A Comparative Analysis of Two Burlington Farmers Markets

Honors Thesis

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Abstract

This paper compares two farmers markets situated approximately one mile apart, the Burlington Downtown market, located in the center of downtown Burlington, and the Old North End Market, located in a park in the middle of the most diverse neighborhood in all of Vermont. The purpose of my research was to understand how the location of a market determines the market goals, the population that has access to the market, and what affects the market's ability to produce a profit. By determining the goals, accessibility, and profitability of the markets I was able to assess different ways in which these farmers markets serve as an alternative, local, food system for residents of Burlington. It also allowed me to evaluate whether they help improve food justice for people of low-income with little access to fresh and healthy foods. Through observations at the two markets, interviews with six vendors and two market managers, and a review of the literature on the two markets I determined that despite the proximity of these two markets, they serve entirely different purposes, and people. Additionally, I found that the downtown Burlington market did not help to promote food justice but rather is increasingly serving Burlington as a place of leisure, where customers are likely to seek out prepared foods or crafts as opposed to agricultural products. Furthermore, while the Old North End Market works to fulfill one aspect of improving food justice by providing affordable, fresh, and quality food to a low-income community, it failed to achieve other aspects significant to the discourse around food justice.

Introduction

In this study I discovered how two farmers markets meet the needs of the community members, how they differ due to location, and whether they create a just and sustainable alternative food source for the people of Burlington, Vermont. The roles of farmers markets within a community are neither one dimensional, nor static, but rather are highly complex and representative of the spaces they are found (Smithers et al, 2009). Each community uses the space created by farmers markets differently to fit specific needs and demands. Furthermore, within these communities, individuals use farmers markets differently due to socio-economic factors that determine their participation. To illustrate the complexities of farmers markets and the pivotal roles that location and community have on forming and utilizing these spaces this paper examines two farmers markets in Burlington located slightly more than one mile apart.

To some residents of Burlington the farmers markets are places of pleasure, social places to catch up with friends over a pasterie or samosa. To others, they are a space where residents of Burlington find local produce that is accessible without the use of a car. To some, these spaces might not be accessible at all for economic and social reasons. It is important to consider who is using farmers markets and how they are being used to determine if they are a vehicle for food justice in Vermont, and have the potential to serve the people of Burlington as a widely utilized, just, alternative food source.

My research will examine two farmers markets, the Saturday downtown Burlington market and the Tuesday afternoon Old North End (ONE) market. These two markets are located slightly more than one mile apart, but in profoundly different neighborhoods. The Burlington market, located in downtown Burlington, is surrounded by shops, restaurants, bars, the waterfront, and banks. It is located a stone's throw away from Burlington's Church

Street, a walking street designed in 1981to encourage residents and visitors of Burlington to come shop, dine, and enjoy Burlington (Chursh St. Marketplace, n.d.) It is also located a short walk from the waterfront, which has been developed as a place to dine at one of the waterfront cafes, walk along the boardwalk or watch the sunset while listening to a local musician, On a beautiful day, the waterfront or Church St. where most residents and visitors go to enjoy a Burlington experience.

The Old North End (ONE) market is located in the ONE, which is considered to be north of North St. and West of North Ave. The ONE market is located in a park surround by single-family homes and low-income housing units. It is in the middle of "the most ethnically diverse place in Vermont, thanks largely to refugees from Asia and Africa" (Baird, 2011). The ONE has historically been a neighborhood with a thriving immigrant population (Bourgerie, 1996). A historical account of the Old North End states,

> Early on, the neighborhoods surrounding North Street were poverty stricken. Many streets were lined with tenement houses that were difficult to live in due to over crowding and sanitation problems. As families acquired enough money to move out of the tenement houses, they bought houses south of Pearl Street and around the Champlain Valley. (ibid)

This is still representative of the ONE and observations while walking through the ONE alone illustrate that there is more poverty north of North St. than there is in other parts of Burlington. When walking through the Old North End, one will see few if any tourists, few shopping bags, small convenient stores influenced by the different cultures found in the ONE, some college students, and beautiful Somila- Bantu headdresses.

To further illustrate the stark differences between the Old north End and center of Burlington, one must consider the ethnic and financial status of the population as well. Using US Census data, Vermont Agency of Education statistics, and statistics presented by

City-data, the difference in populations between downtown Burlington and the Old North End is evident. US Census data statistics state that the neighborhood is 83.7% white, 7.9% black, 2.7% Asian, and 4% two races or more (Baird, 2011). The neighborhood where the ONE farmers market is located is 77.2% White, 9.9% Black, 8% Asian, and 3.9% two races or more (ibid). See Appendix E.

Although the census does disaggregate for race by neighborhoods, it does not for soico-economic status. However, the State of Vermont Department of Education does report the socio-economic figures for neighborhood schools, hence I was able to obtain free and reduced lunch school figures to highlight the socio-economic differences between the neighborhood populations. According to 2011-2012 data from the School Report pages of Vermont Agency of Education, 39% of students at the elementary school in Downtown Burlington, Edmunds Elementary School, receive free or reduced lunches, lower than the overall average of students who receive free or reduced lunch which is 51% (Vermont Agency of Education, n.d). However, 100% of the students that attend Integrated Arts Academy at H.O. Wheeler and the Sustainability Academy, the two closest elementary schools in the ONE, receive free of reduced lunch (ibid). Maps generated by Cidy-Data illustrating locations of Public Parks, shopping centers, and "notable locations", such as libraries, medical centers, financial buildings, and community centers also highlight differences between the two neighborhoods. These maps, although may not be 100% accurate illustrate that downtown Burlington has significantly more parks, shopping centers, and notable buildings than the ONE (City-Data, n.d). See Appendix F for these maps.

By examining the two markets in two very different, yet proximal Burlington communities, I seek to answer, a) What are the main goals of the particular farmers markets?

b) Who has access to the farmers market and does that access change depending on the neighborhood? c) How is Burlington working to make the space of farmers markets more accessible to all economic classes and races through programs such as 3squaresVT (formally known as food stamps) (USDA, 2012), and Vermont's Farm to Family program (Vermont Agency of Agriculture, 2012), d) Are the different farmers markets in Burlington an economically profitable outlet for selling produce compared to other outlets? and e) Do the farmers markets work to create food justice for those who have limited access to fresh food?

Like other regions, the presence of farmers markets has proven to be an important part of Vermont and Burlington culture and has potential to continue to increase direct sales of local farm products. According to the Northeast Organic Farming Association of Vermont, (NOFA), Vermont has 71 summer and 20 winter farmers markets throughout all counties, and it is these farmers markets that are "The soul of Vermont" and where one can find "the high quality that is expected and produced in Vermont agriculture […] throughout the Green Mountains and its valleys" (NOFA, n.d.). Furthermore, of the 71 summer farmers markets, over 40 accept 3squaresVT, (formerly known as food stamps) and 59 accept Vermont Farm to Family coupons, a program that is designed to help Women, Infant and Children (WIC) members have access to fresh and healthy food (DCF, n.d.). Additionally, in 2012 Vermont created a program called Harvest Health that promotes the usage of 3squaresVT at farmers markets by doubling the dollar amount for every dollar one spends at the market (Buckwalter, 2012). This illustrates that Vermont is both trying to facilitate direct farm to consumer sales through farmers markets, and that there is a strong effort to encourage people of low-income who are using government supported programs to shop at and utilize farmers markets.

Farmers markets offer a sustainable alternative to the current conventional food system that feeds most Vermonters. The term sustainability is highly contested and complex among scholars, companies, and governments. Allen and Sachs claim that while defining sustainability, "there are diverse platforms for different groups, all of which have as their bases their own material interests" (Allen and Sachs, 1991, pp.570,). They argue that definitions often represent a bias of the party and "it makes all the difference whether the goal is sustaining the current world economic order, an individual nation's agriculture economy, a middle class American's life, a farm family's right to retain ownership of their land or other means of production, of an Ethiopian woman's life" (ibid pp. 578). The EPA (Environmental Protection Agency), definition states:

> Sustainability creates and maintains the conditions under which humans and nature can exist in productive harmony, that permit fulfilling the social, economic and other requirements of present and future generations. (EPA, n.d.)

For the purpose of this paper I will use this definition of sustainability because it relates to and is concerned with the issues that most of my sources discuss.

The current industrial food system or global food system, "damages the health of the biosphere through soil and aquifer depletion, deforestation, aggressive is of agrochemicals, fishery collapses, and the loss of biodiversity in crops, livestock, and wild life species" (Deumling, Wackernagel, and Monfreda pp. 1, 2003). A study conducted by Deumling, Wackernagel and Monfreda determining the Ecological footprint of the global food system, found that estimates of as little as, but likely more than, 10 percent fossil fuel consumption and carbon dioxide emissions are emitted through processes of the global food system, such as inputs, pesticides, irrigation, and transportation, industrialization and processing, and packaging (ibid; Food Inc, 2008). Furthermore, for every calorie of food produced using

industrial farming practice, between 7 and 10 calories of energy is consumed (ibid). For these reasons and others, many consider the global, conventional food system unsustainable (ibid; Fresh, 2009). There are many definitions of the term sustainable as this has become a buzzword in many different academic disciplines.

Vermont is still highly dependent on non-sustainable methods of procuring food. Even though Vermont has the highest per capita direct food sales out of all US states, it still imports approximately 95% of the food consumed within the state (Sawyer). The food imports to Vermont "rely on a network of supply chains, deteriorating infrastructure, and relatively cheap fossil fuels" and "[i]f something disrupts the status quo and compromises this system, essentially all Vermonters are at risk of becoming food insecure" (Central Vermont Food System Council, 2012). Vermont must, and is in the process of, finding alternatives to the conventional system upon which the state is currently dependent.

There have been many reports documenting and illustrating the benefits of small scale, local food production over the large scale, conventional food system (McCullum et al, 2005). Consumers currently opt for the conventional food system over local food systems based on cost, convenience, and greater variety of food choice (Smithers, 2008). As the conventional food system continues to be unsustainable, for reasons just mentioned, there will be a need for a new food system. Deumling, Wackernagel and Monfreda's report on the footprint of the global food system state:

> The global food system has become such a dominant force shaping the surface of this planet and its ecosystems that we can no longer achieve sustainability without revamping the food system. At the same time sustainable food systems provide great hope for building a sustainable future. (Deumling, Wackernagel and Monfreda, pp.1, 2003).

Many people agree with the claim that alternative food systems are sustainable and necessary for our future. Additionally, there are reasons other than sustainability for alternative food systems that consider social justice and ethics: “In alternative food practice is the possibility to make food production more ecologically sustainable, just and humane and, more broadly, to enable thinking about ethical relations” (Slocum, 2007, pp 531).

Drawing on the great number of farmers markets (more per capita than any other state) (National Association of State Department Agriculture, 2012.), the Farm to Family program, the localvore movement, Farm to Plate Strategic Plan, and large demand for local food in the restaurant industry, indicates that much of Vermont has already expressed a desire for a shift away from the current industrial food system. Vermont’s Farm to Plate Strategic Plan stated “A steadily increasing percentage of the State’s population is participating in and benefiting from food buying cooperatives, farmers’ markets and direct producer-consumer sales as well as home food production” (Sawyer, 2009). Vermont is thought to be ahead of all other states in using and producing local and alternative food systems and was ranked number one in The Strolling of the Heifers 2013 Locavore Index (Weiss-Tisman, 2013). This index pulls from “census and U.S. Department of agriculture data, along with a per capita comparison of farmers’ market, consumer supported agriculture operations (CSAs) and food hubs” (ibid). In 2008, the Vermont Senate “called for increasing the direct sale of local farm products by 50%” by the year 2012 (Nickerson, 2008). Furthermore, in 2009 Vermont’s legislative session approved the Farm to Plate Initiative, which is a “10-year plan to strengthen Vermont’s food system” (Vermont Sustainable Jobs Fund, 2009-2013). Improving Vermont’s food system strengthens community food security, the local economy, and encourages sustainable farming practices (ibid). Even though

Vermont still imports approximately 95% of food consumed, these programs illustrate that people from all levels and scale, from community members, to government employees, are working to improve Vermont's food system, food security, and the local economy (CVFSC, 2012). Currently, it is hard to imagine a society independent of the conventional food system because people are accustomed to the variety and ease of supermarkets, yet there is undoubtedly a shift towards alternative food practices sweeping our nation, and more specifically Vermont, that reduces our dependence on the conventional food system (Cobb, 2011).

Literature Review

This literature review helps support my ethnography, and interviews to answer my research questions by looking at the discourses around alternative food systems, food justice, local food, farmers markets, and community food security.

Recently, a body of academic literature has emerged surrounding the issues of food systems, access, and justice as these issues become increasingly discussed and scrutinized. This body of literature includes research on increased obesity rates, the emergence of food deserts, alternative food systems in response to the industrial food system, food security and food sovereignty, sustainability, food justice and access, and other areas around the production and distribution of food. It is comprised of literature from multiple disciplines including but certainly not limited to, anthropology, economics, geography, environmental studies, politics, sociology, and agriculture. My literature review will explore only a few sections of this massive new body of literature.

This literature review explores the emerging literature that examines the discourses around food justice, alternative food systems in response to the industrial food system, local food, farmers markets and community food security. I selected these areas for review because they will guide my research questions and support my finding and discussion.

Food Justice

The concept of food justice has its roots in environmental justice, which emerged in the 1980s. There are many parallels between environmental justice and food justice. (Alkon, 2012). Environmental justice activists define environmental justice as " the right of all people to a safe, healthy, and clean environment, and their right to participate in

environmental decision making" (ibid, pp. 23). Environmental justice movements most often utilize grassroots and local groups to promote their cause and find success (ibid). Environmental justice often challenges the environmental movement for excluding marginalized populations, and for conducting projects and campaigns in wealthier communities. Similarly, food justice, too, often challenges the new and alternative food movement for the same reasons (ibid).

Food justice "includes not only providing equal access to healthy food but also addressing structural inequalities in the food system and in the wider distribution of environmental benefits" (ibid, pp. 12). Furthermore, food justice "promotes the creation of local organic food systems in low-income communities of color while minimizing issues of workers rights and food policy reform" and "emphasize[s] green economic strategies" (ibid, pp.12). Food justice is concerned with both environmental justice as well as social justice. The definition of food justice most commonly cited was written by People's Grocery, a paramount actor in the promotion of food justice and states:

> Food justice asserts that no one should live without enough food because of economic constraints or social inequalities. Food justice reframes the lack of healthy food sources in poor communities as a human rights issue. Food justice also draws off of historical grassroots movements and organizing traditions such as those developed by the civil rights movement and the environmental justice movement. The food justice movement is a different approach to a community's needs that seeks to truly advance self-reliance and social justice by placing communities in leadership of their own solutions and providing them with the tools to address the disparities within our food systems and within society at large. (People's Grocery, n.d.)

The question of food justice is most often associated with poor, marginalized, communities with limited access to healthy, fresh foods. Literature surrounding food justice uses case

studies of poor, marginalized, communities to illustrate the severity of the problems associated with food justice (Alkon, 2008, 2010, 2012; Ruelas et. Al, 2011; Guthman, 2011). Guthman illustrates in her newest book, *Weighing In: Obesity, Food Justice and the Limits of Capitalism,* how food justice is linked to obesity (Guthman, 2011). By considering the "immediate relationships between environment and health" Guthman examines the environments of places where obesity rates are alarming to determine that it is not the consumers choice alone that is making them obese, but rather a larger set of politics that works to create inequalities:

> [C]onsumers' choices may be highly constrained by forces far removed from their everyday lives, from the agricultural policies that have encouraged the substitution of high-fructose corn syrup for cane sugar to the economic development policies that have created urban environments that lack grocery stores with healthy food. To the extent that eating and exercise behaviors contribute to obesity, these behaviors don't happen in a vacuum of social possibility. (Ibid, pp. 11)

Food justice activism takes many forms, but are generally grassroots efforts organized to "dismantle the classist and racist structural inequalities that manifest in the consumption, production, and distribution of food" (Alkon and Mares, 2012, pp. 75). The work by Gottlieb and Joshi highlights grassroots food justice projects around the United States from low-income, marginalized, communities (Gottlieb and Joshi, 2010). Their book, *Food Justice,* cites examples of grassroots programs such as community gardens in poor Latino communities in Western Massachusetts (ibid, pp. 124), farmers unions and coalitions such as the highly successful Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) in Florida who fought for better wages and safer working conditions (ibid, pp. 129), immigrant community farming organizations that show "support for small, local farmers in California" such as Community

Alliance with Family Farmers (CAFF) (ibid, pp. 139) and urban farming in cities around the United States, such as Detroit, where vacant lots are transformed into gardening projects (ibid, pp. 146).

While there are many grassroots projects throughout the United States promoting food justice, the deeply rooted and enforced political systems that shape the food system must change in order for food justice to exist:

> Efforts to address inequality, through, for example, "food justice" might make good food more accessible, but it still does not fundamentally challenge the dynamics that cause the vast majority of Americans to eat vacuous food and to be exposed to appreciable amounts of toxins from the way most food is produced (Guthman, pp.141, 2011)

This challenges grassroots food justice movements and points to a restructuring of political systems to achieve food justice. Furthermore, neoliberal capitalism is "largely responsible for racist policies and programs that produce hunger" yet almost completely overlooked by food justice activists (Alkon, and Mares pp. 357, 2012). Alkon's study of a primarily black farmers market in West Oakland illustrates why grassroots programs cannot adequately address food justice:

> In creating a market-based solution to issues of food insecurity, racism, and poverty, the farmers market ran up against the constraints of neoliberalism. Despite the best intentions of the market managers and vendors, goods sold there are largely inaccessible to the neighborhoods low-income residents. (ibid pp. 357)

This example illustrates how grassroots organizations can and will have a hard time achieving food justice with neoliberal capitalist ideals shaping the movement and society. Neoliberal theory supports that a primarily unregulated capitalist system is founded on the ideal of free individual choice, which achieves optimum economic performance with respect

to efficiency, economic growth, technical progress, and distributional justice (Koltz, 2002). The unregulated free-market economy favors an economy of scale giving giants like Walmart Super stores a clear advantage. These are often too great to make smaller food movements profitable.

A term often found in the discourse around food justice is the term "food desert". A food desert,, as defined by the USDA, is "a low-income census tract where a substantial number or share of residents has low access to a supermarket or large grocery store" (USDA, n.d.). Low access, by this definition, means a "healthy food retail outlet is defined as more than 1 mile from a supermarket or large grocery store in urban areas and as more than 10 miles from a supermarket or large grocery store in rural areas" (ibid). Food deserts are frequently cited in the discourse around food justice because they are found in low-income, marginalized, communities where food justice activism and movements manifest and mobilize.

Alternative Food System

Alternative food systems emerge most often in response to the conventional food system that has proven unsustainable as potential answers to alleviating environmental degradation from industrial farming, food insecurities, injustices, and deserts (McCullum, 2005; Hendrickson and Heffrnan, 2002). Alternative food systems, have multiple manifestations, representations and objectives:

> Some [Alternative food systems] act to reconnect farmers and consumers through farmers' markets, community supported agriculture, and the reinvigoration of small family farms; their goals are to develop community-based food systems grounded in regional agriculture and local decision-

> making. Others focus on organizing and empowering marginalized communities through projects such as urban gardens and food-based microenterprise of job training programs. Some engage in education about the food system and ecological agriculture for school children, growers, or the general public. These alternative agrifood activities are increasingly celebrated in both popular culture and academic venues as agents of social change. (Allen et. al, pp. 61, 2003)

Alternative food systems have also been noted to "improve the health of the community, environment, and individuals over time" by improving community food security (McCullen, 2005). Notably, in order for alternative food systems to be effective and sustainable they need to be localized and "propose a new vision, a vision of authentic social, economic and ecological relationships between all actors in the food system" (Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002, pp. 361). Alternative food systems can be found across the country, in urban and rural areas, among poor or rich communities, and may be small projects, such as a community garden, or huge nation wide projects such as large-scale organic productions (Allen et. al, 2003).

One theme found throughout literature around alternative food systems is the fact it is developing as a response to the conventional food system and often employs the same neoliberal aspects of the conventional food system and does not offer a solution to the conventional food system but rather serves as an alternative option for those who can afford it (Guthman, 2011; Maye et al, 2007). Guthman states:

> [T]he most profound problem with the alternative-food movement as an activist is that building the alternative does not regulate bad practices but, instead, allows them to coexist with good ones (Harrison, 2008b). Moreover, not regulating bad practices puts the cost burden on good practices, so that

> either less economically powerful producers or better-off consumers pay for them. (Guthman, pp. 153, 2011)

Guthman highlights one critique that not only are alternative food systems not improving conventional, "bad" practices, but they are deepening the structural inequalities pertaining to food access and poor people still do not have access to fresh healthy options.

Who is creating and utilizing alternative food systems is a question often articulated in academia because alternative food systems arise and are used for many different reasons by many different groups of people. Some alternative food systems arise by decision to reject the conventional food system, while other food systems arise out of necessity due to lack of access to food, especially fresh food. Cobb's book, *Reclaiming our Food,* explores the development of alternative food systems in low-income, "at-risk communities" (Cobb, 2011). She illustrates how communities respond to food insecurity using alternative food systems such as community gardens, and community food education (ibid). Other alternative food systems are clearly only accessible to people who can afford to pay the premium for not buying conventional food products that are designed, through subsidies, to be cheaper (Guthman, 2011). Organic food is, for example, an alternative food system "through market choice rather than command and control is a decidedly neoliberal approach to regulation" and "organically produced food was thus designed to cost more, to incentivize organic production" (Ibid, pp. 149). Furthermore, because alternative food systems often take longer to establish and become accessible, they can be seen as less attractive for those with economic and time restrictions (Hendrickson and Heffern, 2002). Some alternative food systems, such as the farmers market, which I will discuss throughout this paper, transgress the boundary of alternative food system by choice and alternative food system developed out of necessity.

Local Food

The local food movement is another popular alternative food system; "Of the various post-organic manifestations of alternative food, by far the most popular is "local food" (Guthman, pp. 149, 2011). Mount describes what the media and academia understand as the "fundamental principles" of a local food system, including, the " (a) reconnection of producer and consumer, (b) the direct exchange through which this occurs, and (c) the shared goals and values that underlie the system" (Mount, pp. 110, 2011). Mount's research shows, however, that these perceptions about reconnection of consumer and producer, direct exchange, and shared values often do not match up with the reality (ibid).

It has been stated that there are four national movements responsible for the growth of local food:

> The environmental movement encourages people to consider geographic dimensions in their food choices. Long-distance transport of food is considered to contribute to greenhouse gas emissions. The community food-security movement seeks to enhance access to safe, healthy, and culturally appropriated food for all consumers. […] The Slow Food movement, which originated in Italy, is a response to homogenous, mass-produced food production and the "fast nature of people's lives, by encouraging traditional ways of growing, producing, and preparing food […] The Local food movement also reflects an increasing interest by consumers in supporting local farmers and in better understanding the origin of their food. (Martinez, pp. 2, 2010)

These relatively recent emerging movements all promote the production and procurement of local food in one way or another.

Defining local food has proven challenging because it is still emerging in both the academic world and reality; “Definitions related to geographic distance between production and sale vary by regions, companies, consumers, and local food markets” and “ there is no legal or universal accepted definition of local food (Martinez, pp.3, 2010). According to the U.S. Congress in the 2008 Food, Conservation and Energy Act, “the total distance that a product can be transported and still be considered a ‘locally or regionally produced agricultural food product’ is less that 400 miles from its origin, or within the State in which it is produced” (Martinez, pp. iii, 2010). Additionally, the size of the farm that is producing the local food is also considered in this discourse. If local food is really going to be a successful alternative food system, the size of the farm is going to need to grow in order to produce enough food for entire communities which then changes the image of what it means to be a local food system (Mount, 2011). Mount tries to understand “[w]ould the value that adheres to local food be lost with greater scale,” and “ [i]s it possible to develop local short food supply chains, involving larger family farms, without violating the basic tenets of local food systems?” (Mount, pp. 109).

However, despite discrepancies in the definition of what it means to be local food, a study, funded by the Economic Research Service and the USDA, found local food sales account for a continually growing number of total agricultural sales (Martinez, 2010). Some figures produced from this report include increased number of, direct-to-consumer marketing dollars spent, direct-to-consumer sales, farmers markets and community supported agricultural organizations (CSAs), and farm to school programs across the United States (ibid).

The discourse around the local food movement is both positive and negative and scholars are still trying to define and understand what it means to be "local" (Martinez, et al, 2010). Some scholars believe it to be a successful alternative food system that strengthens communities (Hendrickson and Heffernnam, 2002), while others view it as romanticized and detrimental to the promotion of food justice (Guthman, 2011; Dupuis and Goodman, 2005).

Lyson, an important figure in the discourse of local food, sees the emergence and popularity of local food as a positive alternative to conventional food and beneficial for communities, the environment, and health. (Lyson, 2004). He describes this emergence of local food and the implications and benefits it produces as "civic agriculture". Lyson coins civic agriculture as the "emergence and growth of community-based agriculture and food production activities that not only meet consumer demands for fresh, safe, and locally produced foods but create jobs, encourage entrepreneurship, and strengthen community identity" (Lyson, pp. 2, 2004). Civic agriculture manifestations include "CSAs, farmers markets, specialized agricultural districts, alternative food stores, and consumer cooperative" and these new forms of food retailing and distribution "have the potential to nurture local economic development, maintain diversity, and quality products, and provide forums where producers and consumers can come together to solidify bonds of local identity and solidarity" (ibid, pp. 7).

In accordance with Lyson, Hendrickson and Heffernan offer local food as a successful alternative in response to the conventional food system (Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002). Using the Kansas City Food Circle as a case study, they illustrate how the switch to a more local food system strengthened the community and food security:

> The Food Circle's perceived role is to connect all actors in the food system in a sensible and sustainable way that sustains the community, is healthy for

> both people and the environment, and returns control of the food system to local communities. [It is] about creating a new kind of community that recognizes the interconnectedness of people through the production and consumption of food. (Ibid, pp. 362)

This case study also illustrates that there is a perceived sense of trust between the consumer and the producer, which is absent in nonlocal food production. This perceived sense of trust and face-to-face interaction that happens in local food systems is a reoccurring theme for their popularity and importance (ibid; Smithers et al. 2008, Guthman, 2012). Furthermore, this example of local food systems improving the quality of life and community, health, and the environment, is representative of what Lyson speaks of when he defines civic agriculture (Lyson, 2004).

Critiques of local food and its manifestations often question Lyson and others who view the local food movement as positive. One of the main critiques cited is that the popular image of local food does not often match the reality. Countless books are published preaching the popular image of ethics, increased health, community, and environmental benefits associated with local food, including, for example, Amy Cotler's, *The Locavore Way: Discover and Enjoy the Pleasures of Locally Grown Food (*Cotler, 2009). This book offers 15 ways to become a locavore, from growing your own food, shopping at farmers markets, supporting and starting inner city gardens, and giving only locally made gifts (ibid). The popular image of the local food movement that his book and others like it creates is the image that Guthman and others critique because that image and ideal is only accessible to select people in select geographies:

> Suffice it to say that there is nothing inherent about proximity that makes farmers pay their workers more, makes food affordable, makes profits stay in the region, or allows citizens to participate meaningfully in decision making

> about food (cf. Hassanien 2003; Kloppenberg, Henrickson, and Stevenson1996; Lyson 2004). Indeed, the fact that upscale and hipster restaurants chefs helped popularize the idea that local is better means that local, too, has become a way to valorize food, not make it more affordable. (Guthman, pp. 150, 2011)

Recent works seek to explore the many ambiguities and romantic notions around local food and its quality. DuPuis and Goodman question social justice implications of the local and claim "'the local' as a concept intrinsically implies the inclusion and exclusion of particular people, places and ways of life. The representation of the local and its constructs—quality, embeddedness, trust, care—privilege certain analytical categories and trajectories" (DuPuis and Goodman, pp. 361, 2005). Economic and social constraints shape who has access to local food in many instances. In paraphrasing Hinrichs and Kremer (2002), DuPuis and Goodman state, " local food system movement members tend to be white, middle-class consumers and that the movement threaten to be socially homogenized and exclusionary" (ibid, pp 362). McEntee contributes to the discourse around who has access and who is using local food sources is the dichotomy between contemporary and traditional localism (McEntee, 2010) Contemporary localism, he argues is " local food initiatives and corresponding aspirations to support local farmers and to promote sustainability through local purchasing behaviour" whereas traditional localism "represents food growing activities that are in close geographical proximity to consumption" however unlike contemporary localism "it is guided by a motivation to obtain fresh and affordable food" (McEntee, 1, 2010). Furthermore, McEntee claims "contemporary and traditional localisms exist in the same physical but different social places" (ibid). This illustrates that there are different manifestations of local food and often socio-economics, rather than physical geographies, play a role in who has access to these spaces (ibid).

Recent literature also questions the perceived value added and sense of trust associated with local food. Local food is cited as often being more expensive because of the added value through face-to-face interactions (Mount, 2011). In other words, people are willing to pay a premium because local food reconnects producers with consumers and this "generates intangible qualities; some piece of added value that is difficult to quantify because it relates to the perception of participants" (ibid, pp. 109). This further illustrates that local food is not always accessible to people with low-income.

Another layer to the discourse around local food is that not all places have the same opportunity to produce the amount or quality of agricultural products. Guthman states "Since not all locales are created equal in terms of climate and soil, or even community interest, "local" food systems, like leptogenic environments, potentially bring wealth to certain places at the expense of others" (Guthman, pp. 150, 2011). Local food brings wealth to places because the money spend on food is staying within the community and local farms. If a place cannot participate in this revenue generating industry, they are automatically disadvantaged as is often the case of inner city, low-income communities (Guthman, 2011).

In many instances local food must either be environmentally sustainable or socially just, and literature has proven it is very difficult to accomplish both of those goals. Local food is still gaining considerable attention in academia and its definition and multiple manifestations are still emerging and changing.

Farmers markets

Farmers markets are serving increasingly more people throughout the United States throughout the last decade as people around the United States began to desire local food and

a change from the conventional food system (Mount, 2011). A farmers market is defined as "a common area where several farmers gather on a recurring basis to sell a variety of fresh fruits, vegetables, and other farm products directly to consumers" (Martinez, pp. 5, 2010). The number of farmers markets increased drastically in the last two decades, from only 1,755 in 1994, to 2,756 in 1998, and then a huge increase to 5,274 in 2009 (ibid). Farmers markets in the United States range in their importance, demand, and function. Nevertheless, farmers markets are responsible for the trade or sale of produce for billions of people worldwide and people are dependent on them in many areas of the world if they want local produce. The farmers market is a place where one can find people who care about where their food is produced, the environment, and supporting local community economies (Smithers, 2008). Vermont has more farmers markets per capita than any other state (National Association of State Department Agriculture, 2012). This alone signifies that farmers markets play a large role in communities throughout Vermont and serve as a place where people go to buy local foods.

Recent literature pertaining to farmers markets focuses heavily on the need for alternative and sustainable food systems in response to the conventional, industrial food system, as well as the question of who, due to a range of socio-economic factors, has access to farmers markets (Alkon, 2010; Smithers, 2008; Slocum, Mount, 2011). As the demand for alternative food systems increases and farmers markets gain presence as a popular and utilized food system, the role of farmers markets within communities will become increasingly scrutinized.

While on the surface a farmers market many appear to be just a simple and direct space for selling, they are in fact much more complex and therefore produce intrigue among scholars, activists for food justice, local governments, and community members:

> The Space of the FM [farmers market] is seen as a container for multiple types of producer consumer relations and for the construction of various (and diverse) meanings and beliefs concerning the products on offer. As such, it has the capacity to serve simultaneously as a space for alterity, opposition, tradition, community, class fragmentation, and even exclusion. (Smithers, 2008, pp. 341)

Because farmers markets are so complex the discourse around farmers markets is at times contradictory as to, who utilizes them, the role they play in particular societies, the goal of the market, and their importance in the community as an outlet for fresh produce. The study of farmers markets is manifold and distinctive, yet there are many overlapping themes and rules that emerge out of these many case studies (Smithers, 20108). While studying a farmers markets and executing a case study on the farmers market in Ontario, Smiters acknowledges that:

> Despite the evident certainty of various operational rules, the [farmers market] should be seen as a complex and ambiguous space where (contingent) notions of local, quality, authenticity and legitimacy find expression in communications and transactions around food." (Smithers, 2008)

The inconsistencies that arise in the literature around the role of farmers markets illustrate that the geographical location (place) of the particular market is fundamental in understanding it's purpose. Some specific studies of particular farmers markets that illustrate the importance of considering place include studies from the San Francisco area (Alkon, 2010, 2012), Ontario (Smithers, 2008), Los Angeles (Ruelas, 2011) and London (Larsen and

Gilliland, 2009). Alkon, in her recent book, *Black, White, and Green,* compares two farmers markets in the Bay Area where she discovers stark difference in how these two markets operate, who they serve, and both the goals of both the vendor and the consumer (Alkon, 2012). Smithers examines fifteen farmers markets across Ontario in an attempt to define and understand how the local food movement is manifested through the space of farmers markets. By surveying vendors and consumers from fifteen markets Smithers found differences in vendor and consumer experiences and expectations as well as structural difference of the market itself (Smithers, 2008). Ruelas et al. compares two farmers markets in Los Angeles that were established in response to the communities lack of access to healthy food and extremely high rates of obesity (22% of the population) and people overweight (36% of the population) (Ruelas et. al, 2012). These markets were developed by different grass-root groups of concerned citizens and community members. While they have no affiliation with each other, they both developed as a community response to little or no access to healthy, fresh, affordable food (ibid). By using these case studies side by side, the importance of geography is indisputable.

These case studies, along with other literature produced around the discourse of farmers markets emphasize that race and class play a crucial role in who has access. The questions of race and socio-economics are seen throughout the discussion around alternative food systems, and farmers markets are no exception. Race has often been cited as a determinant for who has access to farmers market's or any outlet for healthy, fresh foods, because of economic reasons as well as spatial relationship to the fresh food sources (Slocum, 2006). Slocum, Alkon, and McCullen's work on alternative food systems and

farmers markets suggest that these are primarily white spaces (Slocum, 2006; Alkon, McCullen, 2010;) Alkon and McCullen claim that:

> Despite [farmers markets] noted potential to create just sustainability, scholars have argued that farmers markets, and the alternative agrifood movement more generally, contain whitened discourses and practices. […] [These] spaces are shaped by a set of white cultural practices. (Alkon and McCullen, 2010, pp 938)

Using this framework, the farmers markets themselves become "empowering spaces for a form of food politics that reflects liberal, affluent, white identities and positionalities" (ibid, pp 939). Furthermore, farmers markets are often cited as spaces that work to build communities and shared spaces that fail to "address race and class divisions that exist within place-based communities" (ibid, pp. 947). This sense of shared experience, Alkon and McCullen argue, represents privilege and whiteness and therefore not everyone has access to this experience (ibid).

However, as these place specific studies have illustrated, farmers markets are serving people across the race line and are continually working to improve access to low-income communities by offering less expensive produce and by accepting government assisted food programs. For example, the farmers market Alkon examines in West Oakland "brings produce grown by "chemical-free" African American farmers to an area comprised largely of low-income, food-insecure African Americans" (Alkon, 2008, pp. 448). Old East, Ontario, offers another example of the use of farmers markets in a low-income community to promote food justice and food access (Larsen and Gililand, 2009). Here, research indicates that farmers markets reduced the overall prices of groceries, improved the communities access to healthy foods that were not previously there, and "provide a healthy

and sustainable alternative to the standard supermarket by reducing food miles and allowing residents to 'eat fresh' and support local farmers" (ibid, pp. 1161).

Place of the farmers market also effects the consumer's goals of the markets significantly. For example, Alkon discovered that the consumer's reason for attendance at the West Oakland market was not the same as the reasons for attendance of the consumers at the North Berkeley market:

> […] West Oakland and North Berkeley farmers market shoppers are often motivated by ethics. When 100 West Oakland customers were surveyed and asked to evaluate the importance of various rationales for market attendance, 58% assigned the highest value to "support for black farmers and small businesspeople." In North Berkeley, 49% named "support for local farmers and small businesspeople" as most important. (Alkon, 2008, pp. 490)

While these goals are similar and both reject the large-scale industrial food system, the differences are paramount for the survival of the market.

Despite the differences that arise in the context of farmers markets due to specific locations, there are many underlying and reoccurring themes associated with farmers markets. One major reoccurring theme found at most markets is the perception that food found at farmers markets is fresher, has better favor, and supports a more localized economy (Smithers, 2008). Along these lines of engagements, most research surveying consumers encounter the notion that consumers often support farmers markets for the experience itself (ibid). Part of the experience is the participation in supporting a local food system and economy. The desire to engage with local food is seen throughout the case studies, even though the definition of local is often vague and uncertain.

Smithers highlights three important factors that contribute to the success and proliferation of farmers markets:

> First, as an entrepreneurial consideration, there is a value in creating (and thus codifying, communications and enforcing) the alterity of the farmers market. […] A second factor, related to the success of the first, is the commitment of increasing numbers of these consumers to diversify, if not sift entirely, their consumption habits on the basis of beliefs about food and farming. […] A third factor, increasingly important in Ontario and no doubt elsewhere, is the importance of external regulation vis a vis public health requirements and the specter of potential penalty or liability. (Ibid pp 340)

These factors are vital for most farmers markets to succeed.

There is limited research and literature produced that is concerned with vendor's specific goals for participating in farmers markets. There is consideration to how the vendor interacts with the consumer at markets and how that is relevant for the function of the market. For example, face-to-face interactions with the farmer and the consumer are often cited as one of the most important reasons for using the farmers market because this face-to-face interaction gives the consumer a feeling of supporting a local, small-scale farm, and the perception that the food must be safer and better quality (Smithers, 2008). However, this does not represent the goal of the vendor for selling at the farmers market. Alkon's report on sustainable consumption at farmers markets, records the goals of the vendors, consumers, and market managers (Alkon, 2008). Her research found that:

> While farmers market participants cast their economic and just sustainability priorities as wholly compatible, vendors sometimes sacrifice the latter to maintain the former. […] Citing economic necessity, North Berkeley vendors choose to work in wealthier locales, which prevents even those who recognize the needs of food-insecure communities from attending to them. […] In West Oakland, vendors often leave the market due to a lack of sales. Market managers, vendors, and customers, however, do not recognize these contradictions as consequences of their desires to pursue a political goal-- the

> implementation of a just and sustainable agricultural system—through economic exchange.

This illustrates that while some farmers market vendors claim their goals are to promote environmental and social justice, profitability and economics are fundamental reasons why vendors choose to sell their produce at certain markets.

Community Food Security

Food security, as defined during the World Food Summit if 1996 states that food security exists "when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life" (WHO, n.d.). Additionally, Mares and Alkon in quoting The Community Food Security Coalition, state, community food security is "'…a condition in which all community residents obtain a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice'" (Mares and Alkon, pp.2, 2012). Food security is considered a "complex development issue" because it links issues of health, such as malnutrition and the distribution of food, to issues of sustainable economic development, the environment, and trade (WHO, n.d.). Community Food Security initiatives most often come from alternative food systems rather than conventional food systems and work to empower communities and people with low-income (Allen, 2003).

Fundamental to the discourse around community food security has been sustainable agriculture and local production and distribution (Allen, 1998). However, Allen argues that focusing primarily on the local for Community Food Security is counterproductive and does not get at the root of food insecurities:

> The focus on the local may distract attention from larger systemic forces that

> produce problems of environmental destruction and lack of food access. While problems of food insecurity are manifest at the local level, they are not caused at the local level but are rooted in larger, global, political structures. (ibid pp. 186)

Mares and Alkon identify some of these larger, global political structures that deepen food insecurity, including:

> reproducing neoliberalism in placing the economic needs of producers above food provisioning, for turning to market mechanisms to increase food access rather than demanding it of the states, and for promoting an ideology in which low-income people who cannot provide for their own food needs are viewed as less-than or in need of transformation. (Mares and Alkon , pp. 350, 2012)

These larger structures and ideologies make it challenging to create Community Food Security or solutions to insecurities. Possible solutions to improving Community Food Security included, altering land-use practices, school lunch programs that promote healthy choices in public spaces, community gardens and connecting consumers with producers through community based institutions such as CSAs and farmers markets (Allen, 1998; Mares and Alkon, 2012; Guthman, 2011). However, these approaches are burdened with aspects of neoliberal ideals and constraints, which ultimately hinder their success in creating food security (Mares and Alkon, 2012).

Methodology

To answer my research questions, I used a number of ethnographic approaches including interviews with vendors and market managers, and participant observation, supported by research. My research on the two different farmers markets, census data on race and class in Burlington, and an extensive literature review examining food justice, alternative food systems, local food, farmers markets, and community food security. I chose to use the lens of ethnography because it was evident to me how the culture of the two different markets influenced their purpose. In *Becoming Qualitative Researchers,* Glesne describes how an ethnography lends itself to "long-term immersion in the field, collecting data primarily by participant observation and interviewing" (Glesne, 2006, p. 9) leaving the researcher with thick description. The literature review was used to support my ethnography and interviews. My literature review was comprised of literature from scholarly journals, books, working papers, websites, and news articles. I also looked at local resources such as Vermont Agency of Agriculture, Food, and Markets (VAAFM), Northeast Organic Farming Association (NOFA), Vermont Sustainable Jobs Fund (VSJF), and other organizations that have records and data about food systems in Vermont. While conducting my literature review, I knew I wanted to include local interviews in my research to get a specialized understanding of farmers markets in Burlington. Completing my literature review first helped me develop both my underlying research questions as well as develop my survey instrument for interviewing participants of my research.

Once I gained my UVM IRB approval in the middle of January 2013, I began the interviewing process. I conducted qualitative interviews with farmers who sell produce and the market managers of the two markets rather than quantitative surveys because my subject

pool was too small for quantitative data to be significant and fully answer my research questions. I created a survey instrument that would produce in depth and extensive answers and responses. The survey instrument sought out to answer the following questions:

- What is the vendor's individual goal for selling at that particular farmers market?
- Who, based off memory and experience, is using the particular farmers market?
- Are farmers' markets a profitable site of commerce compared to other outlets for selling produce?
- Is the market doing anything to improve access to people of low-income?

I surveyed three vendors from the ONE market and four vendors from the downtown market and of these vendors one participated in both of the markets. I initially chose to survey four vendors from each market because the ONE market is small and does not have more than four agricultural/raw food vendors. However, one of the vendors from the ONE market could not be interviewed. I selected the vendors from the Burlington market according to products sold. I wanted my participants to sell agricultural products or raw products because my research is not concerned with craft vendors or prepared food products. I was not concerned with vendors that sell crafts of prepared foods because they do not fit into the discourse around food justice or Community Food Security. However, within these criteria, I selected the vendors at random. Additionally, I wanted to interview the only vendor that participated in both the Burlington and the ONE farmers market because my thesis compares these two different markets and I was interested to see if market location and neighborhood change either their goals or expectations of the market. I also interviewed the market managers from these two markets. I interviewed eight participants total.

I created two survey instruments, one for vendors, and one for market managers. See Appendix A and B for survey instruments. The survey instrument for vendors had eight questions, unless the vendor participated in both markets, and then there were eleven questions. The survey instrument for market managers was initially ten questions, but after my first interview with a market manager, I kept asking more questions during the interview or the subject mentioned things I had not even considered, so my survey instrument grew to fourteen questions.

I initially was looking to include the New North End (NNE) market in my comparison, however, due to my lack of ethnography and experience with this market and lack of responses and participation from the vendors, I chose not to include the NNE market because the data gathered was not as comprehensive as my data from the other two markets.

I conducted interviews from the middle of February through the middle of March. Three of the eight total subjects were either out of town or busy and preferred to conduct the interview through email. The emailed interviews were precise in answering the questions and shorter than the interviews that were conducted in person. I transcribed the taped interviews and then coded both the transcribed interviews and the interview conducted through email appropriately for data analysis. The codes helped determine the different objectives of the farmers markets and who is shopping at the different markets. I first used a priori codes determined from my research questions, such as, GOAL (goal), CUST (customer), PROF (profit) CUR (currency), PRIC (price), PROD (product), and LOC (location). After coding my data using the a priori codes, I found emergent codes, such as, COMM (community), PERC (perception), ORG (organic), and COMP (competition). These codes help me group and compile my data into findings and conclusions.

Alongside my interviews, I did a coding analysis of each farmers' market website to find repeating words and themes. I then compared the coding analyses' to see if they matched up and if the objectives of the farmers were similar to that of the objectives that the market illustrates to the public.

Literature around the Burlington and ONE farmers markets is extremely limited, and I therefore referred to their websites, news articles, and promotional videos to understand the history and statistics of the markets. The Burlington farmers market is a year round market that has been in the center of downtown Burlington since 1980. It continues to grow each year, and last summer there were 90 vendors that participated in the Saturday farmers market each week (Burlington Farmers Market, n.d.). This market is extremely popular both for consumers and vendors. Each year 50-70 new vendors apply to gain one of the very few spots that open up at the market so they can be a part of a market that receives roughly 5,300 visitors each weekend (ibid). Last summer the market sold 1.2 million dollars worth of local food products and crafts (ibid). Because so many shoppers visit the market each weekend, the market claims it acts as an "incubator for new ventures that grow to become successful local businesses" (ibid).

Burlington farmers market website homepage describes the market as a place that:

> provides a welcoming venue for visitors and locals alike to shop directly from Vermont's farmers and artisans in the city's historic downtown. This fun and festive experience is offered year-round through two markets […] Both treat shoppers to a bounty of fresh, locally grown, produce, handmade crafts, sweet and savory treats, and meats and cheese from Vermont's lush pastures. (ibid)

This paints the image of people socializing, walking around the market, and enjoying great local food and products. They state that the farmers market is great for Burlington because it

brings people into the area that then support other local Burlington shops and businesses (ibid). The mission of this market, through their website and advertisement, is to improve access to local products and serve as a space that produces commerce and wealth for local vendors and Burlington stores nearby. The informational video about the market does not mention that the market accepts 3squaresVT, Farm to Family coupons, or any other program that encourages low-income shoppers, and only at the very bottom of the webpage, in small print, can you find anything about accepting 3squaresVT.

The ONE farmers market, established in 1981, is a lot smaller than the Burlington market. Last summer there were only five or six (depending on the day) vendors, which was a decrease from vendors last year. The ONE website most noticeably highlights the usage of the EBT machine, farm to family coupons and 3squaresVT and the increased need for fundraising (Old North End Farmers Market, n.d.). The location, which recently moved into Roosevelt park from H.O. Wheeler School, has always been north of North Street and is it said to be in the middle of the most ethnically diverse neighborhood in Vermont and home to the majority of low-income residents, comprised mostly of minorities and refugees (Braid, 2011). This market for years was funded by government grants, but those grants expired, and the market must rely on support from local businesses such as City Market Co-op, From the Ground Up Bakery, Jamba's Junktiques, Meyers Furniture, North End Studios, Panadero Bakery, Old Spokes Home, and others that surround the ONE community (Old North End Farmers Market, n.d.)

In addition to interviews and informational resources, I drew on participant observations from my 2012 internship working for New Farms for New Americans at the

farmers market in the Old North End as well as my observations from working at the Burlington Farmers market from May, 2012 through September, 2012 to compile coherent and informative data specific to Burlington, Vermont. My experiences and observations first triggered my interest in comparing the roles of the different farmers' markets within Burlington. Although my observations over the course of the summer was what led me to my interest in this project, I recognize that the full potential for my participant observer's role was diluted because I hadn't determined the full scope of my research questions until after my observation time ended.

Being at the two different markets every week allowed for me to observe trends and patterns of who was shopping at the farmers markets, what people were buying, and how much money people were spending as well as vendor pricing patterns. Some pertinent observations of the Old North End farmers market include that the vast majority of the consumers shopping at the ONE market arrived by foot and therefore lived in that neighborhood. In contrast, however, most people that were picking up their weekly CSA share arrived by bike or car and were primarily white, middle-aged people. At the market, there was considerable attendance by minority groups including Somali-Bantu, Vietnamese, and Burmese. I made this conclusion by monitoring appearance (dress, race, and ethnicity) and language. Unlike the Burlington Farmers market, people were coming to the ONE market specifically for the produce and people often had lists or asked for certain types of produce. The currencies used most commonly at the NFNA stand were Farm to Family vouchers and 3SquaresVT cards (food stamps) followed by cash. The prices at this market appeared to me to be considerably lower than other markets grocery store prices from local

produce. NFNA prices at the market were most often the cheapest even though it is the same quality produce and certified organic.

The social environment that surrounded the market consisted of people playing volleyball, sitting and talking with friends and neighbors, a local band practice, and kids playing in the field. Other days during this time period there were people enjoying the park, but there were definitely more people out in the park on Tuesdays. Weather played a huge role in the attendance of the market, and rainy days, of which there were many, the vendors most often left because there were no customers.

The same summer I was interning for NFNA at the Old North End Farmers Market I was also working for a local vineyard selling wine at the Burlington farmers market every Saturday from the end of May through September. Though my product was very different and attracted perhaps a different consumer, I was still able to observe the market, patterns, and people's interactions with vendors, and community members. Some observations of the Burlington market include people strolling through the market at a much more leisurely pace, with little or no agenda. Additionally, people coming to specifically buy produce (indicated by either reusable shopping bags and/or a shopping list and briskly walking past free samples) arrived mostly within the first 2 hours of the market. The majority of customers at this market were white and ranged in ages from college students, to senior citizens, to middle aged. Most people were not shopping alone and rather were with friends, spouses, or children. Most visitors that came to my stand were tourists not from the Burlington area.

The currency I most often handled was cash or credit cards. I was selling an alcoholic beverage, and therefore shoppers could not use food stamps or farm to family coupons. However, even at the vendors around me selling produce and food products I did

not notice any use of these benefits. More often than not people did not have shopping bags filled with agricultural products. Products I most commonly saw people with were prepared foods they were eating while walking around.

My ethnography of these two markets is vital to my conclusions and understanding of how the farmers markets operate, but alone is not substantial enough and must be accompanied by the literature review and interviews. Additionally, I have photographs of the two markets to visually illustrate my observations. See appendix C for photographs of the ONE market and appendix D for photographs of the downtown Burlington market.

Results

Below are the results I found from interviewing four vendors and the market manager at the Burlington Market, a Saturday morning market located in the heart of downtown Burlington, Vermont and three vendors and the market manager from the ONE market, a Tuesday afternoon market located in the Old North End, a racially diverse neighborhood in one of the older sections of Burlington. In this section, I have described my findings for the types of customers that attend both markets, the type of currency used in both markets and the vendors' perceptions of profitability of the farmers market. I will also describe the vendors' perceptions of recent changes in the markets, their goals for selling at the markets, and other data that emerged from my interviews with the vendors and managers.

Customers

Evident in both my memos and in the data was a suggestion that the location of the farmer's markets played a role in the demographic of the customers and visitors to each market. In all four surveys from the Burlington market, quotes such as "Burlington is mostly white, so mostly white folks, all ages-- we see UVM students, young families, old retirees and tourists" from vendor C and "I would say the majority of them are upper middle class white" from vendor B reflected a primarily white, affluent, consumer at this market. Furthermore, two vendors commented on there being more females present at the market. Four out of five interviews of people from the Burlington Market commented on their being a large representation of tourists or "people from all over" at the farmers market. This led participant G to comment, "we want tourists to walk through there but we don't want it just to be an open air tourist market." Only one of the four vendors specifically noted the

immigrant and refugee populations coming to the downtown market but said they were only a “small contingent” of the shoppers.

By contrast all interviewees from the Old North End Market described their customers as “low-income” or “poorer people” and two participants commented on the market as being ethnically, diverse, citing “ Bhutanese, Somalia and Vietnamese people being the primary customers” (participant E, 2013). It was suggested that the people using this market came from the nearby community and participant H stated “ It really is for people that live in the neighborhood, in the Old North End, which is pretty diverse for Vermont.” Vendor D, who participates in both of the markets, stated that at “the one market there is a lot more shopping for families and the Burlington it’s a lot more students or older couples, but not so many family shoppers.”

One other factor that may contribute to the population difference was the time when the farmer’s market is offered. The Burlington Market occurred on Saturday, which may explain the leisurely attitude of the customers. Participant G commented that if they offered the market on Wednesday, it might draw a different more local crowd. That would certainly concur with my observations from the Burlington Market that people were more interested in strolling than buying. One participant stated, when talking about the leisurely attitude of the consumers, “the loyal locals that do come down to the market come down at 7:30 in the morning and buy [the food] off the truck and want to get out before the babies and the strollers and puppies come down” (participant B, 2013). By contrast, the ONE market took place on Tuesday afternoons from 3-6, and vendors found that most people attending the market where there with the intent to buy produce. Vendor D stated “some people come

because it is the most convenient way to get produce in the ONE. Walk out your door, buy some produce."

Currency

One question I had for participants at the farmers market concerned what form of currency they were mostly dealing with at the market. The form of currency in this study indicates if customers were paying with cash or using government supported programs, such as 3squaresVT, Farm to Family coupons, or Healthy Harvest coupons, which is the best indicator of economic status for this research.

The results from the Burlington market indicated that the currency was almost across the board cash or credit cards for the bigger farms. Vendor C stated on average maybe 1% or 2% total sales were 3squaresVT, but the others just said cash. Participant G with actual figures of market sales in 2012 stated there was only $5,000 in food stamp swipes of the $1.8 million dollars spent. Furthermore, this participant did research to find that the $5,000 indicates they are "only reaching about 10% of the population in Burlington on food stamps." This might indicate that shoppers at this market either do not receive food assistance from the government, or it is not advertised that one can use their 3squaresVT dollars at this market. Furthermore, it may indicate that people who do receive 3squaresVT are not using the farmers market to purchase food. Through talking with local Vermonter's who receive or received food stamps in the past

The ONE market, however, reported a significant usage of government supported coupons and handled far less cash. Two of the three vendors said about 50/50 cash and coupons, while another stated their primary form of currency was EBT tokens (3SquaresVT)

and Harvest Health coupons. One vendor also mentioned the use of internal coupons, meaning produced by the farm to promote farmers market attendance, being a large portion of total sales. This suggests that people attending this market are of a lower socio-economic class than the people who attend the Burlington market because they are eligible for and utilize government assistance. The discrepancies in forms of currency between the two markets might indicate that there is a socio-economic divide in who is using these markets.

Profitability

Two of the six vendors interviewed said that selling at the farmers market was profitable and all the others either said no, or not really compared to other forms of commerce such as wholesale. Three vendors (two from Burlington and one from ONE) said that the market used to be more profitable, but because it has changed so much (I will elaborate on this further down) it is no longer as profitable as it was, and they have changed their business models to sell more wholesale. When asked if the market was profitable vendor B responded "Becoming less so as our wholesale accounts get stronger and stronger and, the market has nearly doubled in vendor quantity so the money being spent at the market is now spread among more vendors." Four out of the six vendors found that wholesale was more profitable than farmers markets. Additionally, vendor D, who participates in both markets found that after doing math and considering market fees and number of hours of different markets that the Burlington market was slightly more profitable than the ONE market.

What two downtown market participants mentioned was that the market was profitable in that it was great marketing for the farm, and people would see them at a market and then look for their produce at local stores or go to the farm.

Perceptions of Changes in the Market

A common theme that emerged from my research was the perception of how the markets were changing and what change meant for the market. This theme was most prevalent among the vendors from the Burlington market because the market has been growing larger in the past few years. All of the participants from the Burlington market mentioned the growth of the market from approximately 65 vendors to 90 vendors this past summer as something that has changed their perception or attitude towards the market. Vendor B saw the change in size as adding potential to the market, making it a great place for marketing and farm publicity, but also understood that the growth "draws a different crowd now than it used to" and is less agriculturally focused than it used to be. Three Burlington market participants indicated that the change in size increases market competition, and might even flood the market with the same products, and indicated this as negatively impacting profitability. Furthermore, one of the vendors indicated he was dropping the market all together because it was no longer worth it for them. He noted the market had shifted its focus towards prepared foods and less on the grocery shopping aspect, and the increased size of vendors "dilutes" the overall sales (participant A, 2013). This perception of change at the ONE market was not as prevalent among interviewees, which suggests that the ONE farmers market has not grown or changed greatly.

Market Goals

To understand the goals of the vendors, I asked them the main reasons they choose to sell at the particular market as well as subtle questions that focused on pricing and type of products rather than directly asking them their goal because I thought what they said their goal was and what their actual goal was could be very different. Using this method, I found that vendors from the ONE market indicated their goal for participating in this market was not to make a profit but to build relationships and strengthen the community. Quotes like "we are going to focus our crops on specialty ethnic crops eaten by the refugee communities we know live in the ONE. This will help us develop a relationship with them and to not compete with other vendors" from vendor E and "The ONE isn't charity for me, but part of going is that I do live in the ONE community, and it is easy and low key" from vendor F might indicate this market goal of building a space and outlet for produce that strengthens the community. Additionally, two of the three vendors said they live in that community and therefore it was easy, "livened up their community" and was fun. All three vendors also highlighted the pricing of the vegetables at the ONE market are much less than other markets and sometimes even wholesale. Two of the vendors said that they were selling produce that was of lesser quality than wholesale or "at its last stop." This might suggest that they are selling the produce at a reduced price because they want it to be affordable to their consumers, which are of a lower economic status. Only one vendor said "the top reason for this is that it's been bringing food to an area of the city with not many choices for fresh produce." This might indicate this vendor's goal was to improve food access to a community that primarily lower income and therefore promote food justice.

Goals that emerged from the Burlington market were marketing and/ or community interaction. One main goal for participating in the market was for marketing and advertising for the farm. Three of the four vendors indicated marketing as a main reason for participating in the Burlington Market. Another goal that was mentioned by all four vendors was interacting with the community. When asked main reasons for selling, quotes such as "community presence," "it's good community outreach," or " interact with the customers and it's a community event" all suggest the vendor's goal to improve and be a part of the community.

Interestingly, while only one vendor indicated their goal was to increase access to lower-income community members, both of the market managers suggested this as being one of their main goals for the community to get out of the market. Quotes like " The market really tries to open up to EBT benefits and food stamp benefits […] I always try to figure out who isn't coming to the market to see how we can reach them" from participant G and "[our goal] is to improve access to quality affordable food" from participant H might indicate this desire to improve food access to people of lower socio-economic status. This suggests that the goals of the market managers were not the same goals as those of the vendors.

Other Interesting Data

One interesting theme I discovered was of the dichotomy between keeping prices low enough at a market in order to provide access to low-income families and making a profit and having the market be a worthwhile event for the vendors. Participant H from the ONE really highlighted the trouble farms have with keeping prices low in saying that it

"drives [vendors] away from the market, especially new farms have trouble because there are established farms with such low prices that if you have more overhead and have to charge more, it's hard to sell. I know a couple farms, two farms, have vented to me about that and they're not at the market any more." This indicated it was possibly harder for vendors to participate in low-income markets, and therefore it might be challenging for these markets to grow. All of the vendors interviewed from the ONE market mentioned that they did this market because it strengthened their community and was a fun or easy place to sell produce, but if you are a farm not from this community or a new farm that is still struggling to make a profit selling produce, this market might be unsatisfactory or undesirable to participate in.

This dichotomy was not mentioned by participants from the downtown Burlington market, and the only reason for leaving the market, as illustrated by both a vendor and the manager, was that the farm's business models had shifted towards more wholesale or CSAs. Finally some found the market was no longer profitable, or they did not find it profitable or worthwhile anymore because there was so much competition among all the farms present at the market.

I also found it interesting how people said they determined their pricing. Three of the four vendors are the downtown market said they wanted their prices to be in between wholesale prices and retail prices, while one vendor said they sell produce at the same retail price as city market. Additionally, all vendors also said they compare their prices to the other vendors and make sure they are comparable to them. Vendor D, however, when asked why he thought people supported farmers markets stated, "people want really high quality, fresh, local, produce and are willing to pay extra for it because it is a little bit more here than

at the supermarket." Two participants from the ONE market also noted that it seems like there is a "premium" at the Burlington market even though farmers markets are supposed to be direct sales, cut out the middleman, and be slightly cheaper. This might illustrate that while it is the farmers goal in the Burlington market to sell their produce at a price that is between wholesale and retail, the reality is prices are often the same or higher than retail prices because the farmers are trying to make a profit in a competitive market and people are paying it because they can pay the higher prices.

The interviews really illustrated to me the differences between how these two markets are perceived and their purposes. I was able to identify reoccurring themes even though I only had a small sample of vendors participate. Through interviews I discovered the goals of the specific markets, who the main consumers were, and if they were a profitable site of commerce, and my results indicate possible answers to all of those questions. Chart A illustrates some of my results in bullet points.

Chart A: Results

	Burlington	Old North End
Demographic	-primarily white, middle aged or students, middle to upper class -some notice of recent refugee populations	- low-income -refugee populations (Somali Bantu, Bhutanese, Vietnamese) - young, hip, white, people
Currency Used	-cash - credit cards -very little amounts of tokens or 3squaresVT noted by vendors -no mention of Farm to Family coupons -$5,000 of the $1.6 million were 3squares VT (.3% total sales)	- one vendor mentioned primary currency was coupons (3squaresVT, Farm to Family, and Healthy Harvest) - roughly 50% cash, 50% government supported coupons
Profitability	- used to be more profitable -wholesale is more profitable - helps with profit because of marketing- generates more customer loyalty which generates profits at the farm stand or store	-not compared to whole sale -less profitable than other markets because prices are set lower
Perceptions of market changes	-market growth is flooding the market with over representation of products -becoming a tourist market -people no longer go to the market for produce but rather to socialize -consumers enjoy the increase in size	- new farms with exceptionally low prices make it hard for other farms to compete and make a profit - the change in location to the park hurt sales because people forgot to look for it at its new location -desire to grow
Interactions	- highly valued -one main reason vendors sell at the markets - good for community - establishes vendor loyalty which is essential at a market with so many vendors	- not mentioned as being valued by vendors
Vendor Goals	- tool for marketing the farm name -interaction with consumers - community out reach	-provide quality affordable food -outlet for ethnically appropriate food for minority groups - sell produce that cannot go to wholesale

Discussion

My ethnography found stark differences between the two markets in almost every aspect: the customers, the goals or purpose, access, usage of government supported food aid programs, and their attempts to improve food justice. The stark differences between the two markets really illustrate how community, and location play a huge role the market.

The first question I sought to answer was what are the main goals of the two markets. I was interested in answering this because through my ethnography alone I understood the two markets to serve highly difference purposes but was unsure if the farmers shared the same goals. After completing the literature review I anticipated the goals of the markets to be concerned with food justice or improving community food security. I was interested to see how these markets might work to improve community food security because they are a local alternative to the conventional food system that Vermont is dependent on but trying to move away from (Central Vermont Food System Council, 2012). However, these two goals did not emerge as the vendors' main goals. The vendors did not mention or allude to using this market to improve community food security nor did they mention food justice as a reason for participating in the market. This was interesting to me because it was not representative of the research I reviewed. For example, Alkon's (2012) research of the Oakland farmers market she found a main goal of promoting food justice in that neighborhood and Larson and Gilliland's (2009) research on a farmers market established in London, Canada, suggested it was a potential remedy to a food desert and a solution to improving community food security. My results were more representative of Alkon's claim concerning the Berkley farmers market, which was not at all concerned with promoting food

justice but was rather an alternative for people affluent enough to reject the conventional food system and choose an alternative food system(Alkon, 2012).

The vendors interviewed from the ONE market were interested in participating in the market to strengthen the community by having a place where community members could meet their farmers, have face-to-face interactions, and enjoy community space. Whereas vendors from the downtown market stressed a goal being to improve marketing for the farm so customers would recognize the name when at the store or restaurant and purchase their produce over other farms. This indicated that the location of the market completely affects vendors' goals. I discovered that one cannot generalize farmers' goals for selling at the farmers market because the location of the market can highly affect what the goals are.

The second question I wanted to answer was who has access to the market and does that access change depending on location. My research indicated that location is pivotal in the discourse around who has access to the farmers market. Socio-economic class and race often limit access to space. Vanderbeck argues, "space is central to the construction of race and… race is central to the unfolding of spatialities." (Vanderbeck, pp. 642, DATE) With this in mind, was interested to see if access to the markets reflected any economic or racial limitations to these spaces. My research indicated that the ONE market was accessible to everyone in the community in that the prices were affordable, it accepted government benefits for people of low-income, and it sought to sell produce that was culturally appropriate. An example of the market selling culturally appropriate food is one vendor highlighted that during Ramadan, a Muslim holiday that involves fasting, they always brought a lot of watermelon because it is one food that people fasting can eat during this time.

The downtown market, however, did not prove to be a market easily accessible to people of low-income, indicated by the very little percentage of government benefits used at the market. Furthermore, the downtown Burlington market was representative of the discourse around farmers embodying social norms of what Alkon and McCullen call "whiteness" in their study on two farmers markets in California (Alkon and McCullen). The downtown market represented this notion that "farmers markets, and the alternative agrifood movement more generally, contain whitened discourses and practices" and "this whiteness can inhibit the participation of people of color in alternative food systems, and can constrain the ability of those food systems to meaningfully address inequality" (ibid, pp. 938). The idealogy of whiteness representing more than just skin color is very present in Vermont (Vanderbeck, 2006) Vermont, is" not just white, but a special kind of white, which has its own distinctive characteristics." (Vanderbeck, pp. 646, 2006) There are many images and stereotypes about Vermont which all contribute to it being socially white:

> The signifiers invoked in discussions of white liberal Vermont are far from internally consistent, given the twining together of hippies, socialists, Democrats, Progressive party members, Hollywood-loving elites, vegans, anarchists, environmentalists, and others into a single strand. (Vanderbeck, pp. 652, 2006)

Vermont is overwhelmingly (96%) white and embodies white social practices and norms. This alone might discourage people of a different race to access a space containing both white bodies and white practices.

Often found in places that embody "whitened discourse and practices" are stigmas and expectations around economic class as well. For example, I discovered while talking to recipients or former recipients of 3SquaresVT that they did not feel comfortable using their government assistance at farmers markets because it signified they were of a lower socio-

economic class than other shoppers at the farmers market. One Burlington farmers market shopper even stated that she has witnessed vendors act annoyed by shoppers who try to use their benefits. This brought me to my next question: Do the farmers markets work to create food justice for those who have limited access to fresh food?

It is possible that the ONE farmers market, during the months it operates, did promote aspects of food justice by improving access to healthy foods to low-income community members and supporting farming practices that are environmentally just because the farms practiced organic, nonindustrial- scale farming. There were no written historical records or literature on how the ONE farmers market was created. Therefore I cannot state whether this market emerged as a desire for change from the industrial food system or if it emerged because there was a need for an alternative due to lack of a supermarket or sufficient outlet with quality, inexpensive food. However, the market was still serving the community, 32 years later, with produce that was quality, affordable, and accessible by walking distance to most, if not all, community members of the ONE because there was no supermarket or farm stand with these healthy alternatives. For these reasons, I found the ONE market to be an alternative food source that was there not because people wanted an alternative to the industrial food system, but because it was one of their only options for accessing fresh, local food and addressing food justice.

However, as my literature review discussed, food justice is also about the community changing the larger political structures that create the inequalities of distribution and access, and this farmers market did not challenge these larger structures. Additionally, this market was only available for half of the year (June- October) and therefore, during the other months of the year, the community did not have this resource to fresh, healthy food and

must either travel to a supermarket to purchase food, or rely on the community convenient stores and small ethnic markets that do not carry an abundance of produce. Overall, I would say that this market did not create food justice for the Old North Enders with low access to fresh food, however, in the months it operated, it functioned to improve access, provide food that is quality and affordable, and address issues of food justice.

The same, however, was not representative at all of the Burlington market. My research and interviews indicated that this market served the people of Burlington and tourists visiting and it was not so much of an alternative food source, as it was a place to hang out with friends, buy prepared food, and "get that restaurant feel." Agricultural vendors and the market manager alike saw this market as turning largely into a place of leisure and not a place of shopping for produce. However, of the people that did use the market as a place to buy produce, were described as white, middle to upper class people "who were well versed in wanting to eat locally and wanting to support local farmers" stated one vendor. The prices at the Burlington farmers market were not affordable for low-income consumers because they knew their main market was that of people who were willing to pay for local, organic, quality produce. Additionally, because if the small percentage of 3squaresVT and other government supported programs used at this market, it was apparent that low-income people were not using this market and therefore might indicate they did not have access economically. My research indicated that the downtown market did not work to advance food justice and was only an alternative food system for those who were affluent enough to choose to support alternatives to industrial food.

My research was also concerned with how Burlington farmers markets were working to improve access to low-income community members by promoting government and local

benefits that made buying local produce possible. My literature review on farmers markets across the United States and Canada did not discuss in depth how markets were working to promote government-supported programs at the farmers markets. However, the question of if and how Burlington was working to make the space of farmers markets more accessible to all economic classes and races through different programs such as 3squaresVT, Farm to Family, and Harvest Health was a paramount aspect of my study on farmers markets in Burlington.

The ONE market was marketed as a community market that encouraged members with food stamps and other governmental aid programs, and from what participants stated that was exactly what the ONE market was. This market, it was indicated, served an important role in improving access to fresh foods to a community that did not have a supermarket or any farm stands. It was accessible because of its central location in a park that is surrounded by houses and close to low-income housing units, there is parking for people who live outside the neighborhood, and illustrates, through having culturally appropriate foods, that it is accepting of all the different cultures present in the ONE. In addition, this market was accessible to the community because, as all vendors and the market manager indicated, the produce there was sold at a reduced price, and they accepted 3squaresVT, Harvest Health, and Farm to Table coupons. My research indicated the ONE market really strove to include low-income community members. It also accepted Farm to Family coupons, which, in turn, expanded access to low-income families. As my results illustrated, the ONE market's efforts were successful, and reportedly half of all revenue was in the form of a coupon from one of these programs.

Again, the same was not true for the downtown market and there was still very little usage of 3squaresVT and no advertisement on the markets webpage or banners that indicated they accept farm to table coupons or support Healthy Harvest. One participant did stress a future goal would be reaching out to customers that use 3sqauresVT to better improve access to those economically disadvantaged, however, they had no future plans in the works or ideas on how to accomplish this goal.

The interviews, along with my observations, really exemplified how crucial the geographic location was to understand who was using the market and the market's main goals and purpose. The importance of the place of market was a reoccurring theme in my literature review on farmers markets, and the community where the market was situated played a huge role in the market's manifestation. The location did affect who had access to the market even though the markets were located within a few miles of each other.

Lastly, my research was concerned with the profitability of the markets compared to other outlets. Initially, this question might have seemed irrelevant to my research. However, understanding the profitability helped to determine if they had the capability to serve as a vehicle food justice, improve community food security, and serve as a wildly utilized alternative food source. If it was not profitable for farmers, they would continue to view farmers markets not as a main outlet for selling produce compared to wholesale, because as Guthman illustrates, capitalism and the desire for profit often present themselves in the various alternative food movements (Guthman, 2011). My research found that yet again location played an important role in that the participants from the downtown market did not find it profitable, where as two of the three from the ONE market said it was profitable. This result was highly interesting because the produce sold at the ONE market was significantly

cheaper than the produce at the downtown market. This could signify that either there were too many produce vendors at the downtown market flooding the market with repeat products, or that people were no longer using the downtown market to buy produce and instead were buying other things such as home made soaps and wines. This to me indicated that in order for a farmers market to be successful and profitable as an actual alternative food source, it would need to be smaller and geared towards providing produce, not just a place for tourists to hang out on a Saturday.

My research was significant because it could be a helpful tool for understanding how Burlington markets are perceived and utilized. Vermont is trying to improve food security and strengthen the local food movement and farmers markets are one avenue that supports both of these missions. However, without research and people posing questions such as these, there will be gaps in understanding who has access and their ability to be successful. Further research might include how the downtown market can work to improve access to all socio-economic classes by promoting the usage of government and non-profit food aid programs.

Conclusion

This research examined how two farmers markets meet the needs of the community members, how they differ due to location, and whether they create a just and sustainable alternative food source for the people of Burlington, Vermont. The role of farmers market in providing fresh, local, affordable produce within the Burlington community has proven to be very different depending on the particular market. The purpose of my research was to understand how the location of a market determines the market goals, who has access to the market, and what effects the market's ability to produce a profit. By determining the goals, accessibility, and profitability of the markets I was able to assess different ways in which these farmers markets serve as an alternative, local, food system for residents of Burlington. It also allowed me to evaluate whether they help improve food justice for people of low-income with little access to fresh and healthy foods. The results I found from interviewing four vendors and the market manager at the Burlington Market, a Saturday morning market located in the heart of downtown Burlington, Vermont and three vendors and the market manager from the ONE market, a Tuesday afternoon market located in the Old North End, a racially diverse neighborhood in one of the older sections of Burlington, and my participant observations working at both my these markets support my claim that farmers markets are complex and highly representative of their location.

Throughout the research process some limitations did arise making my ability to make affirmative statements and conclusions difficult. A primary limitation to my research was the number of vendors that participated in my research. While there are dozens of produce vendors at the Burlington market, there are only four produce vendors at the ONE market and only three responded to my request for an interview. I did not want to skew my

data by interviewing a lot more vendors from the downtown market than the ONE market and therefore I only interviewed a total of six vendors and the two market managers. This is a limitation because it does not allow common themes to fully develop.

Another limitation to my research was that because these markets meet on different days during different times, it is hard to fully understand if the location is the significant reason for these two markets to have completely different purposes and goals and serve different community members. For example, perhaps if the ONE market was on Saturday from 8-2 there would be a different crowd and it would attract more weekend visitors or if the downtown market was on Tuesdays evenings it might have a greater agricultural focus and not attract nearly as many tourists. This limitation makes it hard to affirmatively state that the location of the market has a significant impact on access, goals, and purpose.

One other limitation to my research is my observations as an ethnographer were from behind the tables of two very different products. Perhaps if I were selling produce at the downtown market I would have had a different experience and therefore my ethnographic observations would indicate different patterns and themes.

Despite the limitations to my study, I was able to answer my research questions about the main goals of the market, who has access to the farmers market, how Burlington is working to make the space of farmers markets more accessible to people of low-income through supporting and promoting government programs that encourage shopping at farmers markets, if the market is profitable for farmers, and how do farmers markets in Burlington fit into the discourse around food justice.

As I have mentioned previously, my personal bias is to view farmers markets as a highly interesting alternative food source. However through my experience, observations,

and research, I have also found them to be highly representative of the communities where they take place. I have discovered they serve as an alternative food system for more affluent communities, fulfilling the desire for a different food system, whereas in low-income, often racialized communities, they have gained popularity because they have limited access to fresh vegetables and serve as an alternative to high priced supermarkets. My research illustrates that even though these two farmers markets are situated only slightly more than one mile apart they serve completely different purposes for the community and a vastly different group of people within the Burlington community.

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Appendix A: Survey Instrument for Vendors

1. In which farmers' market(s) do you participate? If more than one market, please answer each question for each of the markets.
2. How long have you been participating in this particular farmers market
3. What are your main reasons for selling at this particular farmers market?
4. Based on your observations, who would you say is your main consumer? Please describe their ethnicity race, economic status or other distinctive features that come to mind.
5. What form of currency do you handle most at this market (money, food stamps, coupons)?
6. Are farmers markets a profitable site for selling your product compared to wholesale at stores, farm stands, and other outlets of commerce?
7. How do you determine the pricing of your product?
8. What types of products do you sell? Does the location have any influence on which products you bring to the market?

For Vendors that participate in more than one market:

9. Please explain the major difference you see in the two markets?
10. Which, if either, of the markets do you find more profitable?
11. Do you have any additional comments?

Appendix B: Survey Instrument for Market Managers

1. In which farmers' market(s) do you manage? If more than one market, please answer each question for each of the markets.
2. How long have you been participating in this role at this particular farmers market **?**
3. What are your main reasons or goals for managing and having such a huge part in this particular farmers market?

4. Based on your observations, who would you say is shopping at this market? Please describe their ethnicity race, economic status or other distinctive features that come to mind.
5. In addition, do you believe that everyone has access to this market
6. What form of currency do the vendors handle most at this market (money, food stamps, coupons)?
7. Do you accept EBT, farm to family coupons, or other government funded programs?
8. How much money was spent at the farmers market this past summer?
9. Of the total sales, how many were EBT, coupons, food stamps
10. Based on feedback you get from the vendors, are farmers markets a profitable site for selling product compared to wholesale at stores, farm stands, and other outlets of commerce?
11. Do you, as manager, have any influence on the vendors, products sold, or prices?
12. Do you consider this market to be growing each year or has it remained the same in the recent years?
13. Do you have any future goals or plans for this market?
14. Is there anything you would change or do differently at this market?

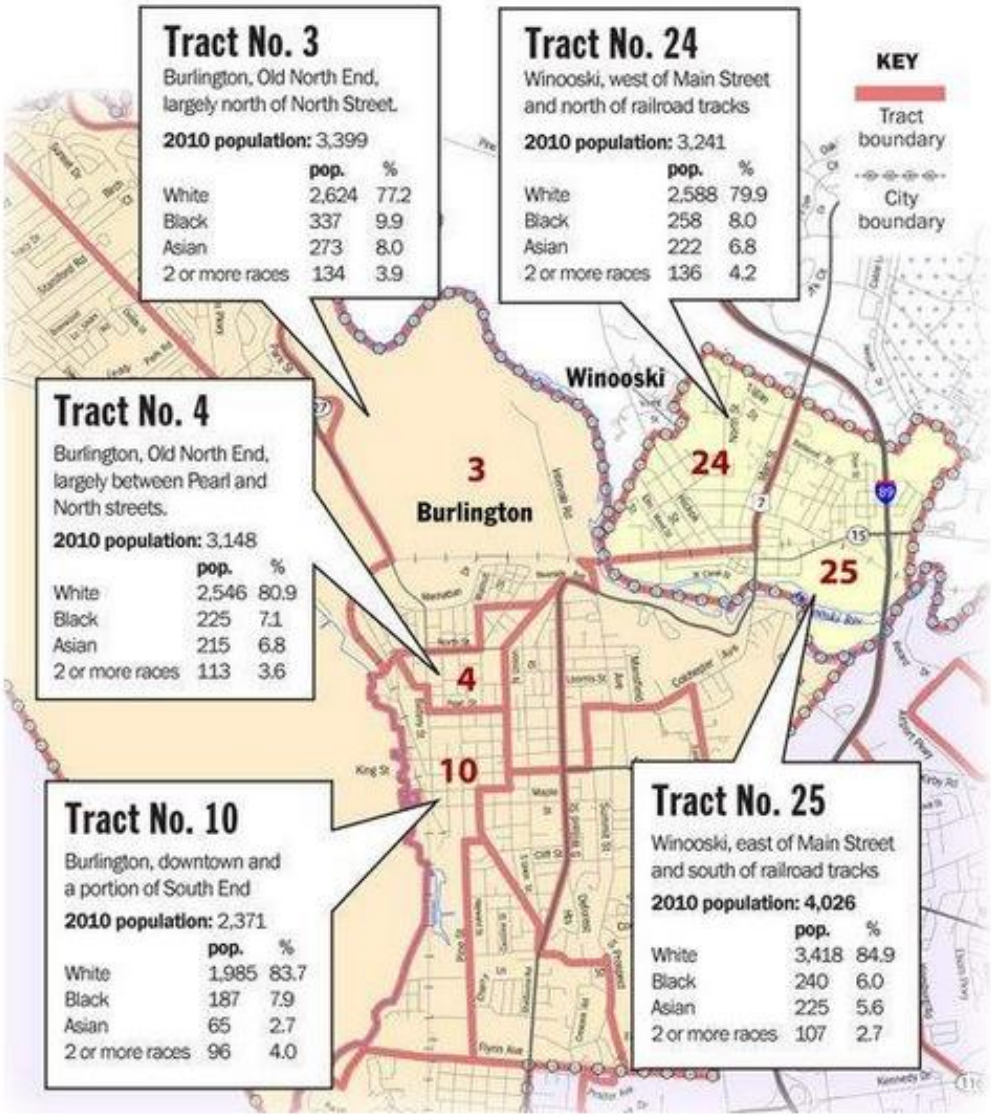
Appendix C: Old North End photographs


Locate Organic
Zuchinni - $1.00/lb
Yellow Squash - $.50/lb
Cherry tomatoes - $2.00
Head lettuce - $1.50
Potatoes - $1.50/lb
Beans - $1.00/lb
Eggplant - $1.00/lb
new farms
for new americans
ASSOCIATION OF AFRICANS
LIVING IN VERMONT INC


new farms

Appendix D: Downtown Burlington Market

Appendix E, US Census Data illustrating Race Percentages in Burlington, VT Picture



2010 Census data reveal the most racially-diverse neighborhoods in Vermont. The stateremains one of Americas whitest states, and the neighborhoods are less diverse than the nationalaverage of 72.4 percent white but Vermont nonetheless is seeing a rise in diversityamong its residents. Heres a look at Chittenden Countys most racially-diverse neighborhoods referred to by the U.S. Census Bureau as tracts.

(Briad, 2011)

Appendix F: Maps from City-Data

Photo A: notable Buildings

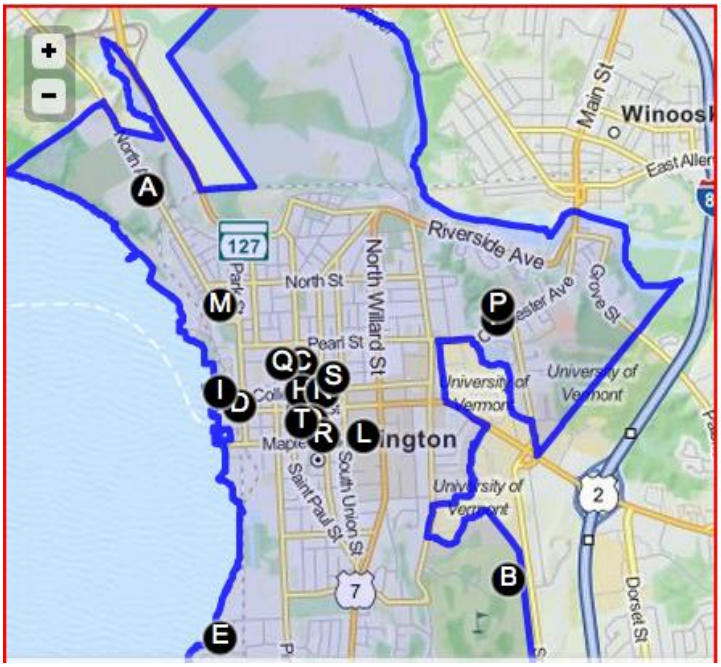


Photo B: Shopping Centers

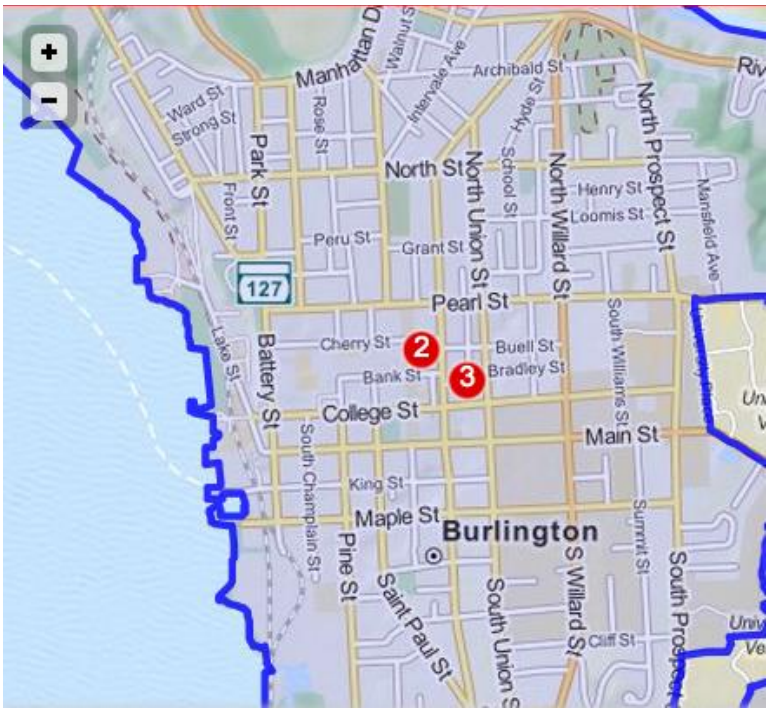


Photo C: Parks