-income customers, and 21.6% very low income customers purchased all or almost all of their vegetables at farmers’ markets, as opposed to 25.1% of non low-income customers. About 14.5% of low income customers and 13.5% of very low income customers purchased all or almost all of their fruit at farmers’ markets, as compared to 13.5% of non low-income customers.

Table 6

Frequency of Farmers' Market Attendance

Variable	Arizona farmers' market customers (n=450)	Non-low income customers (Over 25K) (n=375)	Low income customers (Under 25K) (n=76)	Very low income customers (Under 15K) (n=37)	White customers (n=346)	Minorities (n=76)	Hispanic customers (n=39)	Black/African Amer. customers (n=5)	American Indian / Alaska Native (n= 14)	Asian (n=14)	Other Ethnicity (n=8)
Mean frequency[†]	4.81	4.85*	4.63*	4.39*	4.89	4.47	4.72	5.00	4.43	3.79	4.63
% of Customers											
1-2 times a week	29.7	30.1	26.7	21.6	32.4	18.4	20.5	40.0	14.3	7.1	25.0
1-2 times a month	36.9	37.3	34.2	29.7	36.4	38.2	48.7	40.0	57.1	7.1	25.0
Several times a year	23.5	23.7	23.7	27.0	22.8	27.6	20.5	0.0	7.1	64.3	37.5
1-2 times a year	6.45	6.1	7.9	10.8	6.4	7.9	5.1	20.0	7.1	7.1	12.5
Every few years	1.4	1.4	1.3	2.7	0.6	4.0	2.6	0.0	7.1	7.1	0.0
Never	2.1	1.4	5.3	8.1	1.5	4.0	2.6	0.0	7.1	7.1	0.0

* Significant at the p < 0.05 level

** Significant at the P < 0.01 level

[†] Market attendance was rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale, where 6 represented attending the farmers' market "once or twice a week" and 1 represented "never."

Table 7

Amount of Items Purchased from Arizona Farmers' Markets (percent of customers)

Variable	Arizona Farmers' Market Customers (n=450)	Non-low income customers (Over 25K) (n=375)	Low income customers (Under 25K) (n=76)	Very low income customers (Under 15K) (n=37)	White customers (n=346)	Minorities (n=75)	Hispanic customers (n=39)	Non-Hispanic Minorities (n=36)	Black/African Amer. customers (n=5)	American Indian / Alaska Native (n=14)	Asian (n=14)	Other Ethnicity (n=8)
Vegetables												
All	4.6	4.2	6.7	5.4	5.5	1.3	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Almost all	20.3	20.9	17.3	16.2	21.4	14.7	16.2	14.3	0.0	7.1	15.4	37.5
More than half	11.3	10.9	13.3	8.11	11.8	9.3	8.11	5.7	40.0	14.3	0.0	0.0
About half	18.5	18.7	17.3	21.6	18.8	18.7	21.6	17.1	0.0	21.4	15.4	12.5
Less than half	30.0	30.4	29.3	32.4	30.6	26.7	32.4	37.1	40.0	28.6	38.5	25.0
Almost none	9.9	10.6	6.7	2.7	8.1	18.7	2.7	17.1	20.0	21.4	7.7	25.0
None	4.9	4.2	8.0	10.8	3.5	9.3	10.8	5.7	0.0	7.1	15.4	0.0
Fruit												
All	1.6	1.1	4.0	2.7	2.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Almost all	12.1	12.4	10.5	10.8	13.3	6.7	10.8	2.8	0.0	7.7	0.0	12.5
More than half	11.2	11.6	9.2	8.1	11.0	12.0	8.1	13.9	40.0	15.4	7.1	12.5
About half	17.2	16.1	22.4	21.6	16.5	17.3	21.6	16.7	0.0	23.1	21.4	0.0
Less than half	38.9	39.5	36.8	35.1	38.7	38.7	35.1	47.2	40.0	38.5	42.9	62.5
Almost none	14.0	15.3	7.9	8.1	12.6	16.0	8.1	11.1	20.0	15.4	7.1	12.5
None	4.4	3.7	1.3	10.8	3.5	8.0	10.8	5.6	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0

Farmers' Markets and Race

Like those of lower incomes, people of color do not appear to utilize Arizona farmers' markets to the same extent as other customers. Table 6 displays the frequency of attendance for the various ethnic groups responding to the survey. Mann-Whitney's U was used to examine the relationship between ethnicity/race and frequency of market attendance. Minority customers attended the market with significantly less frequency than non-minority whites ($U=11007.5$, $p=0.006$). Only 18% of minority customers visited the farmers' market on a weekly basis, as compared to 32% of White/Caucasian farmers' market goers. Of the different ethnic groups, blacks/African Americans seemed to shop the most frequently, and Asians the least frequently. However, some caution must be used when interpreting these results. There were very few minority customers in the survey sample, and it might also be that those from different cultures may, in general shop for food at different frequencies. However, as indicated in Table 7, ethnic minorities, and particularly non-Hispanic minorities seem to utilize the farmers' market to a more limited extent to buy their fresh produce. Only 14.3% of non-Hispanic minorities and 21.6% of Hispanic customers purchase all or almost all of their vegetables at Arizona farmers' markets as compared to 26.9% of all White customers.

Given the general absence of racial/ethnic minorities at the markets, it is perhaps not surprising that the topic of race was virtually absent from any of my interviewees' responses regarding the demographics of participants at Arizona farmers' markets.

Alkon, in her 2008 dissertation on the intersections between race, justice, and sustainability in farmers markets, points out that customers, farmers' market managers, and local food advocates alike are often silent on the subject of race, despite the fact that race plays a significant role in food insecurity, farm ownership, and other issues

extremely relevant to farmers' markets (Alkon, 2008c). The food movement's silence on these issues serves to re-enforce white privilege in alternative food systems, as race is effectively left out of the discourse. In the current study, race was a topic only mentioned by one participant. Unsurprisingly, this was to note an absence of a particular minority group that used to have a presence at the market.

Before the immigration bill the [farmers'] market reached a huge number of Hispanic women ... they used to have two lines at [produce vendor]. One was for WIC and one was for others. And the WIC line was really long ... you used to have to wait 45 minutes sometimes to pay at certain times of the month when the WIC stamps were about to expire. I would wait 45 minutes to pay. It was so busy with Hispanics and you don't see that now ... It was just after SB1070 that they stopped coming. – Interviewee #44

The bill to which the woman was referring was Arizona Senate Bill 1070 – an extremely controversial anti-immigration measure that was signed into law on April 23, 2010 – approximately a year and a half before the time of this interview. The key provision required state enforcement officers to determine the immigration status (legal vs. illegal) during any lawful stop or contact. This meant that effectively, ethnic minorities, particularly those of Hispanic descent, would need to carry proof of lawful immigration with them at all times. My research and survey data unfortunately does not extend back to the time prior to SB1070, therefore, I cannot corroborate the observations of this interviewee. However, if accurate, the idea that this bill could have made such a substantial impact on previous Hispanic devotees of Arizona farmers' market attendees is certainly a sobering one.

Overall, the lack of discussion on race in farmers' markets in the current study could be occurring for a number of reasons. As the woman above noted, and

as supported by my own observations and that of my survey data, very few non-whites are in attendance at Arizona farmers' markets. As one participant noted – farmers' markets are places for “people like me” (Interviewee #8). While she was undoubtedly referring not to the color of people's skin, but to the fact that farmers' market goers are like-minded, her comment is a powerful one. It re-emphasizes the fact that the markets have developed their own, very particular subculture. The fact that she and 82% of the other members of this subculture (her fellow farmers' market attendees) are white is a phenomenon that could hardly be coincidental. In Chapter 5, I will explore this issue more fully – examining the ways in which racially and socio-economically divided subcultures are formed in the food system, and the ways in which this may lead to exclusion of certain people from certain marketplaces.

Where race and ethnicity *was* mentioned by participants in the current study was (with the one aforementioned exception) not in my discussions with farmers' market customers, but rather in interviews with residents of the neighborhoods surrounding the case study markets. In order to situate farmers' market experiences within a framework of broader food system participation, I asked them questions not only about farmers' markets, but about obtaining food in general (i.e. through grocery stores, food banks and other outlets). Here, people of color repeatedly expressed that one of the main reasons they chose to shop at one food outlet over another was precisely because of its ethnic identity, and in some cases because of the way that those of minority ethnicity were treated there.

*I've been down [to the farmers' market] about three or four times.
Because they have these little Indian beans, what we call them - Indian*

Beans. Kind of like Tepary Beans. I usually go over there and buy them over there. Because if I didn't I'd have to go all the way out to the Reservation. You can't get them in like the major stores. – Interviewee #10

One of the Mexican ladies she goes for me she goes down to one of the Mexican markets so its Mexican brand food. So good .- Interviewee #9

I used to buy everything at Food City, meat whatever I need, I used to go over there because its Hispanic ... and they speak Spanish ... At El Rancho ... you know, we're Hispanic and we use too much tomatoes and onions and cilantro and jalapenos so those things we cook it all the time so you know I have to go a lot of times over there. And I already know a few people who work there. They treat me nice. They make you feel good, and you're coming back. – Interviewee #7

It's just some [people at grocery stores] they don't care. They don't ... I say excuse me ma'am excuse me sir. Some people are friendly some are not some just look at you like where did you grow up from? You better go back on the other side! Because I grew up. I'm not prestigious ... I grew up in a foster home ... I still got relatives that are on the Reservation. – Interviewee #11

I've been to the Safeway on Chapparral and they're kind of snooty people there, just kind of demographics I guess ... my girlfriend's black and she felt like they kinda looked at her the wrong way ... [so we] definitely make a conscious decision to not go to that Safeway - Interviewee #24

As these quotes reveal, for some people the ethnic identity and cultural atmosphere of the market plays a significant role in their decision to purchase there. For some, the *type* of food available at these markets is important. Certain marketplaces are seen as providing the kinds of ethnic foods needed for traditional meals, while - presumably - other markets are not seen to be the place to find these items. Beyond the culinary benefits of shopping at ethnic food stores, these quotes hint at deeper reasons as well. One woman emphasizes the importance of friendly, Spanish-speaking market staff. She and the others reveal the powerful impact that feeling unwelcome and out-of-place in a marketplace's culture can have. Likewise, other studies have uncovered feelings of discomfort and in some cases overt discrimination associated with shopping at farmers'

markets (Colasanti et al., 2010; Slocum, 2008). I will speak more to this topic in the next chapter, in the sections on cultural barriers to farmers' market participation, beginning on page 208.

Customer Attitudes, Values and Behaviors

In addition to demographic observations, those I interviewed also described farmers' market customers as holding particular attitudes or values. Many pointed out that it takes a certain type of dedication in order to decide to shop at the market and to do so regularly. Some observed that many of the farmers' market customers were regulars.

Food conscious and alternative ... or full of themselves?

Opting to shop at a farmers' market often involves making tradeoffs in terms of time, convenience, selection, and sometimes cost. Because of this, many interviewees expressed that only those who hold strongly to certain values become dedicated farmers' market customers. They described farmers' market shoppers variously as those who were food-oriented, yoga-practicers, striving to be healthier, consuming more organic foods, and generally embodying "alternative," and "more radical ways of living."

They're more food conscious and more alternative. Healthier, and more interested in things like health so in a lot of ways more political in the weird way that food is becoming more political. – Interviewee #8

[They] are devotees of Barbara Kingsolver's Animal, Vegetable, Miracle type of thinking ... the justice issues, the labor issues, of supporting the family farmer of doing business with the people who raise the food in your neighborhood. – Interviewee #34

They want fresh. They want local. And they want organic. And I believe a lot of people shop there also for the event just to see what's happening. It gives people something to do on a Saturday... And you're going to have people that are definitely into health and natural living and people that are interested in eating healthy. – Interviewee #35

It takes a certain interest and commitment and time to go because you can't buy everything that you need there. And so I think it may be also that most of the people I know around [here] are not very food oriented in that way whereas everybody I know in Scottsdale and Tempe and Gilbert go to the farmers market (laughs) 'cause they're more oriented that way. – Interviewee #44

These observations describe a particular type of person drawn to the farmers' market model: the conscientious consumer concerned about personal health, social justice, the environment, and holistic living. Interviewees present these customers as concerned citizens dedicated enough that they are willing to sacrifice their time and dollars to seek out and purchase items worthy of the cause. Studies elsewhere in the U.S. echo my interviewee's observations. Cluster analyses of farmers' market participants across the U.S. suggest that in fact dedicated, concerned community members may constitute perhaps the largest proportion of customers at farmers' markets. Hunt (2007) refers to this group as the 'Lifestylers' – customers who are more concerned with helping local farmers and eating organic than quality or convenience – and found that they constituted over 71% of farmers' market shoppers. Likewise, "local" and "organic" food were ranked as more important than convenience by farmers' market shoppers in Vermont, and 45% of farmers' market customers in an Arkansas study stated that they primarily purchase food from farmers' markets to support local farmers (D. Baker et al., 2009; Rainey et al., 2011). These consumers act not in the neoclassical economic sense on their own utilitarian self-interest, but are driven in response to a number of values and outcomes they perceive as embedded in the act of economic exchange (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Hinrichs, 2003; Thilmany, Bond, & Bond, 2008). In my study, the value-driven motives of farmers' market customers were visible enough to be noticed by other market

customers, and members of the community. Part of this perception may come from personal relationships with other farmers' market customers and vendors, or by observing the interactions and dialogue at the market. The types of conversations held and the questions customers ask vendors can provide particular insight to the value-systems embedded in the market exchange.

On one occasion, I overheard a group of women questioning another regarding her previous tamale purchases: "were they vegan?" she accosted. The woman she was with reassured her they didn't contain animal products – an interaction highlighting the importance of ethical values in decision-making for these customers. Even more frequently overheard are comments regarding pesticides, chemicals, preservatives and additives. Customers pick up jars of salsa or bars of soap, rotating immediately to the ingredients list as they scrutinize. Meanwhile, vendors try to assure them that the products are all natural. "See I won't put mayo in it," a canned fish vendor said to a customer on one occasion, "because of the bleach and added chemicals in it." Customers and vendors alike reveal their political leanings through 'Obama' t-shirts, or comments such as: "What's wrong with hearing your president speak? I mean even if it was Bush I wouldn't care!"

In Arizona, as elsewhere, farmers' markets seem to be building an image as places where health conscious, sustainability-oriented, politically liberal, alternative/radical, 'concerned' consumers go to shop. However, for those who don't identify with one or more of these cultural values, the farmers' market image may alienate those who see themselves either as outsiders to the food movement, or as not extreme enough to 'go there.'

In a lot of ways I think there's a little bit of ... the bragging rights of "well I support local farmers so I'm a better person." ... between you me and the recorder, some of those people are full of themselves most of the time. – Interviewee #1

I want things that are healthy but I'm not a fanatic. Like I'll buy things that are not organic. Sometimes I buy things that are organic and sometimes I buy things that are not organic. – Interviewee #44

What I observed was that they knew about it and they were coming there for a reason ... they seemed like regulars. – Interviewee #21

My mother in law would not go to the farmers market. She is ... again she's a meat and potato kind of woman ... she does boxed stuffing, jarred gravy ... frozen corn ...it's just the mentality. – Interviewee #40

These quotes and those above paint a picture of contrast between market-goers and non-market goers, and not always in a positive light. Are all farmers' market goers organic-obsessed, self-important, fanatics? Perhaps more importantly – does this perception drive others away? In the next chapter, I will explore the extent to which the motives which drive farmers' market customers align with others' perceptions of the typical farmers' market aficionado, and how cultural differences – real or perceived – can lead to exclusion in farmers' markets.

In summary, the findings of my survey, coupled with my own observations and the observations of those I interviewed illustrate that image of farmers' markets as places for the white, wealthy, and 'alternative lifestyle' customer. In Guthman's (2003) reflections on the growth of local and organic food, she notes that for many, the types of products sold at farmers' markets constitute "yuppie chow." Similarly, Arizonans are presented with a subtle but powerfully dichotomizing image of farmers' markets – one which may make them feel welcome if they feel they fit the criteria, but excluded if they identify outside the bounds.

VENDOR PRESENCES AND ABSENCES

Farmers' markets provide farms with a direct-market for agricultural products, allowing farmers to by-pass the middle men and maintain higher profits. Some vendors report earning up to four times the amount of profit they would've seen selling the same product to a supermarket (Cameron, 2007; Feenstra et al., 2003; Govindasamy et al., 2003; Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Sanderson et al., 2005; Vogt & Kaiser, 2008; Zepeda & Li, 2006). Farmers' markets can serve as business incubators for small farms – providing avenues for social networking, and the exchange of innovative management and marketing techniques, product development. The development of these skills at farmers' markets often help farmers expand their business to other markets (Cameron, 2007; Feenstra et al., 2003; Lawson et al., 2008; M. N. LeRoux et al., 2010; Sanderson et al., 2005). However, the extent to which these benefits are experienced by all farmers' market vendors is not well understood.

Vendor Demographics

Overall, U.S. farms struggle to earn substantial profits. In 2002, the mean farm operator household income in the U.S. was \$65,761, but only \$3,477 of this came from the farm operation itself, while the remainder came from non-farm income sources (J. Weber & Ahearn, 2013). According to the Agricultural Resource Management Survey in the same year the average income of direct-marketing farmers was approximately \$31,700 per year from direct-marketing strategies – indicating that at least compared to some farming strategies, direct-marketing can be relatively profitable. However, farmers' markets are just one form of direct marketing, and according to farmers' market

managers in a nationwide survey vendors earned only \$7,035 from farmers' markets in 2005 – much less than the average direct-marketer (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). Most farmer vendors earn \$5000 or less from market sales each year, though these figures vary by region: vendors in the far Western, Mid-Atlantic, and Northeastern states seeing more profit, and those in the North Central plains, Rocky Mountains, and Southwest seeing lower profits. Arizona is considered to be in the Rocky Mountain region according to this survey - a region in which 80.4% of farmers' market vendors were reported as earning just \$1-\$5,000 from their market annually, with an overall median of \$447 in per vendor monthly sales for the region (Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Table 8 displays demographic findings from my survey of 102 Arizona farmers' market vendors. Most farmers' market vendors were white (84.4%), female (59.3%), over 50 (50.6%), and had earned a college degree (76.9%). As compared to other Arizonans, fewer vendors recorded themselves as having an income in the lowest income brackets, with only 20.5% earning a household income of under \$25,000 per year. Most (52.6%) earned a middling household income between \$25,000 and \$75,000.

The extent to which the farm itself contributes to this income varies widely. In general, *off-farm* income sources make up the vast majority of U.S. farming families' household income. In 2011, *on-farm* income sources only accounted for about 16% of U.S. farm household income, while *off-farm* sources contributed the remaining 84% (Schnepf, 2012). One criticism sometimes aimed at farmers' markets (often by producers themselves) is that they primarily serve as outlets for small-scale, part-time farmers, and are not venues that adequately serve "real" farms. However, the results from my survey, when compared to the U.S. agricultural survey indicate that far from being populated by

“hobby” farms, the farmers’ markets in Arizona are attended by vendors who, on average, exceed annual agricultural sales of their national and statewide counterparts. In fact small/hobby farms seem to be under-represented at Arizona farmers’ markets. Figure 5. Annual Farm Sales” compares gross annual agricultural sales between Arizona farmers’ market vendors with those of producers across Arizona and the U.S. Only 33% of Arizona farmers’ market vendors earn under 10K in gross annual agricultural sales, while this figure is much higher for U.S. and Arizonan farmers in general (60% and 81%, respectively). Similarly, while 41% of Arizona farmers’ market vendors earn over \$50,000 in agricultural product sales, only 24% of U.S. producers earn this much on an annual basis, and only 12% of Arizona producers do. Therefore compared to other farms across the state and nation, the typical Arizona farmers’ market vendor appears to have a much larger scale operation, financially speaking.

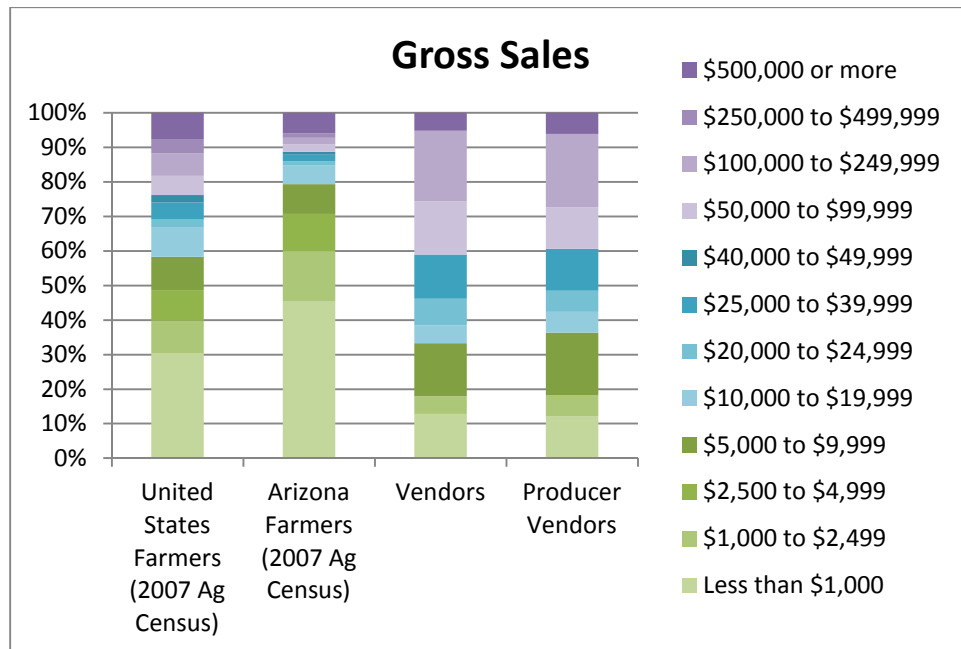


Figure 5. Annual Farm Sales

Arizona farmers' markets seem to play a major role as an outlet for these agricultural products. Produce and poultry vendors sell the highest proportion of their product at farmers' markets compared to other types of vendors (see Table 10). All of the poultry vendors and approximately 90% of the fruit vendors, and 87% of the vegetable vendors stated that they sell more than half their product at a farmers' market. Slightly fewer of the vendors who sell prepared or processed food, fish, dairy, eggs, and breads and grains sell more than half their product at farmers' markets (65%, 60%, 60%, 55%, 20% respectively). This mirrors the findings of other studies of farmers' market producers across the U.S. In a study of New York vegetable farmers, 69% of the farms stated that over half their farm income came from direct-markets such as farmers' markets (Uva, 2002). Likewise, in a West Virginia study, producers reported that they earned 19% of their household income from farmers' markets, while this figure was 41% in a New York farmers' market study (C. Brown et al., 2007; Schmit & Gómez, 2011).

In the open-ended portion of the survey, many vendors reiterated the financial benefits of the farmers' market model, due to primarily to good opportunities for marketing and exposure, and growing a customer base. "It's got a good customer base from a personal income standpoint" said one Village Market vendor, explaining her rationale for choosing the market at which she vends. Many felt that their market was located in an area primed for high customer traffic. This meant the appearance of repeat customers who frequented the market loyally. "There's a community of customers," one Urbana Market vendor commented. Across the case study markets, many noted high levels of customer traffic, with the end result being more sales. And as a produce vendor

at Foodie Market explained: “direct selling to customers is more profitable than selling wholesale.”

Overall, it would seem that like farmers’ market operations elsewhere, Arizona farmers’ markets provide a good opportunity for expanding farms’ customer base, and also provide substantial portion of vendors’ agricultural revenue, though the total revenue itself may be small. Altogether, farmers’ market sales and other on-farm revenue, bolstered by off-farm income sources, seem to lead to a farmers’ market vendor demographic that socio-economically speaking, is in the middle-upper class and somewhat above that of the typical Arizona resident.

Table 8

Arizona Farmers' Market Vendor Demographics (percent of respondents)

Variable	Arizona Residents (ACS 2010)	All Arizona Farmers' Market Vendors (n=102)	Courtyard Market (n=1)	Village Market (n=13)	Weekday Market (n=4)	Urbana Market (n=22)	Parklands Market (n=16)	Foodie Market (n=21)
Gender								
Male	49.7	40.7	-	45.5	-	47.4	66.7	41.1
Female	50.3	59.3	-	54.6	-	52.6	35.3	58.8
Age								
18-20	5.8	2.4	-	0.0	-	0.0	6.3	5.9
21-29	14.5	10.6	-	0.0	-	17.6	31.3	11.8
30-39	18.0	17.6	-	8.3	-	0.0	31.3	23.5
40-49	18.0	18.8	-	25.0	-	23.5	12.5	17.6
50-59	17.1	28.3	-	41.7	-	35.3	6.25	23.5
60+	26.6	22.3	-	25.0	-	23.5	12.5	17.6
Ethnicity								
White	57.8	84.4	-	92.3	-	68.4	81.3	88.6
Black	3.7	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
American Indian	4.0	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hispanic/Latino/a	29.6	11.1	-	0.0	-	26.3	6.3	8.6
Asian	2.7	3.3	-	7.69	-	0.0	12.5	0.0
Hawaiian/Pac. Isl.	0.2	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	1.9	2.6	-	0.0	-	5.3	0.0	2.9
Highest Level of Education								
Some High School	14.4	1.1	-	0.0	-	0.0	6.3	0.0
High School graduate	25.1	8.0	-	0.0	-	15.8	12.5	5.9
Some College	26.5	13.8	-	11.0	-	16.0	12.5	11.8
Associate Degree	8.1	24.1	-	9.1	-	10.5	6.3	17.6
Bachelor's Degree	16.7	37.9	-	18.2	-	47.4	50.0	47.1
Graduate Degree	9.2	14.9	-	27.3	-	5.26	12.5	17.6
Home Ownership								
Owned	65.2	70.6	-	100.0	-	66.7	60.0	73.3
Rented	34.8	27.5	-	0.0	-	33.3	40.0	26.7
Occupied w/o payment of rent	-	2.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Employment								
<i>Employed</i>	88.3	71.4	-	60.0	-	66.7	80.0	88.2
Employed 1-39 hours	-	17.9	-	10.0	-	22.2	26.7	11.8
Employed 40+ hours	-	53.6	-	50.0	-	44.4	53.3	76.5
<i>Not Employed</i>	11.8	28.6	-	40.0	-	22.2	20.0	11.8
Not Employed Looking for Work	-	6.0	-	20.0	-	5.56	6.7	0.0
Not Employed Not Looking	-	9.5	-	10.0	-	11.1	0.0	5.9
Retired	-	9.5	-	10.0	-	11.1	13.3	5.9
Disabled	-	3.6	-	0.0	-	5.6	0.0	0.0
Household Income								
Less than \$15,000	13.7	10.3	-	0.0	-	11.7	13.3	6.3
Less than \$25,000	25.2	20.5	-	0.0	-	23.5	26.7	12.5
\$25,000-\$49,999	27.5	29.5	-	30.0	-	23.5	13.3	41.5
\$50,000-\$74,999	18.8	23.1	-	30.0	-	23.5	33.3	12.5
\$75,000-\$99,999	11.3	6.41	-	20.0	-	0.0	13.3	0.0
\$100,000 or more	17.2	20.5	-	20.0	-	29.4	13.3	37.5

Table 9

Farmers' Market Vendor Characteristics (percent of respondents)

Variable	U.S. Producers (2007 USDA Ag Census)	AZ Producers (2007 USDA Ag Census)	Arizona Farmers' Market Vendors (n=102)	Courtyard Market (n=1)	Village Market (n=13)	Weekday Market (n=4)	Urbana Market (n=22)	Parklands Market (n=16)	Foodie Market (n=21)
Farm Acreage*									
1 to 9 acres	10.6	63.1	50.0	-	45.5	-	47.4	66.7	41.1
10 to 49 acres	28.1	17.0	22.2	-	54.6	-	52.6	35.3	58.8
50 to 179 acres	30.0	7.8	11.1						
180 to 499 acres	16.7	4.0	0.0						
500 to 999 acres	6.8	2.7	2.8						
1,000 to 1,999 acres	4.2	2.0	8.3						
2,000 acres +	3.6	3.3	5.6						
Land Ownership*									
Owned	-	-	75.5						
Leased	-	-	20.4						
Rented to others	-	-	4.1						
Gross Farm Sales*									
\$1,000-\$9,999	59.8	81.4	33.3	-	0.0	-	0.0	6.3	5.9
\$10,000-\$49,999	18.3	9.6	25.6	-	0.0	-	17.6	31.3	11.8
\$50,000-\$99,999	5.7	2.3	15.4	-	8.3	-	0.0	31.3	23.5
\$100,000-\$499,999	10.9	3.2	20.5	-	25.0	-	23.5	12.5	17.6
\$500,000 +	7.8	6.1	5.1	-	41.7	-	35.3	6.25	23.5
				-	25.0	-	23.5	12.5	17.6
Vegetables Sold at Farmers' Markets									
All	-	-	24.4	-	92.3	-	68.4	81.3	88.6
Almost All	-	-	19.5	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
More than half	-	-	19.5	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
About half	-	-	4.9	-	0.0	-	26.3	6.3	8.6
Less than half	-	-	4.9	-	7.69	-	0.0	12.5	0.0
Almost none	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
None	-	-	26.8	-	0.0	-	5.3	0.0	2.9
Farmers' Market Attendance									
Frequency									
More than once a week	-	-	7.5	-	0.0	-	0.0	6.3	0.0
1-2 times a week	-	-	83.0	-	11.0	-	16.0	12.5	11.8
1-2times a month	-	-	4.3	-	9.1	-	10.5	6.3	17.6
Several times a year	-	-	3.2	-	18.2	-	47.4	50.0	47.1
1-2 times a year	-	-	1.1	-	27.3	-	5.26	12.5	17.6
Never	-	-	1.1						
Production Techniques*									
Organic (non-certified)	-	-	62.0	-	100.0	-	66.7	60.0	73.3
Crop Rotation	-	-	33.0	-	0.0	-	33.3	40.0	26.7
Organic (certified)	0.9	0.8	13.0	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0
Biodynamic	-	-	8.0						
Conservation Tillage	-	-	8.0						

*Calculated only with responses from producer vendors – i.e. vendors responding they owned or leased farmland (n=49)

Table 10

Agricultural Products Sold at Arizona Farmers' Markets

Variable	Veggies		Fruits		Breads & grains		Meat		Poultry		Fish		Eggs		Beverages Dairy (non-dairy)		Processed & Prepared Foods		Other			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		
	n=30		n=19		n=5		n=6		n=3		n=5		n=21		n=5		n=4		n=26		n=14	
All	10	33.3	9	47.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	40.0	6	29.0	2	40.0	1	25.0	3	12.0	2	14.3
Almost All	8	26.7	3	15.8	1	20.0	3	50.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	9	43.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	27.0	7	50.0
More than half	8	26.7	5	26.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	2	9.5	1	20.0	0	0.0	7	27.0	0	0.0
Half	2	6.67	0	0.0	1	20.0	3	50.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	4.8	1	20.0	1	25.0	4	15.0	1	7.14
Less than half	2	6.67	2	10.5	2	40.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	3	14.0	1	20.0	1	25.0	3	12.0	2	14.3
Almost None	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	2	7.7	2	14.3
None*	11	10.8	13	12.7	14	13.7	15	15.0	15	15.0	15	15.0	12	12.0	13	13.0	13	13.0	9	8.8	2	1.96
N/A*	35	34.3	41	40.2	53	52	54	53.0	1	1.0	54	53.0	42	41.0	53	52.0	55	54.0	47	46	21	20.6
No response*	26	25.5	29	28.4	30	29.4	27	26.0	29	28.0	28	27.0	27	26.0	31	30.0	30	29.0	68	67	65	63.7

* Percentages calculated using total number of survey participants (n=102).

All other percentages in the table calculated using total number of vendors reporting some sales of the product to market (n listed in table).

When farmers' markets are critiqued as primarily white spaces, this is not only in regards to customers, but vendors as well. Historically, farmers' of color and particularly African American farmers in the U.S. have experienced discrimination, not only along the supply chain, but in terms of financial support from the USDA. Prior to the civil rights movement, and in the conservative 1980s, Black farmers in the U.S. were disproportionately denied the subsidies, loans and other economic supports which white farmers were granted. Without these subsidies, transition to more mechanized agriculture was hindered. Even though a settlement was eventually reached, the lingering effects of delay are still felt, and many black farming families have encountered barriers to receiving their portion of the payment (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009; Gilbert, Sharp, & Felin, 2002). In theory, farmers' markets represent a unique opportunity for those farms that historically have been low-tech, and/or on the margins of economic success. There are no minimums which must be met in terms of product volume, and therefore very small scale operations can sell and gain exposure to the same customer base that larger farms would. Some farmers' markets in the U.S. have been established with an explicit identity as a black farmers' market on a mission to empower African American farmers (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009). However, while cases of farmers' markets populated by producers of color do exist, they are somewhat unique in the broad scheme of farmers' market vendor demographics. While 26.5% the 2006 U.S. population identified as an ethnic minority, in the same year only 11% of farmers' market vendors were reported by market managers as racial/ethnic minorities (Ragland & Tropp, 2009).

Arizona is no exception to the phenomenon of vendor whiteness. According to my survey, 84.4% of farmers' market vendors identified as white, Non-Hispanic –

slightly higher than the 82.2% of farmers' market customers who did. By contrast, in 2010, the U.S. Decennial Census reported that only 63.7% of the U.S. population, and just 57.8% of the Arizona population identified as white, non-Hispanic (see Figure 6).

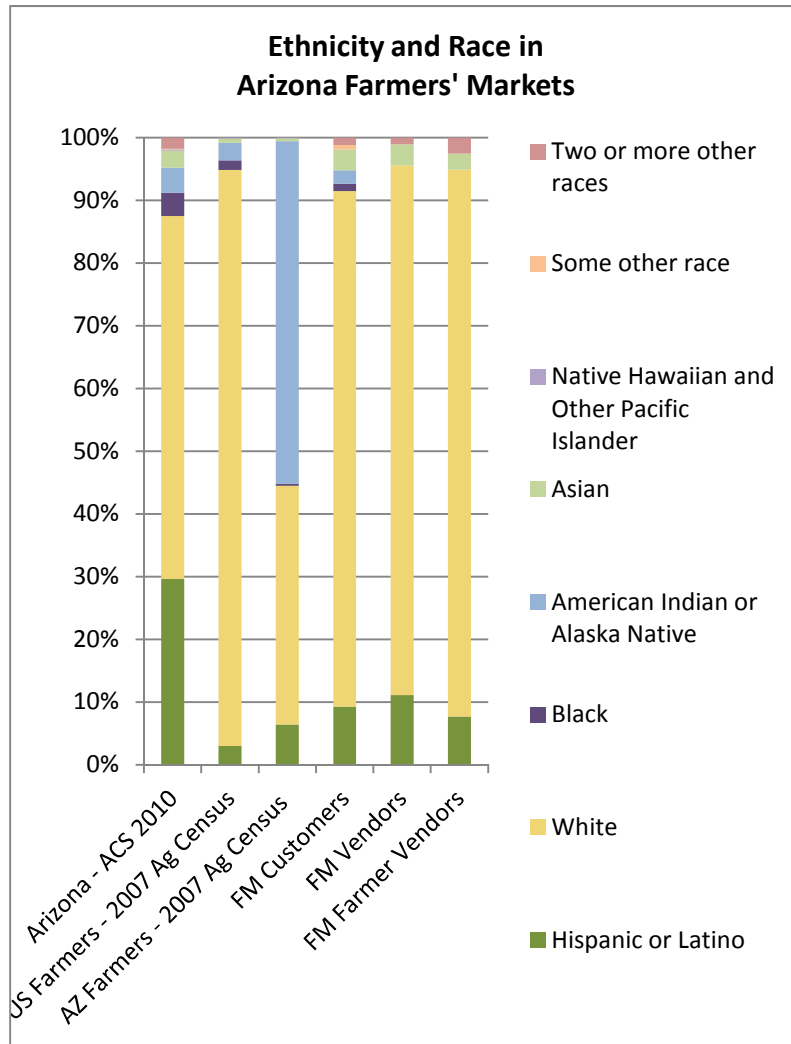


Figure 6. Ethnicity and Race in Arizona Farmers' Markets

The finding that Arizona farmers' market vendors are nearly all white is not surprising given that only 8.2% of farm operators in the U.S. reported their race as non-white in the 2007 U.S. Census of Agriculture. However, in Arizona, farm owners are much more diverse – due largely in part to the division and inheritance of agricultural

lands amongst Native American tribes in the state. Approximately 55% of Arizona farms were owned by American Indians or Alaska Natives in 2007, and 6.4% were owned by those reporting Hispanic or Latino descent (USDA, 2007). When compared to these figures farmers' markets in Arizona seem to be attracting a disproportionately lower population of vendors from the Native American community (0.0% of AZ farmers' market vendors), but a higher proportion of Hispanic/Latino producers (11.1% of AZ farmers' market vendors). However, caution needs to be employed when comparing the diversity of Arizona farm-owners to that of farmers' market vendors. In terms of Native American farm-owners, Arizona represents an interesting case. In the state, a substantial proportion of agricultural farms are *owned* by Native tribes - who subdivide their land into continuously smaller parcels amongst their children. These farms are very small (88% are under 10 acres) and in many cases are not *operated* by the owners themselves, but instead leased to others to operate (USDA, 2007). In this sense it is perhaps not surprising that Native American farmers represent such a small proportion of farmers' market vendors – if in fact many of these farm owners are young, and not farming the land themselves but leasing the land to larger operations. However, this phenomenon is an interesting one, and an avenue for future research not explored in-depth in this study.

My personal observations suggest that the actual proportion of minority vendors at the markets may be higher than my survey suggests. As was found with the consumer survey, non-white vendors seemed to be less apt to complete the survey than white vendors. Thus the actual minority population amongst farmers' market vendors may be under-represented. In one case where I was able to communicate with two Hispanic vendors at some length about their decision not to participate, they explained that they

were only employees at the farm and not the farm owner and therefore did not feel comfortable completing the survey on their owner's behalf.

This brings up an important issue regarding farming in Arizona and across the U.S. Despite the fact that many farm operators are White, the whiteness of farming does not often extend to on-farm labor. Many farms take advantage of the “subsidy” provided by low-wage, immigrant labor (see A. H. Alkon, 2008b). These employees are often the invisible backbone of farms across the U.S., but are rarely seen at ‘front-of-house’ operations, such as upscale farmers’ markets. This, in effect, helps perpetuate the ‘white farm imaginary’ – a public (mis)-conceptualization of small scale farmers as white, family-run operations, when in reality much of the labor is performed behind-the-scenes by people of color (Alkon & McCullen, 2011). It is encouraging, then, that in this study, I was able to witness examples of minority employees representing the white-owned farms at farmers’ markets. It also served as a lesson for me in regards to future farmers’ market vendor studies: vendors who are not farm owners may not feel comfortable answering questions about farm history, acreage, production techniques, and annual sales. Therefore, to gain employee-vendor perspectives, it would be necessary to create two versions of a vendor survey: one that owner-operators could answer, and another to assess the opinions of non-owner employees.

Vendor Attitudes, Values and Behaviors

Farmers’ market vendors share similarities not just in terms of demographic characteristics, but also, to some extent, in terms of shared values and attitudes regarding farming. For many, one major drive to sell at the market lies in the fact that they see

themselves and their farms as in alignment with the market and market customers' mission and values, and themselves as agents of change in the food system.

*My product fits in with the market's purpose—fresh, and natural.
– Foodie Market natural dog treats vendor*

I would say that probably 98.8% of the people who buy our [product] listen to NPR regularly, and we've also made a joke that there's an inverse correlation between the size of one's TV and how dedicated you are to our product. – Rancher at multiple Arizona markets

*I'm changing the way people view food.
– Urbana Market flaxseed-based cracker vendor*

*I'm educating customers on fresh herbs, grown locally
– Weekday market plants vendor*

I believe that the [conventional] system we're currently participating in as far as food goes has been proven to be detrimental to our health and our humanity There's a need here. A big need now for the education of the consumer to know the difference, and be able to really honestly look at something and understand the difference between natural, organic and GMO-free. – Urbana Market produce vendor

For these vendors, the market experience is about revolutionizing the food system: providing a simultaneous avenue for business transactions and teaching others about the benefits of alternative food systems – be they local, “natural,” or organic. Walking through the market, it is easy to see these educational efforts in play. Signs advertising “local,” “non-GMO,” and “pesticide free” smatter the tables. At one produce vendor I frequented during my time as an attendee and participant observer at Urbana market, I was always re-assured as my produce was being bagged – “Our vegetables are big, but we use no pesticides or chemicals ... only healthy soil!” Similar conversations and reassurances are commonplace throughout the markets, especially from those selling processed foods and health and beauty products that if purchased from conventional

sources would contain many chemical preservatives, fragrances, or additives. For many vendors, ensuring that their products adhere to particular sustainability criteria goes beyond meeting customer demands, but rather serves as an outpouring of their own closely held beliefs about food system ideals. Therefore there is some evidence that as was the case with customers, farmers' market vendors perceive of and portray themselves as 'alternative' foodists, part of a movement seeking to subvert the mainstream food system.

In these ways, farmers' market vendors seek to set themselves and farmers' markets apart as places of value precisely because of their 'alterity' – their 'otherness' to the industrialized, globalized conventional food system. While the unique feature of farmers' markets is traditionally thought of as the opportunity for direct connection between local farmers and customers, it is clear from the quotes above that the "otherness" of farmers' markets goes beyond localness – and vendors see themselves as purveyors not only of the local, but the natural and the organic, the fresh and healthy, the subversive and politically progressive. Kirwan (2004) discusses the importance of this alterity to producers in farmers' markets in England, and the struggle to keep markets authentic while still catering to customer demand. Many producers see farmers' markets as places which must adhere to stringent standards in terms of whom they allow to sell and whom they restrict. While the rules may not be hard and fast, they visualize an image of otherness must be upheld, fearing that farmers markets could otherwise degrade into the equivalent of street fairs or worse, the conventional food system – a fear that in subsequent chapters we will see echoed by consumers in the current study.

Farmers' market vendors, customers, and managers are co-builders of the farmers' market culture. For many, farmers' market is an opportunity to meet others who share the same value systems, and to build relationships.

I go to the market to hang out with like-minded people ... and to spread the word about the local food movement.

– Urbana Market producer vendor

Our customers have become our friends.

– Tamale vendor at multiple farmers' markets

However, building a tight-knit community and upholding the alterity of farmers' markets comes with a number of tradeoffs – many of which may be borne by underprivileged customers and minority farm workers. The social insularity of farmers' markets may be rendering them physically, economically, and culturally inaccessible to potential participant groups.

Farmers Markets & Culturally-Driven Enclosure of the Commons

In theory, farmers' markets provide a common space where anyone can come and participate in building and shaping a community around healthy, sustainable food. In this way, farmers' markets represent an instance of the new urban "commons" - a concept frequently used, but often ambiguously defined. In a review of commons literature Hess (2008), lists 10 different definitions of "the commons" used by researchers, 6 distinct manifestations of "new commons" research, and ultimately proposes her own definition to help solidify the nebulous definitions of the commons:

A commons is a resource shared by a group where the resource is vulnerable to enclosure, overuse and social dilemmas. Unlike a public

good, it requires management and protection in order to sustain it. (Hess, 2008, 37)

Like other forms of urban commons, the gathering spaces that farmers markets provide, are theoretically open to most who might wish to access them. However, as we have seen, participation in farmers' markets and the benefits that they provide are not accessed by everyone, and in fact exclusion may be occurring due to socio-economic and racial barriers embedded within the subculture of the market. Currently the farmers' market culture in Arizona seems to mirror that of farmers' markets elsewhere. For producers and consumers alike, it is one which is racially whitened, socio-economically privileged, and expressing a particular set of ethical and political values. As other forms of the urban commons increasingly undergo "enclosure" (Lee & Webster, 2006), likewise, the extent to which farmers' markets serve as a commons for food provisioning and farm livelihood may make them more akin to a gated community than an open commons.

THE LIVED EXPERIENCE

As the first phase of my research progressed, it became evident that Arizona farmers' markets, like many markets across the U.S., primarily catered to a very demographically and culturally specific clientele. Because a grounded theory approach was used, I was not specifically looking for these sorts of differences when I began the initial phases of research during my Masters', but as my fieldwork progressed, issues of access came to the forefront, and it was on this basis that formal interviews and surveys were structured to explain the presences and absences I observed at the market. Understanding how these presences and absences came about required a more in-depth look at the lived experience of the community in and around the farmers' markets. Through surveys and extended interviews, I explored the everyday food procurement decision-making processes of farmers' market customers and members of the neighborhoods surrounding the markets.

To understand stakeholders' decision-making process, one needs to understand the ways in which they interact with the market, and the influences on their decision making. In this study, I employed the joint use of several frameworks of decision-making: the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991, 2002), Social Identity Theory (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999), and Ostrom's Socio-Ecological System Analysis Framework (Ostrom, 2009). Through these lenses, the study seeks to understand the ways in which stakeholders experience food procurement both in and out of farmers' markets, and helps shed light on the underlying factors influencing

who is present and who is absent from the farmers' markets. This, in turn, sets the stage for understanding the extent to which institutional design and the rules and norms structuring the markets could effectively impact presences and absences – reshaping the inclusivity of farmers' markets.

THEORETICAL MODELS OF DECISION-MAKING AND BEHAVIOR

The widely applied Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) explores the influence of limited perception and belief on behavior, explaining that a particular behavior is guided by people's beliefs regarding three key aspects: (1) behavioral beliefs – beliefs about the consequences of the behavior, (2) normative beliefs – beliefs about the expectations of others, and (3) control beliefs – beliefs about potential barriers to and personal control over the situation. These beliefs influence, respectively, attitudes toward the behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control. These in turn, influence behavioral intent, which influences behavior (Ajzen, 1991, 2002; Armitage & Conner, 2001).

Since its initial development (Ajzen, 1991), the theory of planned behavior has been found to be a valid, reliable tool for understanding and predicting behavior in a wide array of settings ranging from the consumption of a low fat diet to the cessation of smoking, from investment decisions to sustainable farming practices and fresh fruit and vegetable purchases (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Fielding, Terry, Masser, & Hogg, 2008; Middleton & Smith, 2011). The Theory of Planned Behavior is particularly relevant to the current study in that it has often been used specifically to study food related decision-making processes both in general (see, for example: Armitage & Conner, 2001; Arvola et al., 2008; Berg, Jonsson, & Conner, 2000; Bissonnette & Contento, 2001; M. Conner,

Norman, & Bell, 2002; Fila & Smith, 2006; Hansen, Møller, & Stubbe, 2004; Kassem, Lee, Modeste, & Johnston, 2003), and at farmers' markets (Middleton & Smith, 2011), and has also been used to study farmer behavior (Fielding et al., 2008). The framework allows us to understand food system actors not simply as individualistic utility-seekers, but as those with deeply held values that are at once both shaped by others (normative belief), in some cases (depending on level of personal ability to control the situation – control belief) be expressed through outward behavior with end results that they foresee as impacting the world around them (behavioral belief). This construct is particularly powerful in understanding the decision-making processes of farmers' market participants because, as we saw in Chapter 4, many perceive themselves not as primarily motivated to participate to achieve maximum economic benefits, but rather to further a “cause.”

In recent years, due to building evidence that the subjective norm component of the TPB model had poor predictive capacity, *social identity* has increasingly been argued to represent an additional factor influencing behavioral intent. As opposed to the TPB's original construct that a generalized influence of undefined “others” significantly influences behavior (subjective norm), social identity studies suggest that only those groups of people relevant to the behavior will have significant impact, and that the strength of personal identification with a particular group or subculture will mediate the level of impact (Armitage & Conner, 2001; Fielding et al., 2008; Sparks & Shepherd, 2010; Terry et al., 1999). According to this branch of the theory, when one's salient self-concept is rooted in identification with a specific group, behavior will often be guided by the norms of that group (Fielding et al., 2008). For example, Fielding et al., (2008) found that in addition to strong influences of farmer attitudes and perceived behavioral control,

the strength of farmer identification with a particular grower community, and their associated intra-group norms and inter-group differences/conflicts influenced intent to participate in sustainable management of riparian zones.

The phenomenon of social identity formation is also evident in the realm of consumer food cultures. Deeply embedded consumer cultures play a key role in what people perceive to be *acceptable* foods, and *acceptable* times and places to purchase and/or consume these foods. When people choose to eat particular types of foods and not others, they perform the act of identifying themselves with a particular food culture, and distancing themselves from other food cultures. Eating the foreign or “wrong” thing, therefore, contaminates not only one’s personal health, but one’s social/cultural identity as well (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Fischler, 1988; Holt, 1995). Identification with a particular food culture is a process that begins early in life, and can become deeply intertwined with one’s own personal identity and value system. Foods that were a positive part of one’s childhood often form a key part of one’s diet in adulthood – an act of connecting oneself with one’s cultural roots: friends, family and heritage (Devine et al., 1998; Fournier, 1998). Culturally embedded personal values regarding food choices can generate an environment of tension when the available options lead to a conflict between values – for example values of convenience vs. care (Luomala et al., 2004). Violation of the unwritten rules of one’s particular food sub-culture can lead to intense anxiety, as this suggests a misunderstanding or rejection of one’s identity (Fischler, 1988). In this sense, the extent to which participants in the current study identify with a particular ethnic group, or food movement counterculture may powerfully shape the scope of options they perceive as available to them in regards to food – limiting the

ingredients and characteristics of food which are deemed acceptable, and the places in which these items can and should be purchased.

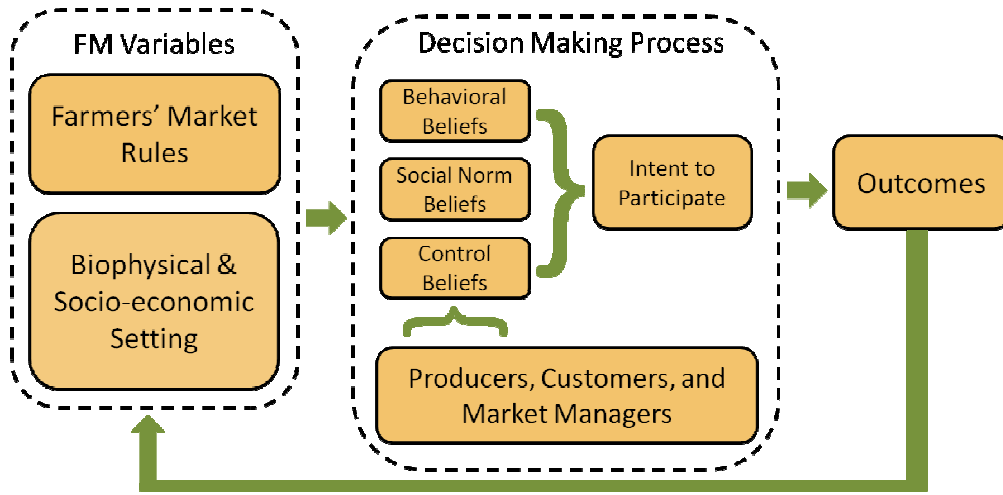
Identification with a particular culture and the strength of that identification can have a profound and often sub-conscious influence on food choices (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002; Carrus, Nenci, & Caddeo, 2009; Cruwys et al., 2012; Devine et al., 1998; Luomala et al., 2004; J. R. Smith & Louis, 2009; Terry et al., 1999). Food subcultures, and their resulting social norms may be rooted in specific ethnic, familial, peer, or issue/value-driven social groups.

Those of different ethnic backgrounds develop significantly different constructions of health, pleasure, desirability, social norms, acceptability, and ideals regarding food practices (Devine, Sobal, Bisogni, & Connors, 1999; Marquis & Shatenstein, 2005). Ethnic identity can play a particularly important role in shaping food choices (Carrus et al., 2009), and enacting identity through food provides a deeply meaningful means for place-making and re-connection with 'home' for immigrants and those in times of upheaval (Benny, 2012; Chapman, Ristovski-Slijepcevic, & Beagan, 2010; Devine et al., 1999; Duruz, 2010; Vallianatos & Raine, 2008). For some, food practices are a source of 'culinary capital' and power in the home and community (D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011). Cultural identity also plays a deep-rooted role in sustainability related decisions. Those who describe a high degree of identity with sustainability-oriented peers, or a high level of social encouragement toward sustainability are more likely to select sustainably-marketed products (Bartels & Hoogendam, 2011; Bartels & Onwezen, 2013; Dean, Raats, & Shepherd, 2012; Salazar, Oerlemans, & van Stroe-Biezen, 2013; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2008). Social norms can

influence consumers to make sustainably-labeled purchases even when their own personal attitudes suggest that they have misgivings about the actual benefits of those purchases. For example, a study in Belgium showed that many consumers who did not believe that a dairy product was actually sustainable still intended to purchase it when they felt their friends and family expected them to (Vermeir & Verbeke, 2006). This is an example of what some refer to as ‘herd behavior’ (Salazar et al., 2013).

Individual beliefs, attitudes, and identities are not formulated in a vacuum, but rather are deeply embedded in the context and structure of a broader social and ecological system. Institutional research emphasizes the need for understanding this embeddedness and seeks to explore human behavior and decision-making through a nested view of the systems involved. Ostrom (2009) presents a useful framework for analyzing the complexities of socio-ecological systems. In this framework socio-cultural, economic, and political settings, governance structures and the characteristics of the ecological/resource system and its actors all play a role in shaping interactions and outcomes (Ostrom, 2009). The rules and social norms which constitute the institutional context of a given situation are increasingly understood to be driving forces for decision-making processes (Henrich et al., 2001; Johnston, 2001; Ostrom, 2005). Likewise, studies of governance, institutions and collective action have begun to utilize the theory of planned behavior (Biel & Thøgersen, 2007; David, 2008) and social identity theory (de Cremer, 2002; Postmes & Smith, 2009; Sinha & Suar, 2003; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008) to explain decision making processes. Under this linked framework, personal decision making takes place based on information from and influences of different stakeholders (*users*) in the system - in the

instance of farmers' markets: producers, customers, and managers. These interactions are in turn influenced by the *governance system* in place, which is embedded in a broader *social, economic, political and ecological context*. Stakeholder interaction and decision making results in various *outcomes* which feed back into the system (see Figure 7. The stakeholder decision-making process: integrated theoretical framework).



Ostrom's Institutional Analysis & Development Framework, the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2006), Social Identity Theory (Terry et al. 1999; Fielding et al., 2008)

Figure 7. The stakeholder decision-making process: integrated theoretical framework

In this chapter, I will explore the factors and experiences which play into stakeholders' decision making process regarding food choices as well as the broader institutional and socio-ecological context in which their decision to participate or not to participate occurs, and the extent to which specific obstacles to market access hinder them from participating. The groundwork laid in this chapter will serve to illuminate potential points of intervention – setting the stage for Chapter 6, in which I will examine potential governance mechanisms which could be employed to increase farmers' market accessibility while meeting market goals.

VENDOR MOTIVES AND BARRIERS

In order to gain an understanding of some of the key factors influencing vendor participation in Arizona farmers' markets, vendor survey participants answered open-ended questions regarding motives and barriers to market attendance. The responses provided by participants provided insight into the vendor decision-making process, illuminating the key benefits of market participation as well as the key obstacles that can make participation difficult.

Farmers' market vendors were asked to list the top three reasons they sell at the farmers' market. Ninety vendor participants provided over 350 responses to this prompt, overwhelmingly listing "customers" (in terms of volume, quality, demographics, and relationships developed) as the number one reason they attend the market, followed by profits and convenience. These were mentioned by 71%, 41%, and 36% of vendors, respectively. Meanwhile, slightly fewer vendors noted the social and community-driven aspects of the market, community service, market atmosphere and the market management as driving forces behind their decision-making (see Table 11). Economic profit, exposure to customers, and opportunities for serving the needs of the community are often cited as key motivators by farmers' market vendors in studies across North America (see, for example (Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Hunt, 2007; Schmit & Gómez, 2011; Smithers et al., 2008) . Thus Arizona farmers' market vendors seem to be motivated to participate in farmers' markets for very similar reasons to farmers' market vendors elsewhere.

Table 11

Reasons for selling at the Farmers' Market

(ranked by percent of vendors who mentioned the motive)

	Rank	% of Vendors	# of Vendors
Customers	1	71.43	65
Profit	2	40.66	37
Convenience	3	36.26	33
Community & Social Aspects	4	29.67	27
Service to the Community	5	19.78	18
Atmosphere	6	16.48	15
Market Management	7	13.19	12

By far the most frequently mentioned motive for selling products at the farmers' market was the customers themselves. Many vendors described this as an attraction to the exposure and marketing opportunity that farmers' markets offer (n=20). Many mentioned that the particular markets at which they vended were selected especially for their high levels of customer attendance/traffic (n=18). Others described the face-to-face nature and direct-marketing opportunity as the reason they attend farmers' markets (n=14). Still others viewed farmers' markets as an ideal way to test out their products and get customer feedback (n=9). Beyond the more straightforward monetary benefits of customers, however, many vendors suggested that it wasn't just customer volume in general that attracted them, but rather that there was something about the market's particular customer demographic that was appealing (n=20). Some vendors specified that 'foodies,' 'eclectic customers,' and 'higher income,' 'informed,' 'friendly' and/or 'loyal' customers were a particular draw – highlighting that there is often a distinct food subculture present at farmers' markets. Vendors value this subculture not only for the unique economic opportunity it provides, but also, as several vendors put it, for “social”

reasons. They describe the market as having a “*community of customers*” and creating a space in which they can “*hang out with like-minded people.*”

Likewise, some vendors mentioned that there is something about the atmosphere of their market that is appealing. “In addition to lots of customers, there’s a good *feel* to the market” a meat vendor from Parklands Market said. This may have something to do with attractiveness of the outdoor setting – as one vendor pointed out, or the social nature of the market transactions, which appeal to certain vendors. “*It’s a great work environment*” explained one prepared foods vendor from Weekday Market. Others described the market as “*fun,*” with “*nice people, good energy,*” and a place for “*good face-time with community members.*”

Vendors were also asked to list the top three obstacles that made it difficult for them to sell their products at the market. Survey participants provided over 180 responses to this prompt, which were later grouped into 31 key themes. In contrast to the motives question, where customers were clearly the main attraction for vendors, there was no clear consensus regarding which barriers were the most important to vendors. Competition between vendors was frequently listed as an issue (mentioned by 31% of vendors), as was the general atmosphere and setup of the market (31%), the inconvenience of the location and/or timing of the market (28%), and issues with customers or lack thereof (26%). See Table 12.

Table 12

Obstacles to Selling at Arizona Farmers' Markets

(ranked by percent of vendors who mentioned the obstacle)

	Rank	% of Vendors	# of Vendors
Competition	1	31.11	28
Atmosphere	2	31.11	28
Convenience	3	27.78	25
Customers	4	25.56	23
Market Management	5	22.22	20
Prior-to-Market Issues	6	14.44	13

Competition from other vendors was described as a major obstacle by many vendors (31%, n=28). Most described this as a problem with other vendors selling the same product. Many felt that there were ‘too many’ vendors selling the same product as theirs at the market – leading to ‘oversaturation’ or the feeling that the market was turning into a ‘free-for-all.’ One year-round vendor mentioned that it was ‘disheartening’ when other vendors were allowed to come in for only the peak season, a phenomenon another vendor labeled as an ‘onslaught.’ In particular, vendors noted two types of competition that was particularly problematic: Non-local vendors (n=7) and larger farms and businesses (n=5). Many described ‘unfair’ competition from ‘fake’ farmers who pretended they grew what they were selling, but were actually produce broker/re-sellers, and not growers at all. Several vendors labeled the re-sellers ‘liars’ (n=5), and were disappointed that the market did not enforce bans against these sellers. Other vendors noted that the market layout created a diversity in quality of stall/booth locations, and felt that they had been assigned a sub-prime location (n=7).

Thirty-one percent of the vendors (n=28) felt that some aspect of the market atmosphere was less than ideal. The most common complaint was the fact that vending at

an open-air market exposes participants to the weather (n=22). Vendors complained about working in ‘extreme heat,’ and noted that ‘veggies wilt when it’s so hot.’ Others mentioned that the heat can deter potential customers, resulting in lower attendance in summer weather. Other vendors described parking as an issue, both for vendors and customers (n=6). Several mentioned that setting up their booth was made difficult due in part to the parking and high traffic. Some vendors had difficulty with setup in general (n=4), noting that the unloading/loading of tables and the heavy lifting was hard for them.

For many vendors (28%, n=25), the inconvenience of the market was an obstacle. Some described the location of the market as a problem (n=14), due to the distance between the market and their farm or production kitchen. The distance was seen as a problem both in terms of time spent in transit, and the cost of gas to transport goods from farm to market. Some vendors mentioned that the timing of the market was a problem for them (n=9). Some felt that the markets opened too early for customers to be interested in their products. “People are not in the mood to sample pasta sauce at 8am” noted one vendor. Others felt that their markets ran too long, and that there were “few customers in the last hour.” A few vendors stated that occasionally the market timing conflicted with other events or holidays, and this resulted in lower traffic. One vendor noted that the market hours and outdoor location made their vegetables particularly vulnerable to the heat. Labor was described as an inconvenience to participation by a few vendors (n=7). Vending at farmers’ markets was described as a “time-consuming” endeavor, both in terms of the long hours at the market and the time spent preparing and getting to the market. Some noted that it was difficult for them to juggle on-farm duties and the market,

and others mentioned that they needed extra people to help them on market day. One vendor noted that they were always “really tired at the end of the market season.”

Customers were described as a barrier by 26% of vendors (n=23). The most often discussed issue was, unsurprisingly, lack of customer attendance (n=13). Some described the customer volume as persistently low, while others mentioned that there was an inconsistent customer base, and that “slow markets” could occur on any given day, depending on any number of external factors, including weather, lack of advertising/promotion, low foot traffic in the area, conflicting events, and general lack of knowledge about the market in the broader community. Some vendors described customers as having a demand for the “wrong” products (n=8). Two craft vendors felt that they didn’t get enough business because their product wasn’t “a necessity such as food.” One elaborated that customers were generally in a “rush to get in and out” and therefore didn’t take the time to stop by the craft booths. Three farmer vendors described frustration with customers that “expect everything all the time” and therefore didn’t care that the meat and produce they were buying was out-of-season and/or out-of-state. In a related vein, some vendors specifically noted the ignorance of customers as a barrier (n=8). Issues ranged from customer ignorance about “production costs and methods,” or “not knowing the difference or importance of buying locally,” to a simple “lack of awareness about the market.”

Some vendors had complaints about the techniques used to manage the market (22%, n=20). Most simply felt that there should be more adequate advertising (n=11), noting that they felt the lack of advertising was limiting the amount of customer traffic to the market. One vendor specifically wished that the market did more to promote “*the*

smaller growers that grow it all” rather than the “*produce brokers that pretend they grow it all.*” Other vendors mentioned general problems with market rules or enforcement (n=5). One vendor felt that there were too many rules, while the others felt that the rules were unevenly enforced (n=2), or unethical (n=1). Two vendors didn’t like the payment systems offered. One wished customers didn’t pay by credit card, and one wished that their market offered the option for customers to pay by EBT or WIC-FMNP.

Several vendors mentioned several obstacles to participation that were, to a large extent, beyond the control of the market itself (n=13). Several described the necessary permits, licenses and associated fees to be a barrier (n=6). In particular the Health Department was seen as making vendors “jump through hoops” before they’d be allowed to vend. Other vendors described on-farm issues that hindered their capacity to participate (n=5) – including weather events like hail, late frosts, the dedication required to successfully nurture plants, payroll costs and lack of capacity to meet customer demand. A few vendors (n=4) also noted that sales were lower in the poor economy. One vendor noted that “many can only afford the basics” and another said “people are spending less.”

In general, many of the issues that Arizona farmers’ market vendors find challenging are very similar to those experienced by vendors in markets across the U.S. (see for example Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers et al., 2008). One notable, albeit unsurprising exception was the fact that a substantial proportion of vendors mentioned the climate, and specifically the heat, as a barrier to participation in farmers’ markets in Arizona. This highlights the unique challenge of producing and selling local products using the open-air farmers’ market model in areas of extreme heat – a barrier which few

markets in the U.S. experience on such a regular basis as those in the low desert regions of Arizona.

CONSUMER MOTIVES AND BARRIERS

Farmers' market customer survey participants provided over 1200 responses to an open-ended question regarding their motives for attending the market. These were grouped into 35 overarching themes. The most commonly cited motives for shopping at Arizona farmers' markets were factors that are often cited in the literature as reasons customers shop at farmers' markets in general: product quality (46% of customers listed this motive), and a desire to buy local products (37%). Likewise, product variety, a desire to purchase from a specific vendor, and a desire to purchase sustainable or organic goods were mentioned by 25%, 24%, and 19% of customers, respectively – revealing that Arizona market-goers attend farmers' markets for reasons very similar to farmers' market customers elsewhere in the U.S. (Table 13)

Table 13*Reasons for shopping at Arizona Farmers' Markets*

(ranked by percent of customers who mentioned the motive)

Variable	Arizona Farmers' Market Customers (n=425)	Non-low income customers (Over 25K) (n=353)	Low income customers (Under 25K) (n=73)	Very low income customers (Under 15K) (n=35)	White customers (n=346)	Minorities (n=75)	Hispanic customers (n=39)
Quality	46.1	45.3	49.3	54.3	45.5	46.5	45.7
Local products	37.2	37.7	35.6	37.1	36.7	38.0	31.4
Location	29.9	31.4	23.3	22.9	31.8	22.5	22.9
Variety	24.7	25.5	20.5	25.7	24.8	25.4	25.7
Specific vendors or products	23.5	24.9	16.4	11.4	23.6	21.1	22.9
Sustainable / organic	19.1	18.4	20.5	22.9	18.7	19.7	14.3
Community & social aspects	18.6	17.0	26.0	31.4	17.5	23.9	37.1*
Atmosphere	16.0	19.3	19.2	14.3	19.2	16.9	22.9
Fun	8.7	9.1	6.9	0.0	8.5	9.9	8.6
Price	7.5	7.1	11.0	8.6	6.4	9.9	8.6
Health	6.4	5.7	9.6	11.4	5.5	9.9	17.1*
Novelty	6.0	6.0	4.1	2.7	5.0 [†]	9.9 [†]	2.9

Farmers' market attendance, even for market shoppers, was complicated by a number of factors which survey respondents listed in response to a second open-ended question on obstacles to buying groceries at the farmers' market. In total, participants generated 900 responses which were grouped into 49 themes. The most frequently listed obstacles to participating in Arizona farmers' markets were market hours of operation, price, and lack of selection. These barriers were listed by 40%, 36%, and 31% of the customers, respectively. As was the case with reasons for attendance, these obstacles to participation very closely mirror those found in farmers' market survey literature across the U.S. (See Table 14)

Table 14*Obstacles to shopping at Arizona Farmers' Markets*

(ranked by percent of customers who mentioned the barrier)

Variable	Arizona Farmers' Market Customers (n=434)	Non-low income customers (Over 25K) (n=358)	Low income customers (Under 25K) (n=76)	Very low income customers (Under 15K) (n=46)	White customers (Over 25K) (n=346)	Minorities (n=75)	Hispanic customers (n=39)
Hours of operation	40.3	40.8	38.2	43.5	41.6	36.8	35.9
Price	36.2	35.5	39.5	52.2	35.0	42.1	51.3*
Lack of selection	30.9	33.0	21.1	17.4	29.2	35.5	38.5
Location	19.4	19.3	19.7	19.6	17.3	28.9*	25.6
Atmosphere	13.6	14.2	10.5	8.7	13.9	13.2	12.8
Parking	10.1	10.1	10.5	4.4	11.3	5.3	5.1
Payment options	7.6	7.0	10.5	8.7	7.2	10.5	10.3
EBT	0.9	0.3	4.0	4.4	0.9	1.3	2.6
WIC-FMNP	0.5	0.0	2.6	2.2	0.3	1.3	2.6*
Transportation/ transporting items	6.9	2.8	13.2	17.4	7.5	5.3	2.6
Too Busy	5.3	5.0	6.6	8.7	6.1	2.6	0.0

One of the key purposes of the current study was to explore the motives, barriers, perspectives and experiences of farmers' market customers and potential customers in greater depth than is typically possible in a survey format. To this end, extended interviews were performed with both farmers' market customers, and with residents of the neighborhoods immediately surrounding the case study markets. The collection of narratives was used to delve deeper into an analysis of not only the overtly mentioned motives and barriers to participation in the farmers' market experience, but also to expose out underlying habits, traditions, rationales, and barriers which guide food decision-making processes in general, and which may strongly, but often sub-consciously, influence the extent to which a farmers' market is perceived as a reasonable, affordable,

accessible option. The key findings from this analysis are presented in the subsequent sections.

IDEOLOGY VS. TRADITION

Food plays a very intimate and integral part in the daily life of every living being on the planet. From an early age, we begin to adopt and adapt cultural traditions, beliefs and value systems regarding food. The normative influence of family, friends and broader social networks, tempered by major life events, shape the trajectory of our attitudes and actions regarding food and which characteristics of food we deem important. What makes food “good food” is a fluid concept that varies from person to person and may change over the course of one’s life-time. However, there are recurring common themes that emerge when people begin to discuss their ideal food system and the qualities of the food within it. In the current study, many participants I interviewed described themselves and their food-related decisions in relation to socially-constructed conceptions of the ideal food system, admitting in many cases, that they were not where they wanted to be in terms of the types of food they were buying/selling, preparing, and eating, but envisioned future scenarios in which their food habits would align with their ideology of food. In this sense, stakeholders see themselves as on a trajectory toward an idealized state in which their participation in the food system is in sync with the normative values of their socio-cultural food identity and its inherent value system. The ways that farmers’ market attendees vs. non-attendees construct their food-related ideologies are similar, yet distinct in several important ways. In the current study, it became clear that when it comes to food, there is a tension between longing for tradition and familiarity and a

desire for the excitement of experimenting with the new, the foreign and the exotic – with non-farmers’ market shoppers tending towards the former, and farmers-market goers more comfortable with the latter. The divergent perspectives of food system ideals exhibit a strong influence over stakeholder attitudes regarding farmers’ markets. As is seen in TPB theory, these attitudes in turn, influence stakeholder *intent* to participate, which, barring barriers to participation (*perceived ability to control/enact behavior*), leads to actual participation in farmers’ markets.

Defining “Good Food”

While people fill their shopping baskets with very different items, there are some commonalities in regards to the qualities that make food “good food.” As one Interviewee #35 put it: “What makes quality? Fresh and local and organic.” Many shared her sentiment, particularly in regards to freshness.

If It’s Fresher, Then It’s Healthier

When I asked participants I interviewed to describe what makes food “good food” to them, one of the most frequently mentioned attributes was freshness – particularly in regards to produce. Almost always, product freshness (or lack thereof) was associated with a particular place from which food was purchased.

I like El Rancho because the things are fresh ... they don’t have a lot they have a little, but it’s fresh. – Interviewee #7

Safeway is half a mile closer, but I prefer Sprouts because I feel like its fresher. – Interviewee #3

We feel that when you buy a vegetable that hasn't been picked green and ripened in the box and transported a thousand miles you get a better fruit or a better vegetable. – Interviewee #34

If it's closer its fresher, and if it's fresher then it's healthier. – Interviewee #32

For these customers, freshness was associated not only with better quality and taste but also, in at least one case, with the perception of a healthier product, and also a ranking of stores according to freshness criteria. Customers expressed repulsion at bad experiences with food being over-ripe, rotten, or quick to spoil in the fridge. These stories seemed to be particularly memorable to those I interviewed, and they often described a strong resistance to return to the store from which they'd had a poor experience - despite the fact that they subsequently had to make sacrifices in terms of cost and convenience. In this sense thresholds of quality and freshness seem to be one of the most important criteria when ruling out certain places to obtain food.

I try not to get fruits and vegetables at Walmart, because it doesn't matter where you put them. Even in the refrigerator, they always go bad really really quickly But if you get produce from somewhere else it's usually fresher and it lasts a lot longer. – Interviewee #5

The one time I bought [produce at Walmart] the broccoli in this package was rotted so as far as fruits and vegetables go I'll consciously not go to Walmart for that. – Interviewee #24

Another problem that I have with buying at Costco is everything is in bulk and I've gotten home with a big bagged salad and the next day it's bad... you want the freshness you gotta pay a bit more for it. – Interviewee #21

Both farmers' market attendees and non-farmers' market community members referred to freshness as one of the main criteria in deciding where to shop. Interestingly, freshness, and was an attribute more often used to describe farmers' markets than other stores - *even* by those who did not attend these markets – illustrating that the farmers' market 'image'

as a place for fresh, high quality produce has now moved beyond the realm of farmers' market devotees into the public domain.

A lot of it [at the farmers' market] is fresher you can get a tomato that was picked that day, not one that was picked green and put on a truck. So it tastes better I think. - Interviewee #33

Shopping more at the farmers markets you're going to get more I think more fresh, better quality than you are even at Whole Foods because you're getting it straight from the farm. – Interviewee #35

If there were some [farmers' markets] around here I'd probably go because their vegetables are going to be better than the store and the fruit is going to be fresh too, but I around here I've never seen one so probably that's why I never buy. – Interviewee #7

**Note that she lives under 1 mile from Village Market.*

The importance of quality, and particularly freshness, is often described in local food studies as a key reason for attending CSAs and farmers' markets. Quality was ranked above concerns regarding food miles and environmental concerns as a reason to pay more for local food in a broad study of consumers across the U.S. Seventy-three percent of these customers, 88% of Oregon farmers' market attendees, and 99% of farmers' market participants in a New Jersey study described produce quality as superior at farmers markets (Brown, 2003; Stephenson & Lev, 2004; Govindasamy et al., 2002). Likewise, in one case study in California and two in Maine 32%, 74% and 51% and of consumers, respectively, said quality was their primary reason for shopping at a farmers' market (Hunt, 2007; Wolf et al., 2005). In studies of farmers' markets in Ontario and New Hampshire, "freshness" was the single most frequently cited reason for purchasing local (Feagan & Morris, 2009; Manalo et al., 2003).

Trying to be Health Conscious

Many noted that for them, good food was also about the healthiness of their food. Healthy food items were often associated with those that were “low-carb,” “low-fat,” “low-sugar,” and/or vegetarian. For some, eating healthfully was associated with home-cooking rather than pre-packaged meals or dining at restaurants – presumably because when cooking at home it is easier to control the types of ingredients that go into the recipe.

I don't look like it but I buy low-fat lower sugar stuff, more whole grain natural things. Trying to be health conscious. – Interviewee #12

It's been an evolution over the last I don't know fifteen years or so that I decided to go completely vegetarian and I had already been doing low fat and low sugar and you know it's very hard to find places that serve that kind of food frankly. So we used to eat out a lot more but now the food I fix is just so much better. – Interviewee #27

How much is your health worth to you? Would you rather eat cheap at McDonalds [or] Taco Bell, and from there go right to the doctor and have him take a look at you for what like two minutes, charge you what, 60-70 dollars, give you prescriptions that cost you 100 dollars or more? Then just think how good that cheeseburger tasted. - Interviewee #32

I don't buy cereal, I usually don't buy anything in a box. I just don't eat that kind of stuff Growing up I ate that kind of stuff but now I watch what I eat somewhat, so I always have eggs, protein for breakfast. So I don't have cereal or bread or anything like that. – Interviewee #21

The statement by Interviewee #21 hints at something that others suggested as well: that healthier food is often associated with food that is less processed. Some mentioned not shopping in the freezer section, or not bothering with the “inner aisles” of the supermarket where all the canned and boxed and otherwise pre-packaged goods are. To some extent this may have to do with the types of macro-nutrient content in these items: higher-fat, higher-sugar, and higher-empty carb.

However the perception of ‘processed’ food as bad for one’s health may also have to do with the chemical preservatives and additives that impact health in different ways.

Something my Grandma Would Recognize

Our modern food system has grown increasingly complex, and as the lists of ingredients on box and jar labels get longer and more difficult to decode, customers express feelings of confusion and mistrust about what’s being added to their food. Words such as “additive,” and “hormone,” and “preservative” take on negative connotations, even as customers find themselves uncertain as to precisely why these things may be bad for them. What they are confident about is when it comes to their food, they don’t want to be second-guessing the ingredients list and spending time decoding the potential health impacts behind the labels.

If it was up to me ... I could just pass a law that just says: ‘You know what I’m not really thrilled with aspartame. That should be completely off the shelf.’ Or these other things they’re pumping in the deli meats I don’t even know what it is – some sort of preservative? If I could have all that taken out, I don’t want to worry about that, I don’t want to have to read labels. – Interviewee #2

As a result of the fear of unknown “ingredients” these customers describe being increasingly drawn to simpler foods. Foods that are additive-free, preservative-free, and chemical-free are seen as healthier and more desirable. Many develop and employ a quick litmus test to determine whether or not the food they are debating purchasing meets their standard. For some this means setting a maximum number of ingredients allowed in the processed foods they purchase. For others, it means avoiding certain ingredients such as high fructose corn syrup, pesticides, GMOs (genetically modified organisms), oils,

sugars or BPA (Bisphenol A – found in plastics and canned food linings). Some feel overwhelmed by the volume and ubiquity of ingredients to be avoided, and therefore opt to avoid processed foods altogether, or source organic whenever possible..

*What is good food? Food with the least amount of ingredients as possible.
– Interviewee #2*

Most of what Americans eat would not be considered food it would be considered ‘food-like edibles’ ... edible but not something that my grandma would recognize. So, I try and buy anything under four ingredients. That’s a big thing. – Interviewee #8

I won’t eat microwave popcorn, because I’ve heard or read that you can eventually get cancer from the lining inside those bags. ... I used to like canned soup but I can’t find anything without the lining in the can to stop it from rusting that isn’t good for you. – Interviewee #24

Even once I don’t have food stamps and I don’t have WIC and all that ... I’m still going to buy organic at the farmers market because it’s a couple cents more, and if you can’t even spend a couple cents more on your health, then why even get organic in the first place? – Interviewee #36

For some, looking for the organic label is the first step towards eliminating the types of additives and chemicals they don’t want in their food. But here there is also a level of ambiguity, uncertainty and mistrust. Not all are convinced that the label organic necessarily means what they’d like it to, or that in the case of products that go through substantial industrial processing - it even matters anymore.

The only challenge is you wonder how much produce is actually organic -- because all of a sudden organic is becoming more readily available and it’s confusing ... I question if certain food items are actually 100% organic – Interviewee #35

‘Organic’ is a bit of a buzz word. Definitely produce - I want to have organic produce, but I could kind of care less if it’s an “organic” pasta that’s been processed so much that it doesn’t matter. – Interviewee #1

What both of these participants express is an uncertainty that the food labeled organic actually is organic. For them, the concern may have to do with wanting to ensure that the food their consuming is not harmful to their bodies, but for many the drive to consume organically is motivated by more than dietary health needs.

Arizona Farmers vs. the Monsanto Corporatocracy

Many participants in the study talked at length about the brokenness of the mainstream, industrialized, and corporatized food system. Farmers' markets, small family farms, and 'local food' in general were painted as the antithesis and solution to the environmental, economic, socio-political, and physical-health related problems caused by the conventional food system. Many - even a few of those who did not attend Arizona farmers' markets - described food localization as an important means of healing the conventional food system.

I really think it's one of the most unhealthy systems in the world. Poultry production is absolutely deplorable. Beef production is absolutely deplorable: the things they do to the animals is absolutely ridiculous and it's all a corporatocracy. The corporations have completely taken control of the food supply. –Interviewee #4

Unfortunately the food situation in America as a whole is just horrible especially now with the genetically-engineered vegetables and Monsanto ... going away from the localization of everything. It's all just a big corporate pile of shit basically in my opinion My fundamental ideology of how food should be produced and consumed is: you should know where it came from. – Interviewee #16

(Note: Despite these sentiments, he admitted that personally he hasn't changed his behavior to match his food ideology)

I've seen Basha's throw away big buckets of cakes and stuff like that ... you could donate that stuff to the homeless shelters. It pisses me off that they throw out so much food. – Interviewee #20

We were Albertsons customers but then they didn't offer benefits to anyone that didn't work 40 hours a week So all the good people we had there you know adults with families and stuff couldn't afford to work there. ... We shop at Fry's. It's our neighborhood market now. They are decent to their employees. – Interviewee #34

When a particular store made environmentally and ethically sound purchases difficult, some of these participants switched to a different grocer. Others complained, but admitted that they were overwhelmed by the complexity of the corporate industrial system, and felt powerless to change it. In the face of the ethical dilemmas present in the mainstream food system, others opted out – preferring alternative grocers, farmers' markets, and CSAs.

I try to buy from places that are using more sustainable methods ... or the organic thing ... or if I can get something that's grown here in the U.S. – Interviewee #1

[Farmers' market produce] ... it's organic, and not organic monoculture, and also it supports the bees and insects. – Interviewee #44

Buying local food from farmers' markets, some participants suggest, shows support not only for organic, non-genetically modified products, but also helps support local farmers in the face of corporate agriculture. Participants liked supporting family farmers and also liked the idea that the money they spent at local establishments would help boost the local economy.

The big thing for me would be to buy something that was freshly grown and support people that are people instead of corporations. I'd rather support the little guy than the big guy for sure ... they're just trying to make an honest living rather than a big store who just wants your money, they don't care how they get it. – Interviewee #39

More than just eating locally it's nice to support the farmers to keep money in Arizona. – Interviewee #33

Because of our participation in the Slow Food movement, we want to buy

things that are grown locally, rather than trucked because of the environmental concerns... and beyond that we really have a commitment to support small farmers. – Interviewee #34

It's like I'm supporting the local economy and local agriculture that's really important to me to give back to the community and I feel like farmers markets are a good way to do it. – Interviewee #42

Farmers' market attendees often felt that the ideal types of food were somehow easier or more reliably found at farmers' markets (non-farmers' market goers rarely mentioned this, except in regards to freshness). They expressed a sense of security in knowing that farmers' markets would provide them with the types of food they wanted – pesticide, hormone, and additive free, and supportive of small family farms. Some seemed to voice an assumption that all farmers' market products would meet these standards, though as we will see in the subsequent chapter, these types of product criteria are not part of the necessary requirements for vendors at the case study markets. Furthermore, for example, as we saw in the previous chapter, only 13% of producer-vendors were certified organic.

Regardless - despite an absence of official rules or formal certification, the perception of farmers' market produce as 'more organic' still persists. Some acknowledge that organic, like quality, is a fluid concept which may have less to do with official certification and more to do with a sense of knowing the type of person who grew it.

The farmers' food is just so much fresher ... it's grown without pesticides and that it's not been genetically modified is a big thing. You can't depend on that from other food sources. - Interviewee #27

I feel like it's easier to get local food that doesn't have added hormones or added preservatives or sugar types that I don't want like high fructose corn syrup. It's easier to get that at the farmers market than at the grocery

store where you don't know where your food's coming from. - Interviewee #33

I don't think there's much nutritional quality to the stuff I'm getting at Walmart or at any of these stores. ... But when I think of a farmers' market back in Michigan I think of good quality homegrown vegetables and fruit. – Interviewee #21

It's not trucked in from Mexico. If it's trucked in from southern Arizona, I don't mind the distance. It's what's on the food – if it's organic. None of the stuff at the market is certified organic, but it's got more soul put into it. – Interviewee #3

The quotes in this series also hint at another phenomenon common amongst food shoppers and certainly prevalent in the participants in the current study: a deep rooted trust of and loyalty to particular foods and places/people from whom to buy those foods. The quotes illustrate that the ability to *depend* on one's place of purchasing to consistently provide physically, ethically, and environmentally “good” food may in fact be one of the most important drivers leading customers to select one outlet over another.

Food and Fear

Mainstream books and media from folks like Michael Pollan, Eric Schlosser, and Barbara Kingsolver have brought both the complexity and the dark side of the mainstream food system into the public eye. There is an increasing awareness that most food in the U.S. travels an average of 1,500 miles from farm-to-plate, is grown in chemical treated soil, processed and packaged in massive facilities with many opportunities for contamination, and with countless stops to add chemicals, hormones and preservatives. With these images at the forefront of the American mind, it is perhaps

no wonder that many in the current study expressed a certain degree of fear when they began to talk about their thoughts on the American food system.

“It Just Scares You”

In the months leading up to my Fall 2011 interviews, there were a number of food scares and recalls wherein people became ill after eating listeria, e-coli, and salmonella contaminated food. By October, the ‘statistics’ were getting, as some participants put it ‘scary’: in summer, 79 experienced salmonella poisoning and one person died from a drug-resistant strain contaminating Cargill’s ground turkey – leading to a 36 million pound recall of the product. A few months later, 123 had fallen ill and 31 had died after consuming cantaloupe laced with listeria. In October, 60 fell ill after eating e-coli contaminated romaine lettuce, and 43 experienced salmonella poisoning from Turkish pinenuts. These, of course, are just a small sampling of the more notable food contamination stories from the year – but they do help illustrate the context from which those I spoke to were coming.

They’ve been having a lot of recalls lately. I don’t know if they need to pay more attention to that on the farms or whatever. Just this morning they had a recall on what was it? Salads.

[Wife: Salmonella on the salads. I told you there was a reason I don’t buy any of that shit.]

They’ve had recalls on peanut butter, recalls on baby food ... vegetables, they had a recall on. It’s just [makes frustrated gesture] you need to watch where it’s coming from better. ‘Cause right now if it gets to the store and it gets out, that’s the only way they find out! – Interviewee #20

It’s obesity on the one hand, or e-coli contamination on the other. – Interviewee #34

Hearing the studies about it just scares you. So I think maybe I should get some more natural stuff more organic... I want to have grass-fed beef because it's supposed to be better in terms of not getting e-coli. – Interviewee #33

With these food recalls with the Listeria and stuff, now I'm getting to the point where I'm like if you grow it in your own backyard you know what you're getting, Not to say that you can't get contamination there but at least it would be your own contamination you'd be doing it.... I think what it comes down to for me is aesthetics....I think psychologically it comes into play that you're going to go someplace that you think looks cleaner, safer. – Interviewee #21

I would love to be more sure of where the food is coming from but I don't know how they do that in a big grocery store – Interviewee #31

The scare of potential food contamination made these participants think twice about safety and reliability of the mainstream food system. Feeling a need to regain control over the quality of their food, they expressed frustration at the uncertainty inherent in the contemporary food system models – particularly ones with food networks as complex as the modern superstore.

Uncertainty: “They say they don't use chemicals, but ...”

With pesticide exposure, endocrine disrupting food additives, and bacterial contamination making headline news, many that I interviewed expressed uncertainty about the foods they liked to eat, and the places which they obtained them. Attitudes of mistrust and the belief that the modern system was producing unhealthy outcomes was mentioned with fairly equal frequency from both farmers' market shoppers and those attending regular supermarkets.

Most of it comes out of California, but it's been heavily insecticided. I can wash it but I eat enough vegetables to be concerned about it. – Interviewee #3

There's pesticides on them. [Walmart] uses a lot of fruits and vegetables that are grown with hormones and stuff where you get extra plump strawberries because of the extra crap that they put in the soil. – Interviewee #24

They say they don't use chemicals, but I look at the size of the carrots and they don't look like organic carrots. And I know they bring things like celery from California ... but I know that if I'm buying it from them I'm supporting the local farmer – Interviewee #44

Sometimes I kind of wonder: I wonder how this one's prepared you know? Not that I think things need to be regulated, but I don't know what kind of condition things were prepared in... The reality is how do I know that that stuff in the grocery store is prepared any different? It does help though when people have samples of different things, because then at least you're trying before you buy. –Interviewee #41

[Walmart's] a huge corporation so I don't know where they are shipping their stuff in from. - #Interviewee #24

I mean it's kind of like that for all the food. [At the farmers' market] it's all from the area it's not bringing in foreign things on the food so underlying, I'm thinking that. – Interviewee #39

For these participants, fear of unknown additives and sources of contamination drove some of their decision-making. For others fear of specific places influenced where and when they would and wouldn't go to purchase food. Traffic, crowds, panhandlers and high rates of crime keep people from travelling to or through certain neighborhoods. Particularly for those with children or limited mobility, certain stores or areas can be difficult, or even scary to access.

Fry's is not in the best area, and when I go at night it's always a little scary in the parking lot. – Interviewee #41

There's a Fry's and a Basha's but the reason I don't go to those stores is because I'm constantly being approached in the parking lot by people begging for money. So that's probably the main reason why I shop at the Safeway that I go to, because for whatever reason they don't have the amount of people hitting me up for money. – Interviewee #40

Having a lot of the dogs in and out of the farmers' market is difficult because my toddler ... he likes dogs but he's two so he's also scared of them so that makes it kinda complicated because I'm like dragging him through or I have to pick him up and carry him through. - Interviewee #40

I don't go down to the St. Vincent de Paul [charity dining room]. It's a bad area for me. The place they call the Zone. I just don't go down there. Too many drugs and violence. - Interviewee #9

Because of their uncertainty regarding the content of their food, and the security of certain food procurement establishments, many found it comforting to fall back on 'old-standbys' and familiar traditions regarding food and food purchasing.

Despite the fact that their food ideologies suggest a broad array of environmental, health-related, and ethical concerns, the need for the comfort of familiar food and familiar places to buy food often overwhelmed other factors of their decision-making.

I feel better about shopping there because I can meet the people who grow it and even if I couldn't do that I'd trust ... I'm spiritually aligned with what they're trying to do. - Interviewee #8

You don't have to think about whether or not it's going to be good and especially at Trader Joes there's an attempt to be healthier. - Interviewee #44

I guess I feel more secure buying it at the farmers' market because a lot of the vendors are the farmers themselves that you're talking to. You can't really get more organic than that. When you're shopping at Whole Foods or Sunflower the label says organic, but you don't really know where they're getting their food from, so you really don't know. - Interviewee #35

Tradition

Traditions regarding food often go unnoticed even by those who hold tightly to particular food practices and habits. In doing my interviews, it was interesting to see the

stories that emerged as a result of a participant's sudden realization that they couldn't explain why they had "always" done something. Not wanting to lead the conversation too much, I would usually open the interview asking them: "Where do you go to get your food?" When they responded, I'd typically follow up with "How long have you been going there?" At this point, many participants realized that they had established the habit of attending a particular place many years in the past, and had never really questioned their reasoning, as illustrated in the following comment:

I have no idea why ... it's just that we've always gone to Food City so that's why we always go. So we don't usually go to other stores. I don't know why! - Interviewee #18

After further reflection, some realized the tradition stretched all the way back to childhood. For others, traumatic life-course events such as a divorce, a health-scare, or even a move to another city or state prompted a shift in food-related behaviors. Traditions established with family or friends were discussed with particular fondness by participants, indicating that for many, the experience of food procurement, cooking, and eating goes beyond utilitarian purposes into deeply cherished traditions and relationship-building through food.

My mom always had me in the kitchen ... we didn't - and still don't - eat out very much ... I don't know. It was kind of a part of my life and now I just really love to cook, because I enjoy it. - Interviewee #28

I come from the old school of producing and cooking and making it yourself. ... I cook a lot of Italian food because my mother was from Italy. She made a lot of different things homemade tortellini and gnocci. It's actually very simple ... that's just the way that I am now. I really do not like going to fast food restaurants. - Interviewee #4

My mom cooked a lot when I was growing up so I grew up in a house where we had a home-cooked dinner every night So to me cooking food at home is a step towards increasing our quality of life in general. I just

enjoy doing it and I feel like it's better than eating food prepared by someone else. – Interviewee #16

When I come over and cook for somebody it's a good kinda place for me. I learned from my mom when I was little 'cause - not to disgrace women - but you might find somebody who can't cook! You don't want to starve! So I grew up on it.... I come by to visit him [referring to friend whose home he's in]. Help him cook and out clean out his place so he don't have to move around because of his legs. – Interviewee #11

The quotes above reveal that many food values and habits revolve around early exposure to the tradition home-cooking and food preparation. Notably, these examples show a lingering gender bias as to who is in the kitchen (mom) and who is not (dad). However these stories also reveal a shifting away from traditional gender roles: three of the interviewees quoted were men, two of whom were actually in the process of cooking when I knocked on their door and throughout the duration of the interview (and in this sense proved that describing themselves as the household cooks was not simply lip-service). It was also clear from my observations at the time of the interviews that those who were cooking were not doing so out of necessity and/or in isolation. Interviewee #16 was cooking bacon for his girlfriend while she worked on her computer, and Interviewee #11 was in the process of cooking steaks and fry-bread for his elderly friend and friend's sister. For these interviewees, the social process of home-cooking and eating which was learned in childhood has clearly extended into their adult lives. For others I spoke with, the sociality of food began not in the kitchen, but earlier - in the spaces and places where food was obtained. Some explained that social/communal food procurement was a regular part of their routine due to lack of personal vehicle or mobility.

My friends do the shopping cause it's hard for me to get around. So they go to Safeway, Food City, Ranch Market. They go once maybe twice a month. They go for me..... My neighbor next door, she's got a car, so I ask

her at times to go to the store for me. Give her my quest (food stamp) card and she goes. – Interviewee #9

My sister lives right next door and she'll take me wherever I need to go. She has the car. – Interviewee #10

Both the men in the quotes above lived in low-rent housing in an urban center, just over a mile from the nearest major grocery store. Both were in wheelchairs and neither had access to their own car, therefore they relied on family and extended social networks not only to cook for them but to deliver groceries. In both cases the arrangement involved the interviewee paying for the food while their friend/relative physically bought, delivered, and cooked it. It became clear over the course of interviews with these two men that the friends they mentioned were homeless and therefore appreciated having access to a stove, refrigeration, and other cooking facilities that they otherwise would not have. In this way, the favor of cooking/delivering the food was reciprocated by the interviewee both in providing access to a full kitchen and through sharing their meals with their friends (or, as Interviewee #10 referred to them, his 'homeboys').

Meanwhile, for others I talked with, the social experience of obtaining food was spurned less by necessity, and more by the draw of certain food establishments as fun places to meet and socialize with friends and family. These opportunities for socialization were not limited to pre-existing relationships, but rather many also described the friendly relationships they'd built with market employees as something that kept them coming back.

At first my friends were shopping at Trader Joes and it was just really cool I went to Scottsdale once to meet a friend and we said we'll meet at Trader Joes and we went and got a free cup of coffee and left and went to our event. – Interviewee #44

I get most from Ranch Market. My uncle takes me over there ... family relatives take me – Interviewee #11

I like Whole Foods ... I like the people. I like the people that work there, I've actually become friends with some of the people that work there (laughs) and the staff is just wonderful. And they're always you know happy and willing to assist and you know answer your questions and I just I enjoy the atmosphere and I like that part of town. – Interviewee #35

I go to Walmart and Safeway just down the street. They're good people. I know a few of 'em. – Interviewee #10

At Costco over there the people is really nice, they're always in a good mood. Walmart they are ok too. And El Rancho I already know a few people who work there. They treat me nice. They make you feel good, and you're coming back. – Interviewee #7

We've found the staff there [at Fry's] to be very friendly. The deli, the cashiers you know so that's what keeps us going back. – Interviewee #26

After frequenting certain food outlets for an extended period of time, many expressed a certain degree of attachment to that particular establishment, and a reluctance to obtain food elsewhere. For some the process of becoming a dedicated customer was a slow one – often encouraged by the urging of a friend or family member. However, once loyalty was established, the familiarity and trust that came with shopping there became a major source of comfort to some.

At first if someone else was going I would just go with them. So I think it's just like once I got to know the places that I like and what I like to get ... I think it's just about becoming more familiar overall. – Interviewee #29

I've shopped at Basha's for 25 years. The familiarity of the store makes a big difference ... and we're going back to convenience again. If I go in a store that I haven't been in, it's going to take me longer to find things – especially if I had a big list - whereas Basha's I can walk right to it. – Interviewee #6

I've just been shopping at Trader Joes for so long I know exactly which products I want and it feels so familiar and easy. – Interviewee #44

I've lived in different parts of the country as well and there's where Safeway, I always remember getting food at Safeway. It's more or less a familiar thing for me. So that's why I shop there. – Interviewee #4

We've shopped at [Parkland Market] for 15 years so we have quite a loyalty to that market now. ... [it's] our market - we're quite protective of it ... and we are very loyal to specific farmers. – Interviewee #34

What's happened is that [Urbana Market] has literally become an institution. It's where I go to meet up with people it's the place I do to get coffee, the place I go to get breakfast, and it's the first place I go to pick up some things to make dinner or some fresh produce. – Interviewee #30

From these quotes, we can see that part of the comfort of a particular venue comes from a feeling of familiarity or a sense of personal connection to the grocer or marketplace. In this sense, metropolitan Phoenix presents an interesting case. Many who live there were not born in the city, or indeed in Arizona itself. A large proportion of those I interviewed mentioned over the course of our conversation that they had moved to the Valley from other cities, states, and even countries. For them, finding a familiar place for food in the unknown, sprawling urban landscape of Phoenix was often a struggle. Many gravitated to particular stores and markets for the aspects that reminded them of home, and the types of experiences they were used to. Others expressed frustration at being unable to find the comforting foods and marketplaces they were used to 'back home.'

Safeway I know how to navigate really easily.... Safeway is kind of like a store, the grocery store I shop at in Alaska ... it was a local grocery store and then it was bought out by the Safeway chain - so I'm used to the general format of Safeway stores. – Interviewee #28

Well when we lived in Michigan, they had a terrific farmers market there too ... with [Urbana Market] you don't get that, because the growing out here is very difficult. Farming is much different out here than Midwest or back east and so that's why you get different vegetables out here too. – Interviewee #26

When I think of a farmers market back in Michigan I think of good quality homegrown vegetables and fruit ... You just don't get 'em fresh out here. – Interviewee #24

Fresh N' Easy is excellent for real grub from England ... but we can't get OXO here which is like a bouillon cube ... the British way of making the gravy.... So now we're known OXO smugglers from Canada. – Interviewee #23

I don't think I've gotten settled in a certain area yet to be comfortable to go to a farmers market... It seems like Phoenix kind of growing and there's so many new parts that it's just kind of spreading and people are just trying to get comfortable. – Interviewee #5

I grew up in South Dakota, and it was a little bit more of a rural lifestyle than here in the city where all our food is shipped from hundreds of miles away and packaged in the supermarket this is just a big corporate urban sprawl, there's not a lot of culture here. I don't even really feel like there's a sense of community here. – Interviewee #16

Phoenix can be a challenging place to build an alternative food system, as many new transplants to the city perceive what they see as obvious barriers to sustainability in terms of climate, geography, and community. Many describe feelings of isolation amidst the urban sprawl, and a difficulty in connecting to others in general, not only in regards to food. Where people used to attend farmers' markets with regularity back in their 'home' states, many noted that since arriving in Phoenix they'd never seen anything like a farmers' market in the valley, and/or that they didn't feel comfortable looking for one. Another barrier was climate. Not only did the hot summers deter potential farmers' market-goers from straying outdoors, but also led some to question the environmental soundness of doing agriculture in the Valley. As one participant described:

We have to irrigate water from a whole different source ... it's almost like it's doing more harm trying to sustain a high quality of life in this particular region of the country than just to go live somewhere else. 'Cause there's nothing sustainable about it. – Interviewee #16

THE IDEAL VS. THE COMFORTABLE: STASIS VS. CHANGE

The stories of those I interviewed speak to an underlying tension and divergence in motives regarding food-related decision-making. On the one hand, participants construct elaborate, detailed food system ideologies which incorporate concerns regarding physical health, social justice, and environmental impacts. Many condemn the conventional, industrialized food system and express a strong desire to make decisions that seek to subvert the mainstream system – whether through careful choices about the types of items they purchase, or by purchasing from alternative locations such as farmers’ markets. At the same time, however, their narratives reveal a tendency to resist change - instead relying on the comfort of that which is familiar: the traditional, the habitual, the known. This tension between the desire to adapt and the resistance to change is driven and mediated by cues from those in the participants’ social networks. Cultural traditions and social learning can help transmit information critical for the long-term resilience of societies to their particular environment – an often underestimated benefit of the power of culture. It is easier for individuals to understand and adapt to specific, localized conditions than to grapple with broader, globalized problems, and therefore falling back on embedded cultural knowledge and traditions may be the mechanism for coping in these situations.

Normal routine vs. Exotic kitchen experiments

The capacity and willingness for individual stakeholders to adapt depends greatly on socio-cultural inertia, enabling and disabling institutions, as well as individual

attitudes and circumstances. The tension between stasis and change, is palpable in the in the stories of those I interviewed for the current study. An interesting difference arose between those who attended farmers' markets and those whom I talked to in the broader community. Community members more frequently spoke in cautious language about trying new foods and food outlets. They often described their eating habits as 'normal' or 'typical' or traditional, and their shopping carts as filled with the same grocery list week after week.

Normal routine every time. Never change our food. Chicken dinners with what, rice, and chicken fried rice. Brown gravy mashed potatoes and corn – steak is what it is. Spaghetti, lasagna, tacos try to have tacos once a week. That's really about it. Just normal foods. – Interviewee #20

We're Hispanic and we use too much tomatoes and onions and cilantro and jalapenos ... these are the kinds of foods we eat. – Interviewee #7

Hamburgers and French fries. I'm an old fashioned guy. I usually make my own patties. Some of my friends come over and they do the cooking and it's bacon and eggs most of the mornings or oatmeal and milk. - Interviewee #9

Essentially yeah, [I'm] eating a lot of fruits and vegetables. Eating a lot of light food nothing really exotic – Interviewee #14

In contrast, farmers' market goers were much more likely than non-market goers to describe the attraction of new experiences, exotic foods and seeking 'something different' or even 'weird.' While some mentioned staple foods, many emphasized the importance of variety, and the excitement of trying new things. They viewed farmers' markets and particular stores as offering a wider variety, or in some cases seasonal surprises – which made the markets attractive to these customers.

I always like to try new products. Especially if I see a new gluten free thing I'll try that. [The Courtyard Market] sometimes has it. They're kind

of like a niche anyway, they're holistic, vegan and all that stuff so all their stuff is. – Interviewee #13

You can get varieties you can't get in the store. Like different kinds of pomegranates, white sapotes, papayas, a lot of things that are a little bit harder to find. – Interviewee #44

Once a month we'll go eat dim sum ... and we'll go to Lili's - the little Asian supermarket there - and I'll buy kohlrabi and rambutan and all sorts of weird little things and when I get something weird [in a CSA box], I'm like awesome yeah! What's a bitter melon I don't know lets use it! ... It's all seasonal so I really like that because you eat with the seasons. – Interviewee #25

I like Whole Foods because of the variety it's such a large store there's so much variety there – Interviewee #35

I've learned all kinds of new recipes and new herbs and flavorings [through the challenge of cooking with farmers' market produce]. So it's pretty hard for a restaurant to compete with that. – Interviewee #27

The narrative excerpts from farmers' market goers show an attraction to new, unusual, and exotic experiences, and a delight out of trying new foods and new tastes. Meanwhile while the earlier comments from non-market goers reveal a preference for the opposite: preferring a normal routine to the great unknown. This tendency towards resistance to change exhibits itself not only in terms of dietary stasis, but purchasing locations as well.

It's like when you go to Safeway or you go to Fry's they have their store brands, and they are very similar from store to store. It's like you get used to the way that cereal, their version of Lucky Charms tastes, or their version of hot cocoa. You just kind of get used to that. – Interviewee #1

I order online most of the time I didn't try it for a long time and once I tried it I was hooked because I don't like to go to the store. I never go [to the farmers' market]... It scares me. Driving. Parking. I'm not going there. That's the only thing. – Interviewee #12

It seems like there's more regular-day average people [at Fry's]. - Interviewee #24S

Even for those who would, in theory, like to see changes come about in the food system, personal behavior change can seem overwhelming. As the following quote illustrates, for many who feel the tension between ideology and tradition, the adaptation and change is not something that will happen overnight, but incrementally.

I'm working on being less chained to convenience. But I think as with most changes, it has to be incremental. As much as we'd like it to be a wide sweeping overnight change, it's not the case, whether its quitting something that's harmful for you or just starting to do something that's good for you, the biggest thing is you just can't force the issue on that kind of stuff. – Interview #1

As we will see in the next section, the capacity to change one's behavior – to adapt to new circumstances or to begin to work towards a more desirable future – is constrained not only by the competing forces of new ideology vs. engrained traditions, but also on the financial, physical, and cultural obstacles that individuals experience as they navigate the fabric of conventional and alternative food system networks. While 75% of those I interviewed in the neighborhoods surrounding the farmers' markets expressed that shopping at farmers' markets would be part of their ideal food shopping scenario, and 54% had attended a farmers' market in the past, only 38% had actually been to a farmers' market in Arizona. As we will see in the following sections, due in part to personal resistance to change, and to significant barriers in physical, economic, and cultural accessibility, farmers' markets remain inaccessible to many in the Phoenix Valley.

PHYSICAL ACCESSIBILITY & UTILITY

One of the most commonly cited barriers to utilizing farmers' markets is lack of physical access. In this study, I attempted to control and effectively minimize the impact

of this variable by only sampling interviewees within a two-mile bikability radius from the case study markets. A bikeability radius was chosen as opposed to a smaller walkability radius because due to the summer heat and low density of the urban landscape, many opt to bike rather than walk if not travelling by personal vehicle or public transport.

Convenience vs. Commitment

However, for many, convenience was paramount in shaping their decisions about where and when to shop. The convenience factor was more important for non-farmers' market shoppers, and was often the first thing they mentioned when describing why they selected one store over the other – convenience and store proximity was often cited as the “driving force,” a “huge factor,” and “the number one thing.” Shopping trips were often planned on the way home from work, and stores selected to match these routes. Many of these customers admitted that they felt trapped by the convenience factor – and even expressed feelings of guilt that they found themselves choosing proximity over ‘quality,’ ‘fresher food,’ things ‘grown by the community’ or ‘more organic’ items. Even a few of those who shopped at farmers’ markets noted that they did so only occasionally or bought limited amounts because of the convenience factor.

I literally drive right past when I'm coming home from work.... What keeps me coming back? Convenience is probably the biggest for me. – Interviewee #1

Convenience is totally my driving factor. ... I totally try and make it like as I'm coming home. I go to Fry's because of its proximity. If it had to do with quality I'd probably go to Whole Foods or Sunflower or Sprouts or something. – Interviewee #2

Sadly (laughs) we go to Walmart most of the time because it's convenient – there's a Walmart everywhere and I think convenience matters the most - most of the time. – Interviewee #5

I only have a couple days off a week ... so I don't have a lot of time to go here and there driving around figuring out which are the best places ... there are a lot of places around here where I could get a better quality product than at Safeway ... but I just don't have time. It's just that simple Convenience is a huge factor when living in this town. It's urban sprawl from one side to another. – Interviewee #16

They've got a nice farmers' market there but people have to walk quite a ways to get to it after the parking lot fills up. So it's a matter of convenience again too. – Interviewee #6

I'd rather support local growers around here than the big corporations. Do I make a point to go to them? No. I travel for a living so I'm not around on the weekends sometimes, so you know, that doesn't make it convenient for me sometimes. Because when I'm only home for a short time, it's got to be convenience. – Interviewee #21

Safeway is kind of expensive but we do go a little because it's closer. Simple things like ice or you know maybe if it's just one item or two items. We'll just go over there get it get done, go home. – Interviewee #15

If I lived closer I'd probably go [to Foodie Market] all the time. – Interviewee #22

I've wanted to go a few times but I couldn't make it by 1'o clock but I think maybe if they stayed open later. – Interviewee #35

Fry's is open till midnight. You go there, it's right around the corner from my house. I'll be honest, it's not my favorite place to go, but it's easy, so I end up going there. – Interviewee #41

It's a transportation issue because I'm on my bike so I can't pile a bunch of stuff in there and then take it off. So ... yeah I'm going to buy some bread and tapenade ... have a nice little appetizer. But it's not a primary thing for me or anything. – Interviewee #25

Those who shopped at farmers' markets frequently described overcoming the barriers of time, distance, and other physical inconveniences of shopping at the market, while others noted they lived or worked in such close proximity to the markets that they effectively

were one of the most physically convenient options. One Urbana Market goer even used the market as part of his decision-making process to buy a house in the area – making the market an easier option for him than it had been. Others listed other time-saving benefits of farmers’ markets – noting that for example, in a grocery store they would waste a lot of time reading labels whereas at a farmer’s market they could just ask the farmer.

It’s convenient – they have it twice a week. – Interviewee #8

[Urbana Market] is closer to me than even Safeway It’s probably a 10 minute walk or a 2 minute drive. So it’s really close, really convenient. But I would say things like [Urbana Market] were ... part of the driving force as to why I decided to relocate. – Interviewee #30

It’s a convenient time, going during the week instead of going to a market on the weekend. – Interviewee #27

I live right across the street. When I was working full time, my Fridays and Saturdays were full from the time I got up in the morning till the time I went to sleep ... but now I can go. – Interview #32

It’s inconvenient because of the distance [she lives approximately 20 miles away]. But I’ve made it a priority and its more than that, it’s a day out and I just make it a fun thing. – Interviewee #38

I have two jobs, I go to school full time and my son’s seven months old so I’m busy all the time. I just like the farmers’ market because it’s...I don’t know it’s cool it’s just fun to go and see everything. – Interviewee #36

We’ve kind of planned our life around that ... and it’s a commitment but one that we feel is well worth it for the food. – Interview #43

Despite the challenges of distance and the limited hours of operation, these farmers’ market customers found ways to overcome the barriers, literally driving (or moving) great lengths to shop at their markets. Others found themselves in situations that made the market convenient for them. Flexible or unusual work hours can work to participants’ benefit – allowing them to take advantage of

daytime markets as they pass through the area, or giving them the flexibility to spend a Saturday morning shopping at the market – a luxury not all can afford. Two men I spoke with were in wheelchairs, and their comments illustrated the challenges of accessing healthy food for those with limited mobility. Both of them relied on others to deliver their food, and the items purchased were not always what they wanted. One was sometimes able to get his sister to take him to the store or farmers' market, in which case he had more influence over what was purchased, but another revealed that healthy food items like vegetables were something he didn't get a lot of, partially because his friends often did the shopping and therefore chose his menu:

*I'd like some fresh vegetables, but ... well sometimes they bring fruit over.
– Interviewee #9*

Likewise, another interviewee described the difficulty in physically accessing farmers' markets that don't have ample public parking or public transport nearby. Because farmers' markets are typically set up on a temporary, once-or twice a week basis, they may not have their own dedicated parking area, and are often even set up in parking lots themselves – eliminating these areas as places for people to park. This can make physical access challenging for certain groups.

I don't want to be unkind but ... the population that you're trying to reach is probably mid-30s to mid-70s, and people are not going to walk very far and/or come out from [Courtyard Market] and find out that they've got a 40 dollar parking ticket or whatever. – Interviewee #14

Depending on the context of their situation, those of limited physical mobility or who have difficulties getting in and out of particular areas of the city have substantially decreased control over their food purchasing and consumption

decisions. In the case of the former interviewee this is particularly the case when they feel guilty making demands and inconveniencing those helping them. Thus, despite the fact that many farmers' markets across the valley are technically accessible by car, bike, bus, wheelchair and/or on foot, the reality is that the physical and geographic barriers make it prohibitively inconvenient to access the market for many potential patrons, especially those with limited physical mobility.

We Live in a Desert out Here!

The Arizona climate was an issue that came up frequently in conversations, not only in regards to farmers' markets, but even impacting decisions regarding which grocery store to shop at. The aversion to being out in the Arizona heat was so strong that several non-market goers incorrectly assumed that farmers' markets in the valley would shut down for the entirety of summer (this is true of only two of the case study markets).

I wouldn't mind going to Fry's but the climate is a big play in this too. If I go a mile or two or three to get my groceries, in the summer time some of that stuff is close to melting. I know people take ice chests to compensate but for me it's not worth the hassle. – Interviewee #6

We don't really go there in the summer because it's so hot. So primarily most of our food comes from Fry's that's where I do most of my grocery shopping I just feel for those vendors. You know they got to set up and then they're sitting out there ... but so we really don't patronize it in the summer. –Interviewee #26

It's always so hot outside – I don't want to go outside! (Laughs) it's always so hot! – Interviewee #5
[on why she doesn't attend farmers' markets in Arizona though she used to back home]

Weather related, when it's really hot it's not that desirable to go shopping or even really cold like today. –Interviewee #41

I don't think they even have any of them going on in the summer. Because a) Their stuff wouldn't probably last and b) How many people would come? If you've been here in the summer, nobody comes out! – Interviewee #21

Those I interviewed spoke not only about the discomfort of using farmers' markets in Arizona, but also in terms of lack of selection available at the markets. Despite expressing a desire to obtain fresh and local products, many expressed a belief that many items they'd like are too difficult to grow find in Arizona's climate. They reminisced fondly of other farmers' markets in other states, where a broader variety of fresh produce was available. There were misconceptions here as well. Some had the misperception that many agricultural products couldn't be grown in Arizona, due to the heat. Others were confused regarding seasonality, explaining that they couldn't go to the farmers' market to buy citrus in the winter because the supply would "dry up during the winter because it gets too cold here to sustain" – obviously this person did not realize that citrus season is in the winter. Regardless of whether the barriers people experienced were real or simply perceived, climatic obstacles to shopping at Arizona farmers' markets were prevalent in my conversations with farmers-market shoppers and non-shoppers alike.

One of the things about the farmers market is you have to eat what's in season, so if you want to eat something that's out of season then that's when you have to go to the regular stores. – Interviewee #43

I'll have to end up going to more than one place anyway because I don't necessarily feel like the farmers' market has every single piece of food that I'd want to eat in a given week. Umm do they have like cereal? I don't know if I've ever noticed any cereals there. – Interviewee #29

You're only buying stuff that you're only going to grow locally and seasonal like there's no avocados. – Interviewee #33

I mean in Michigan where I'm from, there's farmers markets everywhere, but we live in a desert out here We used to go [to farmers' markets]

and pick our own blueberries we'd pick our own everything... You just don't get 'em fresh out here. – Interviewee #24

We grew up in Oregon, in berry country. We know what berries are supposed to taste like. You go buy a berry at the grocery store especially in the off season? People here probably don't even know what strawberries are really supposed to taste like. – Interviewee #22

But push comes to shove you can't get ... some of the more exotic fruit, it's gonna come from Mexico or the Caribbean, or somewhere in Latin America because there's no way to grow it successfully here in the U.S – Interviewee #1

There are definitely plants that don't survive here because of the heat they can't grow them because it's too hot.... obviously you're bound by the season, which is something a lot of people aren't used to. – Interviewee #1

Dedicated market-goers tended to look at the positive side of limited variety available at the markets – viewing it instead as an educational opportunity to make themselves more aware of the limits of the local climate, and to eat more seasonally.

The market has had a role in me being a little more aware of seasonality of produce and what's available and what's grown here in this climate and what has to be imported from somewhere else either regionally or internationally. – Interviewee #30

It's all seasonal so I really like that because you eat with the seasons. – Interviewee #25

Even these customers, however, admitted that learning to eat seasonally had been a challenge for them at first. It entailed 'getting creative': experimenting with new ingredients and throwing out old stand-by recipes – replacing them instead with new ones that necessarily varied from week to week, season to season. As one avid Urbana Market-goer said "it's definitely not a flip switch process."

Fresh Food goes Bad

Another physical challenge interviewees described, and sometimes exacerbated by the Arizona heat, was the difficulty in using fresh items before they spoiled. In general, buying fresh produce requires a great deal more time and commitment in terms of meal preparation. For those who find it hard to make the time to cook, the fresh produce items which constitute the backbone of farmers' markets may sit unused for too long. As a workaround, some interviewees make multiple shopping trips to different markets each week in order to buy fresh produce, while others forgo farmers' markets altogether and rely on other stores to provide both fresh as well as longer-lasting canned, premade, and frozen options.

Eating fresh food is less convenient than eating processed food because fresh food goes bad and so you have to shop at least once a week. You can't stock up like a squirrel and put it all in your cupboards. You have to actually actively go and buy your food – Interviewee #8

There's a lot in the way of convenience you know with the frozen food its one of those things where I can stock up on that, and it's less trips to the store. – Interviewee #1

Fresh materials don't keep a long time. So you're not going to be able to go out to eat three nights a week and then come and grab stuff off the shelf. So it was a learning process to getting used to thinking about planning and then what actually works when planning. Because there's many times that what looks like a great plan for the week falls apart because you think oh I'm going to be cooking with fresh mint on Friday when I bought it the Saturday before well that's shot. It didn't last that long, especially in the summer. – Interviewee #30

Things that are fast like pita pizzas are like a staple of my diet because it's just pita bread pesto any vegetables I want to put on it cheese oven takes five minutes - easy. So if I open my freezer right now you'd see all the hard to prepare stuff just not – I've had it for the past three weeks. Because I've been back at school so I don't even have as much time to even do little things. – Interviewee #8

We're both career people. We're not home a lot of the time, so we want to make stuff that's easy to make. – Interviewee #6

Because farmers' markets are known primarily as places where fresh produce is sold, those who feel as if they don't often have enough time to cook may not see farmers' markets as a viable option for their purchases, simply because they don't perceive them as offering the 'frozen bagged veggies' or 'things that you can throw in a pot.' The extent to which this is actually true is debatable. Many farmers' market shoppers describe buying items that offer 'instant' or 'ten-minute' meals.

It's frozen perogie and sauerkraut. It's really delicious. It's frozen - you just put it in the freezer and when you need an instant meal you just pull it out! – Interviewee #44

I will buy ready-made food that's there. I like eating the tamale guy's food every time I go there. I love that guy! – Interviewee #29

I have some quick pieces that I can pick up at the market. Like I can get a sealed package of tasty bite Indian food that you can pop in the microwave and some rice and I grab a pack of chicken broth. I can pick up those three items and a thing of pitas and get home and in 15 minutes I can have a fast dinner if it's late at night or something ... If they would call out those type of things, I think it would help folks who aren't used to what's there or are new to the planning process. I think those things would help them get started. – Interviewee #30

These stories, coupled with my personal observations at the market reveal that a substantial number of the vendors at the farmers' market offer pre-made meals or meal and snack items. Hummus, tortillas, chips, kettle corn, baked goods, sandwiches, meat and vegetable pies, tamales, wraps, burritos, and stir fries are just some of the ready-to-eat food items available at many of the valley markets. In addition, many of the vendors who sell these ready-made items also offer them

frozen and in bulk for those who want to bring the meals home for a quick-and-easy dinner. Regardless, there seems to be a substantial barrier to buying these items at farmers' markets for many – the issue could be related to price, or perhaps, as the last commenter in the series of quotes above suggests, that people simply don't realize these kinds of food are available.

Not knowing

Lack of knowledge regarding what farmers' markets offer and where they are located can be a significant reason (or excuse) for non-attendance. Of the twenty-four people I interviewed in the communities surrounding the case study markets, only nine had shopped at Phoenix-area farmers' markets. Two of these were regular farmers' market customers (Interviewee #3 and Interviewee #8), and seven had shopped at Phoenix-area farmers' markets at least once in the past (Interviewee #1, #4, #6, #10, #13, #15 and #21). Of those who hadn't visited farmers' markets in Arizona, five said they used to shop at farmers' markets before they moved to the valley, and ten had never been to a farmers' market before. Of the fifteen that had never attended an Arizona farmers' market, seven mentioned this was due in part to the fact that they didn't know where one was (Interviewees #5, #7, #16, #18, #19, #20, #23, #24), and didn't think there were any close to their home. This is a fairly surprising proportion, considering that all the community members I interviewed lived within 2 miles of at least one case study farmers' market. This illustrates that even proximity to a market doesn't necessarily translate to an awareness that it is there.

If there were some [farmers' markets] around here I'd probably go because their vegetables are going to be better than the store and the fruit is going to be fresh too, but I around here I've never seen one so probably that's why I never buy. – Interviewee #7

*Note that this interviewee lives approximately 3 blocks from Village Market.

I don't have a lot of time to go here and there driving around figuring it out. – Interviewee #16

*Lives four blocks from Courtyard Market

No we don't ever go. I don't know of any in the area. No. The farmers' markets, like Fresh and Easy is a farmers' market? [I explained that they were often tents where farmers sold]. Oh, ok, no we never get from there ... And I've never seen one. – Interviewee #19

*Lives under one mile from Weekday Market

Well I wouldn't even know where to find one honestly If I knew where they were I'd probably consider it. You're not talking like Sprouts are you? [I explain no, I mean the outdoor markets with tents] ... If I was to pass somebody selling a particular thing say cucumbers or something out of the back of their truck I'd probably consider stopping. – Interviewee #24

*Lives under one mile from Foodie Market

The last two quotes illustrate that the confusion regarding farmers' markets lies not only in simply locating them but in uncertainty about what a farmers' market is. The 'classic' outdoor farmers' market where farmers sell direct to consumers is a market model that is not at the forefront of the minds of some community members. For them, the local, direct-marketing model is somewhat off their radar as a potential place from which to source food.

ECONOMIC ACCESS

At the basis of every food related ideology is the fact that food is a fundamental human need. Maintaining an ability to provide for oneself and one's family, therefore, plays a central role in any decisions regarding food. For those at the lower end of the

economic spectrum, food budgets may be extremely tight, and saving every penny could mean the difference between feeding one's family and having kids go hungry. That farmers' markets continue to be associated with organic, boutique, high-end products does them no favors in the minds of those who feel their wallets stretched thin even at regular supermarkets.

“We're Here to Survive”

Community members I interviewed in the neighborhoods surrounding the farmers' market frequently stressed the ways in which food prices profoundly influenced their decision-making. Many talked of 'just trying to get by' and provide for their families the best they could. Even if they weren't always able to put the best food on the table, some food was better than no food, they concluded. Over the course of my conversations with many community members it became clear that the importance of finding affordable food constrains what they perceive as even being options for them – both in terms of affordable food and places where they could reasonably buy it. Affordability was often described as an absolute constraint – something beyond the control of the individual. Thus when certain foods, grocers, or marketplaces were perceived as unaffordable, they were effectively crossed off people's mental lists – removing them from the pool of viable options.

Whole foods is expensive and it's even getting that way at what I would call traditional grocery stores like Fry's and Safeway and Albertson's and Basha's ... now I go there only for the specials... and I know most people only go there for the specials. – Interviewee #1

Of course ... if the price is good on the meal, it makes everything better, because today's economy sucks. We're humans, we're here to survive! - Interviewee #15

Price is the biggest thing. If I can get something at Trader Joes I usually go for that, because it's usually going to be cheaper after my discount. – Interviewee #1

Whenever I need any vegetable or fruit I go with wherever is cheaper. Anywhere that's cheaper I go. Sometimes I go to this Mexican store called El Rancho market and sometimes Walmart ... you know other types of stores are kind of expensive. – Interviewee #7

Some employ strategies of buying in bulk using coupons or on discount days – stocking up so that they won't spend as much on staple items. For these customers a bit of extra time, planning, and even distance travelled is worth the benefits they gain in savings – showing how critical prices can be for some customers.

We do Fry's once a month on All Pensioners day (Old Fart's day!) 'Cause you get a 10% discount on first Wednesdays. So we stock up! – Interviewee #23

I look for the best prices. If there is something that'll have a really good price then I'll buy it. And I'll buy a bulk quantity of it and freeze it and then that way I'll just use it as I go along. – Interviewee #4

It's not the closest - we're going out of our way. Three miles ... but we like the Fry's just cause of the discount card – Interviewee #20

For example Wednesday they've got a special sale from fruits and vegetables and Thursday they got a meat discount, so that's why we go in there cause we try to save money. ... Sometimes they got a good sale and sometimes they got specials. – Interviewee #19

You know we live we have a big family ... if I buy meat I buy so I can put it in the freezer ... I think it's cheaper if I buy it over there like a big size than if I go to Walmart.... I'm trying not to waste too much money because everything is getting so expensive. So I need to see how to save money because it's hard. – Interviewee #7

I want to feed them healthy, but I still got to feed them!

Many express feelings of being trapped in situation in which price and convenience necessarily trumps “good food”, simply because they cannot afford the time and money it takes to shop around for the products they perceive of as being higher quality. Many discussed the tradeoffs they felt they had to make in terms of reducing the amount of organic, meat-based, and/or ‘healthy’ food items that they could buy simply because of the high cost of maintaining that sort of diet.

Money is the main [barrier to eating healthier]. The organic stuff is usually more expensive and that’s the biggest thing. – Interviewee #12

Economics totally kind of changed the way I shop now... and [limited] time ... but I think should I have both of those factors, I would only get organic food. – Interviewee #2

I am a Mexican food junkie although a lot of that is fruit and vegetable based. There’s not a lot of meat and truthfully a lot of that has to do with cost. – Interviewee #14

There was a time when me and my boyfriend were on this diet together it was a whole lifestyle change thing, and we still kind of do it [looks guiltily at empty Chinese take out container]. Kind of! But ... it’s a little more expensive to buy all natural things that aren’t in a box and easy to make So that comes into play sometimes. It depends on how bad I want to be healthy! – Interviewee #5

For some, these cost constraints effectively place farmers’ markets outside the bounds of what is reasonably possible as a regular source of food. It is important to keep in mind that the perception of farmers’ markets as too expensive is just as powerful a deterrent as if they actually are more costly than other stores. While the current study didn’t undertake any official attempt to compare the prices of farmers’ market products to those in local stores, studies elsewhere have done so, and with mixed results. Likewise, participants in this study expressed a wide range of opinions regarding the affordability of farmers’ market products. Not surprisingly those who shopped at farmers’ markets

tended to perceive the items they were purchasing as affordable, though some admitted that the prices might be too high for those with lower incomes. Other farmers' market-goers insisted that prices for many items were actually lower at farmers' markets. In contrast, many of those in the community who didn't shop at farmers' markets were under the impression that farmers' market prices were exorbitant.

[Farmers' Markets] are just too expensive I think they really are. They're just too expensive. There's no discounts. I've never seen any coupons for those stores or that kind of thing – Interviewee #20

[There's a] farmer's market right up the street ... I'll go there every once in awhile my friends shop there a lot so if they go sometimes I'll go. But the produce isn't as good and it's more expensive unfortunately ... Then there's [Courtyard Market] - most of the stuff's pretty expensive and it's not quite as good as the cheap processed stuff in my opinion. – Interviewee #13

[Farmers' markets are] expensive and like you probably read or somebody told you if you want to eat healthy it costs more ... I got quite the family, so... I definitely want to feed them healthy but still got to feed them! - Interviewee #15

Though some noted that they occasionally shop at farmers' markets, it was often described as a 'special' trip or outing, associated with 'splurging' or 'spoiling' oneself, rather than as a regular food provisioning trip. Even those few I encountered in the community who did occasionally shop at farmers' markets still acknowledged the cost and convenience factors as a key part of their decision-making. While two had made farmers' markets part of their regular routine, most community members I spoke with utilized farmers' markets only very infrequently, often as a fun outing or to buy a specific item, rather than a true grocery shopping trip.

I don't find it to be expensive, but a lot of people don't go there because they say it's too expensive. But to me it's worth the money. Because I'd

rather have good stuff than go to Safeway and pick over the crap... and the market isn't really much more expensive than the grocery store. – Interviewee #3

I do like to make those separate trips every now and then and kind of spoil myself and get the nicer food. – Interviewee #17

**Note: This comment is in reference to her farmers' market experiences in Arkansas and Washington State. She has not attended Arizona farmers' markets.*

It costs 20 dollars [for] produce and actually that's really good for the amount I get... there's a lot of [other] things that you need that I can't get ... I mean you can get it at the market but it's much more expensive.... that's another thing about the market, they tend to cater to people who can spend a lot of money on food. I don't buy anything else in the farmers' market except the produce like I bought pasta sauce one time. It was 8 dollars. That's just ridiculous, It was really good but that's not sustainable. – Interviewee #8

I'll go [to a non case study market] every once in awhile my friends shop there a lot so if they go sometimes I'll go. But the produce isn't as good and it's a little more expensive unfortunately. – Interviewee #13

I haven't done a whole lot here ... I went one time but it was in the winter and they didn't really have any food food. – Interviewee #22

I never really went over there to look for [produce] I just went to pick up the beans. Just the beans. – Interviewee #10

The farmers' market supplies a very small amount... Produce and hard to find items. ... But it's a different affair than a market. Just to break the monotony up and do something different. – Interviewee #6

*Famers' Market Shoppers Weigh In:
'I know it's not more than it's worth'*

Even farmers market shoppers discuss financial barriers as obstacles to their ideal food purchasing routines. However, their stories are often couched in language of rationalization as to why they sometimes spend more money on food from farmers' markets and specialty shops. In their comments they explained their

normative belief that paying more was ‘worth it’ and that you needed to be willing to pay a bit more if you wanted something ‘healthier,’ or to ‘support local farmers’ or ‘small businesses.’ While some admit that farmers’ market shopping trips are primarily a ‘supplemental’ outing, it is important to note that the luxury of being able to shop at multiple markets is a transaction cost that not all are able to afford.

Some of the things are a little bit higher priced ... but I like that you’re supporting a little business. – Interviewee #25

We can buy a loaf of white bread for I don’t know what, 90 cents or something? But if you put together the total cost of what happens when we eat this kind of a product or the kind of people we put out of work, it is really not a cost saving device. – Interviewee #34

It’s more pricey, but it’s better beef! If you want to get something leaner and healthier you’re going to pay more. - Interviewee #26

I think when I first went to the farmers market that I was expecting the produce to be priced a little cheaper than the grocery store so I was a little surprised when it wasn’t. – Interviewee #40

The market is definitely not always the cheapest when it comes to things that aren’t actually fresh produce. – Interviewee #30

I do think that it can be worth it, but at least I with my current budget need to treat it specially and not get all my produce there ... and I have to make sure to avoid some of the “prepared” foods like pestos and breads and stuff like that ... you can add up pretty fast if you’re buying a jar of salsa, a jar of jam, and cookies and pasta and stuff like that. – Interviewee #28

The prices have increased a lot there. The produce that used to be less than some of the supermarket and they’ve increased a lot ... I know it’s not more than it’s worth, but sometimes just to save money we don’t buy there. – Interviewee #44

I don’t know if it’s like if it’s a budget thing or a mental cost issue with me ... sometimes by the time I get to Saturday I almost don’t use it as a major shopping adventure ... I go with like 20 dollars cash in my pocket I don’t bring my debit card with me or additional cash. – Interviewee #40

I've experimented with the ranchers there that sell meat and chicken. I may just not have the palate to know the difference at this point, but I certainly can't pay the uptick in the price at this point. So we're still buying our meat and fish from Costco. – Interviewee #34

Despite their complaints regarding market prices, all of these study participants obviously found a way to overcome the barriers of price and utilize farmers' markets to one degree or another. Many felt that meats and prepared foods like jams, salsas, and tapenades were prohibitively expensive, while perspectives on produce prices were more mixed. Some felt that produce was still pricier than at the grocery store, while others found it cheaper. One common argument along these lines was that at stores like Whole Foods or even regular supermarkets organic food may cost more than it does at the farmers' market – thus to shoppers for whom organic is a priority, buying at farmers' market may be more cost effective for these items.

It's cheaper to get naturally grown produce from the market than it is to buy organic many times at Safeway. Which is an unexpected thing. Because in most cases I think the belief would be that they market is more expensive. Whereas the market is actually more cost effective. – Interviewee #30

It's cheaper. It is cheaper, people. You know you get quality stuff and it's cheaper. ... that's what I've found. Especially in Michigan. I go and spend twenty bucks and I got enough for two weeks ... you're just getting more and better quality and the cost is very similar and you're supporting these people instead of a chain. – Interviewee #26

It is interesting to note in this latter comment that farmers' markets were perceived as being especially affordable in other parts of the country. Since so many in Arizona come from other regions of the U.S. their perceptions of farmers' markets and what to expect from them may be closely linked to their experiences elsewhere. Long-standing farmers'

markets are relatively new to Arizona compared to other states. In places where farmers' markets have a longer history and a broader, stabler, customer base, prices may be more affordable. While in time, Arizona farmers' market prices may grow closer to that which fits in a regular food budget, for now it is clear to see that even for dedicated customers, farmers' market prices are often a constraint.

Low Income Perspectives

For community members with low incomes, prices were frequently described as a critical part of their food-related decision-making process. Discounts, deals, and saving money were even more important to their decision-making. The quotes below are drawn from interviews with community members whose household income was in the lowest income bracket (under \$25,000) and/or who noted that they utilized SNAP/EBT, or WIC when buying food items. Some described making tradeoffs in terms of food quality in order to afford basic staple items, while others noted that they feel forced to spend more time working in order to afford the luxury items they'd like and/or to feed their family.

Safeway is expensive in my opinion. Ranch Market and Food City are cheaper. Forget Circle K. They're expensive. I get \$143 a month in food stamps, but I pay too much rent here and I gotta sell some of the food stamps. I don't like doing that but this place costs me \$600 a month and that leaves me \$12 a month on my SSI. – Interviewee #9

Some of the vegetables aren't good you know ... we always go there but still it's not the best place to go. I would say Ranch Market is the best, but Food City is cheaper. – Interviewee #18

Generally I can go [to Trader Joe's] and I know I'm probably going to only spend 35 dollars, whereas if I go to Safeway I usually spend 80 dollars ... at [Urbana Market] they tend to cater to people who can spend a lot of money on food ... so I don't shop there for anything other than straight produce. – Interviewee #8

I wouldn't survive unless I go out and I beg. I'm a panhandler. I make money. I just make enough to get me a couple beers and I just kick back and relax. – Interviewee #9

Used to be a K-mart but since that new store comes up they have lower prices over there. You get more. It's ok now, it's ok. ...I get the stuff that is on sale.... If I have some aid, we'll go out and eat some stuff with friends or whatever. Usually I just cook. – Interviewee #11

Fry's and Walmart take a lot of coupons and do a lot of discounts. Walmart is awesome because they beat all prices of everybody - they compete with all stores so... – Interviewee #15

Why Fry's? The discount card. It's not the closest. We're going out of our way. Three miles that way, or a ½ mile more that way but we like the Fry's just cause of the card. – Interviewee #20

Of the eight low-income community members I spoke with, only three had ever attended a farmers' market. Of these, only one attended regularly, while the other two mentioned that they or someone in their household had visited a farmers' market a few times in the past for certain items, and two of the three emphasized the fact that some farmers' market products were much more expensive.

CULTURAL ACCESS

Food access and food security are usually discussed in terms of physical and economic access and utility. As I've presented in the sections above, many members of the community - and particularly low-income residents – face a number of difficult financial, physical, tradition-related and utilitarian challenges to living up to their food related ideologies, and also in accessing farmers markets. While these factors are undeniably important, the current study revealed that beneath these barriers lie deeper, perhaps more profound socio-psychological barriers: those of cultural inaccessibility.

The influence of one's social identity and culture on the decision to shop at a market is a topic not often overtly examined in farmers' market research. Part of this is likely due to the fact that our social identities are often invisible to us. The cultural markers and social atmospheres that resonate with us and the ones that rub us the wrong way are hard for us to pin down and describe. This is particularly true of the survey-based research upon which most farmers' market studies are based, but even in research that incorporates interviews and more in-depth ethnographic observations as well. Take, for example, the following quote from one of those I interviewed in the current study. He struggled for awhile trying to explain why he didn't like going to the grocery store closest him. Finally he came up with this explanation:

I guess it's hard to pinpoint exactly ... I don't know how to explain it, but you can tell how people carry themselves... yet they're not rude. I don't know what it is. – Interviewee #24

After spending a bit more time talking about good and bad experiences he'd had at this particular store, he started remembering specific details and interactions that had made him and his girlfriend 'uncomfortable': Customers that had looked at his girlfriend 'the wrong way' because she was black, other customers wore their sunglasses indoors and acted like entitled millionaires rather than 'regular-day average people' and he had a general feeling that when he walked in wearing a t-shirt and shorts he was entering the store 'underdressed.' In this case, small discrepancies between the subculture of the marketplace and the participant's own sub-cultural identity were enough to lead him to avoid the store altogether. In fact, initially he almost didn't talk about the store at all in our interview. His first response was to immediately gravitate toward discussing the store he *did* shop at, but then decided to point out that there was a closer option that he'd

effectively scratched off his list after just a couple bad experiences. This speaks to the subtle yet far-reaching power of culture in dictating what places and spaces are considered reasonable food procurement options, and which are simply not even recognized as part of the decisionscape.

The social landscapes in which we feel comfortable interacting have a profound influence on the places we go and the places we avoid. The cultural inaccessibility of certain places, events, and situations can be a barrier just as (or in some cases even more) insurmountable than those of physical or financial access. They can certainly prove more difficult to change. Rosenbaum & Montoya (2007) found that consumers frequently based the extent to which they felt welcome in a store on: ethnic similarity between themselves and the store employees and/or other patrons, and negative comments and/or non-verbal cues (for example, being purposely ignored) they had experienced in the past. The social encounters and interactions they had at the marketplaces led them to attach positive or negative connotations to particular retail outlets, and ultimately had a significant influence on their loyalty to that outlet, and their willingness to return. Another study of Hispanic immigrants likewise showed that the most frequently discussed likes and dislikes about their shopping experiences in the U.S. were in regards to the social atmosphere of the marketplace. Attraction to retail outlets populated by people of similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds is likely the result of an interplay of a variety of factors. In a study of Hispanic immigrants, participants were drawn to stores which had friendly, bilingual employees, and avoided those at which they felt employees ignored or discriminated against them because the color of their skin erroneously marked them as lower-income, lower-class, or unable to speak English (Fowler, Wesley, &

Vazquez, 2007). In instances of poor service, the perception that the quality of service was due to discrimination in race or age was significantly and negatively correlated with a desire to re-patronize that establishment (T. L. Baker & Meyer, 2012). This in and of itself could lead to a tendency to gravitate towards establishments populated by those of similar ethnic background and social status. However, the reasoning may be more nuanced. For some ethnicities and cultures, the attraction to places employed/frequented by those of similar background may be more pronounced than others. In one recent study by Montoya and Briggs (2013), members of traditionally collectivist cultures (e.g. Hispanic, Asian), felt that their experiences were more enhanced when they interacted with employees of the same ethnicity, while the same was not found for those coming from traditionally individualist cultures (e.g. Caucasian).

While gaining momentum in broader consumer and marketing studies, the examination of the ethnic/racial and, more broadly, cultural accessibility of the marketplace is largely absent from farmers' market studies. Detecting the impact of cultural discrepancies on attitudes behavior can be a challenge. Because one's culture is so deeply engrained, it can be difficult to conceptualize and operationally describe the precise factors which lead one to feel less than welcome – particularly when the atmosphere or social interactions are not overtly discriminatory but more subtle in nature. As a researcher who initially (having employed a grounded theory method) did not set out to study the impact of cultural factors on farmers' market participation, it became a matter of paying attention to 'asides' comparing themselves to the other customers, listening to what people weren't saying, where they weren't going, highlighting passages where they couched their stories in language of comfort and pleasure as opposed to

language of fear or mistrust or revulsion. All of these served as cues and indications of similarities and divergences between the interviewee's culture and that of the place they were describing in their narrative.

People Like Me

In this study I found that people tended to gravitate towards shops and markets that were filled with people like themselves. Participants described cultural differences and similarities between themselves and other shoppers using a wide array of characteristics and markers: ethnicity/skin color, age, general appearance, and assumed values. Most often, those I spoke with tended to describe themselves in relation to others using language of 'us' vs. 'them' – indicating that they perceived of themselves as belonging to a particular shopper in-group and placing others in a different group. Some participants hardly seemed aware that they were constructing a food-related social identity which presented themselves in contrast to other shoppers. Meanwhile others noted that they attended certain marketplaces specifically because of shared ethnicity and/or language. For some this had to do with the ethnic foods available at certain markets. For others, having a shared racial/ethnic bond with the employees and other shoppers was of primary importance.

I used to buy everything at Food City, meat whatever I need, I used to go over there because it's Hispanic. I'm Hispanic too and they speak Spanish. – Interviewee #7

One of the Mexican ladies she goes for me she goes down to one of the Mexican markets so its Mexican brand food. So good. – Interviewee #9

Because they have these little Indian beans, what we call them - Indian Beans. Kind of like Tepary Beans. I usually go over there and buy them over there. Because if I didn't I'd have to go all the way out to the

reservation. You can't get them in like the major stores and they should sell that stuff. - Interviewee #10

At locations where customers felt discriminated against because of their skin color, aversion to return to these stores was strong. In both cases in this study it appeared that the discrimination participants experienced was not verbal, but rather the body language of the customers that made them feel unwelcome. The quotes below highlight a particular challenge for markets wishing to become more ethnically diverse: it is not always enough to provide a physically, economically and otherwise theoretically accessible space for people of color to shop. If minorities feel they are being looked down upon by other customers, it's very unlikely they'll wish to return. However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, there may be institutional design strategies which can help encourage a welcoming attitude toward ethnic diversity amongst customers.

My girlfriend is black and she felt like they looked at her the wrong way... that's her own personal experience. She won't go there ever. - Interviewee #24

Some people are friendly some are not. Some just look at you like: 'Where did you grow up from? You better go back on the other side.' Because ... I'm not prestigious ... I grew up in a foster home a long time ago. - Interviewee #11

While the stories above illustrate positive and negative experiences regarding one of the more obvious aspects of culture – skin color – ethnicity/race was far from the only way in which participants perceived themselves as similar to or different than other food shoppers. Those who shopped at regular supermarkets and grocery stores tended to describe themselves and others as 'regular' people, and felt that others who shopped at their stores had similar food-related value systems. This is an interesting phenomenon. Despite the fact that the participants had very little concrete evidence of other customers'

value systems and food habits, they still perceived those that shopped alongside them as holding the same values, and felt that the types and dollar amounts of purchases they made were ‘normal.’ They often described their eating habits as ‘typical’ or usual, and spoke dismissively of their shopping carts as filled with ‘normal stuff’ – as if there were a universal grocery list which most households adhered to. As we see below, this is far from the case – the “normal” shopping basket looks very different depending on who you talk to.

It seems like there’s more regular-day average people [at Fry’s compared to snooty people at Safeway] - Interviewee #24

I go there for like the specials and I know most of those places that people who only go there for the specials. – Interviewee #1

They really cater to my demographic ... like I want things that are healthy but I’m not a fanatic ... I’ll buy things that are not organic. Sometimes I buy things that are organic and sometimes I buy things that are not organic. – Interviewee #44

Generally I can go and I know I’m probably going to only spend \$35 which I think is really normal for one week for one person – Interviewee #8

We buy the normal: veg, fruits ... cheese, eggs ... for breakfast the most usually is eggs and beans yeah. For lunch we get something not too heavy ... maybe a fruit ... dinner we get a beef with beans or rice or soup something ... it’s very typical. – Interviewee #19.

We buy regular stuff: potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, mushrooms, whatever. – Interviewee #23

Chips, meat a lot of meat products, ribs, just regular stuff. A lot of yogurt, tons of yogurt. – Interviewee #13

When I moved to Phoenix and I ate regular everything. Salad and meat ... – Interviewee #10

Farmers' Market Shoppers Weigh In: 'Normal People have No Clue'

In contrast, those who shopped at farmers' markets often spoke about themselves and other farmers' market customers as different from the average consumer. Often the language they used was distinctly hierarchical: they and other farmers' market devotees were depicted as somehow 'more' than the 'masses': more radical, more food conscious, more natural, more interested in health, and overall more enlightened.

There's more people like me there ... they're more food conscious and more alternative, healthier, and more interested in things like health so in a lot of ways more political in the weird way that food is becoming more political. – Interviewee #8

People are going there for the same reasons. They want fresh. They want local. And they want organic....You're gonna have people that are definitely into health and natural living and people that are interested in eating healthy. – Interviewee #35

Yoga teachers are going and people who are interested in more radical ways of living are going to [Urbana Market] and are involved in Chow Locally and things like that. – Interviewee #44

Labeling of where things are coming from ... that's important to me ... say 'farmed in Peoria' or whatever... also if they like have a bigger production to explain how it worked, I think a lot of people care about that at the farmers market. – Interviewee #33

It's those of us who have jobs and have money to you know to pay the premium that you do at the farmers market and are devotees of Barbara Kingsolver's Animal, Vegetable, Miracle type of thinking. – Interviewee #34

Farmers' market goers often perceived of themselves and their shopping ethics, values, and concerns as apart from and above the rest of 'the masses.' All 'those other people' – all the regular shoppers were portrayed as not caring enough about issues of social justice, the environment, labor, support for family farms, or even the health of their bodies. Even the tone of voice and body language of those I interviewed implied a

hierarchical way of thinking. Some expressed frustration, anger, and disbelief that so many shoppers could be so 'unaware.' Others spoke in very smug tones about their own sense of awareness, presenting themselves as part of an elite, enlightened group when it came to food system issues.

None of the stuff at the market is certified organic, but it's got more soul put into it. It's not mass produced for the masses it's produced for the people who want good food. - #3

It was Socrates said let your food be your medicine and your medicine be your food. ... I've always known that [food issues] have been important. Normal people at Fry's and Basha's - ecetera ecetera - they have no clue. I mean I'm sure you've talked to some of them.... [they] just sit back and say 'okay I'll let you do whatever you want' [laugh] ... If you do that you've become one of the sheeple... You are either part of the solution or you are part of the problem.- #32

If people understood how directly correlated nutrition is to mental health to physical health to spiritual health I think they would take it a lot more seriously. They don't even know what they're missing. – Interviewee #8

It's not reaching all the people who live primarily on fast food. And I know a large group of people like that in Mesa. ... most of the people I know in Mesa are not very food oriented in that way whereas everybody I know in Scottsdale and Tempe and Gilbert go to the farmers market (laughs) cause they're more oriented that way. – Interviewee #44

The information is out there. The people just have to want to go to these things and expand their minds. ... My mother in law would not go to the farmers market. She's a meat and potato kind of woman.... she does boxed stuffing jarred gravy, you know frozen corn ... it's just the mentality. - #40

I don't know whether it matters to most people the things that matter to us. Which are the justice issues, the labor issues, of supporting the family farmer of doing business with the people who raise the food in your neighborhood. I don't know how many people care about those things the way we do. – Interviewee #34

While farmers' market customers paint the alterity of farmers' markets and those who shop at them in a very positive light, not all share their views. The very same in-group

mentality that draws farmers' market devotees to the marketplace sets up the idea that there is a corresponding 'out-group' who don't hold the in-crowd's shared views and values. Because of this attitude, those who don't shop at farmers' markets, or who only shop at them very rarely may tend to perceive avid farmers' market shoppers not only as elite, but *elitist*, and perhaps with an inflated sense of self. Some describe farmers' markets as filled with 'an elite crowd' who in addition to their sense of superiority, bear physical markers of their sophistication as well. As I described in the preceding chapter, my fieldnotes show that many Phoenix area farmers' market goers dress clothing showing their political or educational affiliations. Shirts and hoodies sporting university logos or 'Obama 2008' give onlookers a sense that the sort of people at the market are generally well educated and liberal in their political leanings. Some dress in 'alternative' hippie and/or hipster-style garb – tattooed arms and necks, hair dyed in streaks, worn skinny jeans, and skateboards, flannel shirts rolled at the cuff, vintage dresses, or flowy bohemian skirts. Then there is a substantial population – often the older crowd - who come to the market in neat, clean, golf-course ready clothing: pastel polo shirts or flowered tops, capris, and sandals. A common thread running through all these groups is that most carry reusable tote bags – a visible indication of their dedication to reducing their environmental imprint that serve double-duty to display the logos of the boutique wine bars, specialty shops and alternative stores that these customers might also identify with. These visible markers of class and culture define market customers to the outside viewer as a perhaps eclectic, but nonetheless very particular, and upper-class set.

In a lot of ways I think there's a little bit of, well there's definitely the bragging rights of "well I support local farmers so I'm a better person." I wish I could shop at those places and in that sense I feel like I'm not

that good of a shopper, but between you me and the recorder, some those people are full of themselves most of the time. – Interviewee #1

They advertise the wines and stuff, but we're not into it, we don't drink ourselves. – Interviewee #20

They tend to cater to people who can spend a lot of money on food. - Interviewee #8

I tend to think it's an elitist crowd. I mean they say they take food stamps, but I've never seen anybody spending food stamps there. – Interviewee #34

Farmers' market attendees note the distinct appearance of their fellow market devotees as well – some describing them as 'well-heeled.' While many farmers' market-attendees are cognizant of the possibility that the farmers' market movement is seen as elitist, they admit that they aren't sure how to change this perception.

The overall atmosphere of any place – from park to playground to farmers' market to grocery store, can significantly impact residents' desire to attend. When a food outlet such as a farmers' market or grocer radiates the appearance or illusion of elitism, it may be a strong repellant to those who feel they don't fit into the exclusive subculture of the market. Many in the current study, both farmers' market shoppers and non-shoppers, described 'the vibe' of certain marketplaces as significant attractions or deterrents.

It's like a very unconscious experience to me, it's like white sterile – rows and rows and you just end up getting stuff you don't like or don't eat. – Interviewee #8

At Costco I feel like I've actually complained because I feel like cattle, they're herding us through the line, they don't make eye contact, they don't talk to you. You feel like you're just being herded through like cattle. – Interviewee #39

I'm sure they design supermarkets like casinos to keep you trapped in there or something. – Interviewee #13

I wouldn't survive unless I go out and I beg. I'm a panhandler ... but I don't go down to the St. Vincent de Paul [a charity dining room]. It's a bad area for me. The place they call the Zone. I just don't go down there. Too many drugs and violence. That's why I don't go down there. Stay around here. – Interviewee #9

Fry's is not in the best area, and when I go at night it's always a little scary in the parking lot. And this probably sounds terrible, but it kind of smells when you walk in the store. Every time I walk in I go "why am I here? Oh yeah it's easy." ... a place like Whole Foods, they have like good fresh stuff and it's a nicer atmosphere. – Interviewee #41

There's a Fry's and a Bashas but the reason I don't go to those stores is because I'm constantly being approached in the parking lot by people begging for money. – Interviewee #40

From seemingly innocuous things such as bad smells, or a sense that the marketplace was cold, sterile, and impersonal, to an actual fear for one's safety, the stories above show that the ambiance both inside and surrounding a marketplace can have a significant impact on attendance. For these customers, the physical atmosphere was sometimes enough to keep them from coming back. Complaints about the ambiance and layout of farmers' markets were particularly common amongst those I spoke with. As discussed previously, customers place part of the blame on the Arizona heat – to which outdoor farmers' markets are obviously highly exposed – but there were other characteristics of the farmers' market atmosphere that rubbed people the wrong way as well.

Cramping us all up like that? Cramping all the tents up in a runway ... it's far too congested for all these people and for people my height, they're hanging tarps between the tents and so I'm actually walking with the tarp on top of my head. – Interviewee #34

The farmers' market has turned into a circus in the winter time it turns into a circus. There's all kinds of people down there pedaling popcorn and chili versus just a good market. #3

Some lady almost hit my son in the head with one of her baskets and she was just like "Well, you're in my way," and I was like "Well I'm going to

have to choke you if you hit my son in his head with your basket.” And there’s elderly people who can’t get in there and get things they want because so many people are like crushed in there. – Interviewee #36

When you think of going [you want to be] thinking this is sort of a quiet or zen moment in kind of a busy week ... [but instead] you’re thinking well I don’t want to add this to the mix. –Interviewee #34

As farmers’ markets are often held only once or twice a week, it is understandable that there may be a high volume of customers coming through in a very short window of time. The difficulty lies in the fact that while some might find this atmosphere ‘festive’ others feel claustrophobic. In addition, some markets that are set up in a long line with booths on either side of the walkway can make customers feel uncomfortable – as if the vendors are lying in wait, watching every transaction (or lack thereof), ready to pounce when the shopper comes by. The ‘gauntlet’ layout was frequently described as extremely uncomfortable by customers. The sensation of being watched made them feel guilty if they didn’t buy anything – a particularly difficult problem at the time of these interviews, as the U.S. was still reeling from the economic crisis of 2007-08 and customers were acutely aware of both their own shaky financial situation as well as the economic hardships they felt the farmers’ must be experiencing.

You’re walking this gauntlet of people that are asking you to have samples of things on either side. – Interviewee #44

I have to admit its intimidating that as a customer at the farmers market you’re like walking the catwalk, ... you feel like they’re all watching wondering who’s going to dig into their pocket book. ‘Are they going to stop are they going to buy something are they going to buy something?’ - Interviewee #39 I m just being honest about how I feel. – Interviewee #39

The farmers market has gotten very stressful for me recently because there’s so many people trying to make ends meet in this economy and there’s a lot of times when there are more vendors than customers and I feel like I have to put my blinders on when I walk through because I can’t buy things from everyone.... I feel really conflicted now ... I find myself

sometimes not going as a result ... Because once you make the relationship with the vendor, well I want to keep supporting them. – Interviewee #44

The People Are Really Rude

In addition to feeling uncomfortable with the layout and overall atmosphere of certain marketplaces, some describe negative personal interactions with others as deterrents to attendance. The rudeness of employees or the other customers can make an otherwise attractive market seem unpleasant to the point that people may not want to return.

I don't like Food City. Sometimes the people is really rude ... the cashiers or if you ask for a favor they treat you really bad sometimes. Sometimes just how rude the employees are they don't make me feel comfortable... those kind of persons if you don't treat people right they're not coming back. – Interviewee #7

I've been to the Safeway on Chapparral and they're kind of snooty people there, just kind of demographics I guess... The customers are snooty, not the employees When I go there it seems like a lot of the wannabe Scottsdale hundred thousand dollar, millionaire people that wear their sunglasses indoors, don't say thank you to you or something... even though I live here in Scottsdale, I don't like the persona. – Interviewee #24

People cutting you off with their car or having no regard for you going to grab a carton of milk and opening the door in front of you. Shit like that happens when you're dealing with people who think they're better than other people – Interviewee #24

It's just some people they don't care I say 'excuse me ma'am excuse me sir.' Some are friendly some are not some just look at you like where did you grow up from. You better go back on the other side. Because I grew up. I'm not prestigious ... I grew up in a foster home a long time ago. - Interviewee #11

In general I'll feel like I'm underdressed in tee shirt and shorts and I ... seem to get cut off with shopping carts or people stopping in the middle of the aisle without consideration for other people. I think it's just that kind of stuff that's accumulated in my head the couple times I went to the Safeway I just have no tolerance for people like that. #24S

These narrative excerpts illustrate the impact that personal interactions with others can have on the desirability of returning to different markets. When direct interactions were perceived as overtly “rude” – whether on the part of customers or employees – those I spoke with seemed very averse to returning to that particular location. Impolite comments or lack of what were perceived as common courtesies could be enough to deter some customers. Even indirect interactions with others can be a barrier. Comparing clothing – sunglasses vs. lack of sunglasses, a young adult feeling ‘underdressed’ next to the ‘Scottsdale Millionaires’ - all the subtle markers indicating a divergent culture can make participants feel out of place, from ‘the other side’ and generally unwelcome.

More of a Social Thing

Positive community connections can just as powerful of an attractant as negative interpersonal dynamics are a deterrent to attending certain marketplaces.

For many Arizona farmers’ market-goers, the market represented much more than simply a utilitarian locale to come and buy food. It was also a community space where friends and family could come together in a fun environment - taking time out of a busy week to socialize, relax, and reconnect.

The draw is actually my sister... [she helps at the market] so that is why we started going. I’d say we maybe go once or twice month ... to see my sister and they have crafts and other stuff there and the kids get to run around. It’s not necessarily a food trip though we absolutely buy stuff when we’re there. It’s a social visit with my sister. – Interviewee #31

I don’t use it as a major shopping adventure I almost use it as more of like a social thing[My friend and I,] we’ll meet over there and bring our kids.... and let the kids play at the playground and each of us will take a turn to go over to the market ... my toddler enjoys it I guess as much as I

do! It's fun to get out for two hours and wander around! – Interviewee #40

Many describe the market as a sort of oasis in the midst of a busy workweek.

Beyond a simple food provisioning trip, many who attend farmers' markets find much of the value in the entertainment and recreational aspects of their market.

I think some people probably come because it's a fun activity, like maybe they're not thinking about "I want to buy my food locally" but it's fun because there's the ice cream truck there and you can get tamales so it's a fun thing to do. – Interviewee #33

I just like the farmers market because it's I don't know it's cool it's just fun to go and see everything. – Interviewee #36

Well the one in Little Rock, they actually had, I'm trying to remember what they called it, I think it was just like the Arkansas River Festival ... that seems to be what really drew people there and made it so busy was that they would have actually a festival with music and everything while they were out there selling their stuff. That was a huge thing, everybody goes out there. – Interviewee #17

It's fun. I like to support the local vendors, it's fresh vegetables that are grown a lot of times organically and right there locally. – Interviewee #22

It gives me something to do. It's something different aside from going to the grocery store it's an outdoor event and I really enjoy talking with the vendors and you always learn something new when you go. – Interviewee #35

It's fun to get out for two hours and wander around and that's I guess why I get up to do it. – Interviewee #40

It's not a carnival or a fair, but it's a different affair than a supermarket. Just to break the monotony up and do something different... We go [to Parklands Market] every other weekend. – Interviewee #6

For many, however, Arizona farmers' markets were more than a place to meet up with pre-existing friends and family – rather the markets were seen as communities themselves. Many felt connected to the broader market community, relating stories of

rowing involvement in the market, or simply bonds to particular vendors and their families.

The market is more than just a market ... It's a community institution.... I almost get excited if I get to go to the market because I'm going to see [name] or [name] or [name] or [name of market manager], and a million other people there and I'll probably see other downtowners and it'll be a great experience ... It's where I go to meet up with people it's the place I do to get coffee, the place I go to get breakfast and it's the first place I go to pick up some things to make dinner or some fresh produce. #30PFM

I knew [a farmer]'s mother through political work and she had been telling me her daughter was starting this farm, and it took me a couple of years to get down there, but once I did I really liked the taste of the things and I really at that time was more determined to get organic things. Non GMO and non pesticide. So I've been going down there ever since. – Interviewee #27

I really enjoy talking with the vendors and you always learn something new when you go. - #35

I like eating like the tamale guy's food every time I go there. I love that guy (laughs). ... supporting local farmers and businesses and fresher foods and I like the community aspect, for people to recognize you. I like that about the farmers markets. – Interviewee #29

Betty's down there and Betty's great– I think she's Columbian. She met her husband at ASU and they started a business I think they both have masters he's Chinese they opened this place last year and it's like you see in central America frozen fruit bars and they are just wonderful. – Interviewee #3

I went to one about three weeks ago and it was absolutely wonderful it was in Tempe ... and it was really really nice place and the people were so cool. – Interviewee #4

I started developing a relationship with those that worked at the market.... I've had the opportunity recently even to work with [the market manager] on coordinating some efforts around one of the community events down here. – Interviewee #30

Notably, many of those who didn't attend Arizona farmers' markets but had attended markets elsewhere in the past often reminisced fondly about the personal connections they'd had at the markets 'back home.'

The town that I lived in was kind of small and so the family that ran this particular farmers market it was this same family since when my parents were young. And so we all trusted these people and this family you know what I mean? So everybody went there and I think they kind of returned the favor by giving us good prices on their stuff. - Interviewee #5

I sort of grew up in that environment [with farmers' markets] ... in southern New Jersey there's a place called Columbus Sales. We knew the family that owned it ... They had all kinds of stalls they were selling everything besides just fruits and veggies.... it's grown now to all over central and southern New Jersey. Everybody knew where Columbus Sales was. - Interviewee #14

I actually moved out here from Arkansas. I used to go to the one out there pretty regularly it's a lot of fun you actually get to talk to the people ... I haven't found a place like that out here yet. - Interviewee #17

I was actually part of a co-op in Washington, so if I found that the growers or people that were selling for the growers I would actually contact the growers and use that as part of the co-op we had. - Interviewee #2

At home we knew the [farmers' market managers] the mom and the dad by first name and the grandma and it's a whole family thing and they were all just so nice. It was awesome. It seems like Phoenix kind of growing and there's so many new parts that it's just kind of spreading and people are just trying to get comfortable. - Interviewee #5

The draw of established community and the comfort and trust associated with knowing those from whom you are buying is clearly evident in the quotes above. For all these community members, the pull of farmers' markets lay in the fact that they felt a personal connection to the market and its manager or vendors – and often when they were speaking about them I could hear the warmth in their tone when they referred to them on a first-name-basis. The interesting (and challenging) thing about the quotes above is that

they are all from community members who *used* to attend farmers' markets or buy farm-direct in their hometowns but no longer do. The last excerpt gives a hint as to why this might be the case: the urban sprawl of Phoenix can be a challenging environment in which to find a comfortable community. In my discussions with new residents, the impersonality of the city and the feeling of placelessness they experienced after moving was quite profound. As one participant I spoke with said:

This is just a big corporate urban sprawl, there's not a lot of culture here I don't even really feel like there's a sense of community here It's urban sprawl from one side to another probably equals about a hundred miles This isn't your average city. Phoenix is a weird town. – Interviewee #16

Change only happens with the self ... and it's too hard.

Despite the fact that those I interviewed were readily able to identify external barriers to their participation in farmers' markets and other 'ideal' food systems, when it came to considering solutions. While many felt that certain markets or items were too expensive or physically inconvenient, they struggled to envision institutional or infrastructural strategies for overcoming these barriers. Instead, they found it easier to talk about their own personal shortcomings, expressing a sense of guilt that they didn't do more themselves:

"It's a little more expensive to buy all natural things ... so that comes into play sometimes. Depends on how bad I want it how bad I want to be healthy!" – Interviewee #5

"Honestly, my dad would be rather disappointed in me. (laughs) ... I mean I've got the money, I could go right now and buy 500 bucks worth of groceries but half of it would be spoiled before I got around to cooking it I'll admit it, its escalated day after day, to just we'll order something,

well go grab it, well go to the drive-through or something and it's terrible I know that." – Interviewee #24

"If I could I would shop at farmers' markets ... I wish I could shop at those places ... but I'm not much of a morning person." – Interviewee #1

"It's just I don't know there's not enough time in the day to get things done." – Interviewee #15

Likewise, others spoke more broadly about the need for a U.S.-wide attitude shift, a cultural awakening, and the importance of individual behavior change:

"Really the only thing I can think of is we can change ourselves." - Interviewee #2

"I think if people understood how directly correlated nutrition is to mental health to physical health to spiritual health I think they would take it a lot more seriously ... it's more about changing people than about changing the markets." - Interviewee #8

"I think what has to happen is people have got to get back to the basics ... there should be a groundswell in this country." – Interviewee #4

"Everyone could probably benefit from taking a little more time with their food in terms of if you have to drive a little bit further to get local produce or local goods." – Interviewee #1

"It would be nice to get a lot of people to really just watch what they eat and just absolutely deny the foods in it that they don't want ... that is the only way to send a message to these ... if they aren't making money from it then they'll have to change ... It's as simple as that." – Interviewee #2

While these interviewees talk of a need for attitudinal shift, their narratives reveal a deeper problem: many have made the attitudinal shift, yet behavior change has not followed. Though they are obviously frustrated by the conventional food system, they themselves have not made significant changes to move towards their ideal food system. Implied in their comments is a sense that

‘if everyone was doing it’ then ‘it’ would somehow be easier. This adds to the sense that food-related choices and purchasing behaviors are strongly influenced by socially normative behaviors. Furthermore it suggests that for these interviewees, transformational institutional and/or infrastructural change is viewed as something which starts with personal behavioral change – the very thing that they themselves feel too overwhelmed to undertake.

Reflections on the Decision-Making Process:

Looking back on the decision-making process of farmers’ market customers and neighborhood residents through the lens of the integrated theoretical framework introduced at the beginning of the chapter (see Figure 7. The stakeholder decision-making process: integrated theoretical framework, page 153), it becomes apparent that while many farmers’ market customers and non-customers share similar food-related values, and similar behavioral beliefs about the means through which they can enact those values, as I discuss again below, they encounter many socially-constructed barriers as well as barriers which they believe stem from the broader food system setting and are therefore out of their control. As a result, many of those who express a desire to participate in farmers’ markets and the local food system ultimately fail to.

Interviewees described a number of values motivating their food-related decision-making. These included attributes such as freshness, healthy food, minimal processing, non-corporate, non-GMO, organic, and traditional foods from their familial and/or ethnic background. Many expressed a belief that the

sorts of foods and food experiences that matched their value system were more difficult to find at conventional supermarkets – evidence that in terms of values and attitudes (or what TPB theory calls ‘behavioral beliefs’), most felt that alternatives to the conventional food system (for example, farmers’ markets) were more in line with their value system than mainstream options. Given these behavioral beliefs, one would expect that these interviewees would shun the conventional food system and processed foods in favor of farmers’ markets, CSAs, small grocers or other alternative food networks. However, this was not the case. In contrast to the findings of Middleton & Smith (2011b), attitudes regarding the desirability of purchasing from farmers’ markets had little influence over actual behavior. In the current study, very few of those who expressed a desire to shop at farmers’ markets or alternative venues actually did so. This finding is in line with that of previous research using the Theory of Planned Behavior model – which often finds that personal attitudes and value systems ultimately are not useful metrics for predicting behavior (see, for example White & Hyde, 2013). Even when a behavior is viewed as highly desirable, many will not act in accordance.

Many described barriers they encountered to enacting their ideal behaviors, and the language they used often expressed a sense that the barriers were inherent to the structure and nature of these otherwise desirable alternatives. Many described a lack of time, proximity, mobility, and adequate selections at the markets as barriers to their participation. Often, participants spoke as if

overcoming these barriers was beyond the scope of their personal control, or in some cases, as if the change in behavior would be too overwhelming to undertake.

One of the key elements that participants described as beyond their control was the socio-cultural setting and dynamic of the food venues which were available to them. Participants described themselves and their food-related values and habits as embedded in specific food sub-cultures with which they identified – for example: “health-conscious,” “bargain hunter,” “traditional,” or “Hispanic.” In many cases these food-related social identities were so deeply embedded that they effectively narrowed the food outlets that could even be considered as options for particular customers. This became clear in statement such as: “[she] is black and she felt like they looked at her the wrong way ... she won’t go there ever,” and “we’re Hispanic we go over there because it’s Hispanic,” or “we do Fry’s ... All Pensioners’ day ... 10% discount!” This lends support to the influence of the subjective norm component of the Theory of Planned Behavior, an aspect which in early years of the theory, was thought to have little predictive value (Manning, 2009; J. R. Smith & Louis, 2009). Further, these findings are in agreement with research which suggests that more important than the people’s perceptions of what they ‘should’ do (injunctive norm) are their perceptions of what others *actually* do (descriptive norm) (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008; Manning, 2009; Ravis & Sheeran, 2003). Moreover, the current study supports the theory that self-identity and social-identity are particularly important in influencing actors’ decisions regarding food (Carrus et al., 2009; Cruwys et al., 2012; Fielding et al., 2008; J. R. Smith & Louis, 2009; Terry et al., 1999) .

Unfortunately, for many of those I spoke with, farmers' market culture does not fit with their own food-related social identities. This was particularly obvious for those who predominantly identify themselves as a "comfort foodie," as "traditional," or "family-heritage focused," as a "bargain-seeker," or as a member of a specific ethnic group. In fact, many described farmers' markets and alternative food outlets in language of otherness, and the people within them as "elitist," "well-heeled," or "snooty." Meanwhile, farmers' market attendees, while acknowledging that they may come across as elitist, justify their position as "food conscious," "alternative," "healthier," and "more radical," and describe normal shoppers as "not having a clue."

The socio-cultural dichotomy between farmers' market devotees and non-shoppers is a substantial one. So much so, that the social-normative beliefs of the participants in this study have almost transformed into control beliefs – wherein actors' need to uphold their social identity effectively erases particular venues as options from their decision-making scope. The cultural dissonance between a stakeholder and a certain marketplace is so high that they feel it is a non-option, and out of their power to change. However, while these study participants were quick to identify external barriers to living out their ideal food-related ideology, the only solutions they foresee are those that involve personal lifestyle changes – many of which ultimately are seen as too difficult or radical to undertake.

Resilience and Stasis vs. Change

The participants in this study constructed complex value-laden ideologies of food, intertwining motives related to ethnics, social justice, the environment, and physical, mental and cultural health. In many cases these ideologies included an overt distrust of the conventional food system and a professed desire for local, less-processed, more organic foods. However, the same participants also expressed an equal, and in many cases overwhelming resistance to change – preferring to continue in the comfort of that which they were used to: traditional foods, places they'd always purchased things since childhood, meals their families had cooked when they were young. Food, perhaps due to its very intimate nature, is something with which many are unwilling to take risks, preferring the comfort of the familiar to that of the unknown. Deeply engrained food-related social identities can play into this phenomenon – bolstering a sense of tradition and a resistance to change.

The problem with this tendency, lies in the potential for cultural mal-adaptation (Boyd, Richerson, & Henrich, 2011). These are instances wherein cultural practices may have short-term benefits but do long-term harm. For example certain behaviors may become so deeply engrained that when a disturbance approaches, or the future of the system's functioning becomes uncertain – for example impending water scarcity or unforeseen economic or natural shocks – actors resist change. When a resistance to adapt occurs, societies may falter or collapse, and those on the margins feel the worst of the effects.

Resilience theory explains that through localized interactions between actors and resource pools, social and ecological systems tend to gravitate toward stable states. However, shocks, disturbances, and slow changes over time can push the system over its

threshold into a new stable state (Ernstson et al., 2010) . The overall ‘resilience’ of the system is defined as the “capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change, so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks” (Walker, Holling, Carpenter, & Kinzig, 2004 p. 1). In other words, the resilient system is one which ‘works’ to provide the same functions despite ‘superficial’ changes in the *way* that it does so. The concept of resilience is perhaps best understood through the illustration of a ball representing the system rolling on a plane which is dotted with various ‘basins of attraction’ - each representing a particular state toward which the system will gravitate (Figure 8).

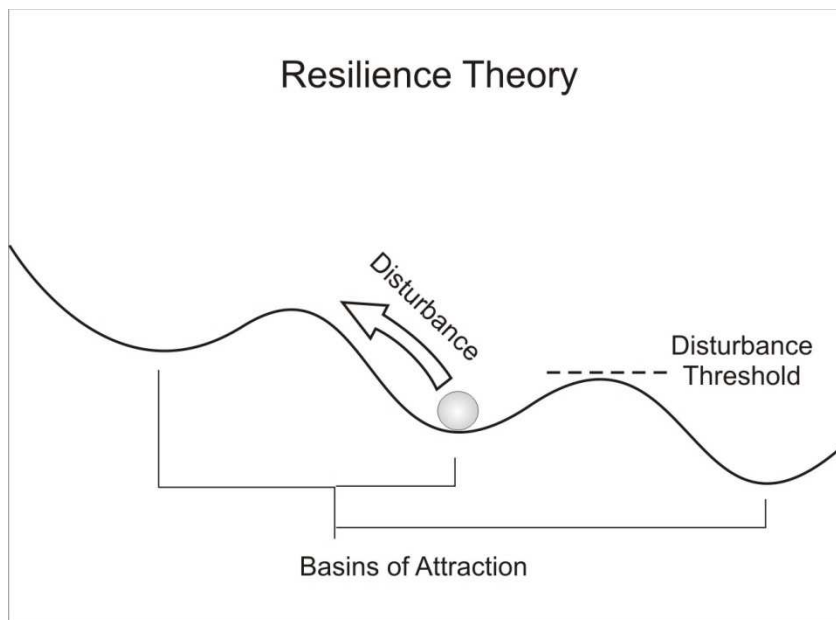


Figure 8. Resilience

The imagery of resilience is helpful not only in terms of thinking of the food system as a whole, but also for individual actors within the system. In this sense, the ball in Figure 8 could be thought of as either the entire food system, or as an individual

stakeholder within the system. As the ball (food system/stakeholder) rests in a given basin, the force of tradition and engrained habit draws it downward toward stasis. However, disturbances push the ball upwards. In the case of the food system a ‘shock’ might be a surge in prices due to massive drought in a particular region, while a slow but persistent pressure might be the increasing value of agricultural land in urban areas. In the case of a particular food system stakeholder, a ‘shock’ might be the birth of a child or a heart attack that causes one to suddenly rethink one’s dietary habits, and a slow pressure might be a shift in the level of acceptability of buying non-organic products amongst one’s peer group. In all of these instances, given enough time, the pressure of the disturbance could push the system or system actor into a new basin/state. The potential future states might look very different from the current state – drought could lead to a complete shift in sourcing of a particular grain, rises in land value could lead to dramatic decrease in the number of farms/farmers, a heart attack might shift a diet from one based on meat and potatoes to ‘paleo’ or vegan, a shift in peer group expectations might lead to an local-only diet, and subsequently greater expenditures on food. Note that in all these cases, the essential functioning of the food system – to provide sustenance for those in need remains the same. Transitions, however, can be rocky, and as we have seen, resistance to change can play a significant role in human decision-making regarding food.

The upside is that humans are more capable than any other species in the history of the planet to anticipate future scenarios and to adapt their behaviors accordingly – even when those futures remain filled with uncertainty. We are, to some degree, able to envision future states and scenarios which are better or worse than our current conditions

and this empowers us to make changes in our decision-making to put us on a path toward a more ideal or desirable future (see Figure 9).

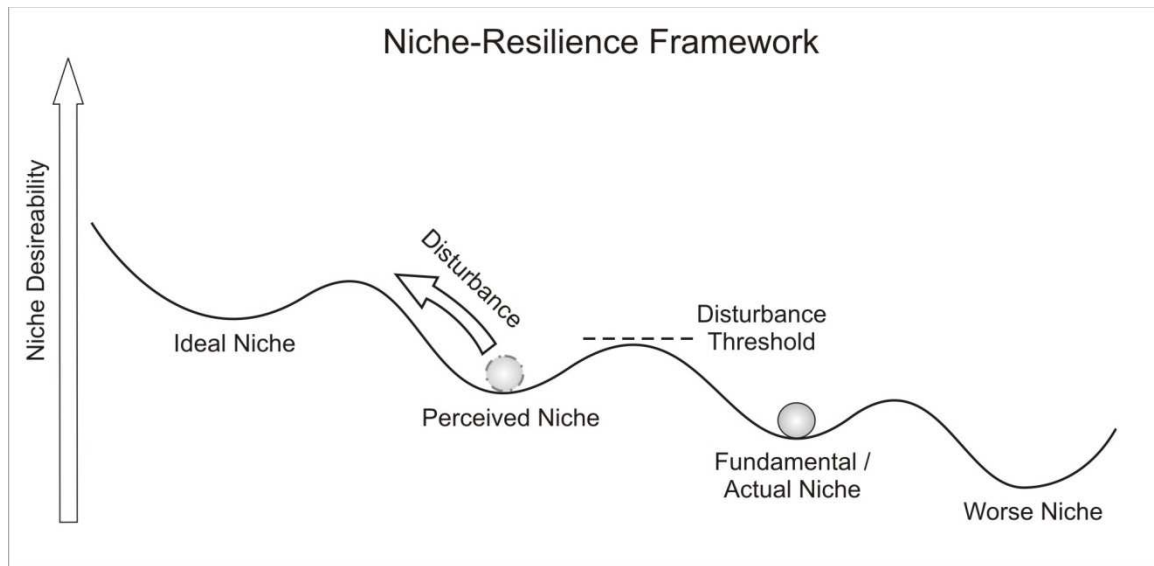


Figure 9. Social Niche-Resilience Framework

In this sense, actors need not wait passively for a particular disturbance to launch into a new stable state, but rather can exert some form of control over their future – directing its path. However, as we have seen, the movement towards ideal states and away from problematic ones is not always easily or readily undertaken. The inertia generated by engrained traditions and the fear of socio-economic vulnerability can render actors extremely resistant to change.

The current study indicates that while many customers are theoretically and ideologically ready for a change to the food system, they feel overwhelmed by the prospect of changing their own behaviors due to what they perceive to be insurmountable barriers to physical, economic, and particularly, cultural access. At the same time, they do not often conceive of solutions beyond changing their own behavior. In the next chapter I will explore some of the ways that institutional change may help break down barriers to

farmers' market access – paving the way for greater inclusion of otherwise marginalized consumer and vendors.

INFLUENCE OF GOVERNANCE

The central research question this study set out to examine was:

How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable market for local farmers?

In the previous chapters, I explored the extent to which Central Arizona farmers' markets are currently meeting the needs of vendors and consumers, and in particular, the degree to which they appear to be accessible to low income and minority consumers. Overall, while most markets appear to be doing an adequate job of remaining financially viable, and attracting a broad array of market vendors, challenges to ongoing vendor participation remain. In particular, issues with lack of customer traffic and competition between farmer-vendors and produce re-sellers appear to be ongoing challenges faced by vendors who wish to participate in farmers' markets. Additionally, low income and minority customers are significantly under-represented at Central Arizona markets, and as interviews with market customers and residents from the surrounding neighborhoods reveal, this is likely due not only to barriers of economic and physical access, but perhaps more importantly due to cultural dissonance between the whitened and elitist farmers' market subculture and that of underprivileged residents. However, as we will see in this chapter, the degree to which each of the case study markets were financially successful, and the extent to which they appeared to meet the needs of low-income and minority consumers varied on a market-by-market basis.

In this chapter I turn to an exploration of the ways in which the case study markets' institutional designs (the formal rules, informal norms, and overarching governance strategies) appear to influence the markets' financial success and success at reaching low-income customers. First, drawing from the findings of the customer, vendor, and market manager surveys and the customer and neighborhood resident interviews, I examine how the markets differed in three respects: in terms of financial success, in terms of success at reaching low-income and minority customers (what I have termed in this study 'participatory success') and in terms of institutional design characteristics. Subsequently, in the latter half of the chapter, I investigate the interactions and relationships between these characteristics, and particularly, the ways in which institutional design characteristics appear to be related to the financial and participatory success of the markets. Specifically, the questions that this chapter explores are:

1. How do markets vary in terms of institutional design? Financial success? Participatory success?
2. What is the nature of the relationship between these market characteristics? To what extent do they appear to be related?
3. Do certain institutional design characteristics appear to be associated with financially successful markets? With participatory markets? With markets that achieve both participatory and financial success?

REVISITING THE CASE STUDY MARKETS: CONTEXT & INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

Comparing Rules and Norms

The case study markets vary in terms of the rules and norms which govern and guide interactions at the market. Different rules, norms, and other design elements and market characteristics may significantly influence the extent to which a given market is physically, economically, and culturally accessible to customers and vendors. As discussed in the Literature Review, markets have diverse institutional designs in regards to the following:

1. Management Structure
2. Site Criteria
3. Operations & Amenities
4. Pricing and Payoff Rules
5. Vendor Rules and Characteristics
6. Community Programming

In terms of management structure, the key difference between markets lies in the centrality of power in regards to decision-making. Some markets have established a Board of Directors in which various representatives from community and vendor organizations come together to share in the decision-making process regarding market vision and goals, budgeting, rule-making, and enforcement. Within these boards, different groups (community organizations, vendors, market sponsors, non-profits, government reps, and market management) may have varying representation. Other markets don't have a Board of Directors at all, but rather rely on the market sponsor

and/or market manager to design and enforce the rule-system for the market. While certainly less democratic, these sorts of designs do have their benefits, as they allow decisions regarding management to be designed and enacted swiftly.

Markets also vary in terms of site characteristics. These could be considered institutional design elements in that when the market was first being established, certain 'rules' were employed and decisions made which set the market up to exist within a certain socio-economic, biophysical and political context. These contexts vary in terms of a wide variety of factors, but the ones that are particularly relevant to this study are those that affect accessibility issues for vendors and minority and low-income customers. The demographic make-up of the census tract in which a market is located, as well as its visibility and ease-of-access in terms of parking and public transit may all play a role in terms of the physical accessibility of the market for certain participants.

The day-to-day operational functioning and amenities provided by the market also play a role in increasing or decreasing physical and cultural accessibility for particular users. The days and hours of operation may attract some users but prevent others from attending. Vendors, for example, may find it difficult to attend newer markets that meet on Saturday mornings due to double-booking; many of the well established markets they already attend are likely also on those days. Availability of restrooms, free parking, and bilingual staff all increase the ease of market-use for customers. Even the market layout may play a significant role in terms of the extent to which the market feels like a welcoming place that draws people in, rather than an exclusive enclave.

The pricing of products at the market can significantly influence the economic accessibility of the market for vendors and consumers. Markets that opt for a cooperative

pricing scheme tend to have higher prices, making them more appealing to vendors, whereas markets that encourage competition often have lower prices, making them more affordable for consumers. Participation or lack thereof in certain federal benefits programs can affect affordability as well.

Vendors may be restricted in terms of the region from which they may source their product and whether or not they are allowed to re-sell products. There may also be informal norms in place which encourage certain types of vendors to participate – typically organic vendors and/or produce vendors. Likewise, though often not formally encouraged and/or restricted there may be tendencies for certain markets to attract higher percentages of minority vendors than others. Given the apparent importance of finding people whom one can identify with at the market (as we saw in Chapter 5 in the Cultural Access section starting on page **Error! Bookmark not defined.**199), this is potentially an important factor in influencing the cultural accessibility of the market for minority customers.

Lastly, community-oriented programs and amenities are often structured into a market's regular operations. Cooking demonstrations, information tables, educational workshops, live music, arts and culture events, kids' activities and ethnic arts & outreach programs may all contribute to the vibrancy of the market and its cultural attractiveness for certain groups.

Understanding the ways in which these institutional elements are incorporated into the case study markets may offer some key insights as to the ways in which markets may actually be able to design and structure themselves in such a way so as to be more inclusive. Markets which have more participatory success may share common design

elements and programs, and likewise markets that have greater financial success may have certain shared characteristics as well. In the sections that follow, I explore the rules, norms, and characteristics of the case study markets, and then use these analyses to draw some conclusions about the common elements which seem to increase participatory and financial success and/or failure.

Case Study Farmers' Markets: Institutional Design Characteristics

Surveys and interviews of farmers' market managers revealed that each of the case study markets had its own unique institutional design: with distinct rules, practices and management strategies which structured the markets (refer to Table 15 for a full overview). In terms of overarching governance and management structure, two of the markets had no governing board, and decisions were made by the market organizers and staff. One market had an advisory board comprised of the market manager and various organizations involved in the initial establishment of the market, however many management decisions were left to a state-wide farmers' market association. Only Foodie and Urbana Market had established market Boards of Directors, while Weekday Market was still establishing one. Interestingly, none of the vendors in the case study markets reported participating in their market's Board. This could suggest that the vendor sample size was simply too small, but could also indicate a lack of representation of vendor perspectives on the Board. Indeed in both markets with Boards, vendors were reported as making up one of the smallest percentages of those represented on the Board. In the case of Foodie market the only group that received less representation were customers.

In terms of the geographic setting of the farmers' market site, the markets varied in terms of their socio-economic and ethnic makeup. Parklands market was the only market located in a census tract where, according to the 2010 American Community Survey, the median household income (\$52,088) rose above that of the Arizona average (\$50,752). Relative to one another, Parklands, Courtyard, and Village Markets were located in census tracts of above average annual household incomes. Interestingly, despite the high median income, Village Market's census tract also had one of the highest proportions of its population living in poverty (22%). Weekday and Urbana Markets had high poverty rates as well. In terms of ethnic diversity, the proportion of Hispanic residents was used as an indicator. While approximately 30% of Arizonans identify as Hispanic or Latino/a, only two markets (Village and Weekday) were located in census tracts that exceeded this proportion, and three markets were positioned in census tracts where the Hispanic population was lower than 15% (Parklands, Courtyard, and Foodie Markets). Based on geographic location alone, therefore, Parklands and Courtyard markets would be expected to be more easily accessible to affluent clientele, with Urbana and Weekday markets serving higher proportions of low-income residents, and Village and Foodie markets attracting those of a variety of incomes. Likewise, due to their location, Village, Weekday and Urbana markets could be expected to attract higher proportions of Hispanic customers, while Courtyard, Parklands, and Foodie would be less accessible to the Hispanic/Latino/a population.

Table 15

Farmers' Market Institutional Design Characteristics: Rules and Norms

Institutional Design Factor	Courtyard Market	Village Market	Weekday Market	Urbana Market	Parklands Market	Foodie Market
Management Structure						
<i>Board of Directors</i>	Advisory Board	None	Currently Establishing	Yes	None	Yes
<i>% Vendors</i>	0	-	-	10	-	10
<i>% Customers</i>	0	-	-	-	-	20
<i>% Market Sponsors</i>	0	-	-	20	-	20
<i>% Government Representatives</i>	0	-	-	20	-	20
<i>% Market Management & Staff</i>	10	-	-	25	-	10
<i>% Non-Profit & Others</i>	90	-	-	25	-	20
Site Criteria						
<i>Median Household Income</i>	\$45,341	\$40,460	\$23,702	\$14,938	\$52,088	\$36,728
<i>% Below Poverty Line</i>	15%	22%	23%	34%	8%	9%
<i>% Hispanic</i>	13%	59%	32%	27%	14%	12%
<i>Site Visibility</i>	Medium – Semi-Public	High – City Center	Medium – Main Street	High – City Center	Medium – Main Street	High – City Center
Operations & Amenities						
<i>Hours of Operation</i>	1 Weekday Morning	1 Weekday Evening	1 Weekday Morning	Saturday & 1 Weeknight	Saturday Morning	Saturday Morning
<i>Market Layout</i>	Courtyard Layout	Courtyard Layout	'Gauntlet' Layout	Multi-Aisle Layout	'Gauntlet Layout'	Two-Aisle Layout
<i>Restrooms</i>	Nearby Restrooms	No Restrooms	No Restrooms	Public Outhouses	Nearby Restrooms	No Restrooms
<i>Free Parking</i>	Paid Parking	Limited Free Parking	Free Parking	Limited Free Parking	Limited Free Parking	No Free Parking
<i>Bilingual Staff</i>	Non-bilingual	Non-bilingual	Non-bilingual	Bilingual Staff	Non-bilingual	Bilingual Staff
Pricing and Payoff						
<i>Market Staff</i>	Volunteer Staff	Paid & Volunteer Staff	Volunteer Staff	Paid & Volunteer Staff	Paid Staff	Paid Staff
<i>Vendor Fees</i>	\$70 per day + 10% of sales	\$50 per year	nd	nd	nd	nd
<i>Product Pricing (Coop vs. Comp)</i>	Competitive Pricing	Cooperative Pricing	nd	Cooperative Pricing	Cooperative Pricing	nd
<i>Federal Benefits Programs</i>	FMNP, SNAP, CVV	FMNP	FMNP, SNAP, CVV	FMNP, SNAP, CVV	FMNP, SNAP, CVV	FMNP, CVV
Vendor Rules and Characteristics						
<i>Sourcing Locality</i>	Arizona Preferred	Arizona Only	Arizona Preferred	Arizona Only	Arizona Preferred	SW Only
<i>Re-selling Restrictions</i>	Re-Selling Ban	Re-Selling Ban	No Ban	Re-Selling Ban	Re-Selling Ban	No Ban
<i>Organic</i>	No organic focus	No organic focus	No organic focus	No organic focus	Organic Emphasis	Organic Emphasis
<i>% Produce Vendors</i>	One, occasionally	8.6%	23.7%	9.1%	25%	21.3%
<i>% Minority Vendors</i>	nd	14.3%	57.9%	23.3%	nd	21.3%
Community Programs						
<i>Cooking Demos</i>	Cooking Demos	-	-	Cooking Demos	-	Cooking Demos
<i>Information Table</i>	Information Table	Information Table	Information Table	Information Table	Information Table	Information Table
<i>Live Music</i>	-	Live Music	-	Live Music	-	-
<i>Ethnic Outreach Programs</i>	-	Ethnic Dance Events	-	-	Ethnic Programs	Ethnic Programs
<i>Kids' Activities</i>	-	Children's Events	-	-	-	-

Market operational characteristics, layout, and the amenities offered varied widely. Three markets followed the typical pattern with open hours on a weekend morning, but four offered weekday or weeknight options – with the potential to cater to a different clientele. Market layouts ranged from Urbana Market’s tight, multi-aisled mazes with narrow passages between booths, to simpler, one-or two aisled setups found at Weekday and Parklands which herd customers down a single path (perhaps unsurprisingly, these were labeled ‘gauntlets’ by customers), to broader, open markets like Courtyard and Village Market, where wandering through felt like entering a courtyard, and where people ‘just passing through’ appeared to be nearly if not more populous as the shoppers themselves. Coupled with varying degrees of access to restrooms, parking options, and the presence (or more, often – absence) of bilingual staff, these characteristics combined to create very distinct market environments which offer varying degrees of appeal to different participants. Customers with busy weekends might attend a weekday market, while Spanish-speaking participants may seek out one of the two markets where vendors and staff are bilingual.

Institutions related to the financial payoff of the market for participants also varied between markets. Two markets (Courtyard and Weekday) had volunteer-only staff, which may bring down overhead costs and therefore make the market more affordable for vendors and/or customers. Markets with paid staff may be funded in part from donors, or government and non-profit sponsors, but some of the overhead costs may also be passed onto the vendors in the form of stall fees. Stall fees are not restricted to those markets with paid staff, however, as most markets need at least a minimum budget for advertising. To mitigate these and other financial costs of doing business, vendors at

three of the markets (Urbana, Parklands, and Village) adopted a cooperative pricing scheme, wherein the vendors discuss and decide on prices for common items together. An organic zucchini at one stall would be the same or a similar price to an organic zucchini at another stall, thereby minimizing the level of competition between vendors and not giving any one vendor a distinct advantage. Because competition is discouraged, this can raise prices at the market somewhat artificially high, making these markets less affordable for customers. However, many of the markets also participate in federal benefits programs, giving low-income customers the opportunity to use SNAP/EBT (food stamps) or Farmers' Market Nutrition Program vouchers to help fund their purchases. Because of these institutional characteristics, it would be expected that Parklands, Village, Urbana, and Foodie markets would be less affordable for customers than Courtyard or Weekday Markets.

Like farmers' markets elsewhere across the U.S., each of the markets in the current study established rules and guidelines for vendors regarding who is allowed to sell at the market and who is not. Three of the markets (Village, Urbana, and Foodie) set out strict geographical boundaries regarding where the food and products sold at the market could be grown and/or processed, while the other three stated that they were less strict about enforcement of their "local only" preference. Most of the markets did institute a "re-selling ban" to prevent their vendors from re-selling products that they did not grow or produce themselves. Two markets (Weekday and Foodie) did not, and therefore would be expected to have slightly lower prices and perhaps more variety as a result, but also greater frustration from farmer-vendors. Conversely, markets who explicitly seek out

organic growers and advertise themselves as an organics-focused market (Parklands and Foodie) might be expected to have higher prices.

Most of the markets in the study didn't list a large number of community programs or partnerships, or regular cultural or educational events as a core part of their market's service. While all of them had an information table with pamphlets about the market, and staff on hand to answer questions, only a few markets mentioned having occasional live music or programs catering to ethnic minorities. None described any arts and cultural events associated with the market, or any formal alliances with community or cultural groups. In this sense, the markets in the study appear to be focused on providing a quality space for commercial transactions, not on broader integration with their communities. The evidence of this lack of connectivity can be clearly seen in the language of "otherness" and "elitism" adopted by local residents when discussing nearby farmers' markets and alternative food venues, and highlights the importance of socio-cultural integration and actively building connections with the communities in which the markets reside.

RE-VISITING THE MARKET TYPOLOGY: UPDATING INTER-MARKET COMPARISONS OF FINANCIAL AND PARTICIPATORY STATUS

Given the varying geographical contexts and institutional designs of the case study markets, it is therefore not surprising that the markets might vary widely in terms of financial success and success at low-income customers. While theoretically, it would seem logical that certain rules and market practices would lead to increased financial success and certain rules and practices might make the market more attractive and accessible to particular consumer groups, the extent to which this actually seems to be the

case is not explored in the literature. In this section, I re-examine the financial and participatory success of the case study markets, given the findings of the vendor and customer surveys and the customer and resident interviews. In the subsequent section, at the conclusion of the chapter, I will examine the apparent relationship between the institutional design characteristics and the financial and participatory outcomes.

From the outset of research, the six case study markets were classified according to their relative levels of financial and participatory success. The data used in the initial assessment was gathered from surveys of market managers. However, as this perspective only provides a partial picture regarding a market's financial and participatory success, in this chapter I explore how these markets might be re-categorized in light of findings from the vendor and customer surveys and interviews (refer to METHODS for more details on the methods used to classify and re-classify the markets).

As found in the previous chapters, Central Arizona farmers' markets are utilized by vendors and customers to varying degrees, and the socio-economic, ethnic, and cultural orientation of these participants differs in many ways from the typical U.S. and Arizona population. In the subsequent sections I will explore the ways in which vendors and customers of Central Arizona farmers' markets differ not only from these broader populations, but how they vary between markets. It is clear, for example, that Central Arizona farmers' markets are underutilized by and less accessible to those of low incomes and/or minority ethnicities. These cultural groups were disproportionately absent from the case study markets and their life experiences suggested substantial barriers to using the markets based not only on physical and economic obstacles but also cultural barriers. However, accessibility varied dramatically from market to market. The farmers'

markets I studied varied substantially in terms of the ethnic and socio-economic diversity at each of the markets. These divergences were obvious in the outcomes of the surveys of farmers' market-goers and in the narratives of those I interviewed both at the markets themselves and in the broader community.

Ethnic Diversity in Case Study Markets

Arizona farmers' markets vary somewhat widely in terms of their racial/ethnic diversity. Of the case study markets, two stood out as having substantially higher ethnic diversity than the rest: Courtyard Market and Village Market. Table 16 contains information regarding the demographic characteristics of survey participants at the case study markets. Overall, minority customers made up a very small percentage of Arizona farmers' market customers (17.8%), with Hispanic customers making up about half of these (accounting for 9.3% of the total customers). However, Courtyard and Village market-goers were much more likely to be ethnic minorities (33.7%, and 28.7% of market participants identified as such), and Courtyard and Foodie Market customers were more likely than other markets to identify as Hispanic (17.4% and 8.6%).

Table 16

Demographic Characteristics of Case Study Market-Goers

	Arizona Residents (ACS 2010)	All Arizona Farmers' Markets (n=450)	Courtyard Market (n=91)	Village Market (n=28)	Weekday Market (n=38)	Urbana Market (n=101)	Parklands Market (n=40)	Foodie Market (n=38)
Variable								
Gender								
Male	49.7	23.5	20.7	28.6	23.7	29.2	26.3	35.3
Female	50.3	76.5	79.3	64.3	76.3	70.8	73.7	64.7
Age								
18-20	5.8	7.4	32.3	0.0	2.6	1.0	0.0	0.0
21-29	14.5	17.0	32.3	11.5	10.8	19.8	5.4	14.7
30-39	18.0	24.6	17.4	23.1	16.2	25.7	32.4	26.5
40-49	18.0	16.8	8.1	23.1	16.2	19.8	29.7	8.8
50-59	17.1	18.7	5.8	15.4	24.3	12.9	18.9	35.3
60+	26.6	15.6	3.5	26.9	29.7	5.0	13.5	14.7
Ethnicity								
White	57.8	82.2	66.3	73.1	89.5	83.5	84.2	88.6
Black	3.7	1.2	1.2	3.9	2.6	2.1	0.0	0.0
American Indian	4.0	2.1	4.7	11.5	0.0	1.0	2.6	0.0
Hispanic/Latino/a	29.6	9.3	17.4	7.7	5.3	7.2	7.9	8.6
Asian	2.7	3.3	10.5	3.9	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0
Hawaiian/Pac. Isl.	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	1.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.6	3.1	5.3	2.9
Education								
Some High School	14.4	0.7	0.0	3.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
High School graduate	25.1	5.9	10.5	3.9	16.7	3.1	10.5	0.0
Some College	26.5	25.6	39.5	23.1	25.0	13.4	31.6	20.0
Associate Degree	8.1	9.5	9.3	11.5	13.9	10.3	2.6	14.3
Bachelor's Degree	16.7	30.8	16.3	46.2	25.0	36.1	34.2	34.3
Graduate Degree	9.2	27.5	24.4	11.5	16.7	37.1	21.1	31.4
Home Ownership								
Owned	65.2	62.3	37.3	76.9	69.4	63.5	73.0	74.3
Rented	34.8	36.3	61.4	23.1	25.0	35.4	27.0	20.0
Occupied w/o payment of rent	-	1.4	1.2	0.0	5.6	1.0	0.0	5.7
Employment								
<i>Employed</i>	<i>88.3</i>	<i>70.0</i>	<i>71.1</i>	<i>54.2</i>	<i>45.2</i>	<i>82.1</i>	<i>81.6</i>	<i>69.7</i>
Employed 1-39 hours	-	26.8	32.5	29.2	19.4	26.3	31.6	24.2
Employed 40+ hours	-	43.2	38.6	25.0	25.8	55.8	50.0	45.5
<i>Not Employed</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>30.0</i>	<i>25.3</i>	<i>29.2</i>	<i>22.6</i>	<i>11.6</i>	<i>10.5</i>	<i>15.2</i>
Not Employed (Looking for Work)	-	5.5	10.8	8.3	3.23	3.2	5.3	3.0
Not Employed (Not Looking)	-	9.2	14.5	16.7	19.4	4.2	2.6	6.1
Retired	-	12.9	3.6	16.7	32.3	5.3	10.5	15.2
Disabled	-	2.5	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.2	2.6	6.1
Household Income								
Less than \$15,000	13.7	11.9	21.0	12.0	9.4	8.5	6.3	13.3
Less than \$25,000	25.2	19.7	29.6	28.0	21.9	12.8	9.4	13.3
\$25,000-\$49,999	27.5	23.3	30.9	12.0	34.4	21.3	18.8	23.3
\$50,000-\$74,999	18.8	20.7	18.5	12.0	28.1	22.3	15.6	16.7
\$75,000-\$99,999	11.3	16.6	7.4	12.0	6.3	21.3	34.4	23.3
\$100,000 or more	17.2	19.7	13.6	36.0	9.4	22.3	21.9	23.3

Courtyard market had a significantly higher proportion of non-whites as compared to the other markets ($U=10920$, $p=0.000$). Approximately 17.4% percent of University market's customers described themselves as Hispanic/Latino, 10.5% as Asian, 4.7% as American Indian, and 1.2% as Black/African American. This relatively high rate of ethnic diversity is likely due in part to the fact that the market is located in close proximity to a large university whose student body is more diverse than the broader Arizona population. Additionally, the racial diversity may be influenced by institutional design factors as well. However the process of interpreting findings from Courtyard Market is complicated by the unique demographic of nearby residents and passerby. Figure 10 shows the racial composition of Courtyard Market as compared to other Arizona farmers' markets and to the student demographic of the university, which supplies a large proportion of the market's customers. From the graph it is easy to see that the market much more closely mirrors the racial composition of the university than the typical Arizona farmers' market, or of Arizona itself.

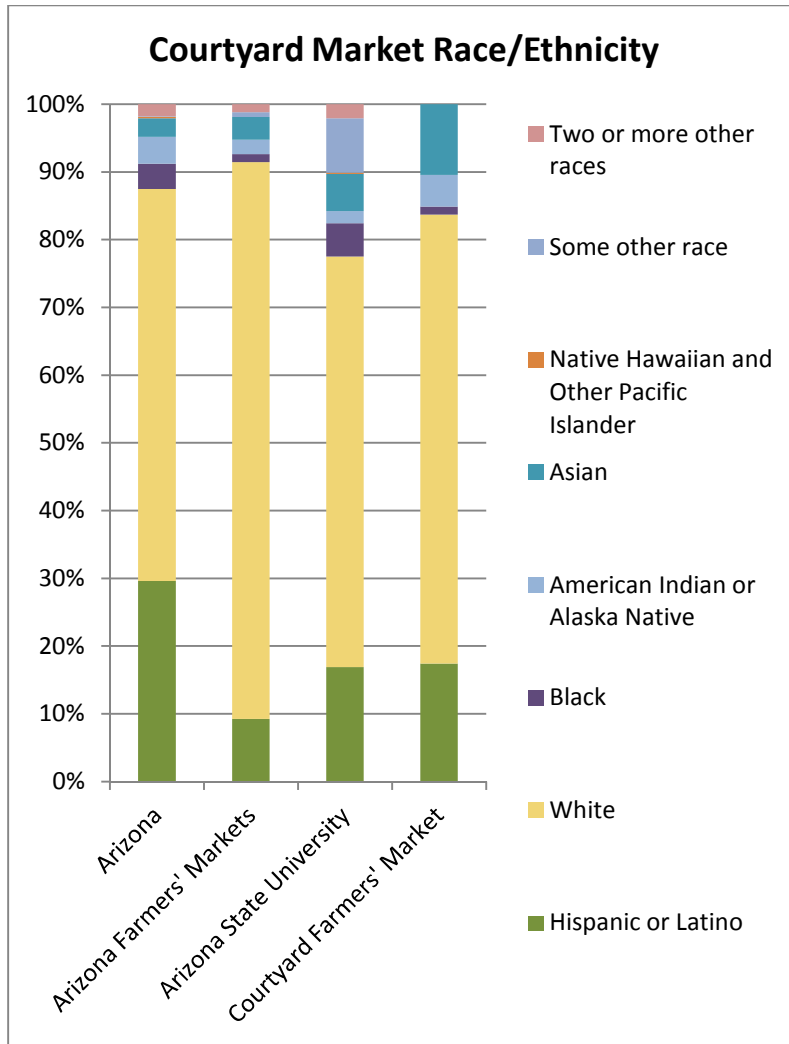


Figure 10. Race/Ethnicity - Courtyard Market

Village market also appears to be relatively more ethnically diverse than other Arizona markets, though only in terms of non-Hispanic minorities. Eleven and a half percent of those at Village farmers' market were American Indian/Alaska Native, and nearly 4% listed themselves as Black/African American. The market is located in one of the suburbs on the fringe of the Phoenix metropolitan area, adjacent to a census tract with a high proportion of Hispanic residents. The surrounding demographics, as well as the central location of the market in a highly trafficked area of the city, and the somewhat

substantial proportion of non-white vendors selling at the market may factor into the customer diversity at this market.

Minority Market Utilization: Frequency and Percent of Food Purchased

While the number of minority customers does provide some indication as to the extent to which different ethnic groups are participating in case study farmers' markets, this is not the full picture. It is important to remember that attendance at the market does not necessarily mean people are utilizing it as a substantial source of food provisioning. To gain a better assessment of the actual level of participation in the markets, I asked two survey questions: one regarding the frequency with which respondents attended their market, and one which examined the proportion of food purchased through the market. Specifically, in this analysis I used "vegetables" as an indicator. Vegetables are what farmers' markets are known for and specialize in, and are typically the most widely purchased items from farmers' markets.

Table 17 shows survey participants' responses to questions regarding frequency of farmers' market attendance and the proportion of vegetables purchased through the market. Overall, Urbana market seems to draw the highest proportion (46%) of customers back on a weekly basis. Courtyard market has a fairly high attendance loyalty as well, when one factors into account that the market is only open twice a month. Approximately 40% of Courtyard Market-goers attend the market as frequently as it is open. In terms of market attendance on the part of ethnic minorities, Foodie Market appears to attract the highest proportion of loyal customers, with 50% of minority customers stating that they attend the market on a weekly basis, meanwhile 43.3% of minority customers at

Courtyard market attend as frequently as the market is open, and 40% of ethnic minorities at Parklands market do. At Foodie and Courtyard markets these figures are even higher for the Hispanic/Latino subset of customers: with 66.7% and 60.0% (respectively) stating they attend the market as frequently as it is open. In terms of market attendance, therefore, Foodie, Courtyard, and Parklands markets seem to have the most success at drawing minority customers back on a regular basis. However it is also important to keep in mind that Foodie and Parklands markets may not have a very substantial overall impact – given that they attract a relatively low proportion of minority customers to begin with (see Table 16).

While frequency of market attendance can provide some indication as to how much the market is being utilized by customers, what perhaps matters more is the extent to which customers are using it to purchase food. In terms of the proportion of vegetables purchased at the farmers' market, Parklands market had the highest percentage of customers who stated that they purchased "All" or "Almost All" of their vegetables at the market. In terms of minority customers, Foodie market had the highest proportion (50%) of customers buying "All" or "Almost All" of their vegetables at the market. Parklands had the second highest – with 33.3%. About 50% of Hispanic and Latino customers were purchased "All" or "Almost All" of their vegetables at Village Market and at Foodie Market, and 33% purchased this amount at Parklands market, while other markets lagged behind. Notably, while Courtyard market attracted a substantial amount of ethnic minorities on a regular basis, this did not translate into produce purchases. Overall only 3.3% of Courtyard market ethnic minorities and 6.7% of the Hispanic/Latino subset of customers stated that they purchased "All" or "Almost All" of their vegetables at the

market. This could be due in no small part to the fact that the market has struggled to keep a regular produce vendor in attendance.

Understanding which market has the most success at encouraging the participation of minority customers is complicated by the fact that different markets perform better or worse in regards to different criteria. While Courtyard and Village markets attract the highest proportion of minority customers (33.75% and 26.9%, respectively), Village market doesn't appear to earn loyalty from these customers, as none return on a weekly basis – and while Courtyard market is able to attract a substantial proportion of regular minority customers, these customers buy very little produce (or any other products, for that matter) at the market – perhaps using the market more for recreation or getting samples or pre-made foods than for actual grocery shopping. In contrast, Foodie and Parklands market aren't able to attract a substantial number of ethnic minorities, but of these, a high proportion are weekly customers (50% and 40%, respectively), and Foodie market seems to be a substantial source of vegetables for its ethnic minority participants (with 50% buying All or Almost All their produce at the market). Clearly each of these markets have their own strengths and weaknesses when it comes to making themselves accessible to ethnic minorities. While something in the structure of Courtyard and Village markets seems to be attracting ethnic minority customers, they fail to provide a substantial shopping opportunity for these passerby. Meanwhile, Foodie and Parklands markets seem to be largely inaccessible to ethnic minorities, but those few who do attend are often loyal customers who buy a substantial proportion of their produce at the market.

Low-Income Community Members at Case Study Markets

As was the case in terms of ethnic diversity, the six markets I studied varied widely in terms of the proportion of low-income customers they attracted. Generally speaking, Arizona farmers' markets attracted a disproportionately low percentage of low-income – 19.7% of Arizona farmers' market goers earned household incomes under \$25,000 per year, while this was the amount earned by 25.2% of all Arizona residents. Three markets I surveyed attracted than average proportions of low-income customers as compared to the typical Arizona market: Village Market, Weekday Market, and Courtyard Market.

Courtyard market is again a special case. It has the highest percentage of low income participants, with 29.6% of those attending the market earning under \$25,000 per year and 21.0% earning under \$15,000 per year. However, due to the large proportion of university traffic in the area, it is likely that many of those surveyed were students and therefore earned very little per year. While in one sense students technically qualify as “low-income” community members, many undergraduates are likely still considered dependents and receive extra funds from their parents. This adds to what would constitute their normal income, and helps relieve the burden of school costs and living expenses. Therefore it may be problematic to categorize these sorts of survey respondents as truly “low income” – because while their earnings are low, their purchasing capacity may not be so restricted. Precisely how many of those surveyed were students is not known as no question specifically asked them this. However, based on personal observation, conversations with some of the survey-takers, and judging on years-of-age a high proportion of students at Courtyard seems extremely likely (32.3% of those surveyed at

Courtyard market fell between the ages of 18-20 and another 32.3% between the ages of 21 and 29). While survey results revealed that 64.6% of the Courtyard market goers were under 30, the next highest rate of under-30s was at Urbana market, and this was only 20.8%. Given this, Courtyard market may not be truly attracting low-income participants with restrictive budgets.

Surveys at Village Market also revealed a significant proportion of low-income customers, with 28.0% earning annual household incomes under \$25,000 and 12.0% earning under \$15,000 annually. Unlike Courtyard market, it is unlikely that the population of students at this market is a confounding factor. Just 11.5% of those surveyed reported their age as under 30. That the market is able to attract such a high proportion of low-income participants is somewhat surprising as the market itself is located in a census tract of relatively high annual median household income (\$40,460/yr). While adjacent to a census tract with relatively low per capita income (\$12,293/yr), there are no census tracts with a high poverty level (above 20% of the population living in poverty) within a 2 mile radius of the market. Institutional design factors and other contextual factors that may influence the markets' ability to reach low-income populations will be discussed in the subsequent section.

Weekday Market also seemed to attract a high proportion of low-income customers compared to the typical Arizona farmers' market, with 21.9% of those surveyed reporting household earnings under \$25,000 annually and 9.4% with under \$15,000 in annual household earnings. While proportions of low-income participants at Weekday Market are slightly high compared to typical Arizona farmers' markets (which attract 19.7% and 11.9% earning under \$25,000 and \$15,000, respectively), they are

substantially lower than the proportions of low-income residents in Arizona as a whole (where 25.2% and 13.7% earn under \$25,000 and \$15,000 in annual household income, respectively). That the market draws a somewhat substantial proportion of its clientele from the low-income population is not entirely surprising given the region's demographics. The market is located in a census tract with a somewhat low median household income of \$23,702 per year – nearly half that of the median income of the census tract surrounding Village Market, and the second lowest median income of any of the market census tracts in the current study. Likewise, Weekday Market is also considered to be located in an impoverished area, with 23.66% of the population classified as living in poverty – the second highest poverty rate of the six cases in the current study.

Low Income Market Utilization: Frequency and Percent of Food Purchased

A true understanding of the extent to which the case study markets are meeting the food provisioning needs of low-income customers is incomplete without an assessment of the frequency with which these customers attend the market, and the amount of groceries they purchase there. As with the ethnic minority subset of customers, I used survey questions regarding market attendance frequency and proportion of vegetable purchases to assess these factors.

Urbana Market appears to attract the highest proportion of very low income (under \$15,000 in household income per year) and low income (under \$25,000) customers on a weekly basis – 55.6% and 61.5% respectively. Weekday market and Courtyard markets also attract substantial proportions of very low income and low

income customers on a regular basis (33.3%, and 25% at Weekday Market and 29.4% and 8.3% at Courtyard Market, respectively).

In contrast to the case of ethnic minority customers, the markets which attracted high proportions of low-income customers (Courtyard, Village, and Weekday Markets – see Table 16), and those which attracted these customers on a regular basis (Urbana, Courtyard and Weekday Markets – see Table 17), were also those which seemed to provide the most substantial proportion of produce for low-income customers. At Urbana Market, approximately 33% of very low income customers and 39% of low income customers stated that they purchased “All” or “Almost All” of their vegetables at the farmers’ market. Village and Weekday Markets also had high rates of provisioning – with 33% of very low income customers and 29% of low income customers obtaining all or almost all their vegetables at these markets (see Table 17).

In this sense, the case study markets’ performance in terms of their success at meeting the needs of low income customers is somewhat clearer than their ability to meet the needs of ethnic minorities. Courtyard, Village, and Weekday markets appear to have the greatest overall impact, in that they attract high proportions of low-income customers (29.6%, 28.0%, and 21.9%, respectively – see Table 17). In the case of Courtyard and Weekday Markets, they attract them on a fairly regular basis, while low income customers seem to buy the highest proportion of their vegetables from Weekday and Village markets. Overall, Weekday market appears to be the most successful at garnering the participation of low-income customers.

Table 17

Consumer Participation

Variable	All Arizona Farmers' Markets (n=450)	Courtyard Market (n=91)	Village Market (n=28)	Weekday Market (n=38)	Urbana Market (n=101)	Parklands Market (n=40)	Foodie Market (n=38)
Farmers' Market Shopping Frequency							
1-2 times a week	29.7	2.3	18.5	34.1	46.0	33.3	33.3
1-2times a month	38.9	39.3	37.0	41.5	32.0	35.7	43.6
Several times a year	23.5	31.5	29.6	17.1	19.0	26.2	12.8
1-2 times a year	6.5	15.7	11.1	7.3	3.0	2.4	7.7
Every few years	1.4	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6
Never	2.1	6.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0
Vegetables Purchased at the Farmers' Market							
All	4.6	1.1	0.0	4.9	9.0	11.9	10.3
Almost all	20.3	1.1	14.8	14.6	25.0	26.2	17.9
More than half	11.3	6.8	18.5	14.6	15.0	11.9	15.4
About half	18.5	10.2	18.5	19.5	19.0	14.3	25.6
Less than half	30	39.7	37.0	34.1	24.0	28.6	25.6
Almost none	9.9	21.6	7.4	9.8	7.0	4.8	5.1
None	4.9	17.1	3.7	2.4	1.0	2.4	0.0
Customers Buying "All" or "Almost All" their Vegetables at a Farmers Market**							
All Customers (n=450)	25.0	2.3	13.8	19.5	34.0	38.1	28.2
White (n=348)	28.9	1.7	15.0	18.2	38.1	37.8	27.3
Minority (n=76)	16.0	3.3	14.2	0.0	13.3	33.3	50.0
Hispanic	17.9	6.7	50.0	0.0	14.3	33.3	50.0
Black/African American	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	n/a	n/a
American Indian	7.14	83.3	0.0	n/a	50.0	0.0	n/a
Asian	14.2	0.0	0.0	n/a	50.0	n/a	n/a
Other Ethnicity	37.5	n/a	n/a	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
Very Low Income	19.6	5.8	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0
Low Income	23.7	8.3	28.6	28.6	38.5	25.0	20.0
Non-Low income	28.1	0.0	9.1	18.2	32.2	38.5	28.6
Customers Visiting a Market Weekly**							
All Customers	29.7	39.3*	18.5	34.1	46.0	33.3	33.3
White	32.4	38.6*	25.0	35.1	48.3	33.3	33.3
Minority	18.4	43.3*	0.0	25.0	35.7	40.0	50.0
Hispanic	20.5	60.0*	0.0	0.0	8.0	33.3	66.7
Black/African American	40.0	100.0*	0.0	100.0	50.0	n/a	n/a
American Indian	14.3	83.3*	0.0	n/a	50.0	0.0	n/a
Asian	7.1	0.0*	0.0	n/a	50.0	n/a	n/a
Other Ethnicity	25.0	n/a*	n/a	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
Very Low Income	19.6	29.4	0.0	33.3	55.6	0.0	0.0
Low Income	27.6	8.3	33.3	25.0	61.5	25.0	20.0
Non-Low income	28.9	41.1	18.2	36.4	42.2	35.1	17.1

* Courtyard Market is only open biweekly, therefore these numbers reflect participants who replied "once or twice a month" (which is as frequently as anyone could attend)

**Values displayed in the "All Customers" rows include participants who did not respond to questions regarding race.

Financial Success: Vendor Participation

The financial success of the case study markets was measured initially using data regarding market sales, manager satisfaction with the market's financial status, and estimates of customer and vendor participation estimates – all of which were gathered from market manager surveys and interviews. However, results from the vendor surveys provide additional insights as to the financial success that vendors actually experience first-hand from the market. After all, a market may technically be financially successful overall, but the benefits may not be fully felt by the vendors themselves. Table 18 contains data gleaned from Arizona farmers' market vendors regarding their financial status and the extent to which they utilize their particular farmers' market as a source of income.

I used produce vendors as an indicator group to illustrate the extent to which the case study markets are providing for the financial needs of farmer-vendors. In an overall financial sense, vendors at Foodie market and Weekday market seemed to earn higher annual household incomes than vendors at other markets. At Weekday market, 100% of the vendors earned at least \$50,000 per year, and at Foodie markets, 66.7% of vendors earned this amount. However, as these figures include off-farm income, a better indication of the financial status of the farm itself lies in the survey responses regarding annual gross farm sales. These figures suggest that on average, vendors at Parklands and Foodie markets earn higher on-farm sales than producers at other markets. Approximately 67% of Parklands produce vendors earn between \$50,000 and \$99,999 in gross on-farm sales. In the case of Foodie market, 67% of vendors earned between

\$10,000 and \$49,999 on-farm, while the remaining 33% earn in the highest bracket: over \$500,000 a year. In both instances, these figures are shifted substantially higher than the gross farm sales of the typical Arizona farmers' market producer, and from U.S. and Arizona producers in general. In the case of U.S. and Arizona producers, large majorities (59.8% and 81.4% respectively) earn in the lowest income bracket of \$1,000 to \$9,999 per year.

To assess farmers' markets' impact on farm-sales for produce vendors in this study, I used survey questions to assess producer participation at the market. Nearly all those I surveyed, regardless of the market which they participated in, stated that they attended their farmers' market regularly: at a rate of once or twice a week (which is likely the maximum number of days a given market is in operation each week. This was true for 100% of produce vendors at Weekday, Urbana, and Foodie markets, for 75% of Parklands market vendors, and for 67% of Village market vendors. More revealing, however, are the data producers provided regarding the *proportion* of vegetables that they sell at market. Vegetables were chosen over fruit as an indicator product in this analysis as most produce vendors in the survey (with the exception of one processed-produce vendor) sold at least some fresh vegetables. In general, most farmers sold the majority of their produce at the farmers' market. In other words, for them, the farmers' market provided the major point-of-sale for their products, and their greatest source of farm-based income.

Overall about 37% of producers in markets across Arizona sold "All" their produce at a farmers' market. This figure is quite a bit higher than the U.S.-wide statistic of 25% of farmers' market producers who use farmers' markets as their exclusive point-

of-sale (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). In the current study, certain markets seemed to provide better opportunities for farmers. Approximately 67% of vendors at Weekday Market and Parklands Market stated that they sold “All” of their produce at the market, whereas this figure was only 40% at Urbana Market, 33.3% at Village Market and 0.0% at Foodie Market. Overall Parklands Market seemed to attract farmers that relied on the market heavily – with 100% of those surveyed saying they sold “All or Almost All” of their vegetables at the market. While one might expect farms that rely solely on farmers’ markets to be small in scale, this is not necessarily the case at Parklands. In fact only 33.3% of the farmers at Parklands earn under \$10,000 per year from farm sales, while the remaining 67% earn between \$49,999 and \$99,999 in gross farm sales per year. The Foodie Market, conversely, seemed to attract the fewest farmers-market-only type farmers, with one farmer selling about half, one selling almost all and another selling none of their vegetables at the market (they sold processed items instead). The farmer who sold about the second-lowest amount (about half) of their vegetables at the farmers’ market was a large-scale farming operation – quoting gross farm sales of over \$500,000 per year. For them, the farmers’ market is only a supplemental source of income – a substantial one, but one that does not account for a clear majority of their business.

Courtyard and Village markets are smaller, newer markets that have very few vegetable vendors. Foodie market, in contrast, is a large, well-established market with a large and dedicated customer following. As a result there are many vegetable vendors there, including larger ones who sell produce not produced in Arizona. Parklands market is another large, and well established market, but one with stricter guidelines regarding food origin. As a result, some larger vendors and re-sellers are not present there and the

vendors who are present seem to be utilizing the market as a primary source of farm income. Urbana market is somewhat of a mix in terms of vendor characteristics. Reselling is discouraged to a greater extent than it is at Foodie Market. As a result, the large re-sellers are not present, and the market appears to primarily be home to a variety of small to medium sized produce vendors who earn little income annually, some of whom use the market as their sole source of farm income, but with a substantial proportion who rely on other channels as well.

Overall, when household income, farmers' market attendance and (in particular) statistics regarding gross farm sales and percent of vegetables sold at the farmers' market are taken into account, Parklands market emerges as the option that appears to be the most profitable to the most vegetable farmers. Weekday market appears to offer a reliable outlet for smaller-scale vegetable farming operations, while Foodie market has the ability to attract very large-scale farms. Here I must note that these results must be interpreted with some caution, due to the very small sample size of vegetable farmers surveyed in this study – 29 total. However, the results do, to some extent, mirror what I observed through participant observation at the market.

Table 18

Vendor Participation and Financial Status

Variable	U.S. Producers (2007 USDA Ag Census)	AZ Producers (2007 USDA Ag Census)	Arizona Farmers' Market Produce Vendors (n=29)	Courtyard Market (n=1)	Village Market (n=3)	Weekday Market (n=3)	Urbana Market (n=5)	Parklands Market (n=4)	Foodie Market (n=3)
Household Income									
Less than \$15,000	13.7	10.3	10.0	-	-	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0
Less than \$25,000	25.2	20.5	20.0	-	-	0.0	50.0	25.0	0.0
\$25,000-\$49,999	27.5	29.5	30.0	-	-	0.0	25.0	25.0	33.3
\$50,000-\$74,999	18.8	23.1	20.0	-	-	100.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
\$75,000-\$99,999	11.3	6.41	5.0	-	-	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
\$100,000 or more	17.2	20.5	25.0	-	-	0.0	25.0	25.0	33.3
Land Ownership*									
Owned	-	-	85.2	-	100.0	100.0	66.7	75.0	66.7
Leased	-	-	22.2	-	0.0	0.0	33.3	25.0	33.3
Rented to others	-	-	3.7	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
Gross Farm Sales*									
\$1,000-\$9,999	59.8	81.4	40.8	-	-	100.0	66.7	33.3	0.0
\$10,000-\$49,999	18.3	9.6	22.7	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	66.7
\$50,000-\$99,999	5.7	2.3	18.8	-	-	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0
\$100,000-\$499,999	10.9	3.2	9.1	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$500,000 +	7.8	6.1	9.1	-	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
Vegetables Sold at Farmers' Markets									
All	-	-	37.0	-	33.3	66.7	40.0	66.7	0.0
Almost All	-	-	25.9	-	0.0	0.0	20.0	33.3	33.3
More than half	-	-	29.6	-	66.7	33.3	40.0	0.0	0.0
About half	-	-	3.7	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
Less than half	-	-	3.7	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Almost none	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
None	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
Farmers' Market Attendance									
Frequency									
More than once a week	-	-	6.9	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1-2 times a week	-	-	82.8	-	66.7	100.0	100.0	75.0	100.0
1-2 times a month	-	-	6.9	-	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Several times a year	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1-2 times a year	-	-	3.4	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0
Never	-	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0
Production Techniques*									
Organic (non-certified)	-	-	65.5	-	100.0	66.7	60.0	20.0	33.3
Crop Rotation	-	-	17.2	-	100.0	33.3	40.0	60.0	66.7
Organic (certified)	0.9	0.8	75.9	-	0.0	0.0	20.0	40.0	66.7
Biodynamic	-	-	13.8	-	0.0	33.3	20.0	0.0	0.0
Conservation Tillage	-	-	10.3	-	33.3	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0

*Calculated only with responses from producer vendors – i.e. vendors responding they owned or leased farmland (n=49)

In revisiting Figure 4. Case Study Markets Typology (*Figure 4*) introduced in Chapter 2, page 90, it seems that several adjustments may need to be made to the participatory and financial success levels of the case study markets. In some cases, market managers anticipated their markets to be above average in terms of attracting low-income or minority populations, or in meeting farmer needs, but in reality they performed below average. In other cases, markets seemed to outperform their managers' expectations. In the participatory sense, Urbana and Parkland market underperformed, whereas Courtyard market outperformed expectations. However, in the latter case, this was likely due to an above average participation on the part of students, who cannot truly be considered low income customers.

Figure 11 depicts an updated version of the case study market Participatory-Financial Success Typology previously detailed in Figure 4 – the figure below now takes into account the observed levels of producer financial success and low-income and minority customer participation at the farmers' markets.

Participation	High	<i>Participatory Markets</i> <i>Village Market</i>	<i>Ideal Markets</i> <i>Weekday Market</i>
	Low	<i>Struggling Markets</i> <i>Courtyard Market</i>	<i>Financially Successful Markets</i> <i>Foodie Market</i> <i>Parklands Market</i> <i>Urbana Market</i>
		Low	High
Financial Success			

Figure 11. Case Study Market Typology - Revised

Understanding the factors that contribute to the relative participatory or financial success of the case study markets requires a deeper understanding of both the contexts in which the markets are embedded as well as the institutional design of the markets themselves. While many of the contextual factors were described in greater detail in Chapter 3: METHODS (see Case Study Selection on page 89), a brief description of the setting of each market will also be included below, along with the institutional design factors which shape the markets' structure, function, and ultimately may influence the relative financial and participatory success of the given market.

Courtyard Market

Courtyard Market was identified in this study as being a “Struggling” market, due to the fact that its participants utilize the market very little for grocery purchases. While compared to other markets, it is relatively successful at reaching low-income and minority customers, these customers appear to largely reflect the nearby student demographic. The market does not appear to be reaching much beyond the scope of this limited pool of University customers, and even those customers do not appear to be utilizing the market as a real source of food provisioning. Given the limited amount of purchases that are made there, many of the so-called “participants” would likely be more accurately categorized as “passerby.”

In terms of physical accessibility, the market is hampered by a somewhat tucked-away location in a courtyard with very little free public parking nearby. While the location is accessible on foot or bike, and convenient for many university students, those from outside the university community likely would find it difficult to access the market,

something corroborated by comments from members of the neighborhood surrounding the market. Economically, the market does seem to offer the maximum in potential benefits to customers. Because it has volunteer staff rather than paid staff, the market runs on less overhead than some of the other case study markets. Additionally, it participates in all three of the major federal benefits programs available to farmers' markets: FMNP, CVV and SNAP. The cultural accessibility of the market appears to be high due to the high percent of minority customers who attend. However, this is likely due more to the demographics of the nearby university than to the market's attempts to create a multi-cultural environment or offer bilingual support. Currently, the market has no Board of Directors, and therefore the decisions made regarding market management and operations may struggle to fit the needs of the market's stakeholders, as customers, vendors, and stakeholder representatives may have little avenue for voicing concerns and suggestions regarding market operations.

Village Market

Village Market was classified as a "Participatory" market in this study because it had relatively high success at attracting minority and low income customers, but struggled financially. The market earned the second lowest in annual revenue from producer sales in the study (\$25,000-\$50,000), had the lowest total number of regular vendors (n=35), lowest total number of weekly customers (n=300), and a below average participation on the part of farmer-vendors (n=3). Likewise, according to the market manager, the market is not financially self-sustaining. The physical accessibility of the market is high, given its location in the middle of the city center, and its operating hours

on a weekday evening, which provides opportunities for after-work shopping. Free parking is somewhat limited and no restrooms are available on site, so this might be a deterrent to some. Interestingly, despite its above average ability to attract low-income customers (28% of the customers are low-income), the market is not designed to maximize economic accessibility. It has paid staff, which can lead to higher overhead and, consequently, price markups for consumers. Its vendors cooperatively determine their prices, so this may raise customer costs even further, and the market does not participate in SNAP or CVV, making items less affordable for those who would otherwise utilize these federal benefits programs. A re-selling ban - which according to stories I overheard as my time as a participant observer, appears to be enforced – limits the types of products available and may increase costs for customers.

Despite these deterrents, the market does seem to attract an above average proportion of minority and low income customers. In terms of cultural accessibility, the fact that the market is located in a census tract of high Hispanic population, and has occasional multicultural events may make the market more accessible to ethnic minorities. Another design element that may play a role is the layout of the market itself: the two markets that had the highest level of ethnic and low-income participation were Village and Courtyard markets, and both these are laid out in a very broad, open plan. In contrast, the other markets in the study were laid out with much narrower aisles – so narrow, in fact that many customers complained about the closed-in feel of the market, and the sensation of ‘walking the gauntlet.’ Village market’s much more open, almost ‘courtyard’ style layout may contribute to the welcoming atmosphere of the market, one which is more inviting to passerby that would otherwise not have considered attending.

This could also to some extent explain the phenomenon occurring in both the courtyard-style markets: where attendance by those with low incomes and ethnic minorities is high, but actual purchases are somewhat low. In these instances, the ‘customers’ may in fact be passerby that hadn’t intended to shop at the market, but felt that it was a comfortable area to walk through or relax in, and as a result ended up purchasing some items on their way to other destinations. Without follow-up interviews several months or years down the road, it is difficult to understand when and if these sorts of customers might eventually become more regular market-users.

Foodie Market

Foodie Market was classified as a financially successful market in this study. While it attracted a high volume of vendors (n=75) and weekly customers (n=3000), earned the second highest in total annual revenue (\$150,000 to \$199,999) and those farmers who participated seemed to earn above average farm sales, Foodie Market struggled to reach low income and minority customers – with the second highest percentage of white customers of any of the case study markets (88.6%). The physical accessibility of the market is relatively high for some customers, given the market’s location in the city center. However, limited free parking in the region can make access difficult in general, and the fact that the market is located in a census tract of relatively high median household income and low ethnic diversity means that these underprivileged groups may have less convenient access to the market. The economic accessibility of the market may be somewhat restricted by the fact that the market has paid staff which it must support, and an emphasis on encouraging organic products – both of which may

drive up prices for customers. The market does not yet support SNAP/EBT, and this may also contribute to the limited participation on the part of low income customers. The cultural accessibility of the market could, in theory helped by the fact that the market hires multicultural staff, but unfortunately, this measure does not seem to have translated into higher participation on the part of ethnic minorities. It is possible that other, more subtle cultural barriers are at work. The fact that the market is located in a census tract with the lowest proportion of Hispanic residents may contribute to its inaccessibility. Furthermore, the layout of the market is such that it might not appear as welcoming as the courtyard-style markets. Its two aisles are wide, but the market is bordered by a very definitive line of booths which restrict access to narrow entry and exit points. This effectively makes the market feel more closed off to those passing by, and could discourage them from strolling through.

Parklands Market

In this study, Parklands Market was found to be a financially successful market, but not one that excelled at reaching low income or minority customers. It saw the third lowest proportion of minority customers (15.8%) and the lowest proportion of low-income customers (9.4%). However, overall, the market attracts a substantial number of vendors and customers on a weekly basis, and has proven itself to be sustainable over the long term (one of the oldest markets in the valley, it has been in existence for 21 years). The market appears to be one of the most profitable for farmer-vendors. It had the highest proportion of produce vendors earning over \$50,000 in annual gross farm sales of any of the case study markets (66.7%), and the highest proportion (66.7%) of produce vendors

who stated that they used the market to sell “All” of their fruits and vegetables. Thus, the market appears to be a viable and substantial source of income for many of its produce vendors. However, for customers, the market is less accessible. Physical access to the market is somewhat restricted due in part to its being sited away from a city or town center. While its location at the edge of a neighborhood park does mean that the visibility of the market is high, it also means that there is less chance of passerby pedestrian traffic that might use the market as a thoroughfare, and therefore less opportunities for those unfamiliar with the market to simply stumble upon it. Likewise, while the park location does entail customers some access to free parking, this is shared with other park-goers and on the weekends can cause quite a congestion problem when families are outdoors for the day, and sports are all in session. Physical access to the market may be even less convenient for those with low incomes, as the market is located in a census tract with very high median income. Economically, the market does take some measures to increase the accessibility of the market for low-income consumers: it participates in all three of the federal benefits programs utilized by farmers’ markets – SNAP/EBT, FMNP and CVV. However, the fact that the market has paid staff, uses a cooperative pricing scheme, and has a re-selling ban and an organic emphasis may all raise the prices above what they might be otherwise. The cultural access to the market may be enhanced by occasional ethnic cultural programs that take place at the market. However lack of bilingual staff, a high level of whiteness in and around the market, and a market layout that was described by participants as narrow and confining may all contribute to the low levels of participation on the part of ethnic minorities and other customers who don’t feel welcome at the market.

Urbana Market

Urbana market is a somewhat interesting case. Despite the fact that it is located in a census tract with a low median income (\$14,938), a high proportion of residents living in poverty (34%), and a substantial Hispanic population (27%), it struggles to reach low-income customers. Approximately 84% of the customers identify as white and most are relatively wealthy, with just 13% who declared incomes of under \$25,000 - the second lowest proportion in the study. Therefore, despite a location that should increase the accessibility of the market to minority and low-income customers, the market does not appear to be doing so. Financially, on the other hand, the market is doing well. It sees the highest volume of weekly customers (3000), and the most vendors (120) of any of the case study markets. Consequently, it also appears to earn the highest total annual revenue of any of the markets (over \$100,000,000). The market seems to attract a broad range of farmer vendors – from those earning under \$10,000 a year in gross farm sales, to those earning up to \$100,000 annually. The market also appears to account for a substantial proportion of this income for many vendors – 60% of produce vendors stated that they sell “All” or “Almost” all of their product via the market channel. In terms of physical accessibility, the market is well positioned near a city center, and several public transit routes. There is substantial free parking in the area (though some of this is street-side parking), and public restrooms. The market is held on both a weekend morning and weekday evening, making the market more convenient for a wider array of customers. Economically, the market increases accessibility for low income customers by participating in all three federal benefits programs. However, paid market staff, cooperative pricing schemes, an Arizona-Only sourcing policy and a re-selling ban may

all contribute to higher market prices. Culturally, the market is theoretically made more accessible by bilingual market staff members, but unfortunately, this does not seem to have translated to actual increases in number of ethnic participants. The market layout, like the other markets that struggle to attract low-income and minority customers, is one with narrow aisles, and limited access points. Personal observation revealed that in contrast to the pedestrian traffic patterns seen at Courtyard and Village markets, this market was not being utilized as a thoroughfare by people passing through the area. Rather, pedestrians would walk around the market, skirting the outside instead of going in. This could be due to the well-defined border of vendors lining the market and restricting access except at certain entry points, the maze-like structure of the aisles within the market, or the fact that the market is typically quite a busy place and therefore difficult to maneuver through once inside. Whatever the case, Urbana Market does not seem to be a place that draws in a substantial number of passerby. In the survey of market customers, 78% of those polled stated that they attended the market at least once a month – the highest percentage of regular, dedicated customers of any of the case study markets. While a high number of loyal customers is certainly a benefit for market vendors and the market as a whole, it also illustrates the potential for ‘entry-level inaccessibility’ of the market for first-time users.

Weekday Market

Weekday Market was the only “Ideal” market identified in this study, due to its relatively stable financial status and relatively high success at reaching low-income customers. Of the case study markets, Weekday Market had the third highest proportion

of low income customers (21.9%), the second highest proportion of very low income customers attending them market weekly (33.3%), and the second highest proportion of low income customers who stated they purchased “All” or “Almost All” of their fruits and vegetables at the market (28.6%). Overall, Weekday market seemed to be well balanced in that it attracted a relatively high total proportion of low-income customers, and a high proportion of those used the market as a substantial source for their fruits and vegetables. Some markets (e.g. Village) attracted a high proportion of low-income customers but these customers did not actually use the market to a large extent for shopping. Other markets (e.g. Urbana) had higher proportions of low income customers that utilized the market as a substantial source of produce, but didn’t reach many low income customers to begin with, so the overall impact was lower. Weekday market seemed to perform best overall.

Financially, Weekday Market is stable. Though its manager reported the lowest overall revenue of the six case study markets, it had an above average number of customers per week compared to other Arizona markets (400/wk). Two-thirds of the produce vendors (most of which are small scale vegetable farms) at the market stated that they sell “All” their products at the market - indicating that the market is a profitable venue for these producers. Additionally, the market has been in existence for over 15 years, and reports that it is financially self-sustaining, which shows that it has proven itself to be economically viable over the long term. In terms of physical accessibility, the market is located along a major road in an area with a relatively low median annual household income (\$23,702), and a relatively high proportion of residents living in poverty. Compared to other case study markets, the census tract in which the market is

located has a higher than average proportion of Hispanic residents. Therefore, in terms of site characteristics, the market is well positioned to minimize physical barriers to access for underprivileged consumers. In terms of operating hours, the market is open on a weekday morning. Initially, it was assumed that this timing scheme would inhibit accessibility, but in fact, all of the markets which received high participation from low-income and minority customers were those open on weekdays. This could be because many of those with lower incomes are more often employed in service industries that do not have the standard 9pm-5pm, Monday through Friday workweek, and therefore do not have weekends free. Several customers and residents mentioned this as a benefit of weekday markets and something that prevents them from attending weekend markets. In this way, Weekday Market appears to offer an opportunity for those unable to make it to a typical Saturday farmers' market.

In terms of economic accessibility, the market appears to utilize a number of rules, programs, and design elements to keep costs down for customers. Weekday Market participates in all three federal benefits programs (SNP/EBT, FMNP, and CVV), and draws from a pool of volunteer staff rather than using overhead to pay staff. The market also has fewer vendor restrictions than some of the other markets in the study. While other markets institute re-selling bans, emphasize organic products, and stipulate Arizona-only products, Weekday market simply suggests rather than mandates that Arizona products are "preferred," does not emphasize organic produce, and has no formal ban on re-selling. All of these rules (or in this instance, lack of rules) may contribute to the overall affordability of the market products for low-income consumers.

The one area in which Weekday market seemed to struggle was in drawing the participation of ethnic minorities. In fact, it had the highest proportion of white customers of any of the six case study markets (89.5%). Furthermore, only 25% of the ethnic minorities who attended did so on a weekly basis, and none bought “All” or “Almost All” of their produce from the market. This finding is somewhat surprising because the market manager estimated that 40% of market sales were to ethnic minorities. The lack of observed minority participation could be due in part to market-level institutional design factors which limit the cultural accessibility of the market: a lack of bilingual market staff, no market programs or cultural events, and a narrow, single-aisled market layout that, far from feeling welcoming, was described by customers as “gauntlet-like.”

Interestingly, the market had the highest proportion of minority vendors of any of the six case study markets (57.9%), at least two of which I am aware from personal experience, are both English and Spanish speaking. This, in theory, should add to the cultural accessibility of the market for Hispanic customers, however participation on the part of Hispanic residents remains low – constituting only 5.3% of the market-goers in the market survey. Interviews with Weekday market-goers indicate that this may be due in large part to factors outside the market’s control. One interviewee mentioned that that she used to see a substantial number of Hispanic customers, but that after SB 1070 - a bill that encouraged Arizona police officers to inspect residency/citizenship documents, Hispanic/Latino customers dropped off precipitously.

Vendor and Customer Characteristics of Financially Successful & Participatory Markets

Results from the customer and vendor surveys indicate that a few key customer and vendor characteristics seem to be associated with financially successful markets, while other customer and vendor characteristics are associated with markets that achieve participatory success. However, a word of caution is necessary when interpreting the data. Due to the small sample size and ordinal nature of the data, Spearman's correlations were used to describe the relationships between characteristics. Thus, while the findings suggest the nature and strength of the relationship, they do not speak to the causal factor. The unique features of the markets may have attracted particular types of customers and vendors, or conversely, the congregation of certain types of customers and vendors could have led to the markets' relative levels of financial and participatory success.

Financially Successful Markets: Customers and Vendors

Financially successful markets were found to be positively and significantly correlated with higher vendor gross annual sales (Spearman's $\rho=0.325$, $p=.006$). However, this perhaps speaks more to the accuracy of market manager assessments of their vendors' sales than anything else: given that market manager estimates of vendor sales was one of the indicators used to measure the financial success of the markets. Perhaps more interesting is the finding that financially successful markets tend to be those where vendors' primary complaint was about inter-vendor competition (Spearman's $\rho= 0.235$, $p=.049$). This is somewhat surprising, given that one could expect inter-vendor competition to drive down prices for similar items, thereby reducing

the amount of revenue earned by vendors, which could as a result reduce the market's overall profitability. However, reductions in competition-induced per-item prices may also be offset by increased customers, who attend and purchase in higher volumes due to the reduced prices. The findings of this study suggest that it is the latter effect that is stronger in this case. In contrast, vendor complaints about lack of customer attendance were negatively associated with financially successful markets (Spearman's $\rho = -0.417$, $p = .000$). Essentially, this suggests that markets which focus on attracting high volumes of customers may be more financially successful overall⁶, even if it means setting lower per-item prices and increasing competition between vendors. However, it is important to keep in mind that while this strategy may benefit the market's overall economic success, it may or may not be an attractive proposition for vendors. In fact, in the current study, markets categorized as financially successful were actually *negatively* correlated with vendors listing the affordability and low overhead costs as a motive for selling at the market (Spearman's $\rho = -0.308$, $p = .009$), as well as listing marketing opportunities as a motive (Spearman's $\rho = -0.277$, $p = .019$).

As several vendors noted in the survey, lack of profitability, whether due to lack of customers or competition from other vendors was actually, from their perspective, one of the main downsides of the farmers' market model. "There are multiple vendors with the same product," a vendor at Foodie market explained, "and the competition has been selling longer," another vendor pointed out, emphasizing the difficulty newer vendors face in competing with the more well established vendors. Conversely, established

⁶ Recall that for the purposes of this study, *financial success* of a market was measured by six indicators, all of which were gauged by survey and interview data from the market managers: market sales, vendor participation, customer participation, market longevity, and capacity to self-sustain.

vendors can be equally frustrated by new competition, as illustrated in this comment from a vendor at Urbana Market:

I sell plants all year at the Market, it is disheartening when other plant vendors are allowed to show up during the peak season to sell for just a few weeks and then they are gone until the next busy season for three weeks. It is not just one vendor, there are times that suddenly eight vendors show up with plants for just a few weeks.

- Vendor 101, Urbana Market

This vendor expresses a sense of feeling undervalued and discouraged by the way that the market encourages inter-vendor competition. She indicates that her loyalty and dedication to the market should earn her the ability to sell there with less competition.

Tensions are also high between small vendors and the larger-scale sellers who may or may not always grow their own products. As one prepared foods vendor at Urbana Market pointed out “large companies [are] competing against micro businesses” some of these are, according to a fruits and vegetables vendor at Foodie Market “produce brokers that pretend they grow it all.” Likewise, a Parklands Market vendor described “trouble competing with false growers.” Another Parklands Market vendor elaborated further:

“Growers are selling out of season items - prompted by customers that expect everything all the time. Small growers have difficulty competing at this market. Sometimes it seems like a free-for-all at the market. [Some] growers claim to be something they're not - i.e. organic/natural/local produce.” – Produce vendor at Parklands Market

A farmers market should be about small, local growers, not about farmers with big farms. It makes it that much more difficult for small growers to compete. Perhaps limiting the acreage for participating. Let the large growers compete in their own arenas like supplying restaurants, etc. and leave the farmers market for the smaller growers. Farm Inspection criteria should be provided and inspection reports should be made public. No grower should be allowed into the market without first being inspected by management. – Produce vendor at Parklands Market

Several of the vendors at non-case-study markets also described the very widespread and contentious issue of re-sellers:

Market managers are not willing to help distinguish between growers (actually growing or producing what they sell) and those not producing their own product—(resellers). This creates a very strange climate and allows for lots of misinformation given to customers.
– Vendor at Tucson-area market

[There is] unfair competition from fake farmers who are nothing more than re-sellers ... poor ethics and morals on the part of FM directors to ensure quality. – Vendor at an East Valley market.

Notably, the re-seller issue mentioned by the growers at Parklands market was brought to the attention of the market manager by one of the growers during the course of my fieldwork at the market. At Parklands market (and likewise at Courtyard, Foodie, and Weekday markets), vendors are allowed to remain at the market so long as 51% of their items are grown or produced by themselves. In other words, up to 49% of the products sold by a vendor are allowed to be re-sold stock (purchased from a warehouse or other source). However, in this instance some vendors were not meeting the ‘51% homegrown’ minimum. The manager responded by confronting two of the vendors at which the complaint was aimed, and when the vendors failed to increase the amount of self-grown products at their booths, they were banned from the market. On the weekend following the ban, several customers approached the information booth near which I was sitting, observing the market, wondering where their favorite fruits and vegetables vendors had gone. Farmer-vendors acknowledge the complexity of the problem, and the relationship between large growers and re-sellers even as they demand a solution:

I recommend a change of market rules to where you have to grow 100% of the produce you sell not 51%. Weed out the big brokers. Promote the small grower not the ones that provide the market with the most revenue.

*– Produce vendor at Foodie Market.
(emphasis added)*

This speaks to a problem which many markets face: the issue that market success does not necessarily equate to vendor success. The vendor/re-seller altercation at Parklands market highlights the difficulty of managing the market in such a way that upholds the needs of producer-vendors with the desires of market customers, who may well dictate the financial success of the market itself. In this particular instance, the market manager decided to side with the grower-vendor rather than with the customers. In terms of the ongoing financial success of the market, this could pay off. Some customers appreciate shopping at farmers' markets dedicated to supporting farmer growers, as this Parklands customer who overheard the story explained in my interview with him:

“These farmers are supposed to sell a minimum of 51% locally grown produce ... two farms said they weren't going to abide by that ... and it concerns me, because that's one of the reasons we're in the Slow Food movement and we go [to the farmers' market]: because we'd like to buy things from farmers who grow things within 30 miles. I don't mind paying if it is grown by that farmer or if it is an Arizona farmer or if it is in fact an Arizona product ... so I absolutely support the rule. A farmers market is not supposed to be stuff that's imported.”

– Interviewee #34

However, customers unaware of the details of the re-seller ban may simply visit the market and find themselves discouraged by the sparse, in-season-only offerings at the market, as these residents of the neighborhood adjacent to the market expressed in my interviews with them:

“They have one or two stands that sell fresh produce and I've been up there a couple of times and it's real hit or miss I'll go up there and

someone will have oranges and really good oranges and then I'll go up there the next week and they're really small oranges and kind of mealy and not great in quality.... just the environment we live in, or whatever, the growing conditions are probably not ideal.” – Interviewee #1

Only time will tell if Parkland market's enforcement of its re-seller restriction will pay off – whether it will attract more customers than it discourages, whether it will result in higher revenue for grower-vendors, or whether declining customer attendance will lead to lower revenues for growers and possibly for the market overall - as the literature suggests may be the case (see Griffin & Frongillo, 2003; Smithers & Joseph, 2010; Smithers et al., 2008).

Participatory Markets: Customers and Vendors

In direct contrast to the financially successful markets, participatory markets (those that had high levels of participation by low-income and minority customers) were found to be positively and significantly correlated with vendor complaints about lack of customer attendance (Spearman's $\rho=0.236$, $p=.046$), and negatively correlated with vendors with high gross annual sales (Spearman's $\rho= -0.250$, $p=.034$). This reiterates the findings of field observations and market manager surveys at participatory markets, and highlights perhaps one of the most disconcerting findings revealed in this study: markets which succeed at attracting low income and minority customers have difficulty attracting high volumes of customers overall, and struggle financially as a result.

Counter to what was anticipated, markets where vendors complained more often about inter-vendor competition were less likely to be participatory. At the outset of the study, it seemed logical to assume that those markets which had high levels of inter-vendor competition would have lower prices and therefore would attract more low-

income customers, thereby ranking higher on the participatory success scale. In the current study, however, this did not appear to be the case. Complaints about inter-vendor competition were negatively correlated with participatory market status (Spearman's $\rho = -.251$, $p = .034$) and positively associated with financially successful markets.

This could suggest that prices are less affected by inter-vendor competition than expected, or that price-cues are less important to low-income and minority customers than anticipated. Another explanation might lie in the fact that markets which attracted the highest participation from underprivileged customers on a regular basis also tended to be very small scale markets, and thus there were too few vendors of each type to compete with one another. Why the markets that succeeded at reaching higher numbers of low-income and minority customers tended to be on the smaller side is another question altogether. A few significant customer characteristics associated with participatory success are described below.

In the customer survey, participatory markets were, unsurprisingly, positively correlated with customers earning under \$25,000 in annual household income (Spearman's $\rho = 0.138$, $p = .031$). They were negatively correlated with customer frequency of attendance (Spearman's $\rho = -0.135$, $p = .037$), and amount of vegetables purchased per customer at farmers' markets (Spearman's $\rho = -0.173$, $p = .008$) – illustrating again the problem examined in Chapter 4, starting on page 59: that overall, low-income and minority customers seem to attend their farmers' markets with less frequency and purchase less when they do attend. In the survey, customers noted that the main reasons they don't use farmers' markets for more of their grocery purchases are due to hours of operation, price, and lack of selection.

At certain markets – Courtyard Market in particular - the infrequency of the market was often mentioned as a barrier. “It isn’t often enough” one low income Courtyard customer explained. “It’s only hosted once every two weeks,” agreed another “and I forget that we’re having the market ... and leave my wallet at home.” For other low income customers, the times that the market was open didn’t coincide with their schedule and they “wished they were open more days.” One low-income customer of Urbana Market explained that she didn’t attend more frequently due to the “day of the week the market is held” – even though Urbana Market had the most frequent open-hours of any of the case study markets: with markets on both a weeknight and on a weekend morning. But even two days a week may not be frequent enough to allow for scheduling overlap. As another low-income Urbana market-goer explained “I’m poor and my own work schedule is so tight.” Several other low-income market-goers elaborated on the problem of work schedules conflicting with farmers’ market schedules:

I may not always be free on a Friday morning and the timing of market doesn’t coincide with payday. Besides, we don’t always need fresh produce on a Friday. – Customer #248 at Weekday Market

My schedule - I usually work Saturday mornings. Also money - we get EBT food stamp cards and the market doesn’t accept them. – Customer #411 at a non-case-study market

Transportation can further restrict low-income customers’ ability to access farmers’ markets. Those with household incomes under \$25,000 were more likely than higher income brackets to list lack of adequate transportation as a barrier to their participation (Spearman’s rho=.174, p=.001). While many low-income customers described parking-related issues as their main obstacle, others listed additional problems. “I have no car,” one Urbana Market customer said. Two Foodie Market customers agreed

that lack of a personal vehicle can cause difficulties “I must carry home what I buy since I don’t drive,” one explained “it’s hard to carry it home since I am a walker.” It is particularly difficult for those who have other things scheduled during the day. As one Courtyard Market customer explained, “I can't carry around a bunch of groceries to my classes for the rest of the day.” Others had similar problems with transportation:

I'm a student without a car and the only market I can easily get to is only hosted once every two weeks. – Customer #15 at Courtyard Market

It's far from where I live and hard to find with no signs and limited parking and no warning what vendors won't be there at the next market. – Customer #23 at Courtyard Market

Two customers at Village Market specifically noted the lack of accessibility for those in wheelchairs:

There's not enough parking and the handicapped entrance is hard to find.- Customer #105 at Village Market

The side entry for disabled customers is not there, so there's not enough handicapped accessibility. – Customer #119 at Village Market

High prices were also frequently cited as barriers to participation in farmers’ markets. In fact, in terms of obstacles, consumers surveyed at participatory markets were more likely to list a market’s inability to accept credit, debit or EBT as an obstacle (Spearman’s $\rho=.128$, $p=.045$). Likewise, low income customers (those with household incomes under \$25,000 were more likely to list inability to utilize EBT at the farmers’ market (Spearman’s $\rho=.136$, $p=.010$), and inability to use WIC (Spearman’s $\rho=.128$, $p=.015$) as obstacles to their participation. They were significantly more likely to list market participation in federal benefits programs (SNAP, WIC FMNP etc) as a reason they attend their particular market (Spearman’s $\rho=.128$, $p=.015$).

Farmers' market food was described by low-income survey participants as "tremendously expensive," "costly," and "too expensive for how much you get." One customer simply stated "being poor" as an obstacle to increasing his participation. A low-income customer of Urbana Market explained that "my job is paying too little for me to afford a lot of the food without EBT." Several customers described their reliance on EBT or WIC FMNP in order to afford the farmers' market products, and as one Weekday Market customer pointed out, "farmers' market WIC checks don't come all year-round" thereby limiting the months in which she can afford to shop at farmers' markets.

Low income customers also described that they don't purchase much from farmers' markets due to a perceived lack of products offered. In fact, participatory markets were negatively correlated with customers who listed product variety (Spearman's $\rho = -.257$, $p = .000$) in their top three reasons for attending the market. Rather there was a widespread perception that the markets lacked variety. "There's not always a lot of fresh produce available," said a participant at a non case-study market. "The selection of food is rather small," agreed one Courtyard Market participant, "so I just go to get things that may be useful, but not to do my weekly grocery shopping." Other Courtyard Market participants elaborated on particular missing items: "there is no meat, eggs, or dairy products (besides cheese) sold at Courtyard farmers' market" one observed, while another lamented that "there aren't enough 'whole food' providers such as produce and grain providers."

I'd like to see a wider variety of vendors. Right now I can only do a small percentage of my shopping at the market because most items on my shopping list aren't available. I'd like to see a wider range of nuts, grains and legumes for sale, and pastas/breads that aren't 4x the price that Sunflower Market [local 'natural foods' grocery chain] sells them for.

– Customer #15 at Courtyard Market

All these comments illustrate the In the final section of this chapter, I examine re-seller bans and other market rules to explore whether there appears to be a relationship between these rules and the financial and participatory success of a farmers' market.

INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN: INFLUENCES ON FINANCIAL & PARTICIPATORY SUCCESS

In the previous sections of this chapter, I explored the ways in which the case study markets differed in terms of institutional design, financial success, and in their ability to reach low income and minority consumers (participatory success). The deeper question, however is: Does institutional design make a difference? Are particular rules, norms, or market programs associated with financial success? With participatory success? With markets that achieve both financial and participatory success? It is to these questions that I now turn.

At the outset of the study, based on the limited existing literature regarding farmers' market institutions and farmers' market financial and participatory success (refer to Table 1 and Table 2), I anticipated that a number of institutional design characteristics were likely to be associated with financial and participatory success. This list of characteristics was narrowed for the purposes of the current study based on data availability. Table 19Table 20 depict the final list of criteria, the case study markets which have integrated the particular design characteristics as part of their governance model, and the degree to which each design characteristic is associated with financially or

participatorially successful markets (as measured in the percentage of markets in which the characteristic was observed).

Table 19

Anticipated Institutional Design Characteristics of Financially Successful Markets

	Design Characteristic	Source	Markets with design element	% of Financially Successful Markets
Site Criteria	High Median Household Income	(Varner & Otto, 2007)	Courtyard, Foodie, Parklands	50%*
	Low Poverty Rate	(Varner & Otto, 2007)	Courtyard, Foodie, Parklands	50%*
	High Visibility	(Barney & Worth Inc, 2008; Rimal et al., 2010)	Foodie, Urbana, Village	50%*
Operations & Amenities	Weekend Market	(Varner & Otto, 2007)	Foodie, Parklands, Urbana	75%
	Market open 7+ months a year	(Ragland & Tropp, 2009)	All	100%**
Pricing & Payoff	Paid Staff	(Barney & Worth Inc, 2008)	Foodie, Parklands, Urbana, Village	75%*
	Participation in SNAP/EBT	(PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009)	Courtyard, Parklands, Urbana, Weekday	75%*
Vendor Rules & Characteristics	Local Only	(Barney & Worth Inc, 2008; PPS, 2003b),	Foodie, Urbana, Village	50%*

* This characteristic was also present in 50% of the markets that failed financially
 ** This characteristic was also present in 100% of the markets that failed financially

Table 20

Anticipated Institutional Design Characteristics of Participatory Markets

	Design Characteristic	Source	Markets with design element	% of Participatory Markets
Site Criteria	Low Median Household Income	(Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b)	Foodie, Urbana, Weekday	50%*
	High Poverty Rate	(Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b)	Urbana, Village, Weekday	100%
	High Proportion Hispanic		Urbana, Village, Weekday	100%
	High Visibility/Traffic	(Colasanti et al., 2010; PPS, 2003a, 2003b)	Foodie, Village, Weekday	100%
	Bilingual staff	(Briggs et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Slocum, 2007)	Foodie, Urbana	0%*
Operations & Amenities				
Pricing & Payoff	Volunteer base	(PPS, 2003b)	Courtyard, Village, Weekday	100%
	Competitive pricing	(Grace et al., 2007; Hamilton, 2002; Speier & Krueger, 2006; Tiemann, 2004)	Courtyard	0%
	Participation in SNAP/EBT	(Allen et al., 2006; Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009)	Courtyard, Parklands, Urbana, Weekday	50%**
Vendor Rules & Characteristics	Non-local products allowed (for added variety)	(Briggs et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Slocum, 2007)	Courtyard, Parklands, Weekday	50%*
	Re-selling allowed	(PPS, 2003b)	Foodie, Weekday	50%
	No organic focus	(Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007)	Courtyard, Urbana, Village, Weekday	100%*
Community Institutions	Ethnic cultural programs		Foodie, Parklands, Village	50%*

* This characteristic was also present in 40% of the markets that failed in terms of participation of low-income and minority customers.

** This characteristic was also present in 60% of the markets that failed in terms of participation of low-income and minority customers.

After observing the diversity in financial and participatory success and institutional design characteristics of the six farmers' markets examined in this study, several interesting, and in some cases, surprising findings emerged. After analysis it became apparent that several contextual and institutional design factors matter, while others, even some that were anticipated as very likely to be influential, appear to matter much less than expected.

Financial Success

Based on the findings of previous studies regarding factors influencing farmers' market success, it was anticipated that farmers markets would be more financially successful if they were located in wealthier, higher visibility areas, were open on the weekend for seven or more months a year, hired paid staff, participated in federal benefits programs, and had local-only restrictions (Barney & Worth Inc, 2008; Hofmann et al., 2009; PPS, 2003a, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009; Rimal et al., 2010; Stephenson et al., 2008; Varner & Otto, 2007). Support for these institutional design characteristics as key factors influencing financial success was mixed. While all the anticipated design characteristics appeared to be at least somewhat associated with financially successful markets, in many cases the association was weak at best. The design elements moderately to strongly associated with financial success (occurring in at least 60% of the case study markets) were: having a weekend market, operating at least seven months a year, paid staff, and participation in SNAP-EBT federal benefits programs – each of which were present in at least 60% of the case study markets. Of these, however, only one factor (weekend hours of operation) was associated exclusively with financially successful markets. The rest of the design characteristics were also present in at least 50% of financially un-successful markets, and thus in the current study have only a moderate association with financial success.

Likewise, results were mixed regarding the institutional design elements associated with financially *un-successful* markets. Both of these markets were relatively new (under 5 years old), and this could account for part of their financial struggles. Two design elements which did stand out were that each of the financially struggling markets

only had weekday hours of operation and each had very few produce vendors (in one instance three produce vendors, and in the other instance only one occasional produce vendor). However, weekday-only hours of operation and few produce vendors do not necessarily lead to a financially un-successful market, as these were characteristic of Weekday market as well – a market which rated above average in terms of both financial and participatory success.

Participatory Success

There were a number of design factors and market characteristics that from the outset seemed likely to influence the accessibility of a given market for low income or minority customers. However, some of these, once examined across the case study markets, did not seem to necessarily correlate with participatory success. Participation in competitive pricing and the presence of bilingual market staff were not characteristics of either of the participatory markets. Federal benefits programs, reselling bans, and ethnic cultural programs were only characteristics of one of the two participatory markets, and therefore the association could only be considered a weak one. Other characteristics had a moderate to strong association: markets located in census tracts with high poverty rates, high proportions of Hispanic residents, in high visibility areas, relying on a volunteer staff base, and with no organic product emphasis were characteristics of both the markets rated as highly participatory.

Inconclusive Findings

Competitive vs. Cooperative Pricing

In theory, encouraging competitive pricing between vendors could lead to lower market prices and therefore a higher economic attraction for low-income customers. Conversely, cooperative pricing schemes in which vendors collectively decide upon uniform prices prior to market may lead to inflated prices and therefore a less economically attractive market. In this study, however, all the markets but Courtyard (a non-participatory, non-financially successful market) used a cooperative pricing scheme, therefore comparisons between markets could not be made. Inclusion of markets which utilizing competitive pricing would be an interesting aspect to incorporate into follow-up research.

Bilingual Staff

Another factor which was assumed to hold some importance in reaching underprivileged customers was the presence or absence of bilingual market staff. In theory, markets which have bilingual staff would be better equipped to meet the needs of ethnic minorities for whom English is not their first language. Therefore it was expected that markets with bilingual staff would have a higher percentage of ethnic minorities. In the current study, Urbana and Foodie markets were the only markets stating they had bilingual staff, and neither of these were “Participatory” markets. While Urbana market had the third highest proportion of minority customers (16.5%), Foodie market had the second lowest (11.4%), therefore the relationship between presence of bilingual staff and the attractiveness of the market to minority customers remains unclear.

One factor to consider is that the particular language spoken obviously plays a critical role here. Unfortunately, in the current study I did not ask market managers to specify the languages which their staff spoke. Part of the reason for a lack of correlation between these amenities and the participation of certain groups could simply come down to a lack of advertising or knowledge on the part of consumers. If a market does not present or market itself as being an “affordable” market or a “Hispanic” market or a “Polish” or a “Ghanaian” market, it is unlikely that the people groups who might benefit from the market’s linguistic programs will be aware of these amenities.

Weak Association with Participatory Success

Federal Benefits Programs

Quite surprisingly, market participation in federal benefits programs was not strongly associated with a greater level of attendance or participation on the part of low income or very low income market customers. The expected result, had implementation of federal benefits programs been closely correlated with participatory success would have been for Weekday and Village markets (the two markets found to be ‘participatory’) to implement all three Federal Benefits programs (SNAP, FMNP and CVV), but in reality while Weekday did implement all three, Village only utilized FMNP – with no capacity for accepting food stamps at the market. This is a surprising finding, given that Village market had the highest proportion of low income customers compared to any other market (28%).⁷ Furthermore, 60% of the non-participatory markets in the study

⁷ This is true if the results from Courtyard Market are discounted because of the likelihood that the Courtyard customers stating their income in the “low income” range were actually students, and therefore

implemented all three federal benefits programs. Therefore in this case, the link between implementation of Federal Benefits programs and low-income participation appears to be only a weak association.

While in the current study, market implementation or non-implementation of Federal Benefits programs did not appear to impact the level of participation of low income customers, it is important not to discount these programs outright. It is likely that markets which utilized Federal Benefits but still underperformed in regards to low income participation had other substantial barriers which restricted market attendance. Furthermore, it was discovered through the survey, interviews, and participant observation that some customers were not aware when and if certain markets participated in these programs. Therefore a part of the problem may simply lie in advertising the presence of these financial assistance programs more widely.

Reselling Bans

At the outset of the study, I theorized that reselling bans would result in lower participation on the part of low income customers, due to higher prices and lower selection at the market. However, the results of the current study were somewhat inconclusive. Only two markets in the study allowed re-sellers: Weekday Market and Foodie Market. But while Weekday market did attract a relatively high proportion of low income customers (21.9%), Foodie Market did not (13.3%). Again, while this could indicate that the factor is not an important one (for example, the presence or absence of re-sellers may not significantly alter prices or selection), it could also point to the fact that

not independent earners, but supported in part by their parents' household incomes. If Courtyard Market is included (at 29.6% low income customers) then Village market would have the 2nd highest proportion.

each market's situation is complex and it is the interplay of multiple factors that come together to create an environment that attracts or repels certain people groups.

Market Management

Interestingly, the degree of formal democracy in market management appeared to be somewhat associated with lower participation on the part of low-income and minority customers. Only two markets in the study had a formal Board of Directors who collaboratively decided on decisions relating to market management. In the cases of the other markets, the market manager, staff and/or government organizers had a more unilateral influence over the market rules and day-to-day management decisions. The two markets with Boards of Directors (Foodie and Urbana) had the second and third lowest attendance by low-income customers, and the second and fourth lowest participation by ethnic minorities. While it seems counter-intuitive that increased levels of democracy would be in any way related to lower levels of accessibility for underprivileged consumers, surveys of the market managers revealed that board composition was primarily market sponsors, broader organization and market staff. This composition may lead to decisions made more in the direction of market profitability and away from the needs and concerns of low income and minority customers.

Moderate to Strong Association with Participatory Success

While certain factors that were expected to influence the participation of underprivileged consumers were found to be less important than anticipated, other factors emerged as more important than expected.

Weekday Market Times

An unanticipated factor that appeared to often be positively correlated with increased participation by ethnic minorities and low-income customers was that of weekday as opposed to weekend markets. Typically, the traditional farmers' market is held on Saturday, typically in the morning. However, in the current study four of the markets had weekday hours (two were held on weekday mornings and two on weeknights), and these were the markets that tended to attract the highest numbers of low-income and to some extent, minority customers. As was previously mentioned, this is likely due in part to the fact that those with low incomes are more likely than those of moderate means to work in the service industry, and therefore to have irregular hours.

No Organic Emphasis

Another factor which appeared to be associated with the participation of low-income customers was a declaration on the part of the market manager that their market did not have an explicit "organic" focus. That is to say that the market did not overtly encourage and/or seek out products and vendors that were USDA certified. Notably, the markets with the lowest and third lowest level of low-income customer attendance both had an explicit organic emphasis. As actual pricing of items was not explicitly compared in this study, it is difficult to discern what impact organic products had on the overall cost of items at the market, but it is important to keep in mind that just as important as the actual prices of items are people's perceptions of those items. Markets which present themselves as being mostly organic may be perceived as more expensive simply because organic products have long been associated (often justly) with a higher price tag.

Market Layout

Perhaps one of the most surprising findings of the current study was the relative importance of market layout to the level of attendance of low-income and minority participants at the market. This speaks again to the powerful influence of subtle elements of the socio-cultural environment and the importance of designing markets not only with physical and economic accessibility in mind but also with careful attention to cultural accessibility. The two markets in the study which had the highest proportion of low-income (Village 28.0%) and non-white attendees (Courtyard, 33.7%; Village, 26.9%) both had a market layout that was very open and easy to pass through. Participant observation revealed that both these markets were being used as a thoroughfare by those who obviously had purposes in the area other than the market. What was also observed is that these markets also had the highest proportion of customers who stated that they only shopped at the market “Several times a year.” This suggests that these markets may be attracting a large number of new participants who have not yet become regular customers. It seems highly possible that due to the open, welcoming layout of these markets, they may be attracting a substantial number of passerby who otherwise would not have considered stopping by the market. Following up with these ‘fringe’ customers would be a fascinating starting point for future study – to determine the extent to which open-layout markets are eventually able to transition occasional shoppers into more regular customers.

Layered Effects – Not One Institution, But Many

On an institution-by-institution basis, fewer rules, norms and strategies seemed to influence market's participatory or financial success than initially anticipated. However, markets that achieved higher levels of participatory or financial success also tended to have more of the anticipated institutional design characteristics. Weekday market, for example, was rated as achieving the highest level of participatory success in the study, and it was also designed with the most (nine of the eleven) institutions previously anticipated to be associated with a market's level of participatory success. By contrast, Parklands Market - which scored low on the participatory scale – incorporated only three of these institutional design elements (see Table 21). Likewise, Foodie, Urbana, and Parklands markets were all designed with at least five of the seven institutional design characteristics anticipated to be associated with financial success, and all three markets were above average in terms of financial success. Meanwhile, Courtyard and Village markets – both of which performed *below* average in terms of financial success – were designed with only three of the seven characteristics (see Table 21). Therefore, overall, there does appear to be some support for the idea that the more participatory and financial design characteristics that a market incorporates into its institutional design, the higher the likelihood that it will achieve higher levels of either participatory or financial success.

One outlier was Weekday market – which was only designed with one of the design factors associated with financial success (participation in SNAP/EBT), but still achieved above average levels of financial success. This, in a sense, is encouraging as it illustrates that even markets situated in underprivileged areas, and which design

themselves primarily with a focus on achieving high levels of low-income and minority participation can and do succeed financially.

Additional Observations

While the rules and norms discussed above were identified at the outset of the study as potential factors that might influence the participatory and financial success of farmers' markets, several other institutional design elements and market programs that may be beneficial or detrimental emerged over the course of the research as well. From a physical access standpoint, a bus or market shuttle that can do a circuit route on market-day may increase accessibility for some residents, particularly those with limited mobility and/or access to a car. This strategy is used with some success in several Valley supermarkets. Physical access may also be augmented simply by more visible advertising of Valley farmers' markets. A substantial proportion of residents either did not know where their nearest farmers' market was, or in a few cases were uncertain as to *what* a farmers' market was. More advertising, perhaps coupled with "discount days," coupons, or sales could attract additional customers who might like to attend, and perhaps attended a market in their hometown, but no longer are plugged-in to the market scene.

The utility of farmers' markets was a barrier for many, though this may be an element that is difficult to control through institutional design elements. Currently, farmers' markets primarily sell fresh fruits and vegetables. However residents repeatedly express difficulty finding the time and energy to prepare these foods, and likewise have issues storing them successfully for long periods of time. Many rely on frozen or canned foods in order to streamline the food preparation process – something that was expressed

as particularly important by those with families and/or long or irregular work hours.

While many I spoke with expressed a desire to eat healthy foods, the prep-time of fresh fruits and vegetables was often perceived to be too much of a hassle. The establishment of a central market kitchen or service which might process and freeze fruits and vegetables could help increase the utility of market products for these customers.

As was discussed earlier, the economic accessibility of the market may lie at least in part on people's perceptions of market prices, rather than on the actual prices themselves. Several market customers noted favorable price comparisons between farmers' market items (particularly fresh fruits and vegetables) and those at the grocery store. However, actual prices matter little if price perceptions remain high. This again might be improved with changes to marketing and advertising. If a market presents itself as a "discount market" or as having "sale days" this could attract customers that otherwise would feel farmers' markets are out of their price range. Additionally, better advertising of EBT/FMNP options appears to be necessary as it had no apparent correlation to a market's success at serving low-income customers, and several customers who used EBT were unaware that the market offered this as a payment option. Actual prices of certain market items may also be higher than at regular stores. Customers particularly noted that meat and dairy items seemed overpriced. Employing competitive pricing schemes, or at a minimum, introducing multiple meat and dairy vendors at the same market might help to bring down prices, though this phenomenon could not be explored in the study due to the fact that all markets used cooperative pricing.

Culturally, access to farmers' markets is inhibited by market structures and environments that feel un-familiar to those who value tradition and comfort when making

their food-related decisions. Furthermore, markets that present themselves as catering primarily to those who are white, wealthy, and/or 'radical' in terms of their views on sustainability may make those who do not fit into these subgroups feel unwelcome. Designing markets to maximize comfort, familiarity, and to present themselves as catering to "people like me," can be challenging. Theoretically, the presence of a higher proportion of ethnic vendors and produce might increase the market's appeal to those seeking those of same-ethnicity. In the current study there was some evidence of this at Weekday market, which had a strong presence of both customers and vendors of color, and also at Urbana market, where a resident noted attending the market specifically for a certain type of ethnic produce. However the evidence at other markets was mixed. Additional, focused research would be necessary to examine the degree and ways in which this might influence minority participation, but it does suggest an important avenue to pursue. Furthermore, the appeal of the market to those who are not white, or wealthy could be augmented by a concerted effort to advertise the market as a 'discount market,' as a hub for ethnic cultural events and educational programs. For those whom tradition and familiarity is paramount, markets might do well to consider relaxing their local-only focuses in order to incorporate more staple foodstuffs in a traditional grocery format. Alternatively, as one resident suggested, perhaps markets might partner with a regional supermarket. Setting up in the parking lot of a grocery store would offer the benefit of ample parking, make the farmers' market much more physically convenient for customers, minimize the need for people to change their own shopping patterns, and maximize potential for cross-traffic.

Market Governance: Who Has a Seat at the Table?

Establishing a set of market rules that meet the needs of a diverse array of farmers, customers, and the overarching financial sustainability needs of the market itself can be an enormous challenge. It is particularly difficult for an organization such as a farmers' market to address those diverging needs if those stakeholders do not have a seat at the decision-making table. In the current study, several market managers reported that they had no advisory board and market staff made all of the management decisions. Of those that did have an advisory board, the board was comprised of at most 10% market vendor representatives, and none included any sort of groups representing consumer or neighborhood resident interests.

Many vendors expressed frustration at their lack of voice in the market's decision-making process. In my survey of vendors, only two of the vendors stated that they were involved in the market's advisory board, and just 5% said they felt "very involved" in market governance while over 75% stated that they felt 'not very involved' in the decisions made regarding market management. "We are not invited to participate in these decisions," a produce vendor at a non-case-study market explained, and another agreed "I'm not at all involved, as opinions from the vendors are not solicited." One Parklands Market produce vendor described the decisions made by the market management as "a closely guarded secret."

Many expressed a desire to be "more involved" – in the vendor survey, an Urbana Market vendor even suggested that "it would be nice to be consulted in some way – maybe through a survey like this." Other vendors elaborated on their lack of involvement

on the market boards and decision-making process in general - expressing frustration at their powerlessness to impact market management-related decisions:

I was not asked if I wanted a police officer at Parklands market but was forced to pay for them. And I can't even park in parking lot anymore.
– Meat vendor at Parklands Market

The markets we are in do not involve vendors in decision-making or rules (Village and Weekday markets) – Produce vendor at Village and Weekday Market

If the farmers' markets have policies, they are unclear and not easy to determine. Market "policies" seem at the leisure of market managers.
– Vendor #41 at Foodie Market

Most vendors are not asked for input at most of the markets I participate in. And When I do offer an opinion or insight it is usually rejected or received coolly.
- Prepared foods vendor at an East Valley market

However, despite their frustration at being uninvolved in the decision-making process, some vendors expressed a fear of backlash if they were to speak up:

There needs to be an avenue for vendor complaints without fear of retribution... If the market is going to have rules then the rules need to be strictly enforced. This is a business and should be conducted as such. If the rules aren't enforced, then why have them. Also, there should be no favoritism nor the appearance of it.
- Vendor at non-case-study market in Southern Arizona

We would like to become more involved but it is highly political and caters to the big growers. There is not much support given to the small farmer because we bring in less revenue for the market.
- Produce vendor at Foodie Market

From the perspective of these vendors, the farmers' market advisory board and management decision-making processes are inaccessible to them due to the power of

larger, more profitable growers who are chosen to ‘represent’ the vendors. Corroborating this observation are the findings of my survey: of the two vendors who said they were members of their market’s advisory board, both also stated very high gross annual farm incomes of between \$100,000 and \$250,000.

Due to this imbalance in representation, smaller-scale vendors appear to feel that the policies and rule enforcement systems which have been established at Arizona farmers’ markets do not always cater to their best interests. In the survey, some vendors listed specific rules they’d like to see put in place or enforced. Most recommendations involved restricting those who sell at the market to Arizona-only products and/or smaller-scale vendors:

Change market rules to where you have to grow 100% of the produce you sell not 51%. Weed out the big brokers. Promote the small grower, not the ones that provide the market with the most revenue.

- Foodie Market produce vendor #25

Limit competing products. If similar products are being sold put them a good distance apart. Do not allow large well established business at the open air market. Limit it to more micro & cottage industries.

- Urbana Market produce vendor #7

100% of all produce should come from local, Arizona farms. No California produce allowed!

- Foodie Market potted plants vendor #29

Verify origins of growers and products as being local!

- Parklands Market prepared food vendor #38

In theory, farmers’ markets which employ market advisory boards should better represent the needs of their stakeholder than those whose rules and bylaws are established by non-stakeholders: be they market managers, local governments or non-profits alone.

However, based on the overwhelmingly negative survey responses from vendors,

farmers' market advisory boards in Arizona do not appear to be adequately representing vendor stakeholders. A large majority of vendors do not feel involved in the market management process.

Political science research suggests that when decision-makers have socio-economic characteristics similar to those they purport to represent, the rules they make will better reflect those of stakeholders (W. A. Brown, 2002; K. LeRoux, 2009). Furthermore, there is evidence that inclusive collective-choice management systems (in which stakeholders affected by the rules are those who have the power to modify the rules) are more robust over the long-term (see the review by Cox, Arnold, & Tomás, 2010).

Clearly, adequate stakeholder representation does not seem to be occurring in terms of market board composition in those markets surveyed in the current study. Few vendors are included on market boards, and those which are selected to represent the needs of all vendors appear to be from the wealthier, larger-scale farms whose interests are very different from smaller-scale vendors. As a result many vendors at Arizona markets express varying degrees of mistrust of market management and the rules that are instituted by the governing body. As a result, the market management structure is not accepted as a legitimate or acceptable one by a substantial proportion of vendors. Imbalances in representation are a common problem in many voluntary and non-profit organizations and there is an increasingly widespread view that non-profits are organizations which primarily serve the needs of the most powerful board members, and not those which they claim to represent (Guo & Musso, 2007). Arizona farmers' markets appear to be suffering from a lack of adequate representation of vendor and customer

stakeholders. If this is not corrected, it may be very difficult for the markets to establish rules and management and enforcement strategies which meet the needs of their stakeholders. Ultimately, this could lead to farmers' market failure, particularly if alternative models for the exchange of local food, such as CSAs, food hubs, and direct-marketing to restaurants and other institutions offer vendors and customers more agency and greater ease of access.

This re-emphasizes a central issue with the U.S. farmers' market model in its current form: that the governance approach of farmers' markets seems to first and foremost serve the needs of the needs of a few powerful members and the financial needs of the market as a whole - over and above the needs of market vendors, customers, and neighborhood residents. Though in theory farmers' market advisory boards could be highly representative governance structures, their current incarnation in Arizona does not appear to foster adequate stakeholder representation. Adoption of proactive inclusive governance practices could improve this. Strategies such as active inclusive recruitment, and establishment of a 'diversity' sub-committee may help improve board representativeness (W. A. Brown, 2002).

Market Re-design: Designing for Success & Thinking Outside the Box

In order for farmers' markets to meet the needs of their vendors and customers while remaining successful financially, it may be necessary for these markets to think outside the bounds of the traditional farmers' market model. The current study revealed several key institutional design principles associated with financial and participatory success, and furthermore suggested that there are gaps in the farmers' markets' current

institutional designs and governance strategies that may need to be remedied if farmers' markets wish to more fully meet the needs of farmer-vendors and underprivileged consumers. Specific design characteristics augment a given market's level of participatory success primarily by breaking down barriers to access that customers might encounter.

Table 21

Institutional Design Characteristics for Participatory and Financial Farmers’ Market Success

Potential Barrier	Category	Design Characteristic	References	Markets with design element in current study
Physical Access	Site Criteria	Low Median Household Income	(Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b)	Foodie, Urbana, Weekday
	Site Criteria	High Poverty Rate	(Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b)	Urbana, Village, Weekday
	Site Criteria	High Proportion Hispanic		Urbana, Village, Weekday
	Site Criteria	High Visibility/Traffic	(Colasanti et al., 2010; PPS, 2003a, 2003b)	Foodie, Village, Weekday
	Site Criteria	Proximity to Shopping Center		<i>Not observed</i>
	Operations	Weekday hours of operation		Urbana, Village, Weekday
	Operations	Free Parking		Weekday (Parklands, Urbana, Village have limited free parking)
	Operations	Neighborhood advertising & outreach		<i>Not observed</i>
	Operations	Group shuttle or special public transit		<i>Not observed</i>
Economic Access	Pricing/Payoff	Reduce overhead via volunteer staff base	(PPS, 2003b)	Courtyard, Weekday, Village
	Pricing/Payoff	Participation in Federal Benefits: SNAP/EBT, FMNP, CVV*	(Allen et al., 2006; Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003b; Ragland & Tropp, 2009)	All Markets participated in at least one federal benefits program Courtyard, Urbana, Village, Weekday
	Vendor rules	No organic focus	(Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007)	
	Operations	Advertising low prices and Federal Benefits Programs		<i>Not observed</i>
Utilitarian Access	Operations	Canned/frozen produce or on-site facility to process		<i>Not observed</i>
Cultural Access	Operations	Welcoming, open (courtyard-style) Market Layout		Courtyard, Village
	Operations	Bi-lingual staff*	(Briggs et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Slocum, 2007)	Foodie, Urbana
	Operations	Cultivation of ‘ethnic market’ identity		<i>Not observed</i>
	Operations	Advertising of bi-lingual members, ethnic foods		<i>Not observed</i>
	Multiple	Design to highlight comfort, tradition		<i>Not observed</i>
Governance Access	Management	Explicit goal or committee for increasing diversity & representativeness	(W. A. Brown, 2002)	<i>Not observed</i>
	Management	Decision-making entity includes a diversity of vendors and customer representatives	(W. A. Brown, 2002; Cox et al., 2010)	<i>Not observed</i>
	Management	Anonymous feedback solicited		<i>Not observed</i>
	Management	Clear rules, sanctions, and enforcement strategies	(Cox et al., 2010)	Parklands Market (caveat: enforcement was not <i>clear</i> to vendors or customers)

In order for farmers’ markets across Arizona and the U.S. to increase their capacity to meet the needs of small-scale farmer-vendors and underprivileged consumers while maintaining financial success, they will need to take a more proactive role in increasing the accessibility of their market to customers and the accessibility of the

market's governance and decision-making systems to vendors, consumers, neighborhood residents and other stakeholders. My research on the case study markets in Arizona suggest that particular institutional design characteristics help break down barriers to access and appear to be useful in garnering the participation of low-income and minority consumers while still maintaining a financially viable market overall.

Designing for Physical Accessibility

The physical inaccessibility of farmers' markets is often cited as a key barrier for low-income and minority participation in farmers' markets (Colasanti et al., 2010; Grace et al., 2007; Jilcott et al., 2010; Joy et al., 2001; Kunkel et al., 2003; Leone et al., 2012; Racine et al., 2010). In the current study, markets sited in or adjacent socio-economically diverse census tracts, in areas of high pedestrian traffic, and with ample free parking appears to increase participation of underprivileged consumers. Likewise, operating hours during the week rather than the weekend seem to be important for ensuring that those with alternative work schedules (such as those in the service industry) are able to access the market. Interviews with neighborhood residents indicated that the physical accessibility of farmers' markets is hampered by lack of public knowledge regarding farmers' market hours and locations, and in some cases, lack of personal transportation. In these instances, farmers' markets would increase their accessibility if they were re-located to areas where people were already shopping for food or other essentials (for example, as suggested by a few participants, to a grocery store or Walmart parking lot), or alternatively if they offered a local shuttle on market days to bring those just beyond walking distance to and from the market. On a more basic level, it was clear that many

residents didn't know about their local farmers' market despite the fact that they lived just a few blocks away. Advertising and outreach programs targeted at the surrounding neighborhoods could increase awareness and participation.

Designing for Economic Access

Designing farmers' markets for enhanced affordability for customers need not occur at the expense of the overall financial success of the market, nor at the expense of vendor profits. In the current study it appeared that locating a market in a highly-trafficked area, and at an adequate distance (geographically or chronologically) from other farmers' markets helps maximize customer attendance, and increases the potential for market profit without increasing costs to consumers. Reliance on a large volunteer staff base may help reduce market overhead costs, and could have the additional benefit of increasing community involvement with and sense of ownership in the market.

Markets which place less emphasis on organic foods (recruiting fewer organic vendors, and/or not marketing themselves as an 'organic' focused market) tend to attract higher participation from low-income customers. In the U.S., organics still carry the (largely deserved) stigma as being more expensive than their non-organic counterparts. Because of this, farmers' markets and farmers' market vendors that prominently advertise themselves as "organic" may fail to attract customers who assume the market is too expensive for them.

In the current study, it was difficult to assess the impact of participation in federal benefits subsidy programs on low-income and minority customer participation. This was due to the fact that *all* the case study markets participated in at least one federal benefits

program (SNAP-EBT, FMNP or CVV). However, what was quite clear in the study was that participation in these programs was certainly not detrimental. In fact, participation in all three programs appeared to be associated with increased financial success.

Over the course of survey analysis and interviews with customers and neighborhood residents, it became clear that many were unaware of the federal benefits options available at the market. This was a widespread issue not limited to a particular market. Therefore, markets might benefit from pooling their resources to carry out a broad campaign to increase awareness of these subsidy options at Arizona farmers' markets in general.

Designing for Utilitarian Access

As in farmers' market studies elsewhere across the U.S., many low-income and minority market customers and neighborhood residents described the difficulties they encounter in storing and preparing fresh produce. Thus, I propose that markets which provide canned, frozen, and/or minimally processed fruits and vegetables may be more capable of reaching this subset of consumers who otherwise would turn to their grocery store's freezer section for their produce. This might take the form of an on-site kitchen for customers to use for processing vegetables, a centralized processing facility for farmer-vendor use, or simply additional vendors that offer these types of products and use their own processing facilities off-site. However, no markets or vendors in the current study appeared to offer these types of services (beyond offering a mesclun or spring mix for salads), so it is difficult to assess the extent to which these sorts of operations would

be successful in a financial sense, or in terms of increasing participation of underprivileged customers.

Designing for Cultural Access

One of the key findings of my research was that many low-income and minority customers ultimately make their food purchasing decisions based on the extent to which they identify with the culture of a market/supermarket. Unfortunately, there was also a widespread perception in communities surrounding farmers' markets that farmers' markets are elitist spaces dominated by white, wealthy, pretentious customers. If Arizona farmers' markets hope to reach those who currently feel they are outsiders to the market sub-culture, active measures to change this perception will have to be taken at both a market-level and possibly state or federal level. At the market level, I found that markets which adopted a broad, "courtyard" type layout were much more likely to attract a high socio-economic and ethnic diversity of customers. These layouts, in contrast to the typical format where vendor booths cluster to form a series of pathways or single aisle, seem to allow and even encourage passerby to walk through them. When located in areas of high-pedestrian traffic, this appeared to increase the number of 'casual customers' who might not otherwise have made the extra effort to stop at the market. In these instances, designing the market as an open, welcoming space encouraged all to utilize the space, not just those who identified as loyal farmers' market customers.

In the current study few other strategies appeared to be actively used to break down cultural barriers to market access. While some markets stated that they employed bilingual staff, and a few others listed cultural events such as ethnic dance competitions,

these strategies did not appear to play an integral role in everyday market affairs. None of the markets appeared to pro-actively cultivate an identity which might attract low-income or minority customers. Active attempts to design and present a given market (or section of the market) as “Hispanic” or “African” or “affordable” could create points of resonance for customers who otherwise would not be able to identify with the market culture.

Because farmers’ markets have become so closely associated with a particular white, wealthy, and elitist subculture of self-dubbed “well-informed” consumers, efforts beyond the market level may be necessary to break down cultural barriers to market access. These might include state or nationwide campaigns to illustrate the diversity already present in markets, to highlight farmers’ market affordability efforts, as well as markets with unique ethnic and cultural identities or programs. Here farmers’ market associations, market sponsors, or state and federal government farmers’ market groups could all play a role in a cultural shift toward more inclusive and/or culturally-resonant markets. Divorcing local food from its elitist label appears to be vitally important to increasing its accessibility to low income and minority consumers.

Designing for Access to Governance and Decision-Making

Underpinning all other institutional design elements is a need for farmers’ markets to increase the opportunities for a diversity of vendors and consumers to participate in the market decision-making process. When stakeholders are able to help design, modify, and monitor the rules, approaches, and strategies, the design of the market will better meet stakeholder needs: needs which outside governing entities may or

may not be capable of discerning. This could mean a need for a more inclusive approach to membership on farmers' market advisory boards, the implementation of advisory sub-committees, market visioning workshops, market-wide voting systems, or increased polls and surveys to anonymously solicit stakeholder opinions.

Thinking Outside the Box: Alternative Designs

It is important to note that many of these suggestions for improving farmers' markets may require farmers' markets to think outside the bounds of the traditional farmers' market model. If the goal is to establish an avenue to connect local farmers and local food products to a socio-economic and ethnic diversity of local consumers in a way that is mutually beneficial, then the traditional farmers' market model may not always be necessary, or even the best choice. Meeting the needs of both farmers and underprivileged consumers is challenging, and the solution may lie outside the realm of the typical farmers' market (Guthman et al., 2006).

Traditionally, many farmers' markets are located in parks, parking lots, or other public spaces that are not widely used except on market day. However, increasing physical and cultural accessibility to customers could require markets to re-think their location: positioning themselves adjacent to grocery stores, shopping malls, restaurants, public transit centers or other areas of high pedestrian and consumer traffic. This would create a number of logistical and legal challenges which farmers' markets currently avoid, but could also greatly heighten accessibility while providing unique opportunities for partnership with the traditional retail venues at which consumers are currently comfortable shopping. The markets that result may or may not "look" like a traditional

farmers' market – they might be smaller, restricted to fewer vendors, or perhaps integrated into indoor spaces of the courtyards of business parks. Likewise, markets with a more open layout designed to integrate and encourage passerby to use the market as a through-way may not have the structure of a traditional market, but with the benefit of higher potential customer volumes.

In other cases, a physical marketplace may or may not be what a given community needs in order to increase their local food access. Community supported agriculture, direct-marketing partnerships between farmers and restaurants or school-institutions are all well established models for linking consumers to local foods, and the same principles for increasing the accessibility of these systems to low-income and minority consumers would apply. Furthermore, many of these systems offer better agency to farmer-vendors because the partnerships are direct, rather than mediated through a market governing body. However, these sorts of arrangements may also result in high transaction costs for farmer vendors due to the increased labor and product variety and volume required to maintain these relationships. This could prevent very small scale farms from participating in these types of direct-marketing schemes unless an external or cooperative group collects and distributes food resources from multiple farms.

Community kitchens, food co-ops, and farmer-cooperative processing and distribution facilities, farmer-distributor partnerships, and 'food hubs' which integrate local food collection, processing, as well retail and wholesale distribution and marketing , could all provide avenues for increasing the viability of partnerships between local farmers and regional consumers. These sorts of local food distribution models have the benefit of increasing the distributional capacity, and in some cases, the processing

options available for local farms – paving a way for local food to ‘scale up’ to levels comparable to the mainstream food system. As an added benefit, some food hubs provide warehouse and/or store-front type setups which offer consumers a traditional grocery shopping experience with which they may be more comfortable (Connelly, Markey, & Roseland, 2011; Stroink & Nelson, 2013). However, these newly popular of local food distribution face similar challenges to farmers’ markets in that they too, struggle to maintain profits and leverage resources to support their infrastructure while offering affordable products and services to customers (Bloom & Hinrichs, 2010; Fridman & Lenters, 2013; Stroink & Nelson, 2013). Food hubs can experience the same difficulties in ‘ditching’ the elitist label and reaching low-income consumers that farmers’ markets do: even when serving the low-income community is an explicit and central focus of the hub’s mission (Franklin, Newton, & McEntee, 2011). In this regard, food hubs and other alternative local food distribution models could benefit from designing themselves with attention to institutions for enhanced physical, economic, utilitarian, cultural, and governance access outlined earlier in this chapter.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Food system sustainability has emerged as an important issue for an increasing number of consumers, and as a result, more people turn to farmers' markets to provide an environmentally and socially responsible alternative to mainstream food outlets. As the number of farmers' markets across the United States rises, is it important to take a critical look at the environmental, social, and economic sustainability of these markets. While research regarding the economic and environmental impact of these markets is increasingly undertaken, little research has examined the factors which influence the accessibility of these markets. Recent literature has documented unequal access to farmers' markets as growing problem, particularly the inability of farmers' markets to meet the needs of low-income and minority consumers while still maintaining a financially viable market which meets the needs of local farmers.

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore the ways in which farmers' markets might be designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumer groups while still maintaining a financially viable outlet for local farmers. Using six case study markets from Central Arizona, the study drew on a framework of socially-influenced decision-making adapted from the Theory of Planned Behavior and expanded to examine the broader socio-ecological context in which these decisions are made. In this chapter I will summarize the key findings and implications regarding the three research questions on which this study was focused, and the potential solution pathways for improving the socio-economic sustainability of farmers' markets.

FARMERS' MARKETS: PRESENCES & ABSENCES

The overarching question in this study was:

How can farmers' markets be institutionally designed to increase the participation of underprivileged consumers while maintaining a financially viable market for local farmers?

Before the overarching question could be approached, I needed an understanding of who currently participated in Arizona farmers' markets. To accomplish this, the following research sub-question was explored via consumer and vendor surveys, as well as interviews with residents in the communities surrounding the six case study markets:

Who participates in Arizona farmers' markets and who is absent?

Farmers' markets in the U.S. have been criticized as outlets that are only profitable to small-scale farming operations, or to re-sellers who do not produce the food themselves but rather buy it and re-sell it at market. According to a nationwide survey, farmers' market vendors were estimated to earn just over \$7,000 annually from farmers' markets (Ragland & Tropp, 2009). These low sales figures are one reason that larger scale operations often lump farmers' market vendors in the category of "hobby farms" – farms which do not allow the operators to make a living. Due to low sales and the added time and labor investment required to participate in farmers' markets, many mid and larger-scale farming operations choose to opt out.

In the current study, however, I found that Arizona farmers' markets, unlike those in studies elsewhere, seem to attract farmer-vendors from a broad range of farming operations. Approximately 70% have farms under 50 acres, while the remaining 30%

have farms over 50 acres. More tellingly, in terms of gross farm sales, approximately 20% of farmer-vendors fall into each of the four income brackets ranging from under \$10,000 up to \$500,000. Additionally, on average, the farmers' market vendors in Arizona appear to outmatch their non-vending counterparts in terms of gross annual sales (see Figure 5. Annual Farm Sales) – with only 33% earning under \$10,000 annually while the proportion of farmers earning this little is nearly double for the U.S. as a whole and nearly triple this figure for Arizonan farms in general. In addition to attracting a relatively broad range of farm types, personal observation and discussions with market customers, vendors and managers revealed that some farms supplement their self-grown offerings with those sold on behalf of other farms who were either too small, too large, or too distant to make it to a Phoenix metro-area market on a regular basis. These sorts of inter-farm relationships both expand the market's offerings (thereby increasing the attractiveness of the market for customers) and also provide a source of income for those farms unable to attend regularly. For those vendors who do attend regularly, the farmers' markets appear to be a substantial market avenue for producers, not simply a place to broaden exposure to the community. Over 85% of fruit, vegetable, and poultry vendors stated that they sell over half their product at Arizona farmers' markets, and the vendors frequently commented that the profitability of their market was a key draw for them. These findings were echoed by market managers, who explained that the difficulty which many new markets were experiencing was that so many farms in the region were involved in multiple farmers' markets that they were stretched too thin, and were unable to attend another market.

Studies of farmers' markets elsewhere have found that farmers' markets tend to cater to a privileged subset of consumers: those who are white (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Elepu & Mazzocco, 2010; Farmer et al., 2011; Manalo et al., 2003; Payne, 2002; Slocum, 2007) and who have above average incomes (see for example: Abello et al., 2012; A. H. Alkon, 2008a; A. H. Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Arrington et al., 2010; D. Baker et al., 2009; Bubinas, 2011; Farmer et al., 2011; Guthman et al., 2006; Henneberry & Agustini, 2004; Hunt, 2007; Manalo et al., 2003; Varner & Otto, 2007).

I found that, as in studies elsewhere in the U.S., Arizona farmers' markets are attended by a disproportionately high percentage of white, wealthy, well-educated customers. According to my market survey, a substantial majority of farmers' market goers were white (82%), or had received a college degree (67.8%). Just 19.7% of Arizona farmers' market customers listed household incomes under \$25,000 a year - compared to 25.0% of the U.S. population and 25.2% of Arizona residents. Furthermore, additional questioning revealed that fewer low income and minority customers attended their farmers' market on a weekly basis (26%, and 18% respectively, as compared to 30% of all market goers), and even fewer purchased all or almost all of their vegetables at the market (24.0% of low income customers and 16.6% of minority customers as compared to 24.9% of all Arizona farmers' - market goers). In both instances, minority customers were notably less likely to participate fully in the market than low-income customers – an indication of the cultural barriers that appear to be present in the markets. Perhaps even more importantly than the raw numbers, my interviews with both those that attend farmers' markets and those who live near the markets expresses their affinity to stores where they felt they shared an ethnic/social identity with the other shoppers, and where

they could interact with people of shared values. In general, Arizona farmers' markets were not seen as welcoming, multi-cultural venues, and in fact were perceived of as elitist, alternative, and radical.

THE LIVED EXPERIENCE: WHY ARE CERTAIN GROUPS ABSENT?

Understanding who was absent from Arizona farmers' markets was the first step, but the main focus of this research was exploring why this might be the case. To this end, the following research sub-question was examined: *Why are certain groups disproportionately absent from Arizona farmers' markets?*

Interviews with both farmers' market customers, and residents of the communities surrounding the case study markets revealed a number of driving forces which attract people to certain grocers and marketplaces. A key theme for many of those I interviewed was a tension between their food-related ideologies and the inherited cultural/familial food traditions with which they were accustomed and comfortable. Many perceived of an ideal food purchasing and consumption pathway as one which allowed them to obtain fresh, healthy, organic products from non-corporate outlets which helped support family farms, small businesses and the local economy. However, equally, if not more important to many was a desire for foods and food purchasing experiences that were familiar, comfortable, and trusted. Perhaps particularly affected by the many food contamination scares that occurred in 2011, those I interviewed frequently described a fondness for the traditional foods of their upbringing, and in purchasing those foods from known, trusted sources. Those who were not Arizona farmers' market shoppers seemed to express a stronger propensity for what was "typical" or "normal" while farmers' market-goers

more frequently described enjoying the excitement associated with trying new, more exotic items and shopping experiences. This hesitance, in and of itself, may be one of the key barriers preventing current non-farmers' market shoppers from attending Valley markets.

In addition to averseness to change and novelty when it came to food traditions, physical, economic and cultural barriers to the accessibility of farmers' markets existed as well. Even those who wanted to shop more regularly at farmers' markets or other, non-mainstream, non-corporate food outlets often found it challenging to do so from a physical and utilitarian standpoint. Convenience was a major factor in determining people's likelihood of shopping at a particular venue. Limited mobility or lack of ownership of a personal vehicle was an issue for several low-income and minority residents. The fact that they relied on others to purchase their food led them to tend to purchase items at the same location as others around them – even if it was not their first choice. The inconvenience of fresh foods in terms of spoilage and the need for cooking and food prep drove many to (guiltily) admit that they often fell back on pre-made, convenience foods. This, coupled with a lack of awareness of where Valley farmers' markets were located severely restricted the physical and utilitarian accessibility of local farmers' markets.

Economic access to markets is one of the most widely discussed barriers to farmers' market shopping in the literature. In the current study, the price of food was noted by some as an obstacle to purchasing ideal foods or shopping at desired markets by some of those I interviewed. Particular stores, markets, and items were written off as “too expensive,” and several described the tradeoffs they felt they had to make in terms of

buying less healthy, or non-organic items in order to save money. Others used strategies such as buying sale items, using coupons, or attending grocery stores on discount days in order to save money. The fact that farmers' markets do not often advertise and/or offer these sorts of "deals" could be a deterrent to penny-pinchers. Farmers' market attendees often seemed to feel a need to justify their rationale for buying from farmers' markets: explaining that certain farmers' market products were cheaper than at the store, and that in other cases, the extra dollars spent were "worth it" because they felt the products were healthier and more supportive of small businesses and the local economy. Even so, many mentioned adopting strategies to minimize the amount of product they bought from farmers' markets, in order to save money. Several noted that they felt that in general Arizona farmers' markets had less selection and higher prices than farmers' markets in their home states. While the current study did not examine whether or not the prices of farmers' market products were actually higher, the fact that outsiders (and even insiders) to the market often perceive of farmers' market products as more expensive and the customers there as wealthier, is in and of itself a barrier.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of the current study was the profound importance of the cultural accessibility of markets for consumers. Many described visiting a particular store or market, simply because it was what their family had "always done," because a friend had introduced them to the venue, because others spoke a similar language there, because the store carried the ethnic products they were looking for, or simply because they felt comfortable with the people there. Those I interviewed often spoke of themselves in relation to other customers using "us vs. them" language – highlighting the particular food-related subculture of which they were a part. People

explained their decision to shop at particular stores as ‘because we are Hispanic,’ or ‘because we care about sustainability,’ or ‘because the other store looked down on us because of our ethnic background.’ Those who had negative experiences at certain stores because of their skin color expressed a very strong aversion to returning to those stores, whereas those who found friendly stores filled with “people like me” noted that they often became loyal customers of these establishments. This presents farmers’ markets with a particularly difficult challenge: currently farmers’ markets are primarily white, both in terms of customers and of vendors. Furthermore, farmers’ market customers describe themselves as “more enlightened,” “more into health,” “more into supporting family farmers,” – leading non-farmers’ market-goers to describe farmers’ market customers as “full of themselves.” If Arizona farmers markets and customers continue to be perceived as white, wealthy, and ‘snooty,’ there will continue to be substantial barriers to access for the many who feel they do not fit into the farmers’ market subculture.

GOVERNANCE: INFLUENTIAL RULES AND NORMS

Designing farmers’ markets to meet the needs of vendors as well as low-income and minority customers can be challenging. Arizona farmers’ markets currently appear to be more successful at serving farmer-vendors than they are in attracting underprivileged customers. However, the six case study markets vary widely in terms of the extent to which they garner the participation of low-income and ethnic minority consumers.

Following a preliminary analysis utilizing the methods outlined in Chapter 3, the markets were re-analyzed regarding their relative participatory and financial success, this time incorporating findings from the customer and vendor surveys and interviews, in order to

account for these perspectives, not only those of the market managers. Through this analysis, Village Market was classified as a market that was above average in terms of participatory success, while Foodie, Parklands and Urbana markets were financially successful. Weekday Market was considered an “ideal” market in that it seemed to be best at meeting the needs of a wide array of low income and minority customers as well as farmer-vendors. Courtyard Market, on the other hand, was found to be struggling – as it underperformed financially, had difficulty keeping a farmer-vendor, and while able to attract a substantial number of participants, these ‘customers’ bought very little.

The formal rules and informal norms which shaped and structured each of the case study markets influenced the degree to which they were successful at meeting the particular needs of low-income and minority customers. Some of the institutional design factors that seemed to influence participatory success were anticipated, while others seemed to be un-expectedly influential. Overall market management, farmers’ market site criteria, operations and amenities, pricing and payoff rules, vendor rules and characteristics and community programs all impacted the extent to which various farmers’ market were able to meet the needs of underprivileged customers. Markets that were relatively successful at reaching low-income and minority customers (Village and Weekday markets) tended to share some common institutional design characteristics. In terms of physical access, most of them were located in a relatively highly trafficked area, with a high proportion of Hispanic residents, and were held on a weekday rather than a weekend. This latter factor is likely due to the fact that customers employed in hospitality jobs have atypical work hours, and are therefore unable to attend weekend markets. Economically, the participatory markets shared fewer commonalities. Some participated

in all three federal benefits programs, while others did not. Some had paid staff, while others utilized volunteer staff. The markets also varied in terms of re-selling bans and sourcing locality restrictions. There was some indication, however, that a de-emphasis of the importance of organic food may be correlated with higher participation on the part of low income customers. Again, the most surprising findings were in terms of the rules and norms that impacted the cultural accessibility of the market. While it was anticipated that the presence of bi-lingual market staff would increase the market's capacity to reach minority customers, these two factors did not appear to be correlated. What did seem to be associated with an increased capacity to attract low income and minority customers was a market layout that was "courtyard" in format, as opposed to one consisting of aisles. This type of layout appeared to be more welcoming to customers, and indeed those markets which were designed in a single long, narrow aisle or rid of aisles were described by customers as crowded, uncomfortable, and gauntlet-like.

Certain institutional design elements, such as re-selling bans, bilingual staff, and market participation in federal benefits programs appeared to be unrelated to the relative participatory success of farmers' markets. Comparing the effect of cooperative vs. competitive pricing schemes on the economic accessibility of the market was not possible because all of the markets in the study used cooperative pricing. Interestingly, the presence of a market Board of Directors seemed to be associated with markets with lower participatory capacity. This may be due in part to the make-up of market boards and the interest groups represented within them. In markets with Boards of Directors, vendors may have a greater voice, and therefore the profitability of the market may be the central driving force behind market decision making and rule-design.

IMPLICATIONS

The key findings discussed above have several implications for future farmers' market research as well as for markets increase participation of low-income and minority customers while still retaining profitability. Previous farmers' market research has focused primarily on the financial success of markets, and on their capacity to meet the needs of consumers in order to maintain profitability and market longevity. While studies have increasingly pointed out the absence of low-income or minority customers at farmers' markets, only a handful have examined this issue specifically. Additionally, most farmers' market research has focused solely on consumer and vendor characteristics and perspectives, with little comparison of the market structures and governance approaches that may be influencing markets' success at meeting its financial needs as well as those of underprivileged consumers.

The current study explores farmers' market 'success' from two standpoints: their financial success and their success at garnering the participation of low-income and minority customers. An important point of distinction regarding farmers' market success vs. vendor success arose as a result of the findings of this study. The current study utilized data gleaned from market managers to assess the financial success and viability of the case study markets. However, after examining survey responses from vendors, it became clear that the overall financial success of a farmers' market did not translate to higher levels of satisfaction amongst vendors. In fact market financial success was correlated to higher frequency of complaints regarding inter-vendor competition, and many vendors expressed vehement displeasure with the financially successful markets' policies regarding vendor competition and the presence of non-local and re-seller

vendors. Future research would do well to explore the interplay between the financial success of farmers' markets broadly speaking, as compared to the success and satisfaction of farmer-vendors attempting to use the market as an outlet for local farm products. The results of this study indicate that the two are not necessarily closely linked.

In addition to their struggles at satisfying the needs of farmer-vendors, most Arizona markets, like most other markets whose demographics have been documented in the literature, currently fail to garner significant participation from low income consumers and ethnic minorities. These findings add to the growing body of evidence that farmers' markets' currently do not meet the needs of these traditionally underserved consumers. This is a problem that needs to be addressed if farmers' markets hope to live up to the high standards of sustainability which people expect from them. The findings of the current study reveal that markets vary in their capacity to meet the needs of these consumers, and that these variations appear to be influenced at least in part to institutional design characteristics which are under the control of the market management and decision-makers.

Specifically, the current study identified several key areas in which farmers' market customers, local residents and vendors appear to be experiencing accessibility issues when it comes to participating in farmers' markets. Market-shoppers and potential market-shoppers are driven by both traditional and ideological value systems when making food-related decisions and encounter physical, economic, utilitarian and cultural barriers to accessing farmers' markets and/or their ideal food purchasing scenario. While in the past, much research has noted the physical and economic obstacles to farmers' market attendance, with a few recent exceptions very little research has explicitly

explored cultural barriers. As the narratives and stories from those in this study suggest, cultural obstacles due to real or perceived differences in ethnicity, socio-economic status, and value systems appear to be some of the primary barriers to shopping at food venues such as farmers' markets. If future efforts to increase low-income and minority participation in these markets are to be successful, then these cultural barriers need a great deal more attention than they currently receive.

Implications for Market Managers

Several implications for farmers' market design arose as a result of this study. Specifically, it appears that when designing markets for reaching low-income and minority customers, it is important to consider physical, economic, utilitarian, cultural and governance accessibility. The following institutional design elements were revealed to have a beneficial impact on participatory success while preserving markets' capacity to achieve financial success:

Designing for Participatory and Financial Farmers' Market Success

- *Physical Access*
 - Site Criteria: Low income, high minority population location
 - Site Criteria: High visibility, close proximity to community hub
 - Operations: Weekday market, free parking or transport
 - Operations: Neighborhood advertising & outreach*

- *Economic Access*
 - Payoff: Volunteer staff base to reduce overhead
 - Payoff: Federal Benefits Programs (SNAP, FMNP, CVV)*
 - Vendors: De-emphasize organic

- Operations: Advertise low prices & Federal Benefits*
- ***Utilitarian Accessibility***
 - Operations: Canned/frozen produce available and/or on-site processing facilities*
- ***Cultural Accessibility***
 - Operations: Layout welcoming, open, courtyard-style
 - Operations: Bi-lingual staff*
 - Operations: Cultivation of distinct market identity: ‘ethnic,’ ‘traditional,’ ‘discount,’ etc. A market for ‘people like me.’*
- ***Governance Accessibility***
 - Management: Goal/committee for increasing diversity*
 - Management: Diversity of vendors & consumers on management or advisory board*
 - Management: Anonymous feedback regularly solicited from vendors, customers, nearby residents, and community members*
 - Management: Clear rules, sanctions, and enforcement strategies*

** Indicates a theoretical institutional design strategy that could not be comprehensively assessed in the current study. Additional research is recommended to determine the relative benefit of this design element.*

Physical access to farmers’ markets was found to be enhanced primarily through market location and hours of operation. Markets located in highly visible areas adjacent to or within census tracts with high proportions of low-income and minority residents were better able to serve these populations. There is some precedent that farmers’ markets located on the “fringe” between higher and lower income areas are better able to reach low-income customers while remaining financially viable (Fisher, 1999; Markowitz, 2010). Unexpectedly, farmers’ markets open on weekdays as opposed to

weekends appeared to attract more underprivileged customers. Interviews with customers and residents suggested that perhaps because many in the service industry work weekend hours. Implementation of weekday-only market hours was, however, somewhat associated with financially struggling markets. Therefore weekend and weekday hours may be advisable to maintain financial stability. While not observed in the current study, market promotion campaigns targeted at the neighborhoods surrounding the markets may improve access - interviews with local residents revealed a general desire to attend farmers' markets but a lack of knowledge about market locations or hours of operation.

Economic access to farmers' markets appeared to be improved in markets which drew from a large volunteer-base for their staff as opposed to reliance on primarily paid staff. This has been noted as a useful cost-lowering strategy in other studies as well (see, for example: PPS, 2003a). In contrast, markets which described themselves as having an "organic focus" in terms of market products and vendors tended *not* to attract high proportions of low-income and minority customers, perhaps in large part because this perpetuates the stereotype that farmers' markets are places for highly specialized, elite and ultimately unaffordable foods. The implementation of Federal Benefits programs such as acceptance of SNAP-EBT (food stamps) and FMNP and CVV vouchers was not clearly or strongly associated with increased participation on the part of low-income customers – contrary to expectations and to previous studies which suggested a positive relationship (Briggs et al., 2010; Colasanti et al., 2010; Fisher, 1999; Grace et al., 2007; Markowitz, 2010; PPS, 2003a). The inconclusive finding in the current study is likely due in part to the fact that all the markets in the study participated in at least one of these programs, and therefore differential effects were difficult to discern. However, interviews

and comments gleaned from surveys revealed that many potential SNAP, FMNP and CVV customers were largely unaware when/if their farmers' markets participated in these programs. In this light, markets would likely benefit from clearer advertising of customer opportunities for savings, with posters highlighting market 'deals' as compared to local supermarkets, clear signage for 'discount' items and prominent promotion of Federal Benefits program availability.

Utilitarian accessibility of farmers' markets was an issue brought up by a number of customers and neighborhood residents as a barrier to their participation. As in previous studies of low-income access to healthy food, participants in the current study frequently described the difficulties they encountered in storing, prepping and cooking fresh produce (Colasanti et al., 2010; Daborn et al., 2005; Devine et al., 1998; Grace et al., 2007; Herman et al., 2006; Park et al., 2011). In particular the lack of canned, frozen, or pre-chopped fruits and vegetables was seen as a barrier to shopping at farmers' markets. Markets that are able to provide these sorts of products, or an on-site kitchen for easy processing may be better able to attract those customers who otherwise would simply opt for the pre-processed foods on the freezer and canned goods aisles of conventional supermarkets. However, in the current study this remains a theoretical strategy: none of the case study markets incorporated these types of items or services.

Cultural in-accessibility is one of the most under-researched barriers to farmers' market participation. Yet, the findings of this study suggest it is also one of the most important. Despite physical proximity, economic capacity, and food ideologies which were in alignment with farmers' markets, many consumers still chose not to attend. Interviews with neighborhood residents revealed that food outlets were often chosen

based on where they felt the most welcome and accepted, and with the strongest presence of “people like me.” This was particularly true in the case of those with minority ethnic backgrounds or particularly strong food values such as sustainability, bargain-seeking, or comfort and tradition. These sorts of consumers see themselves as insiders to certain food outlets and outsiders at others, and therefore gravitate to those spaces here they feel most welcome. This finding is in alignment with previous studies which have found that farmers’ market ‘whiteness’ can serve as a powerful barrier to participation on the part of minority consumers (Alkon & McCullen, 2011; Ayala et al., 2005; Slocum, 2007, 2008), and that social identity can have a profound and sub-conscious impact on food decision-making (Bartels & Onwezen, 2013; Bisogni et al., 2002; Carrus et al., 2009; Cruwys et al., 2012; Devine et al., 1998; Duruz, 2010; Salazar et al., 2013).

In the current study, farmers’ markets which adopted an open, courtyard-type layout were generally more successful at encouraging the participation of low-income and minority consumers. These markets were positioned in major pedestrian thoroughfares, and as a result provided a welcoming, no-pressure environment in which people could pass through without feeling the need to buy. However, as field observations and the survey revealed, some of these passerby did stop to sample and buy products – indicating that in breaking down the barrier to entry, new customers were born. The apparent importance of needing to feel welcomed, and a strong desire for shopping in places with “people like me,” situates farmers’ markets in a difficult position. Currently most farmers’ markets in Arizona are perceived by outsiders as spaces for white, wealthy, ‘green,’ (and somewhat elitist) consumers. Unless markets take a more active role to break down this stereotype, it will be very difficult for them to reach those

who currently see themselves as outsiders. To this end, markets may benefit from re-designing themselves with a particular ethnic or value-based slant – an approach which has had success elsewhere in the U.S. (Alkon, 2008a; PPS, 2003a). Depending on the market, this might be as simple as re-organizing current vendors, products and advertising in order to highlight certain cultural elements which were already present. For other markets, it may mean more radical changes: the recruitment of more ethnic minority vendors and staff, partnership programs with local community organizations, the institution of ‘discount days’ or bargain bins, the transformation of the market space into a community center and hub for cultural events. In either case, a ‘re-branding’ of the market in advertising and outreach programs to the local community would likely be necessary in order to help break down pre-existing perceptions regarding the market culture.

Arizona farmers’ market governance systems were found to be fairly exclusive in the current study. Three-quarters of the vendors who were surveyed stated that they felt very uninvolved in the market management process, and that the process itself was ‘unclear,’ the rules not consistently enforced, and feedback unwelcome. Market managers noted that their market advisory boards consist of - at most - 10% vendors. Farmers I surveyed, however, felt that the vendors chosen to ‘represent’ them were large-scale farms whose interests did not reflect, and in fact were at odds with the small-scale farmer-vendors. Therefore, Arizona farmers’ markets that wish to be more responsive to the needs of their farmer-vendors will need to take steps to alleviate the widespread discontent regarding their lack of involvement in the market decision-making process. Studies of non-profit advisory boards and other management systems suggest that

successful, inclusive management strategies could include: a committee with a specific goal of increasing diversity, the recruitment of a broad diversity of vendor and consumer stakeholders, regular soliciting of anonymous feedback from broader vendor, customer, and neighborhood resident stakeholders, as well as clear communication of rules, sanctions, and enforcement strategies (W. A. Brown, 2002; Cox et al., 2010; K. LeRoux, 2009).

LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

There are a number of factors that limited the scope of the current research. In terms of data collection, the research was limited in regards to the depth at which it was able to garner the perspective of market vendors. Initially, I had hoped to gain a more in-depth look at the perspectives of farmers' market producer-vendors. To this end, vendor interviews had been included in the study design. However, after three rounds of attempts to contact vendors for interview resulted in declines and no-responses, the interviews were abandoned. Lack of responsiveness could be due in part to the fact that many of these vendors had recently been interviewed by the same researcher for somewhat related Masters' thesis work. Research participant fatigue can be high in qualitative research studies with higher-profile participants, and Arizona agriculture is currently a heavily researched topic. As a result of a lack of interview data, I was only able to assess the vendor perspective from the survey data. While this did provide insight as to the characteristics, motives and barriers of farmers' market vendors, it did not allow me to probe deeply into issues regarding the viability of the farmers' market model for Arizona farmers' market vendors. For example, the vendor survey responses suggest that farmers'

market producer-vendors are more economically successful than the typical Arizona farmer, and that compared to farmers' markets across the U.S., a very high proportion of vendors (68-92%) sell *all* of their products via farmers' markets. However, vendors also indicated an overwhelming dissatisfaction with the management of the markets, their inability to be involved in the decision-making process, and the non-representativeness of the vendors selected to represent them at the decision-making table. Future research should explore the farmer-vendor perspective in greater depth in order to gain a clear picture of the extent to which the farmers' market model is meeting their needs.

As is always the case with survey and interview-based research, there exists some bias in the data collection. Because consumers and vendors were allowed to opt out of taking the survey, only the opinions of those who opted in are included. Thus, those whose responses are included might tend to be those customers and vendors with particularly strong opinions about the market (positive or negative), ones with extra time on their hands with which to complete the survey, or those particularly motivated by the small (raffle entry) incentive to participate in the survey. Additionally, the data used to categorize the markets in terms of their financial success –including information regarding longevity, market sales, weekly customer volume and the market's capacity to sustain itself without monetary donations - was provided by the market manager. Therefore there is some possibility for variation in terms of how these factors were calculated. While some may have been taken directly from market accounts and survey records, others may be estimates on the part of the market manager. Future research could incorporate more consistent measurements of financial success by performing customer

counts, surveying vendors on exact sales figures, or by gaining access to market accounts or weekly credit/debit receipts.

The research was also limited in terms of the types of market rules, norms, and governance strategies that were examined. This was due largely to a general lack of literature in regards to farmers' market institutional design and governance, and therefore limited expectations regarding what sorts of rules and strategies might be employed in Central Arizona markets. My findings indicate that in general greater attention needs to be paid to the rules and market designs that influence the cultural attractiveness of farmers' markets: the market layout, the socio-economic and racialized "face" which it presents to the community, the diversity of vendors and foods that populate its stalls, and the interest groups who have an active voice in the decision-making process.

Beyond Farmers' Markets

While my research focused on analysis of the efficacy of farmers' market model as a means of connecting underprivileged consumers with local produce, it is important to note that farmers' markets may not always be the best model for achieving this. Maximizing the benefits of local food for farmers and consumers may require a radical re-thinking of the structure and form of the food system. CSAs remain a common alternative, and by the very nature of their design can offer farmer-vendors more agency, but in many cases with added labor requirements. Furthermore, CSAs, like farmers' markets are often less accessible to low-income and minority consumers (Guthman et al., 2006; Hinrichs & Kremer, 2002). In some instances, particularly if vendor transaction costs are too high to support a vibrant farmers' market, co-operative partnerships such as

food hubs, partnerships with local distributors, or grocery-type co-ops may prove better options (Connelly et al., 2011; Stroink & Nelson, 2013). However, these local food outlets still face many of the same challenges as farmers' markets in terms of balancing the need for financial success, farmer satisfaction, and meeting the needs of consumers. Even those outlets which establish themselves with an explicit mission to reach underprivileged consumers struggle to do so (Bloom & Hinrichs, 2010; Franklin et al., 2011; Fridman & Lenters, 2013; Stroink & Nelson, 2013). In this sense, the results of the current study could be useful in sculpting the institutional design of non-farmers' market alternatives within the local food system. Attention to the physical, economic, utilitarian, cultural and governance access is important for any local food outlet that truly wishes to be far-reaching in its capacity to provide fresh, local produce to low-income and minority consumers.

The current research supports the use of an integrated theory of stakeholder decision-making which incorporates linkages between the Theory of Planned Behavior and Social Identity Theory embedded in the Institutional Analysis & Development Framework (refer to Figure 7. The stakeholder decision-making process: integrated theoretical framework on page 153). It demonstrates that these constructs can be useful in both the design and analysis not only in the quantitative research for which they are traditionally used, but in qualitative-focused research. Furthermore, the current study lends support to the growing body of research that finds that social identity and descriptive social norms are of paramount importance in decision-making processes, particularly as they apply to food and sustainability-related issues (Cruwys et al., 2012; Fielding et al., 2008; Goldstein et al., 2008; Manning, 2009; Ravis & Sheeran, 2003; J. R.

Smith & Louis, 2009; Terry et al., 1999). Lastly, my findings suggest that in addition to the aforementioned frameworks, examining stakeholder decision-making through the lens of resilience reveals an underlying tension between a desire for change and a need for the comfort of stasis (see Figure 9, page 235).

The findings of the current study underscore the importance of culture, and highlight the complex and often intangible barriers that institutionalized cultural dissonance can present to behavior change. Like the local food movement, environmentalism can carry with it the baggage that it is a discourse and an endeavor primarily accessible to the white and the privileged (Gibson-Wood & Wakefield, 2013). If the movement toward sustainability is to be truly transformational, we must ensure that it does not suffer the same fate. As we move forward in our attempts to achieve sustainability transitions, not only in the food system but in other socio-ecological systems as well, it will be important to actively assess and pursue the ongoing accessibility of our sustainability science projects and solution strategies, not only in terms of economic and physical accessibility, but also in terms of the cultural accessibility of the sustainability discourse and practice to diverse segments of the population.

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APPENDIX A

CONSUMER AND PRODUCER SURVEY PROTOCOLS

Farmers' Market Customer Survey

The purpose of this research is to better understand consumer perspectives of the farmers' market, and your participation is greatly appreciated. This study is being conducted by an Arizona State University research team that includes Dr. Christopher Wharton, Keri Fehrenbach, and Carissa Taylor.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and would involve answering several questions that should take you about 5 to 10 minutes. You do not have to have to answer every question, and you may stop the survey at any time.

You must be 18 or older to participate in the study. Your participation in this study may aid in efforts to improve farmers' markets. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

Your responses will be anonymous. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be known.

At the end of the survey, you will have an opportunity to be entered into a drawing for a \$100 gift certificate to your farmers' market. Your contact information will not be connected to your survey responses in any way. We'll notify the raffle winner by the end of November.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at: Carissa Taylor The School of Sustainability, Arizona State University, PO Box 871205, Tempe, AZ 85287-1205, or Keri Fehrenbach, Hugh Downs School of Human Communication, Arizona State University, PO Box 871205, Tempe, AZ 85287-1205.

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Types of Information

1. Which farmers' market do you attend most often?

- Ahwatukee Farmers' Market
- ASU Tempe Farmers' Market
- Chandler Farmers' Market
- Chino Valley Market (Thurs)
- Downtown Phoenix Public Market
- Flagstaff Community Market
- Gilbert Farmers' Market
- Mesa Community Farmers' Market
- Old Town Scottsdale Farmers' Market
- Prescott Farmers Market (Sat)
- Prescott Valley Market (Tues)
- Roadrunner Park Farmers' Market
- Tucson – East at Jesse Owens Park (Fri)
- Tucson – Maynard's (Sat)
- Tucson – Oro Valley (Sat)
- Tucson – St. Philips' Market (Sun)
- Other (please specify)*

2. When you visited the Farmers' Market this past year, how did you decide what booths to purchase foods from?

3. If you could find out anything about the food available at the farmers' market, what would you like to know?

Fruits/Vegetables: _____

Meat: _____

Eggs: _____

Milk Products: _____

Prepared Food: _____

Types of Information cont.

4. To what extent are each of the following topics important issues that YOU CURRENTLY CARE ABOUT AND WANT TO KNOW when purchasing your food products?

	Not important		Neutral			Very important		N/A
Flavor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ownership of farm (e.g. family or corporation)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food safety	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: water use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: pesticide use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Price of food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seasonality of produce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
How to prepare / cook the food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm worker wages or working conditions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freshness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm location / distance from market	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nutrition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal welfare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Environmental Impacts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (please specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Preferred Information Sources

5. In what ways would you prefer to learn about the food at the farmers’ market? Please rate each category according to your preferences.

	Very unlikely to use			Neutral			Very likely to use	
Product label	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handouts: flyer/pamphlet/ brochure/card	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Conversation with vendor: initiated by you	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Conversation with vendor: initiated by the vendor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Booth display: use of a market-wide coding system	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Booth display: pictures of farm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Booth display: barcode for smartphone app	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Booth display: banner or sign	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Farmers’ market website	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Facebook page	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Twitter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Shopping at the Market

6. How often do you purchase groceries at the farmers’ market?

- Never
- Every few years
- Once or twice a year
- Several times a year
- Once or twice a month
- Once or twice a week

6a. Would you use any of the following payment options if they were available at the market? (check all that apply)

- Credit / Debit
- EBT / SNAP / Food Stamps
- WIC FMNP
- SFMNP
- CVV
- Other (please specify):

6b. Is this your first time at the market? YES / NO

6c. How did you first hear about the market?

Shopping at the Market (continued)

7. How much of your _____ do you buy at the farmers' market?
(as opposed to buying these items elsewhere)

	None	Almost none	Less than half	About half	More than half	Almost all	All	N/A
Vegetables	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fruit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bread, rice, pasta & other grains	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Meat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Poultry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eggs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dairy (not eggs)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Beverages (non-dairy)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Processed foods	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. What are the top three REASONS you choose to shop at this farmers' market?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

9. What are the top three OBSTACLES that make it difficult for you to buy your groceries at this farmers' market?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

10. Recommendations for improving the market?

Demographics

11. Where do you live?

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

12. Is your house/apartment . . .

- Owned by you or someone in your household with a mortgage or loan?

- Owned by you or someone in your household free and clear (without with a mortgage or loan)?
- Rented?
- Occupied without payment of rent?

13. What is your sex?

- Female
- Male
- Other

14. What is your age? _____

15. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- Less than a high school degree
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate Degree
- Bachelor degree
- Graduate/professional degree (e.g. MA, MD, PhD)

16. Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?

- Employed, working 1-39 hours per week
- Employed, working 40 or more hours per wk
- Not employed, looking for work
- Not employed, not looking for work
- Retired
- Disabled, not able to work

17. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino origin?

- No - I am not Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino
- Yes - Mexican
- Yes - Mexican-American
- Yes - Chicano
- Yes - Puerto Rican
- Yes - Cuban, Cuban-American
- Other (please specify)

18. What is your race?

- White
- Black or African-American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other (please specify)

19. Which best describes the total combined money earned by all members in your household in 2010?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$0 - \$4,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 - \$34,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 - \$7,499 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$35,000 - \$39,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$7,500 - \$9,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 - \$49,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000 - \$12,499 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 - \$59,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$12,500 - \$14,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000 - \$74,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000 - \$19,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 - \$99,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 - \$24,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 - \$149,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 - \$29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$150,000 or more |

Farmers' Market Vendor Survey

The purpose of this research is to better understand producer perspectives of the farmers' market, and your participation is greatly appreciated. This study is being conducted by an Arizona State University research team that includes Dr. Christopher Wharton, Keri Fehrenbach, and Carissa Taylor.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and would involve answering several questions that should take you about 5 to 10 minutes. You do not have to have to answer every question, and you may stop the survey at any time.

You must be 18 or older to participate in the study. Your participation in this study may aid in efforts to improve farmers' markets. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

Your responses will be anonymous. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name will not be known.

At the end of the survey, you will have an opportunity to be entered into a drawing for a \$100 gift certificate to your farmers' market. Your contact information will not be connected to your survey responses in any way. We'll notify the raffle winner by the end of November.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at: Keri Fehrenbach, Hugh Downs School of Human Communication, Arizona State University, PO Box 871205, Tempe, AZ 85287-1205.

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Types of Information

1. At which farmers' market do you most often vend?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Ahwatukee Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> Mesa Community Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> Tucson – East at Jesse Owens Park (Fri) |
| <input type="radio"/> ASU Tempe Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> Old Town Scottsdale Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> Tucson – Maynard's (Sat) |
| <input type="radio"/> Chandler Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> Prescott Farmers Market (Sat) | <input type="radio"/> Tucson – Oro Valley (Sat) |
| <input type="radio"/> Chino Valley Market (Thurs) | <input type="radio"/> Prescott Valley Market (Tues) | <input type="radio"/> Tucson – St. Philips' Market (Sun) |
| <input type="radio"/> Downtown Phoenix Public Market | <input type="radio"/> Roadrunner Park Farmers' Market | <input type="radio"/> <i>Other (please specify)</i> |
| <input type="radio"/> Flagstaff Community Market | | |
| <input type="radio"/> Gilbert Farmers' Market | | |
-

2. Do you sell fruits and/or vegetables? Circle one: YES / NO

If yes, please describe what you would like consumers to know about your fruits and/or vegetables.

3. Do you sell meat products? Circle one: YES / NO

If yes, please describe what you would like consumers to know about your meat products.

4. Do you sell eggs? Circle one: YES / NO

If yes, please describe what you would like consumers to know about your eggs.

5. Do you sell milk products? Circle one: YES / NO

If yes, please describe what you would like consumers to know about your milk products.

6. Do you sell prepared food? Circle one: YES / NO

If yes, please describe what you would like consumers to know about your prepared food.

6a. Do you sell other products? Circle one: YES / NO

What do you sell and what would you like consumers to know about your products?

Information Importance

7. In your opinion, to what extent are each of the following topics important issues that CONSUMERS CURRENTLY CARE ABOUT AND WANT TO KNOW when purchasing your food products?

	Not important			Neutral			Very important		N/A
Flavor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ownership of farm (e.g. family or corporation)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food safety	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: water use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: pesticide use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Price of food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seasonality of produce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
How to prepare / cook the food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm worker wages or working conditions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freshness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm location / distance from market	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nutrition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal welfare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Environmental Impacts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (please specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Information Importance (continued)

8. In your opinion, to what extent are each of the following topics important issues that CONSUMERS SHOULD CARE ABOUT AND WANT TO KNOW when purchasing your food products?

	Not important			Neutral			Very important	N/A
Flavor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ownership of farm (e.g. family or corporation)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food safety	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: water use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Size	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Production methods: pesticide use	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Price of food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Seasonality of produce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
How to prepare / cook the food	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm worker wages or working conditions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freshness	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm location / distance from market	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nutrition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal welfare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Environmental Impacts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (please specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

9. In what ways do you CURRENTLY communicate with customers about the products you sell at the farmers' market? Please rate each category according to your preferences.

	Never		Half the time			Always	
Product label	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Handouts: flyer/pamphlet/ brochure/card	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conversation w/customer: initiated by you	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conversation w/customer: initiated by the customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: use of a market- wide coding system	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: pictures of farm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: barcode for smartphone app	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: banner or sign	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmers' market website	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Facebook page	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twitter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (please specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

10. In the FUTURE, in what ways are you likely to communicate with customers about what you sell at the farmers' market? Please rate each category according to your preferences.

	Very unlikely		Neutral			Very likely	
Product label	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Handouts: flyer/pamphlet/ brochure/card	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conversation w/ customer: initiated by you	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conversation w/ customer: initiated by the customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: use of a market- wide coding system	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: pictures of farm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: barcode for smartphone app	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booth display: banner or sign	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmers' market website	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Facebook page	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twitter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other (please specify)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Farm Information

11. What state or U.S. territory does the food you sell come from?

12. If your food is produced in Arizona, which county does the majority of the food you sell come from?

13. How many acres of farmland do you currently operate?

Acres owned: _____

Acres leased from others: _____

Acres leased to others: _____

Other acreage: _____

14. In 2010 what were your actual (gross) sales of all agricultural products?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> None | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000 - \$39,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$1-999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000-\$49,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$1,000 - \$2,499 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000-\$99,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$2,500-\$4,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000-\$249,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000-\$9,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$250,000-\$499,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000-\$19,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$500,000 or more |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000-\$24,999 | |

15. Production Techniques? (please check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conventional methods | <input type="checkbox"/> Low pesticide and/or chemical use (e.g. IPM) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Organic (non-certified) | <input type="checkbox"/> Biodynamic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Organic (certified) | <input type="checkbox"/> Crop Rotation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pesticide free | <input type="checkbox"/> Conservation tillage |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Naturally-grown (non-certified) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Naturally grown (certified) | |

At the Farmers' Market

16. How often do you sell products at the farmers' market?

- Never
- Every few years
- Once or twice a year
- Several times a year
- Once or twice a month
- Once or twice a week

17. Are you part of the farmers' market governing board? (circle one) YES / NO
Comments?

18. How involved do you feel in the decisions made regarding market management, rules, and operations?

- Very involved
- Somewhat involved
- Slightly involved
- Not very involved

Comments?

19. How much of your _____ do you sell at the farmers' market?
 (as opposed to selling these items elsewhere)

	None	Almost none	Less than half	About half	More than half	Almost all	All	N/A
Vegetables	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fruit	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bread, rice, pasta & other grains	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Meat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Poultry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eggs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Dairy (not eggs)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Beverages (non-dairy)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Processed foods	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20. What are the top three REASONS you choose to sell at this farmers' market?

1.

2.

3.

21. What are the top three OBSTACLES that make it difficult for you to sell your products at this farmers' market?

1.

2.

3.

22. Do you have any RECOMMENDATIONS for improving the market?

Demographics

23. Where do you live?

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

24. Is your house/apartment . . .

- Owned by you or someone in your household with a mortgage or loan?
- Owned by you or someone in your household free and clear (without with a mortgage or loan)?
- Rented?
- Occupied without payment of rent?

25. What is your sex?

- Female
- Male
- Other

26. What is your age? _____

27. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- Less than a high school degree
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)
- Some college but no degree
- Associate Degree
- Bachelor degree
- Graduate/professional degree (e.g. MA, MD, PhD)

28. Which of the following categories best describes your employment status?

- Employed, working 1-39 hours per week
- Employed, working 40 or more hours per wk
- Not employed, looking for work
- Not employed, not looking for work
- Retired
- Disabled, not able to work

29. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino origin?

- No - I am not Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino
- Yes - Mexican
- Yes - Mexican-American
- Yes - Chicano
- Yes - Puerto Rican
- Yes - Cuban, Cuban-American
- Other (please specify)

30. What is your race?

- White
- Black or African-American
- American Indian or Alaskan Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- Other (please specify)

31. Which best describes the total combined money earned by all members in your household in 2010?

Note: This includes money from jobs; net income from business, farm, or rent; pensions; dividends; interest; social security payments; and any other money income received by members of your HOUSEHOLD that are EIGHTEEN (18) years of age or older. Please report the total amount of money earned - do not subtract the amount you paid in taxes or any deductions listed on your tax return

- \$0 - \$4,999
- \$5,000 - \$7,499
- \$7,500 - \$9,999
- \$10,000 - \$12,499
- \$12,500 - \$14,999
- \$15,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$24,999
- \$25,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$34,999
- \$35,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$74,999
- \$75,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 or more

APPENDIX B
CONSUMER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Consumer Interview Protocol

WHERE DO YOU BUY YOUR FOOD?

- WHERE do you usually get your food?
- HOW OFTEN do you go?
- How much do you SPEND at the different places you go?

WHY HERE?

- WHY to this/these places? WHY NOT other places you could go?

GETTING THERE

- HOW do you usually get to the place you get food?
- How EASY is it for you to get there?

WALK THROUGH – WHILE YOU'RE THERE:

- WHO do you interact with while you're there?
- What do you TALK about with them?
- WALK ME THROUGH what happens once you are at the store.

WHAT FOOD?

- WHAT sorts of food do you usually get?
- HOW MUCH of these foods do you get (and how often do you get them)?
- WHY these foods?
 - Have you ALWAYS BOUGHT these things?
 - How IMPORTANT is it to you to CONTINUE TO BUY these things?
 - What are the ADVANTAGES and DISADVANTAGES of the foods you buy?
- What makes food GOOD FOOD?

MOTIVATIONS (if not already discussed)

- HOW LONG have you been buying from there?
- What FIRST MOTIVATED you to buy there?
- What KEEPS YOU COMING BACK?
- How IMPORTANT is it to you to shop here? How much do you WANT to continue?
- WHY NOT other places you could go?
- Do you INTEND to continue buying there in the future?
- Do you WISH you could shop elsewhere, or buy other things?

WHAT MATTERS?

- How important are choices about food to WHO YOU ARE?
- WHAT TYPE of "food consumer" would you say you are?
- What OTHER TYPES of "food consumers" are there?
- WHO or WHAT influences your decisions regarding food?

BARRIERS & RECOMMENDATIONS

- What are the major BARRIERS for you in accessing the food you want?
 - How CONFIDENT are you that you can get the food you want, and shop where you want?
 - How difficult is it for you to get WHAT you want? Why?
 - How difficult is it for you to get WHERE you want? Why?
- What would make it EASIER for you?

WHAT (IF ANYTHING) COULD YOU DO TO BREAK DOWN THESE BARRIERS?

- If you wanted to MAKE A CHANGE in this place, what would you do?
- Are you PART of the DECISION-MAKING process?
- HOW do you think the decision-making process works here?
- ARE YOU INVOLVED in the market other than as a consumer?

FARMERS' MARKETS (if not already discussed)

- HOW OFTEN do you shop at farmers' markets?
- How do you GET THERE?
- WHO WITH?
- WALK me THROUGH the process
 - What do you DO? What do you BUY?
- WHO goes to farmers' markets?
 - What kinds of people?
 - Who doesn't go?

- MOTIVATIONS for shopping?
- What are the BARRIERS?
 - Is it difficult to get to?
 - How are the prices?
 - Can you find what you want?
 - Does the market participate in federal benefits programs? Would you or anyone you know use them if they did?
 - Compared to the other places you shop, do you feel comfortable / 'at home' at the market?
 - What makes you feel uncomfortable or uncertain at this market or other places you might shop?
- What would make it an EASIER/BETTER place to shop?

IDEAL FOOD SYSTEM (if not already discussed)

Describe for me what the "perfect" place to get (buy) food would be like.

HOW CONNECTED DO YOU FEEL TO THE ENVIRONMENT IN CENTRAL ARIZONA?

- How long have you lived here?
- Is the desert special to you?
- In what ways are you connected to the desert?
- In what ways do you depend on the surrounding area?

HOW CONCERNED ARE YOU ABOUT ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES?

- In general? In Arizona?
- What issues?
- Water? Air? Land? Climate? Urban Heat Island? Coping with population growth?
- What is causing the problem?
- What is the solution? Voluntary? Regulation? Technology? Education?
- Who would you consider your trusted sources of information on environmental issues?

WHAT SORT OF IMPACTS DO FOOD PURCHASES HAVE ON ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM?

- In general?
- Yours personally?
- How do you see this place as fitting into the broader FOOD SYSTEM?
- What are the impacts of food purchases? Ecological impacts?
- Influence of the market on ecological behavior

IF YOU COULD ASK OTHERS IN THE FOOD SYSTEM ANY QUESTION, WHO/WHAT WOULD IT BE?

I will be interviewing quite a few other people involved particularly in the farmers' market food system.

For example: Farmers, farmers' market managers.

- If you had 5 minutes to talk to them, what would you tell them, what would you ask?

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE'VE TALKED ABOUT TODAY?

- What's most important to you?
- If you could sum up the conversation in 30 seconds, what would be the key, take-home points?

FOLLOW UP?

- Would you be available to do a follow up interview if I had more questions?

Demographic and Behavioral Questions (*printed and filled out by interviewee*)

1. What is your Zip Code?

2. What is your sex?

Male

Female

Other

3. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino origin?

No - I am not Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino

Yes - Mexican

Yes - Mexican-American

Yes - Chicano

Yes - Puerto Rican

Yes - Cuban, Cuban-American

Other (please specify)

4. What is your race?

White

Black or African-American

American Indian or Alaskan Native

Asian

Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Other (please specify)

5. What is your age? _____

6. Is your place of residence ...

a. Owned by you or someone in your household with a mortgage or loan?

b. Owned by you or someone in your household free and clear?

c. Rented?

d. Occupied without the payment of rent?

7. Which best describes the total combined money earned by all members in your household in 2010? (choose one)

Note: This includes money from jobs; net income from business, farm, or rent; pensions; dividends; interest; social security payments; and any other money income received by members of your HOUSEHOLD that are EIGHTEEN (18) years of age or older. Please report the total amount of money earned - do not subtract the amount you paid in taxes or any deductions listed on your tax return.

\$0 - \$4,999

\$5,000 - \$7,499

\$7,500 - \$9,999

\$10,000 - \$12,499

\$12,500 - \$14,999

\$15,000 - \$19,999

\$20,000 - \$24,999

\$25,000 - \$29,999

\$30,000 - \$34,999

\$35,000 - \$39,999

\$40,000 - \$49,999

\$50,000 - \$59,999

\$60,000 - \$74,999

\$75,000 - \$99,999

\$100,000 - \$149,999

\$150,000 or More

8. How often do you purchase groceries at the Farmers' Market? (choose one)

- Never
- Every few years
- Once or twice a year
- Several times a year
- Once or twice a month
- Once or twice a week

9. How much (in US Dollars) of the following do you obtain at the Farmers' Market?

	None	Almost none	Less than half	About half	More than half	Almost all	All
Vegetables							
Fruit							
Bread, rice, pasta & other grains							
Meat							
Poultry							
Fish							
Eggs							
Dairy (not eggs)							
Beverages (non-dairy)							
Processed foods							
Other							

10. Which of the following payment methods would you use if they were available at the market? (Check all that apply)

- a. Credit / Debit
- b. EBT / SNAP / Food Stamps
- c. WIC FMNP
- d. SFMNP
- e. CVV
- f. Cash
- g. Other (please specify): _____