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Journey through Food Activism in Toronto, Ontario

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The Anti-Poverty Community Organizing and Learning (APCOL) project represents a partnership effort across several post-secondary institutions and a range of community-based groups in Toronto (Canada). This project was funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, under its Community University Research Alliance program (2009-2014). Drawing on carefully designed survey and case study methods as well as a participatory action research orientation - the aim of this research project has been to offer the most intensive study of activist learning and development in anti-poverty work in Canada.

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Journey through Food Activism in Toronto, Ontario

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Abstract: In 2009-2010 the Anti-Poverty Community Organizing and Learning project (APCOL) collaborated with FoodShare Toronto to study the community organizing processes focused on food activism. In total, a group of seven (7) individuals, active within their respective communities were recruited from low income areas of Toronto. The group of seven 'Food Activists' as well as a FoodShare facilitator and two university graduate students met weekly to develop education materials through a popular education process. These materials were created with the needs of the respective communities at the forefront and some were delivered at the community level. Food Activists also agreed to be interviewed at length about their personal experiences with poverty and navigating the local food system within Toronto. The interviews and the facilitation of popular education techniques provided a space for the Food Activist group to reflect on their personal journey, using food and poverty as a lens. The interviews aimed to capture information on the role of social networks aiding or barring action and the role or social differences due to education, income or immigration. Ultimately what emerged was a narrative of their struggles and actions within the food system in Toronto. This paper attempts to convey their journey as Food Activists and show how food is leveraged as a tool to organize and address inequity issues within Toronto.

Keywords: popular education, food, personal history, Toronto

JOURNEY THROUGH FOOD ACTIVISM IN TORONTO, ONTARIO

INTRODUCTION

To understand the Anti-Poverty Community Organizing and Learning Project and its relationship with the participants it is necessary to understand the landscape of Toronto's food situation and the actions involved in the food movement. Toronto is active in addressing food insecurity and the right to food for its citizens. Food is discussed throughout the city, where farmers' markets and community gardens are spread throughout Toronto's landscape. Food can be viewed as a life good, one that should be available to the commons in a equitable and fair manner (Sumner, 2003). Food is familiar to everyone and can be a locus around which community and individuals come together. As Levkoe (2006) suggests, food can act as a way to frame and enter larger debates within society such as poverty due to lack of access to nutritious and culturally appropriate food. Toronto is often viewed as a leader in creating and sustaining programs and initiatives that attempt to address the food problem within the city. The Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) is one such initiative. The TFPC, established in 1991 as a subcommittee of the Board of Health, has members who identify issues within food access, look for ways to change the food system and create policies to carry out these innovations(Cosgrove, 2000). What does it mean to be *food secure*? The TFPC has created a definition of food security, particularly for Toronto. Being food secure includes:

a) Having a variety of quality foods available, meeting quantity needs and providing accessible locations for community members.

b) Ensuring the maintenance of ability to acquire sufficient food that they personally want to consume.

c) Having a viable and sustainable production system that would meet the needs of farmers, both in income generation and sustainable food production (Cosgrove, 2000).

Despite this concern and active engagement by many citizens in Toronto, food is still a concern for many. Many communities and individuals are still food insecure with 60,000 citizens of Toronto being supported at food banks every month. Of those who access food banks, 63% are on some form of social assistance (Food and Hunger Action Committee, 2000; Daily Bread Food Bank, 2011). This lack of food is serious, affecting mental, physical and spiritual health; recent studies suggest that hunger in communities is reaching a critical point where citizens will experience serious health impacts directly related to lack of nutritious food basis (Cosgrove, 2000).

Evaluating the use of food banks within a city is one way to consider poverty and, in turn, food insecurity. Studies have indicated that food banks are used by women and children in staggering numbers and this results in significant nutrient inadequacies, disproportionally so for children who account for 39% of food bank users (Tarasuk, Beaton, Geduld, & Hilditch, 1998; Daily Bread Food Bank, 1998 & 2011). The reliance on food banks is often discussed as a direct consequence of low social assistance and minimum wage from governmental policies and in Toronto in particular, attributed to the high cost of housing (Food and Hunger Action Committee, 2000). The average monthly market rent in Toronto is $857, and after rent and utilities the average amount left per day for food is less than $5; in total 73% of a persons income is spent on rent and utilites due to the high cost of housing (Daily Bread Food Bank, 2011). During the 1990s, as poverty deepened and hunger and homelessness increased, the number of food programs expanded to include child nutrition programs, meal programs at emergency shelters and drop-ins, and other initiatives (Food and Hunger Action

Committee, 2000). The lack of government support in maintaining a standard of living that includes accessible, healthy food has created an informal food system that is supported by not-for-profit groups and active community members who seek to make changes at various levels of food insecurity. Of course, these statistics are staggering, but they are just that: statistics disembodied from the people who feel them and who work to change them.

APCOL AND FOODSHARE

In response to food insecurity in Toronto and the vast number of people and organizations who work to address it, the Anti-Poverty Community Organizing and Learning (APCOL) project collaborated with FoodShare Toronto. This project took place in 2009-2010 and aimed to study the dynamics of grassroots community organizing and learning processes, as applied to process of engaging low-income Torontonians in food justice activism. Food justice activism is often characterized by the desire to resist the traditional food system, the development of alternative food sources, all while considering equitable access for individuals and concern for sustainable production and consumption mechanisms (Allen, 2008). Food activism is something that FoodShare has been engaged with for nearly 30 years. FoodShare was created in response to the rise of food banks, and the growing dependence upon them (FoodShare, 2011). FoodShare originally aimed to address emergency need of healthy food by collecting and disturbing it to the Toronto area, as well as act as an advocate for policies that would ensure employment and sufficient income to meet people's basic needs and access to food (FoodShare, 2011). Currently, there is not much that FoodShare does not do to address food insecurity. The programs at FoodShare are innovative, community driven, and focus on the entire food system, "from field to table" by providing food via the Good Food Box, a system that delivers healthy food each month to community buyers. They also educate teachers and students on composting, train young adults in culinary skills, and provide nutrition education to mothers and babies (Lee & Field, 2009). FoodShare's focus and community work made the partnership with APCOL a great opportunity.

METHODOLOGY

APCOL collaborated with FoodShare in 2009-2010 to gather individuals who were engaged in various Toronto community food projects. Participants were chosen from a pool of over 100 applicants, largely because they were already leaders in their communities in a host of FoodShare initiatives, such as community gardens, community kitchens and Good Food Markets[i]. APCOL researchers (two graduate students and one professor) and a FoodShare project leader met weekly with a group of seven Toronto Community Food Animators – referred to as the Food Activist Group – to identify the barriers they encountered in engaging community members in food activism. FoodShare helped connect these individuals with the research team from York University and the University of Toronto, and provided a safe, welcoming space for everyone to organize around food. In particular, FoodShare provided a space where the Food Activist group could reflect and share their stories of why they are involved in the food justice movement and what they do to address larger issues of poverty. This engagement resulted in the collaborative creation of a series of popular education tools, including adult education workshops on various aspects of community organizing, mobilization and leadership. These workshops build upon FoodShare's existing efforts to provide low-cost, effective tools for community organizing to be utilized by other Community Food Animators in various high needs communities in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area.

Following popular education techniques, the group was facilitated and worked together to develop and shape materials; the facilitator and researchers were there to promote a space for members to share their ideas. The role of the facilitator within popular education is to allow people to articulate their 'own view of the world.' The facilitator is engaging but reflects on the process and allows for it to be guided by the individuals. Popular education attempts to "widen participation" to acknowledge power and knowledge within individuals and communities, rather than reliance on being lead, with the result of change (Kane, 2011, p. 12). Work was recorded collectively on charts and in notebooks by the researchers.

As popular educators in this project, the group collaborated to define the issues of food insecurity and explore what knowledge each individual had from their own experience to re-imagine what food work could look like – to promote "a dialogue of knowledges" (Kane, 2011, p. 15).

Parallel to the popular education tools development, Between October 2009 and April 2010, APCOL researchers conducted six[ii] in-depth, semi-structured interviews with members of the Food Activists Group, which delved into their personal experiences with coming to anti-poverty activism and the factors which sustained their engagement. These interviews focused on five key dimensions:

1) ***social networks,*** or the nature of the activist's social relationships and their role as either barriers to and support systems for their activism;
2) ***social differences***, or the impact of demographic patterns such as immigration, education level, income, etc. on their activist engagement
3) the activist's experience of the ***labour markets*** in their neighbourhoods, and whether they had experiences of un(der)employment, low wage levels, job (in)security. etc.;
4) ***the framing of grievances***, or the way the activist understood the nature of the challenges or problems they or their community faced, and whether they were understood as individual or social structural problems; and
5) ***material communication and cultural resources***, or the range of material and cultural supports available to them for community organizing, such as space to meet and finances. Each participant signed a consent form to take place in a recorded interview; each interview was transcribed.

DISCUSSION

The work within the APCOL project was multi-dimensional and the research provided many interesting intersections and themes. For this paper however, the focus will be on the over-arching narrative that resulted from the popular education techniques and interviews. In particular, I will focus on one activity, namely the "Streams of Experience" exercise and the discussions of the participants' stories – where they came from and what brought them to the APCOL project. These stories best exemplify what is happening within Toronto and the food justice movement located throughout the city. It also locates the knowledge of the food system, away from the statistics of poverty and income levels, towards the individuals that these policies and initiatives directly affect. Each individual included in this paper has a unique history, but what ties them all together is their chosen role as an active community member for change, as well as their desire to affect that change *through* food. By providing a space for individuals to come together, reflect on their history, their own understanding and frustrations of the food movement, the APCOL project enabled a telling of the reality of the food justice issues within Toronto.

Food, particularly lack of access to food, is often studied from a policy standpoint and framed by discussing solutions. The Food Activist group spent time exploring the reasons for coming to food activism and how this has shaped an understanding of the food landscape in Toronto**.** The research group and FoodShare staff member understood their role as providing a space and some guidance through a process, rather than acting as an expert. As popular educators, those involved acknowledged their own limitations in understanding food problems within the city, and allowed the Food Activists to "articulate their own view of the world" (Kane, 2011, p. 17). What was revealed throughout the journey into personal experience and stories was profound, and could not have been accomplished if time to reflect, share and explore during the process was not promoted and encouraged. A collaborative and respectful tone was set from the beginning of the group's encounters by beginning at their beginning with a process called "Streams of Experience." This tone was followed in the semi-structured

qualitative interviews by focusing on family history, the impact of immigration, personal social networks, and experiences of poverty.

The “Streams of Experience” exercise was used in the first three meetings of the APCOL project and acted as a way to frame the process of collaboration and self reflection. Participants were given large pieces of chart paper. They were advised to sit quietly and reflect upon the following questions:

What brings people to food activism?

What keeps people interested and active in food activism?

What life experiences are brought to the table and enrich the activism experience?

How do life experiences play a role in enriching the training experience? How can we utilize/harness these experiences in the training process?

Each participant created a ‘document’ that answered these personal questions. Many included drawings and artistic representations of their story, accompanied by key words and phrases. The stories, their personal journey to food activism, were shared within the group. The creation and sharing was an emotional process for many of the group members – the details that were shared were personal in nature. Many of the reflections were inspiring, while still others were accounts of harsh realities of food insecurity such as growing up in poverty, and presently living on social assistance that made food access a challenge. The use of story was found to be integral to the process of creating community materials. The telling of stories can be new ways of seeing the world (Ledwith & Springett, 2010, p. 104); by sharing personal journeys the members were brought closer together. It provided point of reference for why people were passionate about certain issues; as Margaret Ledwith suggests, beginning a process of working together with personal experience can reveal multiple truths and different ways of knowing (2010, p. 107). The multiple truths, all valid and received with respect, are shared in the subsequent paragraphs. The backgrounds and journeys of the food

activists in Toronto are unique for each individual, and so is their present work. What they have in common is the view of food as more than a resource. Food is viewed as a right, a powerful tool to bring people together.

REASONS FOR COMING TO FOOD ACTIVISM

Food insecurity is being addressed all over Toronto, and this is evident in the variety of projects undertaken by The Food Activists. To situate the stories of each individual within the city landscape a brief description of their work will follow. The experiences of the Food Activists are diverse but all have connections to food and hope to bring access and awareness, where none currently exists. Many were involved in community gardens; Larry and George organize and run gardens in their Toronto Community Housing Corporations (TCHC), with upwards of 30 members. George reflected on his background in gardening, ornamentals and grasses. It was working within this environment and meeting different people, that he became aware of the "emerging thing of food security." While being food secure is a concept on many levels, he was particularly interested in the local and individual idea of being food secure and this enabled him to be integral in the formation of one of TCHC's community gardens; with the help of FoodShare, George also runs drop-ins and workshops for willing participants.

Larry, having grown up on an organic farm in Jamaica, has always been enamoured by food and its power to unite people. He has volunteered all his life, and was the founder of a food bank at a church in Scarborough, thriving on donations from Daily Bread, Second Harvest and local grocery stores. The community garden he leads is successful and large in scale; during the course of the project Larry took part in council meetings and was in the process of implementing a breakfast club for the children of his TCHC home.

Giovanna and Carrie place their efforts in Farmers' Markets and Good Food Markets. Giovanna loves to cook and wanted to link up with a community health centre; she now bakes bread for them and sells it at a local market to raise funds for their health projects. The market also addresses access by providing vouchers, though they have not been able to hold the market close to the health centre due to a chain grocery store restricting them. Carrie also contributes to a Good Food Market, partnered with FoodShare, within her TCHC building. She manages the market, which is quite a feat, each week for the benefit of residents who are able to buy nutritious food at an affordable price.

Many Food Activists were involved in community education in a variety of ways. Ursula not only contributed to a food basket delivery system, but also owns and teaches at a school which focuses on sustainability education and respect of the environment. With her guidance, her students are engaged in community projects for sustainability, such as hydroponics, and are environmental stewards. Adira has worked in community awareness-raising for years and has gone door to door with Toronto organizations, collecting donations and holding workshops about poverty and environmental issues. Ana has also been involved in many projects, including creating roof top gardens where she leads meditation, and created a community garden at her children's school.

The activities and movements created, lead, and continued by the Food Activists are only a part of their narratives. Participants indicated that family history was a strong force to becoming involved in food justice activism. This was a common theme among all participants interviewed, though it was especially strong in those who immigrated to Canada. Having parents that emigrated from Italy provided one participant, Giovanna, the opportunity to know how to survive a struggle and instilled a desire for justice. Her parents taught her that there " isn't justice out there...being an immigrant, coming to this country, I saw a different side of life [...] you struggle with nothing or limited resources [...] So I got to see that, and I am very thankful for my parents for doing that. I see folks out there that are totally lost...totally lost."

The experience of immigration was labelled as a depressing, scary and frustrating experience; alternatively it provided a hope that in action, solutions can be found. While Adira struggled in her native country of Tajikistan to fight against injustice, she found a new voice in Canada. She revealed that “In Canada, when I landed...I am an immigrant. I was looking at things here and what made sense to me, and then I was volunteering....the first thing I noticed that here in Canada is ‘volunteering is volunteering’...we never had that at home [...] then I thought that is a good idea...these people are really smart! We can engage many people with this...you can reach people like volunteers and it gives them so much. So I started to do volunteering with nearby communities”. Ana also saw immigration as a push to do something in her community. She left her country to construct a better life for her son. She saw an empty school yard, devoid of spirit and filled with dust; after a long fight with the school board, she was able to transform the community by creating a school garden. Years later, the children are able to learn by gardening food and flowers. Ana has also transformed rooftops, where she leads meditation and workshops.

STRUGGLES OF ORGANIZING

The Food Activists offer an impressive and diverse story of engagement but they also reflected on what they struggle with as an active member in their communities. Many spoke about the struggles they personally feel, as well as the struggles they share with the community. There is a lack of trust in the government, especially in communities like Toronto Community Housing Corporation, where programs are often met with scepticism. While many community members struggle to access food they struggle to trust many of the alternative methods that are implemented in their community. The Food Activists are the face of not-for-profits and government grants that launch and sustain programs such as community gardens and kitchens. They feel the lack of understanding personally and must work through it. One participant described the scepticism and mistrust of those in power:

"They are people [within the TCHC community] with a great scepticism about everything and everybody... and when they start to respect you and trust you, you dare not do anything to create doubt or question in their mind. That was the biggest thing that I had to overcome; the scepticism about trusting anybody, and that is something from I have discovered is right across the Toronto Housing community."

The structure of the TCHC community and the scepticism Larry feels first hand is something to be overcome. It is an example of the systemic issues within food insecurity and the struggles that food justice activists face. Giovanna, a retired government worker, offers a unique perspective. She discussed the structure of the government system by saying "Even looking at community housing [...] it creates more negativity even where I worked in social services. It became the major label, you know that person lives over there, therefore there are problems, and it's the worst kind of people that live there." This stigma, and the barriers within the system, was a common thread among all participants. Many had to face this stigma themselves, as members of the TCHC community.

While Larry believed he should face the system head on, by being a leader within his community and choosing not to believe in barriers, some others admitted that it was difficult to stay determined. The frustrations of activism, the sense of grievance and the difficulties framing situations were also a focus of the APCOL project. George spoke to this point with one noting that he puts large amounts of energy into projects and others "want you to be such a great organizer, and it is important but at the same time....I constantly feel defeated". The activists felt they were not only fighting people within their community, the apathy expressed and the unwillingness to be engaged in organizing, but also the government systems. Every activist seemed to share the experience of people within their families and social networks not understanding why they were an activist, or what that meant. It was often difficult to make others around them see that what they did was worthwhile. Giovanna stated:

“I think that it is not ‘unnormal’ [for members of her family not to understand her activism] but sometimes that is disheartening to think about that...in my own family, yes...I have one side of the family that is ‘like you know how much money you could be making by working?”

While a lot of time and energy, for the activist, is spent on doing the work - volunteering, creating community gardens, linking community organizations together to better allocate resources – a surprisingly large amount of time is spent explaining the value of what is being accomplished in a society where ‘work’ is defined often only by currency**.** Ana said it best when she noted:

“In a way, because we think still in this time, society, in the orders of pensions etc. I knew long ago, I am not going to have enough retirement to support myself but I have humongous capital in community. I think this is what holds us together because we need support of each other. It is easier, cheaper, more productive and joyful to live that way.” Working for others, and finding ways to provide food the community pays in non-traditional ways, that many individuals do not understand.

FOOD AND THE EXPERIENCE OF POVERTY

The ‘Streams of Experience’ exercise was not about depositing facts about the reasons people do food justice activism. It was about sharing personal histories to develop truths and reflect to inform the action that was to come. Food was a vehicle to get this process going, but it was also a way to inject the group into the broader food system and the larger issue of poverty. Popular education goes against a traditional banking concept of education where those who are being ‘educated’ are viewed as empty minds waiting for a deposit of knowledge (Freire, 1970, p. 73). The group of Food Activists, the facilitators/researchers (for it was really one group) modelled education in this way. After reflecting on the personal journeys the group engaged in problem posing education. Problem posing education is a process, where the teacher is not an expert, but one who discovers information/truths by being a co-investigator with the group

(Freire, 1970, p. 81). Each member developed a burning issue that arose from their personal reflection, extending it outward from within themselves and their history, to the communities in which they live. Food was a way to connect and discuss broader issues of poverty because of food insecurity in the city.

Food was viewed as the glue that binds diverse communities and is often the root of many problems. Food was a way for Ursula to consider the needs of *people* within a food system that often ignores cultural, health and dietary needs of those who cannot access food. Carrie noted that in her building the demographics were changing due to a downgrade in the zoning code and many seniors were moving out. This is creating new problems, so diverse that the problem seems too convoluted to do anything about; food was the one issue that everyone had in common, even if the food that they eat and the help needed to prepare it was unique. As Ursula put it, “everybody eats.”

After the problem was framed the group discussed food banks described as a poor attempt to meeting the needs of community, often by providing leftovers, dented cans, or with no regard for dietary needs, allergies, ethnic, religious or ethical stipulations/beliefs of those eating the food. Larry had worked in a food bank for years, and noted that 75% of the food is thrown away. Adira also described the waste within food banks and believed that this model was old and out of date; to her food banks are not “a tool to fight poverty or hunger.”

There was a discussion around dynamics, not a one size fits all solution to community food insecurity. Giovanna pointed out that there is a ‘gap’ that many agencies are not connecting and that there should be a gap analysis – the bringing together of youth and seniors could bridge the gap in the community. There is also a need for education about food offered in food banks; many do not know how to prepare food and lack of food knowledge concerning nutrition.

Food and poverty are passionate and personal issues, one that is perhaps best understood from individuals who are personally affected daily from lack of food and

those who engage with those communities and battle against structural barriers daily. Many of the members have a dichotomous relationship with food – while they act for others to change the food system, many of them find themselves without adequate food on a regular basis. Two of the participants live in Toronto Community Housing, and one is currently on a disability pension. They speak of their first hand experience being in poverty, and what they do within the system to make a difference. One participant believed that his personal experience with poverty is necessary to truly understanding and empathizing with others, he decides that you cannot understand poverty "[u]ntil you feel it. I know what it is when somebody knocks at my door and says "the kids are going to school but I have nothing. Do you have eggs?' And then I go and look in my fridge and I have a dozen eggs so I cut a half a dozen off and give them to her. I know what it is, I have been there, I have done that."

FOOD BRINGS PEOPLE TOGETHER

Despite the difficulties of being a Food Activist, and people not understanding or support the work, there were positive aspects. Food is a way to deconstruct barriers and bring people together. Organizing around lack of nutritious food, due to systemic barriers and poverty, is one way to address community. Carrie believes that her work with food is how she creates community in her life, and she wants to share that with others. Food can be "a fresh start" and it helps develop relationships. She reflects on her mother having a tight budget, yet always making food a priority. Her mother taught her skills on how to maximize the money available, a skill she uses today and shares with others. Ursula and Ana shared their experience of healing through food, not only to individuals but to communities. Ursula believes that "food is medicine" and is a committed vegan; Ana views food as a tool for connecting people to their dreams, their past and their present. Ana guides young people by giving them advice about seeds and plants, she calls them "transfarmers" because they not only shape the landscape by growing food, but they transform communities around them. Both women see a connection between

health, food, and education and would like to continue working on this endeavour by creating a working farm that could serve all of these avenues.

Community participation, for many of the Food Activists, has been transformed because of the garden and market projects. Larry, though he considers himself a leader, places emphasis on the involvement of others to make change. He points out that “nobody works for, we work together [...] And that makes all the difference”. The health of the community depends on participation. “The thing is that the community is so motivated and involved now, if it’s not the vegetable garden, it is the flower garden...if it is not the flower garden it is the garden over by the community center where we take the kids out to do stuff...there is so many different things that are going on.” George mirrors these sentiments when reflecting on his community garden. While it does not provide enough food to replace grocery shopping it does help offset some of the costs for food during the spring and summer months. Other benefits cannot be measured in dollars and cents. George reflects on “the benefits...not so much of the food, but of the socializing and bringing people together. A sense of breaking isolation.” The community that formed from the garden happened organically; he recalls that “people just started talking to each other, through conversations, discovered that they are interested in this, they go to this church, this story about their family, so just by doing that sort of thing, you would see them again and say ‘hi how are you, what happened at your church?’ You strike a conversation about their past, why they like gardening, or what it triggers in their mind about their childhood.” The food activists shared the belief that food projects in Toronto are providing ways to connect, create community and open doors of isolation, especially for residents that often shy away from community because of poverty or mental health issues. Ana perhaps represents this notion the best, when she shared her story of being a new immigrant to Canada, 16 years ago. Her work in food “was really revealing” and helped her find her purpose in life. By working with community projects in schools, she became connected. “I was searching for a community” she retells, and she found one within food and supportive organizations like FoodShare, Evergreen and The Stop. Now

like the other Food Activists, she continues to share and make connections with others, through food and gardening projects.

CONCLUSION

The stories of the Food Activists are inspirational, but they also paint a picture of the Toronto Food system that is in need of transformation. There are efforts within the city of Toronto, from many different actors, who are trying to make a difference and address food insecurity; according to the Food Activists, food banks and other one size fits all solutions, are not the way address food insecurity. Food justice activism, via alternative methods like the ones the Food Activists engaged in and created, illuminate ways to address a lack of food with dignity. Even though each Food Activist came from unique backgrounds they were able to develop an understanding, to weave their experiences and knowledge together, to create a new way of looking at food within communities. Many of the Food Activists struggle with hunger and lack access to nutritional food, yet they make it their goal to feed, not just themselves, but others – by creating a safe space, by sharing their personal journey, by being brave and active despite barriers, and of course, by growing and sharing food.

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[i] Good Food Market: FoodShare helped establish and run 17 Good Food Markets that offer food directly from the farm at a reasonable cost to both the consumer and to the farmer; nearly 80% of individuals visit the market regularly and these markets are traditionally in areas that have lack of access to good food.

[ii] One participant, though he/she participated and consented to take part in the meetings and creations of materials did not wish to be interviewed.