"Feeling out of place suddenly, and you haven't even moved":

Food gentrification, alternative foods, and

sociospatial justice in Downtown Kitchener, Ontario

by

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There are parallel realities that seldom intersect…people in the same space in the same place in the Downtown, and they're passing, but it's like…completely different worlds. — John Doe, March 26, 2019

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

In recent years, alternative food practices have gained popularity among urban sustainability planners as a way to promote environmentalism and attract affluent residents to the city core. As Slocum (2006) describes, "alternative food practices [are] those that advocate more ecologically sound and socially just farming methods, food marketing and distribution, and healthier food options", with the goal of confronting controversial issues associated with corporate food (p. 522). However, critical urban scholars and activists have grown concerned about the complex ways in which food might be implicated in gentrification and urban inequality. As shown through the literature review, "food gentrification" is a newly developing concept, which can describe the "upscaling" of traditionally affordable foods, a rise in property prices in the surrounding areas of alternative food initiatives (AFIs), or a loss in affordable food sources due to changing population characteristics and demands. Through a qualitative, mixed-methods approach, this thesis thus explores the relationship between food and gentrification in the rapidly changing urban centre of Downtown Kitchener, Ontario. This study asks: "How do low-income residents experience food gentrification in a rapidly changing urban area?". To answer this question critically, two manuscripts are used to analyze the research topic through the lenses of public health and urban planning. The first manuscript looks at the food agency of low-income longtime residents, to assess the potential impacts of food gentrification on health. The second manuscript explores how food might play a role in the way that residents build a sense of place in the city, with a focus on how AFIs might better address matters of sociospatial equity. A number of tools and recommendations are provided, which are fundamentally grounded in the life stories of the low-income longtime residents who participated in this study. These multi-scalar solutions can help planners and policymakers address food security, food environments, and city change in an interdisciplinary way.

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A huge thank you to my advisor, Dr. Leia Minaker, for all of the guidance that you have provided to strengthen my abilities as a researcher.   In all of my times of self-doubt, you lifted me up with motivating strategies, and you always showed that you believed in my abilities. I am grateful for your leadership, support, and genuine kindness during this entire process of completing my degree. I am also deeply thankful for my insightful committee members: Dr. Kelly Skinner, for offering nuanced ideas and advice throughout my research process, and Dr. Martine August, for offering critical insights during my thesis defence. Thank you all for taking the time to support my academic success.

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Thank you deeply to my family: to my parents, who committed their lives to building a home here in Canada, and who sacrificed so much to allow me to earn a quality education. Although you might have had different plans in mind for me, you allowed me to explore my passions and figure out my place in this world; to my German Shepherd, Maddalyn, who took long walks with me throughout Downtown Kitchener to hang up research posters and take photographs, and who gave me unconditional love when times were tough; and to my partner, Dan, for being here with me, every step of the way.   Through all of the confusion, nervousness, and excitement, you stood by my side and helped to keep my head straight. I am so appreciative of your patience with me as I faced challenging emotions, insecurity, anxiety, and restlessness. We have learned together and grown together, and I feel closer to you than ever before.

Finally, a very special thank you goes to all of the individuals who volunteered to participate in this study. I hope that I have honoured your stories in this project, and I hope that I can grow to become your allies in building social justice and community health in this region. To each of the individuals who opened up their minds and hearts with me, thank you.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this project to my counsellors, Beth Bower and Jennifer Yuen, who gave me the tools to address my deep-rooted depression and anxiety, and to improve my patterns of productivity and of sleep. Beth and Jennifer - your warmth and empathy helped me to manage multiple complex challenges in my academic career, and in my everyday life. Above all, you both reminded me to be gentle with myself, and for that, I am forever grateful.

Land Acknowledgment

        I wish to begin my thesis by acknowledging that this research was conducted in Kitchener-Waterloo, on the traditional territory of the Attawandaron (Neutral), Anishnaabeg, and Haudenosaunee peoples. With respect to my positionality in this place, I identify as a settler and second-generation immigrant, born in Southern Ontario, Canada. I currently live and garden with my partner on the Haldimand Tract, the land promised to the Six Nations, which includes six miles on each side of the Grand River. I recognize that there are deep complexities and contradictions associated with conducting food justice work on these stolen lands and I will work tirelessly to unpack the complexities of my activism.

        This Territory Acknowledgment is just one small piece of my efforts to decolonize my personal knowledge of Canada. Through my research, I also sought to connect with community members and listen mindfully to stories of survival and of resilience. As a critical food activist, I aim to continuously build reflexivity in my food security work, bringing attention to the enduring impacts of colonialism, patriarchy, and racism.

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List of Abbreviations

AAFC - Agriculture and Agri-food Canada

AFI - alternative food initiative

AFM - alternative food movement

AFN - alternative food network

CBD - central business district

CMA - census metropolitan area

CRT - critical race theory

CSA - community shared agriculture / community supported agriculture

EJ - environmental justice

GGH - Greater Golden Horseshoe

KW - Kitchener-Waterloo

LICO-AT - low income cut off, after tax

LIM-AT - low income measure, after tax

LRT - light rail transit

LULUs - locally unwanted land uses

NFB - nutritious food basket

OP - official plan

UGC - urban growth centre

UW - University of Waterloo

Chapter 1.0: Introduction

1.1 Problem Context

As urban populations continue to grow worldwide, cities are developing innovative plans to adapt to climate change and reduce their ecological impact. In particular, many urban communities are starting to create space for food and agriculture initiatives, in line with the efforts of the *alternative food movement* (AFM). As Slocum (2006) describes:

> Alternative food practices [are] those that advocate more ecologically sound and socially just farming methods, food marketing and distribution, and healthier food options…The target of these efforts is the conventional food system that privileges corporate agriculture, commodity subsidies, transcontinental shipping and foods high in fats, salt and sugars (p. 522).

This unprecedented interest in the alternative is grounded in complex contemporary issues, such as rising obesity rates, global hunger relief, anti-globalization sentiments, and climate change. Due to these social and political factors, alternative food has gained popularity among urban foodies, environmental activists, and sustainability planners. However, a wide range of critical urban scholars and activists are also concerned about the complex ways in which food might be related to gentrification (the production of space for progressively more affluent users) and urban inequality in general (August, 2016; Hackworth, 2002). There is a breadth of literature interested in how the implementation of alternative food spaces (e.g. community gardens, organic food stores) is implicated in the initial flow of capital back to a deteriorated city core, which initiates the gentrification process. Alternatively, there is a sizeable set of scholarship on how foodie culture, localism, and environmental sustainability have collectively elevated the symbolic value attached to once-affordable foods, thus undercutting marginalized residents from accessing food and maintaining their place in the city. Given that *food security* is a significant determinant of health and well-being, there is reason to explore how gentrification might potentially disrupt the security of certain populations (PROOF, 2019; Skinner, 2013). These issues point to the importance of bridging social and environmental justice goals in gentrification research, pursuing critical community food work, giving attention to place-based food research, and addressing structural racism in food systems.

Furthermore, after years of advocacy and consultations, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada (AAFC) released a Food Policy in 2019, consisting of $134 million in funding over the span of five years (Food Secure Canada, 2019). The budget addresses policy demands from food advocates as well as broader national agri-food priorities, which includes: the implementation of a National School Food Program and local food infrastructure fund, supporting food security in Northern communities, funds to improve agri-food production in Canada, and food waste reduction programs (Food Secure Canada, 2019; Government of Canada, 2019). Details on these four action areas can be viewed in Appendix A. A large portion of this fund is dedicated to agri-food matters such as the "Buy Canada" promotional campaign, ($25 million), innovation in food waste reduction ($26 million), and food fraud and labelling ($24 million) (Toronto Food Policy Council, 2019). Of further significance is the $50 million (37% of the budget) earmarked "for infrastructure…at food banks, farmers' markets, and other community-driven projects", with a focus on improving access to locally produced foods (Government of Canada, 2019). While a separate Poverty Reduction Strategy, "Opportunity for All", was developed in August 2018, the Food Policy itself is

lacking in robust measures and considerations for poverty reduction (Government of Canada, 2019). While some ambitious strategies have been taken on, the Food Policy has also failed to include a mechanism for inclusive governance to oversee how activities are carried through; this is in contradiction to stakeholders' recommendations as well as statements made in the national public consultation report (Food Secure Canada, 2019; Government of Canada, 2019; Government of Canada, 2018). The given budget illustrates how Canada has largely downloaded responsibilities to improve food access to community organizations, without acknowledging how complex food insecurity issues might be addressed at other institutional levels. This piecemeal policy approach urges an assessment of intersectional food security issues, which includes poverty, housing, and food environment issues comprehensively.

1.2 Study Purpose and Objectives

My goal in conducting this research is to examine local perspectives on food and gentrification, using Downtown Kitchener as a case study. This analysis challenges dominant narratives on alternative food and local food in relation to urban sustainability planning, and brings attention to the complex evolution of locally unwanted land uses (LULUs) in promoting environmentalism in cities. To achieve this goal, this exploratory study addresses the overarching question: "How do low-income residents experience food gentrification in a rapidly changing urban area?". Moreover, this project involves the following five objectives, answered across two manuscripts:

  a. Build awareness of the plurality of gentrification concepts, with a focus on new forms of ecological gentrification in growth-oriented cities.
  b. Shed light on individual narratives on food behaviours in response to community change.
  c. Build an understanding of the state of equity in urban agriculture and community food work.
  d. Address the array of health effects that might relate to food environment changes.
  e. Provide recommendations on how to better integrate social objectives into food planning.

The first manuscript (Chapter 4), *Life stories of food agency and resilience in a rapidly gentrifying urban centre: Building a multidimensional concept of food access*, is ready for submission to *Critical Public Health*. The second manuscript (Chapter 5), *"There's parallel realities that seldom intersect": Longtime residents' place meanings in a gentrifying urban food environment*, has been prepared for the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

1.2.1 Study geographic context: City selection and rationale

The Region of Waterloo was established on January 1, 1973 and includes the tri-cities, Cambridge, Kitchener, and Waterloo, as well as four rural townships (Region of Waterloo Public Health, 2011). With a sizeable population of 601,220 residents, the Region now ranks tenth among the most populous Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) in Canada (Region of Waterloo, 2019a; Region of Waterloo, 2019b). As an outer-ring regional municipality, the area is generally considered less urban, less dense, and less populated than the inner-ring municipalities of Ontario (Allen & Campsie, 2013). However, the Region is certainly facing significant growth pressure and urban change as evidenced by population trends and projections. The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH) 2017 projects a 1.43% change in the population of the Region by 2041, which equates to 835,000 residents (Allen & Campsie, 2013; Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, 2017).
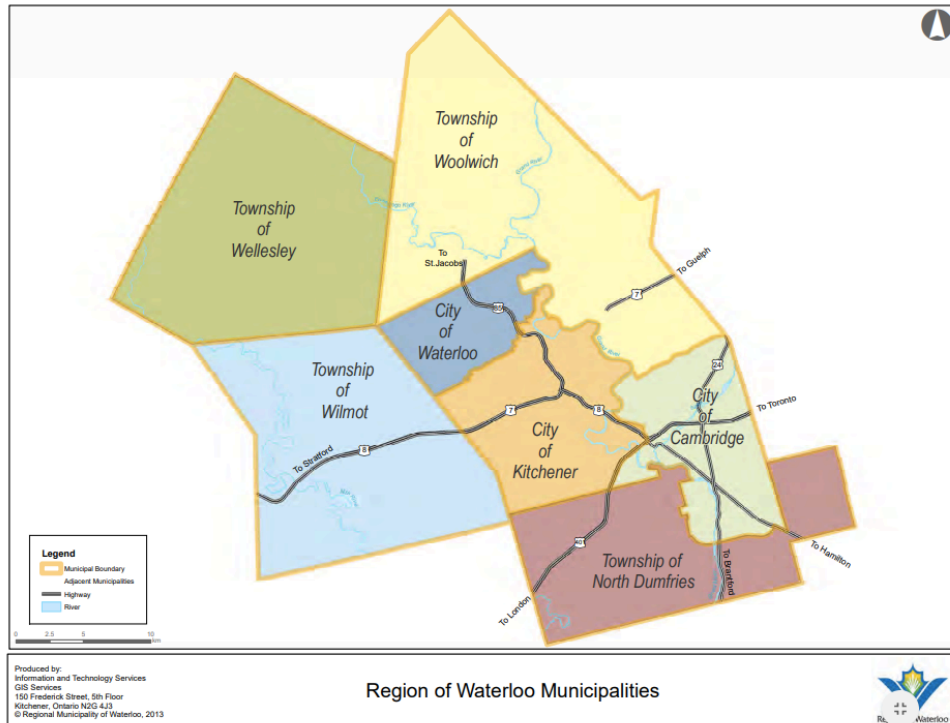
Figure 1.1 Region of Waterloo municipalities (Regional Municipality of Waterloo, 2013)

Specifically, the City of Kitchener has been chosen as a case study for this research due to its complex history of de-industrialization, contemporary issues relating to transit development and gentrification, and growing efforts to integrate sustainability and alternative food into municipal plans. Situated in midwestern Ontario, Kitchener is the largest city of the Region of Waterloo, with a population of over 240,000 people (Explore Waterloo Region, 2019). In recent history, Downtown Kitchener was a thriving retail centre, serving a range of populations across the tri-cities area. However, Kitchener's central business district (CBD) has been suffering from a cycle of decline since suburbanization began in the 1960s (Bunting, Filion, Frenette, Curry, & Mattice, 2000). As a result, Kitchener has faced a significant loss in retail activity in its CBD, evidenced by a decline in employment opportunities and increasing store vacancies (Bunting et al., 2000). Kitchener is now characterized by various retail outlets, bars, night clubs, convenience stores, and a small number of office buildings; however, the widespread decline in industry has also given way to plentiful vacant lots and buildings that are ripe for redevelopment (Braswell, 2018; Bunting et al., 2000). In fact, under the Growth Plan for the GGH 2017, Downtown Kitchener is classified as an urban growth centre (UGC) planned to achieve a minimum density target of 200 residents and jobs combined per hectare by 2031 or earlier (Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 2017). This process of urban renewal and growth is now well underway, evidenced by the onset of new restaurants, cafés, condominiums, and an advanced transit system.

Planning for the ION light rail transit (LRT) system began as early as the 1970s and received significant funding in 2004 upon adopting the Regional Growth Management Strategy (RGMS) to catalyze the revitalization of the Downtown (Region of Waterloo, 2012). The entire process of planning has spurred significant controversy across Kitchener-Waterloo, especially with regards to affordability, public consultation practices, and gentrification. The

official correspondence on rapid transit describes how the LRT will limit urban sprawl and protect farmland by encouraging mixed-use, intensified development within the urban centre (Region of Waterloo, 2012; Thompson, 2018). In doing so, the ION is said to protect the Region's groundwater resources, maintain the area's rural/urban lifestyle, protect the countryside, and support local food production (Region of Waterloo, 2012). In spite of these claims, a wide range of stakeholders have expressed concerns around the selective accessibility of the transit system, changes to the affordability of housing, the availability of diverse employment opportunities, and displacement of lower-income populations (Thompson, 2018). Importantly, this mixture of concerns for mobility, economic opportunity, and spatial equity have had a marked influence on residents' ability to navigate their food environments and utilize their traditional food outlets.

Another important justification for the selection of Kitchener is the City's growing participation in environmental sustainability initiatives and local food programming. The City of Kitchener has demonstrated a commitment to environmental sustainability through its Strategic Plan for the Environment, membership with Sustainable Waterloo Region as a Bronze Pledging Partner, and creation of a sustainability office to advance local environmental initiatives (City of Kitchener, 2017c; Day, 2019; Weidner, 2018). The city's current economic development strategy, *Make it Kitchener*, also focuses on capturing the distinctive qualities of locals in Kitchener to achieve diverse, collaborative, affordable and sustainable forms of development (City of Kitchener, 2017c). The four year strategy aims to to support experimentation between the arts and industry, promote a local startup culture, facilitate urbanization and property redevelopment, and build community connections. On a different level, Kitchener's first-ever neighbourhood strategy, #LoveMyHood, illustrates the support by the City to build creative do-it-yourself projects to demonstrate the power of community and placemaking. One of the most popular ideas to date has been neighbourhood community gardens and neighbourhood markets (City of Kitchener, 2017b). In light of the rapid urban change and contemporary policy pieces revolving around innovation and food, there is thus an opportunity to explore the iteration of food gentrification in Downtown Kitchener.

1.2.2 Regional food security profile

Food security is a context- and culturally-specific concept, which is based upon three key components: food availability, food access, and food use (Skinner, 2013). While the variables and definitions for food security are wide-reaching, one holistic definition was put forth during Food Secure Canada's 2004 Winnipeg Food Assembly:

> Food security is the assurance that all people at all times have both the physical and economic access to the food they need for an active, healthy life. It means that the food itself is safe, nutritionally adequate, culturally appropriate and that this food be obtained in a way that upholds basic human dignity (Food Security Assembly, 2004; Skinner, 2013).

In order to achieve a full picture of food insecurity, multiple food security measurement tools could be utilized. A widely used direct measure of food insecurity is the Canadian Community Health Survey's (CCHS) Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM), an 18-item survey meant to assess the food security situation of a household in the past twelve months. While the CCHS is conducted every year, the HFSSM has only been mandatory in 2007-2008 and 2011-2012, meaning that food security data across some provinces and territories has been inconsistent (PROOF, 2019) The most recent survey cycle, 2013-2014, indicated that 11.9% of Ontario

households are classified as food insecure, and 64% of those households were reliant on social assistance (PROOF, 2019).

Indirect measures of food security are broader indicators that aim to describe the state of food security at a community level. For example, in the Region of Waterloo, 34,552 individuals were served by the Community Food Assistance Network in 2018, and the number of hampers provided by the Food Bank of Waterloo Region has increased by about eight percent from 2018 to 2019 (The Food Bank of Waterloo Region, 2019; Villella, 2019). The Nutritious Food Basket (NFB) also estimates the basic cost of healthy eating for individuals and households, which is calculated by averaging the lowest available retail price for 67 food items in Canada's 2007 food guide (Region of Waterloo, 2019c). Broadly, the 2019 NFB indicates that the cost of eating "healthily" for a family of four in Waterloo Region is $875.92 per month, representing a $40.49 increase since 2017 (Region of Waterloo, 2019c). Importantly, the NFB does not take into consideration special dietary restrictions, costs of eating out, sharing meals, or traditional food acquisition (Skinner, 2013; Region of Waterloo, 2019c). However, by comparing varying levels of household income to approximate monthly expenses on housing and other basic expenses, the NFB shows that people receiving social assistance or living on low-paying wages might not have the resources to purchase nutritious food (Region of Waterloo, 2019c). Based on these data, it was estimated that 19,465 households in Waterloo Region were classified as food insecure in 2014 (Region of Waterloo, 2019c).

Figure 1.2 *Kitchener streetscape: Legacy Green's new location, a two-story storefront on Ontario Street*
Source: photo by Vanessa Ong

1.2.3 Municipal sociodemographic characteristics

Based on Statistics Canada census data, it is possible to get a rough picture of the income characteristics of the study area's population, including changes in the low-income population over the years. From 2011 to 2015, the prevalence of low-income families in the Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo CMA has hovered at around 15% according to the low income measure, after-tax (LIM-AT), which is defined below (Region of Waterloo Economic Development, 2018). While this percentage is slightly favourable in comparison to the province as a whole, a closer look at the statistics shows that income disparity is increasing in Waterloo Region. The difference between the average income of individuals and those with low income has steadily risen, from $37,690 in 2007 to $40,060 in 2012 (Region of Waterloo Public Health, 2015).

Further, two common measures used by Statistics Canada related to poverty are the LIM-AT as well as the low income cut off, after-tax (LICO-AT). The LIM is the most common measure for the purpose of making international comparisons of income, drawing a line based on 50% of median income for a household of the same size (Statistics Canada, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2017). Alternatively, the LICO is a threshold of income below which a family is likely to spend 20% more of its income on essentials (food, shelter, and clothing) compared to an average family (Jackson, 2018). The Survey of Household Spending, a research paper published by Statistics Canada, offers a detailed description of the LICO each year using 1992 spending weights (Statistics Canada, 2015; Statistics Canada, 2017). Based on these measures, the most recent census indicates that 13.7% (31,450) of the population in private households are low income in the City of Kitchener based on the LIM-AT, or 8.1% (18,560) based on the LICO-AT (Statistics Canada, 2017).

In terms of immigration characteristics, the City of Kitchener has seen a variety of changes over the years. As one of nine designated refugee resettlement communities in Ontario, Kitchener continues to see growth in both permanent resident landings (those entitled to live and work in Canada but have not yet obtained Canadian citizenship) and in temporary residents with refugee status (Folkema & Vandebelt, 2019). Based on the most recent census data, 17,150 residents have refugee status and 60,425 residents identify as immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2017). The Downtown neighbourhoods of Victoria Hills, Cherry Hill, KW Hospital and Vanier, and Rockway are home to the highest proportion of recent immigrants, who arrived from 2011 to 2016 (Folkema & Vandebelt, 2019, p. 25). Accordingly, the visible minority population is also sizeable, with 50,200 individuals (21.83%) identifying as non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (Statistics Canada, 2017).

1.3 Significance of the Study

Little research to date has explored the multidirectional relationships between food and gentrification. This relationship is significant because it complicates the work of urban municipal planners and environmental activists, whether the production of negative impacts to long-term residents is intentional or not. This study builds upon the existing literature on green LULUs by focusing on alternative foods in gentrifying cities, and the place-based dimensions of environmental justice. Food (and alternative foods, specifically) are often central to how cities brand themselves, with the goal of fostering large-scale investment and attracting affluent residents and tourists to the core (Alkon & Cadji, 2018). Given that sustainability planning through the lens of food has popularized so quickly, it is important not to overlook social equity matters throughout the process of implementing ecologically-minded urban

agendas. Considering how Canada's policies to address local food access do not include complementary social safety nets or anti-poverty measures, this area of research is important.

The changing nature of LULUs challenges efforts to integrate healthy food into urban food environments in an equitable way. While food can be an avenue for social learning and cross-cultural communication, some alternative food efforts can be exclusionary in nature. There is consensus among many critical food researchers that the AFM caters overwhelmingly to a white, middle- to upper-class demographic, and typically sidelines matters of affordability and cultural appropriateness (Anguelovski, 2015; Checker, 2011; Guthman, 2008a; Guthman, 2008b; Slocum, 2011). These food-focused interventions are thus unable to capture the nuances of food insecurity, which is tied closely to matters of income. In fact, research has shown that public policies aimed at improving the financial circumstances of low-income households (e.g. the Universal Child Care Benefit program) are more beneficial to long-term food security compared to strategies like improving cooking or budgeting skills, increasing emergency food donations, or implementing urban gardens (PROOF, 2018; Region of Waterloo, 2019; Skinner, 2013). As AFIs can contribute to a change in a city's aesthetic by catering to the consumption patterns of gentrifiers, food activists are faced with the delicate task of advocating for positive neighbourhood change while being mindful of the potential for displacement (Anguelovski, 2016a; Checker, 2011). In turn, this study is interested in the range of equity concerns associated with the urban AFM, and seeks to understand how food might have a role in shaping and transforming social space.

Further, the potential individual and community health impacts of food gentrification could be significant. Through this case study, it is possible to explore the connection between two major determinants of health: food security and place attachment. As food retail environments evolve in gentrifying neighbourhoods, there is the potential to exclude existing residents from accessing affordable, culturally-appropriate foods. Food gentrification is thus a serious sociospatial justice concern, as food insecurity places people at greater risk for health problems such as diabetes, heart disease, and poor mental health (PROOF, 2018; Skinner, 2013). Sense of place and place attachment are also known to be foundational elements of health. Sense of place is a multidisciplinary construct, based on an individual's subjective responses to external characteristics and stimuli, and influenced by the built environment itself. Together, these factors impact one's rootedness to a community and sense of identity (Eyles & Williams, 2008). Food gentrification can potentially impact well being due to the effects of exclusion, relocation, or displacement, which forces one to rebuild their relationship with a given place. In turn, psychological disorders can emerge when people's familiar relationships to places disintegrate. For example, studies have shown that forced relocation or consistent worry about being forced to move from one's place of residence can be linked to depression and physical health problems related to stress (Dunn, 2002; Eyles & Williams, 2008; Fullilove, 2004). Altogether, this study addresses important environmental justice and health equity concerns in contemporary cities, and could help to build more just foodways and equitable food access solutions.

1.4 Thesis Overview

This thesis is organized into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the problem context, purpose and objectives, and intended contributions of this study.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review aimed at documenting the extent of scholarly literature written on food and gentrification. The research questions for this project are made concrete at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 3 extends the conversation on just-sustainabilities, anti-racism, and food, by establishing a critical research design. The transformative and pragmatist paradigms are described, which includes: Paulo Freire's *pedagogy of love* and *conscientização,* Sylvia Hamilton's *sites of memory,* David Schlosberg's *environmental justice*, and David Morgan's theories on action-based research. This chapter provides details on the mixed-methods approach, which includes sections on recruitment, data collection, and data analysis. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations and limitations to the study.

Chapter 4 presents the first manuscript, *Life stories of food agency and resilience in a rapidly gentrifying urban centre: Building a multidimensional concept of food access*, which showcases the complex food behaviours of low-income, longtime residents amidst a changing urban food environment.

Chapter 5 presents findings related to planning, food, and sense of place in a manuscript titled, *"There's parallel realities that seldom intersect": Longtime residents' place meanings in a gentrifying urban food environment.* This paper covers critical perspectives on sense of place built through the lens of food, and offers lessons related to equity planning.

Chapter 6 converges data presented across the manuscripts to inform a critical discussion on food gentrification. Recommendations for policy and practice are provided, which are explicitly guided by participants' stories and input.

Chapter 2.0: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

  While food has always been a part of city branding, the popularity of the *alternative food movement* (AFM) has made a marked impact on contemporary urban planning. Broadly put, the AFM can refer to a number of efforts united under the cause of confronting corporate food structures and enacting food systems change. It can encompass a range of advocacy campaigns, retailers, restaurants, and community projects, including: fair trade, organic food, animal welfare, food justice, guerrilla gardening, and localism. As Alkon and Cadji (2018) describe, alternative food can refer to high-end cuisine as well as more "do-it-yourself style" initiatives, depending on the local context (p. 3-4). However, one common goal is to foster conscious food practices by encouraging citizens to take on more ethical consumption habits (Lafferty, 2015). Here, the term *alternative food initiatives (AFIs)* is used interchangeably with *alternative food, alternative food practices, urban food projects,* and *community food,* and is meant to describe practices that aim to enact food systems change through more ethical standards of production and consumption (Slocum, 2007) .

  The ability for food to resonate with urban foodies, combined with the ability to stand for diverse sustainability issues through food, has led to widespread support for the AFM. Alternative food has come to acquire a form of cultural capital among certain groups, which represents superior environmental consciousness and morality. However, sustainability scholars have also begun to highlight the complex and contradictory ways in which the AFM might be related to capital accumulation and urban inequality (McClintock, 2018). Under the broader umbrella of *ecological gentrification* (the facilitation of urban renewal activities through the language of environmental ethics and sustainability) there is growing recognition that alternative food may produce unintended negative impacts to vulnerable communities by shifting a city's aesthetic and socioeconomic make-up (Braswell, 2018; Cole, Lamarca, Connolly, & Anguelovski, 2017; Dooling, 2009; Libman, 2015; Siegner, Sowerwine, & Acey, 2018).

  In order to better understand the evolution of gentrification processes in Kitchener, Ontario, it is valuable to assess the role of emerging food projects in facilitating urban change. The following review focuses on documenting the extent of scholarly literature that describes a relationship between food and gentrification in urban communities. Because this topic is newly developing, this literature review aims to categorize the wide range of concepts and scenarios that might relate to "food gentrification". This review opens with a conceptual overview of food gentrification, outlining its major causes, impacts, and outcomes. Next, the major theories and philosophies used to describe food gentrification are summarized. This review concludes by mapping the common challenges, critiques, and recommendations in the literature, with the goal of identifying remaining questions and gaps within this topic area. Reflecting on this scholarship, a major research question is then established.

2.2 Scoping Review Methodology

2.2.1 Data Sources and Search Strategy

The following scoping review allows for a broad exploration of a topic that is both newly emerging and highly complex in nature (Pham, Rajić, Greig, Sargeant, Papadopoulos, & McEwen, 2014). A multi-step screening process was applied to assess the relevance of the articles to the research topic, modelled off of the reputable PRISMA-P protocol for scoping reviews (Pham et al., 2014). The typical protocol consists of a general identification stage, a literature search using inclusion criteria (Screening 1), a literature search after identifying any exclusion criteria (Screening 2), and a final selection of eligible resources.

The initial search was conducted in 5 major databases: EBSCOHost, Proquest, PubMed, Scopus, and Web of Science. The chosen databases cover a broad range of disciplines, including social science, environmental science, planning, and public health, offering a comprehensive sense of the literature related to the research topic. The search query was also guided by two major terms (inclusion criteria) that clearly relate to the research topic: 'ecological gentrification' and 'food'. With respect to ecological gentrification, the included search terms were: gentrification, gentrified, gentrify, eco-gentrification, ecogentrification, environmental gentrification, and green gentrification. In terms of food, relevant concepts included: food-scape, foodscape, foodway, food access, food accessibility, food availability, food desert, food environment, food geography, food mirage, grocery, nutrition environment, and urban agriculture. To capture the breadth of literature on this topic, no limits were placed on the publication date, location, or language.

Table 2.1 *Literature review inclusion criteria and lists of related terms*	
Ecological Gentrification **[Related Terms]**	**Food** **[Related Terms]**
- Gentrification - Gentrified - Gentrify - Eco-gentrification - Ecogentrification - Environmental Gentrification - Green Gentrification	- Food-scape - Foodscape - Foodway - Food Access - Food Accessibility - Food Availability - Food Desert - Food Environment - Food Geography - Food Mirage - Grocery - Nutrition Environment - Urban Agriculture

2.2.2 Data Characterization and Synthesis

A Google spreadsheet was used to record general study characteristics, including: author(s), year of publication, title, publisher or academic journal, study location, and geographic scale of analysis. Study details were also reported, including the article's argument/hypothesis, objectives, methods, outcomes, limitations, and recommendations. The major contributions to the academic scholarship and theoretical/philosophical frameworks were also recorded to assist in categorizing the data. Through a procedure similar to *affinity diagramming*, categorical

artefacts were constructed actively during the data analysis, without the use of predetermined categories (Mohamedally & Zaphiris, 2009, p. 25). Affinity diagramming is a tool for organizing a large set of ideas in terms of some inherent similarity or commonality, typically conducted through a group ideation exercise and the organization of notes into categories by a facilitator (Haselden, 2003, p. 187-188; Pernice 2018). This method was adapted to be conducted independently by a single researcher. In the Google Spreadsheet, notes were recorded while reading each individual article and themes discussed in the articles were tagged with a colour in a separate column. If an article touched on outlying ideas, a new colour was assigned to that article (Pernice, 2018). Groupings of colours/ideas were then labelled appropriately, offering major overlapping themes to discuss in the findings section of this review. A letter code was also assigned to each article to sort them into different food gentrification focus areas, which is reported in Table 2.2: General characteristics of eligible food gentrification studies.
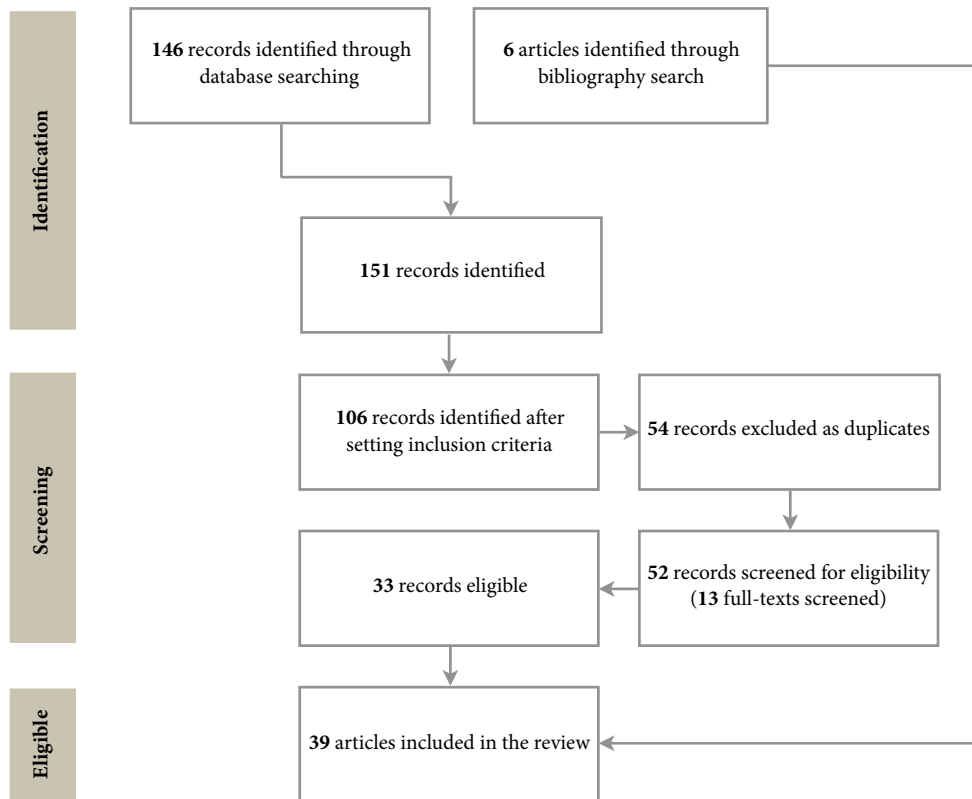
2.3 Results

Figure 2.1 PRISMA-P flowchart for study selection (adapted from Pham et al., 2014)

2.3.1 Screening Process and Selection of Articles

The initial database search was conducted on September 20, 2018 and yielded a total of 146 articles. During the screening stage, the inclusion criteria were limited to the title, abstract, and subject, to identify more relevant articles. After removing duplicates, the titles and abstracts for 52 articles were identified at this stage, and were reviewed by one reviewer. Thirteen articles were also chosen for a full text screening due to insufficient evidence of their relevance to the research topic in the title and abstract. Articles were removed from the collection if the topics of ecological gentrification and food were not connected in the study. After screening out articles that discussed food justice or food systems issues separately from gentrification, 33 eligible articles were included at this stage. An additional 6 relevant articles were included after doing bibliography searches from 3 articles that presented novel ideas relative to the research topic (in particular, critical scholarship on food gentrification in relation to anti-colonialism and anti-racism). The screening process was recorded in a Google Spreadsheet to organize the flow toward the eligibility stage, and the PRISMA-P flowchart for this search process is shown in Figure 2.1. Overall, this process led to the selection of 39 eligible resources for the literature review.

2.3.2 General Study Characteristics

The general characteristics of the studies included in this literature review are reported in Table 2.2. The eligible articles were published between 2005 and 2019, with the largest proportion of articles being published after 2015 (71.8%, 28/39). Although the search focused on peer-reviewed, scholarly articles (87.2%, 34/39), four books/ book chapters were included from the database search, and one web article was included from the bibliography search.

The location of study was also reported to get a sense of the geographic footprint of this topic, highlighting the areas in which food gentrification is becoming a growing concern. The majority of studies were conducted in the US (66.7%, 26/39) and a number of articles also discussed the topic more broadly or theoretically, touching on multiple geographic locations (12.8%, 5/39). A smaller number of articles came from Canada (10.3%, 4/39), the UK (7.7%, 3/39), and Austria (2.6%, 1/39). More specifically, the scale of analysis category helped to understand the vantage point from which the topic has been studied. This category demonstrated that most studies focused on the topic of food gentrification at the organization or community scale (41%, 16/39), and the city or regional scale (33.3%, 13/39). A fair number of articles also sought to describe the phenomenon more broadly, utilizing information and evidence from multiple cases (and geographic scales) to support an argument (15.4%, 6/39). Understandably, due to the importance of local socioeconomic and environmental contexts to this issue, only a selection of articles explored the topic from a broader, national scale (10.3%, 4/39)

Further, the focus area of each study was reported by developing a code for the different categories of food gentrification that developed during the data characterization process. Results from the affinity diagramming exercise led to the development of the following food gentrification focus areas and associated codes: anti-colonialism/racism and food (ACR), community garden impacts (CG), food or environmental justice (FEJ), interdisciplinary/multiple (IM), new retailer impacts/foodies (NRF), and urban planning, policy, and food (UPP). Aiming for a high-level view of the studies collected through the PRISMA-P protocol, articles were only assigned one code based on the authors' main argument — more specific themes contained in the articles are discussed in Section

2.4. Overall, it was found that most authors discussed food gentrification from the perspective of food or environmental justice (38.5%, 15/39) or they were highly interdisciplinary in nature (20.5%, 8/39). On the other hand, the fewest studies were focused on anti-colonialism, anti-racism and the alternative food movement (7.7%, 3/39). However, this process generally revealed that the literature on food gentrification is highly diverse and interdisciplinary in nature, indicated by a relatively balanced distribution of articles across the different focus areas.

Table 2.2 General characteristics of eligible food gentrification studies

Characteristic	Number (n=39)	Percentage (%)
Publication year		
2004 or earlier	0	0.0
2005 to 2009	4	10.3
2010 to 2014	7	17.9
2015 to 2019	28	71.8
Publication type		
Web article	1	2.6
Book/book chapter	4	10.3
Peer-reviewed article	34	87.2
Location of study		
Austria	1	2.6
United Kingdom	3	7.7
Canada	4	10.3
Multiple locations	5	12.8
United States of America	26	66.7
Scale of analysis		
National scale	4	10.3
Multiple scales	6	15.4
City or regional scale	13	33.3
Organization/community scale	16	41.0
Food gentrification focus area		
Anti-colonialism/racism and food (ACR)	3	7.7
Community garden impacts (CG)	4	10.3
New retailer impacts/foodies (NRF)	4	10.3
Urban planning, policy and food (UPP)	5	12.8
Interdisciplinary/multiple (IM)	8	20.5
Food or environmental justice (FEJ)	15	38.5

2.4 Findings

2.4.1 Overview of Food Gentrification Concepts and Processes

In recent years, there has been growing concern that urban alternative food projects might play a role in facilitating gentrification. Reflecting on the abrupt changes to the meanings assigned to her cultural foods, Chicago-based black feminist writer, Mikki Kendall, coined the term *food gentrification* on social media, describing it as:

> [A scenario in which] previously affordable and staple ingredients can suddenly become "cool," costly, and ultimately out of reach for poorer communities that once depended on them. The trend presents particular challenges for more than 41 million Americans who live in food-insecure households (Ross & McAdon, 2018)

Kendall specifically discusses food gentrification for racialized communities as a process of 'elevating' previously affordable foods or staple ingredients to a condition of higher value and cost (Howard, 2018; Ross & McAdon, 2018). The key idea is that as low-income individuals begin to experience a loss in their cultural foods, they might experience a simultaneous loss in their sense of community and personal identity (Ross & McAdon, 2018). Here, a broader conception of food gentrification is also being considered, which includes multi-directional relationships between food and gentrification. As Sbicca (2018) describes, low-income communities "can experience the deleterious effects of food driving gentrification", for example, when AFIs increase property prices and attract new residents to a neighbourhood (p. 1). On the other hand, cultural foods can themselves be "gentrified", when once-affordable foods become upscaled and made out of reach for racial and ethnic minorities (Ross & McAdon, 2018; Sbicca, 2018). Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge that the nature of this relationship is highly dependent on a neighbourhood's class and ethnoracial characteristics, foodscapes, housing conditions, policy, and broader economic factors (Sbicca, 2018).

While authors do not always explicitly employ the term food gentrification, this term will be used to describe a scenario in which food is linked to gentrification in any broad sense. In light of the range of food gentrification focus areas found in the discourse analysis, it is clear that the topic is variegated and complex, and might include any of the following three ideas:.

1. The "upscaling" of cultural foods or local foods, leading to an increase in food prices.
2. Because certain AFIs resonate with more affluent populations, the implementation of AFIs in a neighbourhood can increase the property value of the surrounding area, leading to increased rents and costs of living. This indirectly decreases one's expendable income allocated to purchasing food.
3. As a neighbourhood gentrifies, sources of affordable foods (e.g. discount grocery stores) may go out of business because of an increase in rents, or because of a change in consumer demands. In their place, boutique food shops, markets, and restaurants open, making it difficult for low-income communities to access affordable food.

In order to help articulate this relatively new theory, the next section aims to identify major conceptual ideas related to the causes, impacts, and outcomes of food gentrification found in the literature.

Causes: Alternative food and mechanisms of gentrification. In framing the link between community food and gentrification, numerous scholars deploy the *ecological rent gap* theory of urban change. In the evolution of an urban area, the political-economic *rent gap* theory of gentrification focuses on the flow of capital back into a deteriorated city core (Braswell, 2018, p. 4; Goodling, Green & McClintock, 2015, p. 509; Kern, 2015). In historically neglected areas (often ageing, post-industrial inner cities), urban redevelopment eventually becomes a more profitable prospect than collecting rents in the current state (Braswell, 2018, p. 4; Draus, Roddy, & McDuffie, 2013; Kern, 2015; Rosan & Pearsall, 2017). Often described as the "back to the city movement by capital", urban redevelopment initiates a cycle of reinvestment and the in-migration of more affluent residents (Braswell, 2018). As an offshoot of this concept, the ecological rent gap theory specifically focuses on renewing or inserting environmental goods and amenities to attract reinvestment into the urban core. Whether intentional or not, food is one amenity that can be part of this process, in the form of "hip" food retail or urban agriculture (Sbicca, 2018, p. 5). Multiple authors theorize that spaces and places such as community gardens, organic and health food retail, and "casual gourmet" restaurants are part of the initial capital flow back into the city, which initiates the process of gentrification (Braswell, 2018; Hyde, 2014, p. 347; McClintock, Mahmoudi, Simpson, & Santos, 2016; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016; Quastel, 2009). Urban food initiatives might therefore contribute to food gentrification by increasing property values and changing the sociospatial makeup of an urban area.

In the case of urban agriculture and gentrification, a related factor is land tenure status. Urban agriculture refers to farming or gardening programmes that take place within a city setting, and provide food for local individuals and communities of different sizes. Urban agriculture has its roots in challenging industrial agri-food, but its impact depends on its scale (e.g. residential, allotment, guerrilla, non-profit, commercial) and organizing structure (McClintock, 2014). Although more work is needed to better understand the persistence of urban agriculture relative to land use change, there is some evidence that these initiatives are dependent on perceptions of temporariness (Arnold & Rogé, 2018; Stanko & Naylor, 2018, p. 469). In other words, numerous urban agriculture projects lack tenure security within municipalities, and might only succeed on a short term basis. These projects can therefore serve to increase the attractiveness of impoverished neighbourhoods to more affluent populations, without producing any lasting benefit to the local community (Arnold & Rogé, 2018, p. 7; Braswell, 2018). In cases where spatial justice is not addressed, municipal food projects can even be coopted by *urban boosters* (institutions, developers, and city officials aiming to create large scale development in the interests of more affluent populations) to initiate development plans that disrupt long-term residents and vulnerable communities (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Kumnig, 2017).

In the realm of health food retail, the above process has been described as *eventification* or *greenlining* (Anguelovski, 2016a; Mincyte & Dobernig, 2016). Anguelovski (2016a) describes supermarket greenlining as: "the socio-demographic and physical transformation of a neighbourhood through the strategic opening of so-called healthy, 'natural', organic stores in racially mixed neighbourhoods" (p. 1222). While the phenomenon is tied to a range of forces, the opening of food stores that carry a certain form of cultural capital (e.g. Whole Foods) can signal the "readiness" of devalued neighbourhoods to be further developed (Anguelovski, 2016a, p. 1214; McClintock, 2018). Further, marketing and labelling tactics can commodify foods and ingredients that were once affordable to residents, pricing out lower-income populations from acquiring their cultural food items (Howard, 2014; Ross &

McAdon, 2018; Sbicca, 2018). Beyond "natural" food retail, the concept has also been used to describe the *staging* dimension of alternative food projects and food justice activism more broadly (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Braswell, 2018; McClintock, 2018; McClintock, 2014; Mincyte & Dobernig, 2016; Stanko & Naylor, 2018). In line with the ecological rent gap theory, staging refers to how food justice organizations may unintentionally create spaces that support the initial flow of capital back to the city, sparking gentrification.

A final mechanism recognized in the literature is the role of the growing *foodie* scene in shifting patterns of consumption in low-income neighbourhoods. The mechanism of foodie culture emphasizes that everyday consumption practices are political in nature (Bunce, 2017; Hubbard, 2017; Hyde, 2014). Recent years have seen a shift in the tastes of middle-to-upper class foodies to include "ethical", "alternative", and "authentic" foods that can be consumed in a casual, trendy environment (Gould & Lewis, 2017; Hubbard, 2017; Hyde, 2014, p. 342-343). De-industrialized inner cities are a fitting location for this new aesthetic, which has led to a boom in farmers' markets, community gardens, craft breweries, and urban-chic restaurants. In particular, *local food* has been embraced by several trendy chefs and middle-to-upper class consumers. Under these circumstances, localism has to some extent become an end goal in itself, as opposed to a means to environmental sustainability and social equity (Libman, 2015, p. 311). On one level, the local/foodie movement carries powerful overtones about socioeconomic status and morality, and can be highly detrimental to the economic accessibility of food (Guthman, 2008b; Hubbard, 2017). In other words, local/foodie movements can inspire increased property value and rent prices alongside other processes of gentrification, contributing to a rise in the cost of urban goods and amenities, including food. Placed in the context of community change, the foodie trend also demonstrates a common perception that newcomers can "give back" to disenfranchised locals through their ethical consumption practices (Hyde, 2014, p. 353). Ultimately the looming presence of gentrifiers in the urban foodie scene is indicative of how food has fostered a new form of class distinction and *environmental privilege* ("the exclusive access that whiter and wealthier residents have to prime environmental amenities [such as parks] and to exclusive green neighbourhoods") in greening cities (Anguelovski, 2016a, p. 1210; Park & Pellow, 2011).

Impacts: A critical geography of urban food, (re)making place and inequity. Reflecting on the mechanisms of food gentrification, the community impacts of the phenomenon can be grouped into at least four major categories: impacts to property prices and rents, the displacement of long-time residents, heightened feelings of exclusion, and an increase in racial tensions. While a causal relationship has not been established between alternative food and these impacts, this section helps to build awareness around some of the common observations and lived experiences of low-income and mixed-race communities.

In line with the literature on ecological gentrification, a common idea is that AFIs have the potential to increase nearby property values in impoverished neighbourhoods (Anguelovski, 2016a; Arnold & Rogé, 2018; Voicu & Been, 2008). Because these projects resonate well with the environmental values of more affluent populations, there is a concern that urban food projects can lead to increased residential property values and rental costs, by improving the attractiveness and competitiveness of a given neighbourhood (Arnold & Rogé, 2018; Dooling, 2012; Whittle, Palar, Hufstedler, Seligman, Frongillo, & Weiser 2015). Evidently, alternative food has thus become a form of sustainability capital that can be mobilized by urban boosters for profit. Private developers and urban elites have

recognized the value in food-focused boosterism, as this sustainability capital can translate into significant economic gains (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Braswell, 2018; McClintock, 2018; Mincyte & Dobernig, 2016; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016).

In tandem with increasing property prices, food gentrification can also impact neighbourhood demographics through the displacement of long-time residents. Displacement can be facilitated by a number of factors, including a change in the types of goods and amenities offered or an unaffordable rise in rent prices (whether progressively, or through forceful methods). However, due to the methodological challenges of tracking the displacement of previous residents, most scholars focus on how new green amenities can create the conditions for feelings of erasure and demographic change more broadly (Agyman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016; Anguelovski, 2016b; Braswell, 2018; Kern, 2015; Dooling, 2012). The arrival of alternative food activities has also been documented to aggravate internal conflicts, with some residents explicitly vocalizing that unwanted bodies and neighbourhood activities should be displaced (Dooling, 2012; Kern, 2015). With respect to vulnerable communities such as new immigrants and homeless populations, there is a concern that their relocation to environmentally sensitive areas or areas with increased exposure to hazards can also occur (Dooling, 2012). Evidently, ecologically focused agendas that drive official urban food projects might overlook the need for social safeguards and policies to be put in place to prevent displacement.

Numerous studies also discuss the role of food gentrification in producing heightened feelings of exclusion among people of colour (POC), low-income individuals, and homeless populations. Several forces and complex interactions contribute to this finding. On one level, the closure of culturally relevant food spaces, paired with processes of supermarket greenlining, can alter the long held cultural practices and sense of place upheld by local residents (Agyman et al., 2016; Anguelovski, 2015; Anguelovski 2016a; Howard, 2014; Tornaghi, 2014). For example, Anguelovski conducted a pivotal study on the arrival of a *Whole Foods* organic supermarket and the simultaneous closure of an ethnic food market in Jamaica Plain, Boston, which resulted in a loss of cultural practices, resource sharing, food sovereignty, and sources of mutual support (Anguelovski, 2015; Anguelovski, 2016). One study by Egerer & Fairbairn (2018) focused on an alternative relationship, suggesting that broader urban gentrification processes can exacerbate racism and exclusivity in urban agriculture governance. Their study showed how capitalist urbanization becomes internalized in community garden relations, complicating the management of common resources and highlighting racial tensions at the local scale (p. 62). In terms of political exclusion, there are also concerns that ecological sustainability has gained moral authority over sociospatial justice, and that development plans are not incorporating the input of social justice activists and grassroots organizations adequately (Dooling, 2012; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016; Rosan & Pearsall, 2017). Thus, while proponents of urban agriculture promote its ability to support diverse environmental and social goals, multiple studies critique their role in reinforcing procedural and distributional injustices.

Accordingly, it is clear that contemporary urban food projects carry "cachet" and represent a new incarnation of environmental privilege in devalued neighbourhoods (Anguelovski, 2016a; McClintock, 2018, p. 582). This is due at least in part to the persistence of *colourblindness* in alternative food practice. In the context of the urban AFM, colourblindness can be understood as the refusal to see or admit that racial difference exists in institutional structures or relationships (Guthman, 2008b). Within alternative food organizations, the low

participation of POC is symptomatic of whiteness as an organizing feature of sustainable food discourses. As such, a number of scholars have suggested that the clustering of white bodies builds a certain "racial and aesthetic momentum", which progressively draws like individuals together and excludes those who are different (Alkon and Cadji, 2018, p. 4; Hubbard, 2017; Ramírez, 2015, p. 764). While many community food leaders do attempt to enrol POC and other marginalized communities, this can still ignore complex histories of oppression, unfair labour, theft of land, and slavery (Slocum, 2006; Slocum, 2007; Guthman, 2008a; Guthman, 2008b; Ramírez, 2015; Siegner et al., 2018). By integrating a lens of critical geography, it is therefore evident that AFIs have the potential to reinforce racial privilege while exacerbating structural inequities and exclusion. Even well-intentioned food initiatives can therefore foster conditions of racial exclusion, which necessitates the creation and application of innovative social policies and cultural sensitivity. Efforts to improve food in low income, racialized communities requires confronting relationships between racial minorities and farming, and requires asking who ultimately benefits from alternative food work (Siegner et al., 2018).

Reported quantitative and qualitative outcomes. With respect to the given impacts of food gentrification, a number of studies have produced evidence to validate these outcomes. For the most part, the outcomes of food gentrification are described through site-specific qualitative case studies, with the exception of two quantitative studies. In terms of property prices, one quantitative study found gardens to add $9000 on average to the tax revenue stream in Milwaukee (Burdine & Taylor, 2018, p. 200). In New York City, it has also been estimated that a community garden increases tax revenue by $0.5 million over a 20 year period (Voicu & Been, 2008, p. 277). Overall, scholars have found that gardens have a positive impact on neighbouring residential property values, while this is particularly clear in lower socioeconomic status neighbourhoods (Burdine & Taylor, 2018; Voicu & Been, 2008). In a more qualitative study, interviews with low-income people living with HIV in San Francisco Bay area showed that urban regeneration was linked to causing an unaffordable burden of rent price, leading to difficulties in procuring healthy and sufficient food (Whittle et al., 2015, p.158).

With respect to displacement, it is difficult to determine causality in terms of the arrival of AFIs and gentrification. However, one study used spatial regression analysis to show positive associations with community gardens and gentrification in Missouri, using a gentrification index to track changes in socioeconomic status from 2000-2010 (Braswell, 2018). Findings indicated that gardens were located in grid squares that gentrified, and in grid squares that were experiencing decline, broadly showing that their implementation can lead to a change in the social makeup of a neighbourhood (Braswell, 2018). In turn, Braswell (2018) explicitly situated these findings within the ecological rent gap theory, stating that gardens likely play a role in the return of capital back to a devalued city core and in displacing African American residents. However, given that the increase in gentrification (measured through socioeconomic status) associated with an individual garden was relatively small, community gardens were concluded to be only one part of the redevelopment process (Braswell, 2018, p. 819). On the other hand, qualitative interviews also reveal that the arrival of food venues can prompt a a sociodemographic change at a more fine-grained level, with anecdotes demonstrating how new residents can carry racist, anti-poor, and anti-homeless attitudes and behaviours (Anguelovski, 2015; Anguelovski 2016a; Kern, 2015)

2.4.2 Major Theoretical Concepts in the Food Gentrification Literature

After reviewing the food gentrification literature, three major theoretical categories can be discussed. These theories are intended to consolidate major ideas and critiques into larger descriptive themes. For example, one prevalent theme can be termed the *reification of the local* or the *local trap* (Agyman et al., 2016). On one level, food gentrification can be traced back to a flaw in the AFM, which is to equate localism with sustainability. Localization can certainly offer opportunities for accountable labour practices, local economic growth, community building, and an improved ecological footprint due to a reduction in transportation. However, the local trap specifically illustrates a tendency for some researchers and activists to inflate the importance of localization as a solution to food systems issues, as opposed to being one means to achieving food security and equity (Agyman et al., 2016; Libman, 2015; McClintock, 2018). Beyond scale, the interplay of diverse actors, governance structures, institutions, and policies helps to determine the environmental and social impact of food systems. In assuming that something is inherently "good" about the local scale, AFIs can ignore structural issues of equity; accordingly, their implementation in low-income mixed race neighbourhoods can exacerbate problems of poverty and racism (Libman, 2015).

A related theme in the food gentrification literature addresses the need to address wider questions of social welfare, economic opportunity, and justice in relation to environmental sustainability. As an example, a theoretical framework, *just sustainabilities*, responds to the "equity deficit" of urban food initiatives by giving greater attention to dimensions of spatiality, place-attachment, and culture (Agyman et al., 2016, p. 334; Egerer & Fairbairn, 2018; Gould & Lewis, 2017; McClintock et al., 2016). Paired with a lens of political ecology, the just sustainabilities framework emphasizes the political nature of inserting environmental amenities into urban spaces, including initiatives under the umbrella of urban agriculture or food justice. Instead, proponents of this framework encourage tracing the power dynamics of alternative food planning and practice, and assessing the complexity of environmental discourses, policies, and relationships (Quastel, 2009). This concept offers a lens for analyzing elements of distribution and accessibility in urban alternative food work, and centralizes the assessment of realized outcomes relative to a more holistic concept of sustainability. As McClintock et al. (2016) summarize, the just sustainabilities framework ultimately urges planners and activists to reflect and act upon the notion, "sustainable for whom?" (p. 2).

Finally, there is a small but important body of literature that highlights the need for anti-colonial and anti-racist theories to guide future research on food gentrification. Although some literature exists on racial inequity and urban food access, there is less scholarship on how the implementation of AFIs might reinforce environmental privilege, settler colonialism, and other oppressions (Anguelovski, 2015; Burdine & Taylor, 2018; Rosan & Pearsall, 2017). For example, recent ontological work on race suggests that beyond the dominant Self/Other conception of race, there is reason to assess how racial clusters materialize and how whiteness consolidates spatially (Slocum, 2007). In the realm of alternative food provision, Slocum (2007) describes:

> Race should be understood as emerging out of the physical clustering of bodies in which phenotype matters in its connection to material objects and processes. Phenotype in this sense is not the outward expression of the interior design; phenotyped people extend along the multiple pathways of their involvement in the world that is incipient and forever on the verge of the actual (p. 524).

Reflecting on this, whiteness might affect food gentrification through a paradoxical scenario: whites seek proximity by "bringing good food to others" while at once producing extreme distance to other racialized groups

(Slocum, 2007, p. 523; Guthman, 2008a, p. 433). On one level, whites have pursued more ethical relations by reaching out to coloured subjects in community food. However, it is clear that even well-meaning food projects can carry subtle racial codes — in spite of intentions to do good, these practices are intricately tied to postcolonial guilt, power, and privilege. As a result, significant urban alternative food work is dominated by white ideals of health, utopic visions of farming and gardening, and programming directed at non-white beneficiaries (Ramírez, 2015). *White viscosity* then builds as white bodies congregate in comfortable food spaces such as local food markets, health food stores, and CSAs (Slocum, 2007). As land and space progressively accumulates value through the presence of these white bodies, the concern is that white viscosity thickens and low-income POC are pushed out of the community (Ramírez, 2015; Slocum, 2007).

It is thus crucial to assess how the experiences and agricultural histories of racial minorities (e.g. land theft, exploitative labour practices, discriminatory financial policies) might affect how a given food project is interpreted within a specific urban place; in other words, what are the foundational reasons as to why certain populations get involved in alternative food projects and why? (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Anguelovski, 2015; Cole et al., 2017; Rosan & Pearsall, 2017; Siegner et al., 2018). For example, the Catatumbo Collective is a grassroots reparations project in Chicago led by three immigrant women, aimed at shedding light on histories of resistance and the resilience of Indigenous people and POC (Siegner et al., 2018). The creators developed a "reparations map" to reference how US histories of slavery and similar experiences of discrimination among immigrants have affected the ability for farmers of colour to make a living; reflecting on these dynamics, it encourages voluntary transfers of wealth to minority-owned farms (Keller, 2018; Siegner et al., 2018). Complex questions remain on how to better involve disadvantaged communities in formal policy-making and planning channels, to ensure that racial justice goals are being met, alongside environmental ones (Rosan & Pearsall, 2016; Siegner et al., 2018). However, there is transformative potential in creating genuine alliances and dialogue with traditionally marginalized populations, and creating space for POC to lead alternative food work in their communities based on their personal aspirations.

2.4.3 Remaining Challenges and Areas of Opportunity

Reflecting on the urban AFM and community change, this section explores some of the common gaps, areas of opportunity, and recommendations cited in the literature, offering insights into a more focused research area for Kitchener-Waterloo. While a number of complex questions remain, four major recommendations are given here.

First, urban food justice activism affects (and is affected by) broader capital flows, structural violence, and the aesthetics of a given city. With evidence that AFIs can result in unintended consequences such as displacement, increased property values, exclusion, and racial tension, this complicates the efforts of food justice activists. However, these findings are helpful in pointing to some major deficits in activists' community food work as well. In examining the on-the-ground impacts of food projects working under the umbrella of urban sustainability, one major theme among critical food researchers is the need to bridge social and environmental justice goals in efforts to alleviate food insecurity. Urban agriculture has certainly garnered a distinct form of cultural capital in contemporary "green" cities, which has empowered individuals to enact food systems change through their consumption practices (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; McClintock, 2018; Quastel, 2009). However, uncritical citizen investment in these projects can be counterintuitive. Reflecting on urban agriculture as a form of "greenwashing", Hanson & Schrader (2014) warn:

In addressing social issues poorly and largely avoiding mention of social equity, class, race or justice, urban sustainability strategies silence important discussions about sustainability of what, for whom, how and why. Consequently, sustainability planning schemes do little to engage a truly democratic planning process as debate is limited to the best kinds of technological or managerial fixes for environmental problems while competing notions of inclusion, access and justice that more radically depart from the neoliberal status quo are foreclosed (p. 197).

This finding thus urges more interdisciplinary research on the contradictory dynamics of urban food movements, and an exploration of more transformative sustainability agendas (Hanson & Schrader, 2014; Tornaghi, 2014). Accordingly, there is a need to explore how to insert social and political theory, social policy change, and grassroots entrepreneurship into sustainable food initiatives, to support the material needs and resilience of long-time urban residents (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Anguelovski, 2016; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016).

More specifically, one subset of literature responds to the contradictions of the urban AFM by encouraging activists to be engaged in political community efforts as well as critical research. Multiple authors discuss how building a more *critical* and *reflective praxis* in community food work, might help in addressing concerns with food gentrification. Specifically, this suggestion involves seeking out socially and environmentally innovative work related to food security (Hanson & Schrader, 2014; McClintock, 2014; Tornaghi, 2012; Tornaghi & Van Dyck, 2015). As Tornaghi & Van Dyck (2015) describes, building a critical praxis in alternative food work is a "talk-plus-walk" approach, in which actors engage in critical academic writing while staying engaged in the movement or practice on the ground as well (p. 1253). This "scholarly activism" promotes the pursuit of reciprocity and solidarity, in order to fundamentally address urban food security issues (Tornaghi & Van Dyck, 2015, p. 1253). Institutional and individual reflexivity is crucial to unpacking complex forms of privilege and violence in the alternative food movement, and urges a different way forward through acts of listening and learning.

In order to understand the varied effects of gentrification, another area requiring attention is residents' sense of place and place attachment. Beyond discussions of food production and geographic access, there is a need for more robust research on the cascading social and cultural impacts of alternative food, including research on the actual benefit distribution these initiatives (Anguelovski, 2016b; Braswell, 2018; Cole et al., 2017; Siegner et al., 2018; Stanko & Naylor, 2018). While inequities have been researched widely in urban food systems, critical geographical research on the relationship between urban food and the politics of "place" is still a neglected area of study (Tornaghi, 2014). As such, there is room to explore how the appropriation of sustainability narratives by urban boosters can shift the cultural and political meanings that locals assign to physical city spaces and food projects. This work would help to deepen understandings of the less tangible forces of gentrification being felt by longtime residents, and to get a sense of how individuals adapt and (re)discover their place in a given community.

Building on the topics of place attachment and racial viscosity in the AFM, another small but important body of work specifically addresses decolonizing practice in relation to food gentrification. For example, Ramírez (2015) explores how black food geographies and food spaces can enact a "decolonial politics" to address ongoing trauma and violence (p. 749). Beyond the watered-down rhetoric of improving "inclusion", black geographies and other alternative geographies fundamentally de-centre whiteness in community food work (Guthman, 2008b; Ramírez, 2015; Rosan & Pearsall, 2017). At the local level, there is a need to support critical and reflexive community

organizations working to improve food insecurity relative to poverty, racism, and other structural problems. Characterized by a greater viscosity of POC, these organizations are working to radically transform food spaces by addressing dynamics of power, inequity, and the remnants of historical trauma (Ramírez, 2015; Slocum, 2007; Guthman, 2008b). For other white activists and municipal stakeholders, there is a need to improve community engagement strategies, in a way which prioritizes more equitable food pathways and local decision-making (Rosan & Pearsall, 2017). However, strategies for allyship should ultimately be developed in direct consultation with POC and critical grassroots organizers and networks.

2.5 Research Questions

Based on these findings, this study has identified a guiding research question, which will be addressed across two manuscripts: **"**How do low-income residents experience food gentrification in a rapidly changing urban area?". Multiple questions are being considered within each manuscript to explore relevant subtopics:

- *Critical Public Health*: "*Life stories of food agency and resilience in a rapidly gentrifying urban centre: Building a multidimensional concept of food access"*
  - How have changes in the local food environment affected individual coping and adaptation strategies for procuring food, among people living on low income?
  - What kinds of foods do residents living on low income get and where?
  - How might food gentrification impact individual and community health?

- *Journal of Planning Education and Research*: "*There's parallel realities that seldom intersect": Longtime residents' place meanings in a gentrifying urban food environment*
  - How might food play a role in the way that longtime residents symbolically, emotionally, and physically build a sense of place in Downtown Kitchener?
  - Does food gentrification impact residents' sense of place in the City?
  - What could alternative food projects do to address sociospatial equity in their community food work?

2.6 Summary

This section has provided a comprehensive look at the extent of scholarly literature available on the topic of food gentrification. The range of mechanisms for this phenomenon are described from the perspective of the ecological rent gap theory of gentrification, insecure land tenure policies, supermarket greenlining, and the growing urban foodie culture. In terms of the neighbourhood impacts of this process, some quantitative work has been conducted to assess how certain ecological amenities (such as AFIs) can influence property prices and rents. A sizeable body of qualitative work has also indicated that food gentrification can lead to the displacement of low-income racialized communities due to heightened feelings of exclusion and increased racial tensions.

Some key theories that underwrite food gentrification include the local trap, just sustainabilities, and anti-colonialism and anti-racism. These themes highlight some of the major flaws and challenges to urban food work, as well as areas of opportunity. Scholars have identified a wide range of challenges to address in both academia and in

practice, including: uniting social and environmental justice goals, pursuing a critical and reflexive practice in community food work, legitimizing research around food and place attachment, and pursuing the decolonization of food systems. Reflecting on these knowledge gaps and recommendations, critical research questions have been identified for a study in the context of Kitchener-Waterloo.

Chapter 3.0: Research Methods Overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the strategies chosen to conduct a case study on food gentrification in Downtown Kitchener, Ontario, including a description of foundational philosophies, data collection methods, and analytical tools. Based on the literature review findings, this study seeks to answer the overarching question: "How do low-income residents experience food gentrification in a rapidly changing urban area?". In light of the research questions listed above, a transformative and pragmatic mixed methods approach is being employed. The transformative paradigm and pragmatist paradigm naturally guide the given research study. Within the transformative paradigm, the critical theories used to guide this study are: Paulo Freire's *pedagogy of the heart* and *conscientização,* David Schlosberg's *environmental justice*, and Sylvia Hamilton's *sites of memory*. Based on David Morgan's theories on action-based research, the pragmatic underpinning of this research is also described. Ontological and epistemological elements are described accordingly. The following methods section then details the quantitative and qualitative tools applied to effectively answer the research questions across two manuscripts. In this section, a justification for the chosen research participants and recruitment strategies is described. Finally, ethical considerations and some of the major strengths and limitations to the methods are given.

3.2 Research Philosophies

3.2.1 Guiding Philosophies

Two major research philosophies underwrite this study. On one level, this body of research engages with issues of social equity in the AFM, particularly with respect to processes of ecological gentrification. This research is thus positioned in a way that challenges dominant power dynamics, in an effort to facilitate social transformation (Mertens, 2015). Specifically, this study engages with the food experiences of longtime, low-income residents to analyze the spatial justice implications of urban development and new urban food initiatives. The transformative paradigm thus complements the effort to determine the cascading impacts of the urban AFM on various marginalized groups.

As a counter-movement to large-scale, industrialized food systems, the AFM seeks to address multiple, intersecting social and environmental issues. Nonetheless, the movement remains embedded within a broader set of hegemonic cultural and power structures that constrain the nature and extent of change possible (Sell, 2003). As Sell (2003) describes, structural power can broadly be understood as "the power to shape the environment and redefine options for others" (p. 34). From this perspective, alternative food activism is tied to complex political structures and power dynamics at the city-level and beyond. The literature review has shown that alternative food work is related to capital accumulation through its capacity to build *sustainability capital*; accordingly, scholars are concerned for the AFM's relationship to greenwashing and food-based ecological gentrification (Alkon & Cadji, 2018; Anguelovski, 2015; Hanson & Schrader, 2014; Howard, 2014). In response, this research aims to support ongoing reflection within urban alternative food work, and seeks to dismantle structures that continue to oppress food-insecure communities. The research is in line with the transformative philosophy's imperative of setting research into the community context to analyze how various social forces, policies, and practices continue to disenfranchise marginalized groups (Mertens, 2015, p. 25).

On another level, there is pragmatic underpinning to this study due to its concern with the operation of AFIs on the ground. Cherryholmes (1992) suggests that pragmatic research broadly aims to clarify meanings and explore possibilities of action. The given food gentrification research is a pragmatic undertaking due to its focus on improving local food security while promoting critical consciousness among service providers and institutions involved in community food work. It is a form of critical research that seeks to produce improved outcomes, especially relative to social service delivery, planning, policy, and programmatic interventions (Cherryholmes, 1992; Morgan, 2007). Through complementary interviews with service providers and retailers in the region, this study seeks to share practical recommendations and findings with participants and community stakeholders. Together, the transformative and pragmatist philosophies support a critical yet action-focused position. For more details on transformative and pragmatic theories, refer to sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

Ontology and epistemology. As Mertens (2015) describes, ontology asks, "what is the nature of reality?" while epistemology asks, "what is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known?" (p. 10). This study is largely concerned with the multiple, unequal realities experienced by diverse groups in Downtown Kitchener (Seasons, 2018b). Accordingly, this research employs a constructivist ontological position insofar that it aims to break down the multiple meanings and conceptions of alternative food, by observing how the AFM is interpreted among longtime residents (Cupchik, 2001; Packer & Goicoechea, 2000). Further, the constructivist position views humans as social participants whose identities are dependent on both social context and history; as such, I aim to assess how people are engaged with their social and built environments in an embodied way (as Bordieu calls, *habitus*) to form rich knowledge on the food gentrification experience (Bordieu, 1993; Packer & Goicoechea, 2000). In terms of epistemology, there is a focus on unpacking asymmetrical power dynamics, to understand how the structure and patterning of oppression operates within food systems (Mertens, 2015, p. 21; Sell, 2003). This study is thus methodologically designed to permit deep interaction with marginalized residents, to understand the impacts of urban development on food behaviours and decision-making (Mertens, 2015, p. 38). The given research acknowledges how positionality, social geography, and power each affect low-income individuals' food procurement in a rapidly changing urban area. The presentation of results is seen as a process of co-constructing a deep form of knowledge through interaction between the researcher and the participants. This unique paradigm builds a foundation for research that is aimed at improving food security outcomes, while rigorously supporting social and political change.

3.3 Research Approach
3.3.1 The Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Approach

A "convergent parallel" mixed methods approach has been selected to guide the following case study in Kitchener. This approach effectively facilitates both the transformative and pragmatic forms of inquiry sought through the research questions. The convergent parallel design involves integrating theories and strategies from both qualitative and quantitative traditions. It includes analyzing the qualitative and quantitative data separately, merging the data, and providing a critical interpretation of the merged information (Creswell, 2014). On a continuum, the given research is qualitative-dominant in that quantitative data are only being utilized as a complement to the

interviews, as a way of building a comprehensive story around food gentrification in Downtown Kitchener (Figure 3.1).

From the qualitative tradition, semi-structured interviews were being conducted with residents of Kitchener-Waterloo (primary population) as well as various service providers and food retailers (secondary population). The semi-structured design provides the researcher with some control over the questions asked, while also allowing for issues and topics to be explored naturally during the interviews (Seasons, 2018a). The questionnaire involved a combination of consistent questions as well as more open-ended questions. For the primary population, these questions revolve around topics relating to the individual's neighbourhood/food environment, feelings of welcomeness at various food retailers, opinions on emerging AFIs, and impacts of gentrification on food behaviours. The secondary interviews focus on understanding the attitudes and opinions of key informants from various social service programs and organizations in the region, helping to draw out recommendations related to food gentrification and health.
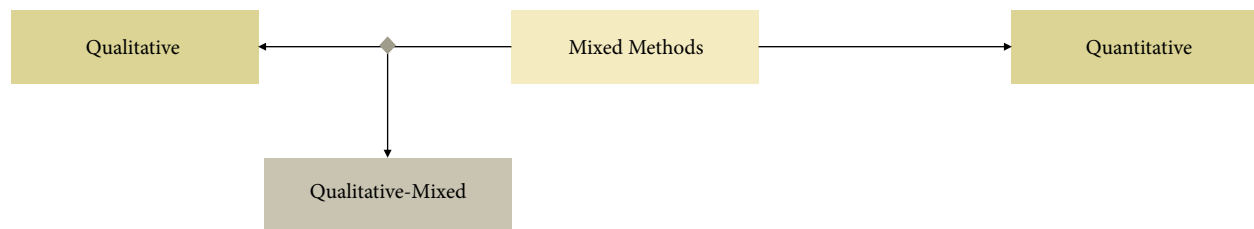
Figure 3.1 *Qualitative mixed methods research approach*

Quantitative methods are also being applied at multiple stages of the research program. To provide a background understanding of the municipalities, statistical data are being used to define characteristics such as the racial/ethnic make-up of the population and low income measures (Section 1.2.1). Government documents and census data from Statistics Canada served as primary sources of information at this stage. During data collection, surveys were also used with the primary population sample. In-person surveys allow food security status and demographic information (closed-ended data) to be compared to qualitative information (open-ended data).

Altogether, the given approach involves theory, data, and methodological forms of *triangulation* to arrive at a rich body of knowledge. On one level, the research is being approached with multiple theories, "to extend the possibilities for producing knowledge" (Wilson, 2014, p. 74). The theories employed in this study include: critical consciousness, environmental justice, sites of memory, and pragmatism (Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2). Further, the application of data triangulation involves the sequential collection of data from the primary population prior to the secondary population. Residents and service providers can offer different perspectives on the research questions, developing an in-depth story on this research topic. To achieve this, multiple methods are being used to gather data from the two population samples. Altogether, these forms of triangulation create a research program that is both reflexive in nature and solutions-focused.

3.4 Research Methods

3.4.1 Theories from the Transformative Tradition

The guiding research question centres around the food experiences of traditionally marginalized communities (low-income residents from varying cultural backgrounds), which requires the use of critical self-reflexivity during the extraction of meaning from participant interactions. This study aims to thoroughly involve participants in the process of collecting, interpreting, and communicating information. Coming out of the transformative paradigm, a number of theories are thus being integrated in this study.

Under the shade of the mango tree. First, transformative theory in mixed methods research requires that matters of power and justice are reflected upon in all processes. Some qualities of this theoretical framework include challenging oppressive structures during data analysis, aiming for the design of communities built in trust, and making goals and strategies highly transparent (Creswell, 2014). Further, the dissemination of results and data explicitly aims to enhance social justice (Creswell, 2014). Paulo Freire's *conscientização* or *conscientization* is thus a fundamental concept here. The late Freire was a powerful Brazilian educator, writer, and political activist, who believed that learning, political consciousness, and political action are necessarily inseparable (Freire, 1997, p. 7). Specifically, conscientização refers to a process in which people, as knowing subjects, "achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that [very] reality" (Freire, 2000, p. 65). As Freire (2000) describes, critical consciousness is brought about through praxis: "through the authentic union of action and reflection" (Freire, 2000, p. 61). As a revolutionary vision develops, consistent reflective action works to counter persisting cultural myths, bureaucracy, and domination (Freire, 2000).

Freire was deeply concerned with colonialism in Brazil, but his work spanned international borders, revolving around the production of knowledge, systems of power, and justice. As this study is focused on the concept of alternative food and urban sociospatial equity, it is important to consider how to extend planning and political action to include dispossessed groups, including those who are food insecure. Complementary to his concept of conscientização, Freire's *Pedagogy of the Heart* is also valuable here. Pedagogy of the Heart (originally "under this mango tree") is a concept deeply concerned with bridging the smells and tastes of childhood, transforming education, economic injustice, and a personal commitment to searching for political alternatives (Freire, 1997, p. 26). As Freire (1997) writes:

> My first world was the yard in my house, with the mango trees, cashew trees with their branches kneeling down to the shaded ground, along with the breadfruit trees…These trees with their varied [colours], smells, and fruits would attract various birds where they would take advantage of the space provided for them to sing. My childhood backyard has been unveiling itself to many other spaces…spaces where this man of today sees the child of yesterday in himself and learns to see better what he had seen before. To see again what had already been seen before always implies seeing angles that were not perceived before. Thus, a posterior view of the world can be done in a more critical, less naive, and more rigorous way.

Freire is considerate of how history informs the present and the future, and he sees his homeland as a geographic reference point from which he nurtures dreams, utopias, and conscientiousness (Freire, 1997). *Under the shade of the mango tree* is illustrative of how Freire's experience of solitude deepens his understanding of the need for

communion; he describes that his hope is rooted in understanding the importance of engaging in a permanent and communal *search* for a different reality (Freire, 1997). By calling attention to the source of his worldview, Freire demonstrates that knowledge has *historicity* and that the world is constantly in a process of *being* (Freire, 1997). These intertwined ideas allow me to question the constancy of the current world order, injustices in the food system, and the importance of food and memory to the pursuit of transformation (see: *Food, memory, and race*).

   Environmental justice and the spatiality of food. Furthermore, food gentrification issues can be understood relative to urban environmental justice (EJ) theories. EJ has its roots in movements that criticized the geographic distribution of risks and the unequal quality of environmental conditions in urban life (Gottlieb & Fisher, 1996a). Broadly, it encompasses "cultural norms and values, rules, regulations, [behaviours], policies, and decisions to support sustainable communities" that are safe and productive (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 50). Although the EJ movement historically focused on the disproportionate risk of toxic exposure faced by communities of colour, it has since come to encompass a much broader range of LULUs (Checker, 2011; Gottlieb & Fisher, 1996a; Gottlieb & Fisher, 1996b; Schlosberg, 2007). As Schlosberg (2007) makes clear, "environmental justice means more than a lack of equity in the distribution of environmental ills" (p. 75). Rather, EJ represents a *possibility* of addressing multiple iterations of justice into a singular political project and movement, by reflecting on matters of equity, recognition, participation, and capability (Schlosberg, 2007, p. 75-76). Accordingly, EJ is known for integrating social and ecological concerns more readily than the traditional environmental movement (Schlosberg, 2007). Here, EJ can be used to assess matters of sociospatial equity in municipal sustainability planning and the urban AFM.

   Food, memory, and race. Building on the transformative paradigm, this study is also preoccupied with relationships between the AFM and issues of race. As mentioned, there is only a small body of work on the ethnoracial dimensions of food gentrification. Accordingly, critical race theory (CRT) is highly important to this research moving forward. CRT seeks to complicate the rigid identity categories set by society; by furthering understandings of intersectionality within individuals, it also encourages reflection on the great diversity expressed by whole groups (Torre, 2009). Reynolds (2015) describes CRT as:

  A broad framework that considers racism as an organizing social paradigm that advances the interests of a dominant racial group (eg. whites) and presents little material incentive to its beneficiaries (eg. white people) to dismantle it…The CRT framework and movement have expanded into numerous other disciplines and settings and are explicitly "activist" in approach in that they seek not only to understand social situations, but to improve them (p. 244)

  In both theory and practice, CRT thus involves using alternative narratives to destabilize hegemonic ideologies, especially regarding the political elements of race (Torre, 2009). One paradigm that is grounded in CRT is African Nova Scotian, Sylvia Hamilton's *sites of memory* (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Wednesday, January 20, 2019). Hamilton was introduced to the concept based on Pierra Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* ("sites of memory") as a theoretical framework within which the conjoined themes of history and memory could be examined (Hamilton, 2012, p. 10). Hamilton (2012) believes that historical sources, such as paintings, buildings, and orality, can link individual memories and create communal ones (p. 10). Hamilton's sites of memory can offer a way to

reflect on the spatiality of food spaces relative to racialized and impoverished communities in Kitchener-Waterloo. In an Africville-like context, Hamilton writes about the forced placelessness of black populations in planning: "Come in from the fields one day / to find out we been up and sold / we invented temporary" (Hamilton, 2014, p. 22; Rutland, 2018, p. 112).

Beyond conventional inclusion rhetoric, there is thus a need for power asymmetries to be challenged in food planning and alternative food organizations (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Tuesday, March 19, 2019). Alternative geographies are needed to reimagine uneven urban food spaces and to prevent the displacement of POC through food gentrification (Ramírez, 2015; Rosan & Pearsall, 2016). In response, this study seeks to unite the unique oral stories of local residents with broader observations of change at the city-level. Integrating the notion of sites of memory with CRT can mean capturing personal stories and reflections on food experiences, and transforming these stories into broader learnings, reflections, and realms of possibility.

3.4.2 Theories from the Pragmatic Tradition

As mentioned, the given food gentrification research is also a pragmatic undertaking due to its focus on improving local food security and community food work. Pragmatism offers a workable approach to social science research, which relies on three key elements: (1) abduction as the process of connecting theory and data, (2) intersubjectivity, and (3) acknowledging context for transferability (Morgan, 2007). Although there are benefits to both qualitative and quantitative methods, pragmatic research remains focused on the possibility of solving problems by negotiating the two extremes.

First, a*bductive* reasoning refers to the process of switching between induction and deduction, to evaluate the workability of inferences. It involves converting firsthand observations into broad theories, followed by an assessment of those theories on the ground (Morgan, 2007). Accordingly, the coding process involved an exploratory, "bottom-up" approach to developing themes, but the coding results were developed by reflecting on existing food gentrification concepts as well. Furthermore, codes were not always established based on prevalence of data among the transcripts; rather, themes could come to form when residents discussed topics that seemed to capture important ideas relative to the research questions. The decision to use this method was important as participants at times ventured into topics that were out of line with a given interview question, but the information that they provided still produced rich knowledge on community values, aspirations, and concerns on this subject area (Brandow, 2018).

On another level, the concept of *intersubjectivity* refers to the aim of pragmatism to complicate the duality between subjectivity and objectivity, and instead encourages a "reflexive orientation" in the way that research is conducted (Cherryholmes, 1992, p. 16; Morgan, 2007, p. 72). To pursue this reflexivity, pragmatism is also preoccupied with the *transferability* of research into other social contexts. This aspect suggests that inferences from data cannot be assumed to be entirely context-bound nor generalizable. Instead, pragmatic theory encourages critical reflection on what factors affect whether knowledge can be used in alternative settings, and what warrants this transfer of knowledge (Morgan, 2007). Together, the transformative and pragmatist philosophies thus provide an opportunity to build reflexive solutions in the urban AFM, especially with respect to equity and community change.

3.4.3 Research Methods

Data collection: Study populations and recruitment. The primary study population includes self-identified low-income adults (age 18+ years) who are long-time residents of Kitchener-Waterloo. The criterion of being a long-time resident is defined here as being a resident of the City of Kitchener or the City of Waterloo for a minimum of five years. The criteria are meant to capture residents who are able to reflect on their personal food environments and the impacts of urban development (long-time residents), and those who are likely to be responsible for food procurement in the household (adults). The selection of five years for being a resident is based on the inclusion of major programs and developments within Kitchener, such as: the initiation of the Compass Kitchener engagement plan (2013), membership with the Regional Sustainability Initiative (2015), development of the Kitchener #LoveMyHood Neighbourhood Strategy (2015), and the start of construction of the light rail transit (LRT) system.

Non-governmental organizations and public government offices were contacted in person to assist in recruiting low-income, long-time residents of Kitchener-Waterloo for this study. The chosen organizations play a role in community-building, employment, supportive housing, and provision of key social services in Kitchener-Waterloo. With the permission of these organizations, posters were hung up on-site or posted to their social media (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Friday, March 8, 2019). The recruitment strategy/timeline and a full list of these organizations is available in Appendix B.

To provide a complementary perspective, this research also considered the input of local service providers of varying forms. Service providers can provide higher level perspectives on the potential health effects of food gentrification in the context of Kitchener-Waterloo, and may possess inside knowledge on the challenges and barriers to achieving sociospatial equity in alternative food work. Potential participants were conceptualized after all interviews with the primary population were completed. Based on resident responses, five key informants were contacted from to provide input on the research topic. For details on the participant sample, see Section 3.5.4.

Snowball sampling. Although targeted postering throughout Kitchener-Waterloo brought a strong first wave of participants, alternative recruitment avenues were necessary to complement the sampling strategy. This research employed a common sampling method in qualitative research called *snowball sampling*. This procedure refers to a repetitive process of accessing informants by obtaining their contact information from other informants; as new informants accumulate, more referrals can continue to be made (Noy, 2008). The snowball effect of this sampling design is meant to illustrate its accumulative and dynamic nature (Noy, 2008). In total, 5 participants were utilized as new "seeds" from which new informants were secured. The method was approached from a critical lens, using a number of best practices with respect to ensuring sample diversity.

Snowball sampling is at times overlooked due to its simplicity and informality and as such, still exists at the margins of qualitative research (Kirchherr & Charles, 2018). Researchers that are critical of this sampling method argue that snowballing can lead to homophily (the tendency for social networks to be homogenous in sociodemographic, behavioural, and intrapersonal characteristics), compromising the development of valid research findings in turn (Kirchherr & Charles, 2018; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). The idea is that "unlike individuals in a random sample, individuals in a population of interest do not have the same probability of being included in the final sample", and findings would therefore not be generalizable (Kirchherr & Charles, 2018).

However, the snowball sampling method is highly capable of producing valuable social knowledge, and was chosen for a variety of reasons. First, snowball sampling is known to be a popular sampling method in the social sciences, initially developed by Coleman (1958-1959) and Goodman (1961) to study the structure of people's social networks (Heckathorn, 2011; Noy 2008). To enrich the sample and access new participants, it was highly useful to explore individuals' personal and professional social connections. As Noy (2008) argues, "when viewed critically, this popular sampling method can generate a unique type of social knowledge—knowledge which is emergent, political and interactional" (p. 327). Irrespective of generalizability, the purpose of this research instead to produce an organic and "thick" type of knowledge on food gentrification, making snowballing highly effective (Kirchherr & Charles, 2018; Noy, 2008, p. 332). This method was useful in generating relevant interactional knowledge, complementing the study's focus on the social dimensions and meanings of place associated with food

Further, the method has advanced to become a key way to access hidden or otherwise hard-to-reach populations (Heckathorn, 2011). As contact avenues dried up (postering at diverse social service organizations, food retailers, health centres, community centres, and cultural organizations), it was useful to contact individuals in the participants' social groups. In particular, one participant involved in extensive social activism was a prime starting point for the snowballing method. People of diverse ethnic backgrounds, income situations, housing characteristics, and social service use were able to be accessed as a result. To ensure sample diversity, I also employed some key best practices to gather both a rich and complex set of data. As recommended by Kirchherr and Charles (2018), varying sample "seeds" were gathered as the research program progressed, and were used strategically to build connections from different participants (p. 4). To acquire and secure interviews with hard-to-reach populations (for example, low-income visible minorities or individuals without phone access), it was also crucial to be highly persistent and thoughtful with communications. Overall, the method proved useful to tracing key patterns related to food gentrification, and allowed for the development of a rich form of social knowledge with respect to the population of interest. For this particular research topic, snowballing was a valuable endeavour.

Primary population processes. For the primary population, short surveys and semi-structured interviews were conducted in-person. All procedures were conducted orally, and interviews were audio recorded with the participants' consent. First, participants were asked to review the information letter on the study, which detailed background information on the research, the survey and interview procedures, information on funding, and privacy concerns. Participants would then sign the multiple consent form to agree to participate, to be audio recorded, and to have anonymous quotations used in the thesis.

To begin, participants were asked to develop their own pseudonym for the study. While pseudonymization is a custom of qualitative research, allowing the participant to self-select their alias was a valuable engagement practice (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Monday, March 11, 2019). The process of pseudonymizing is both personal and political in nature, and "allowing [participants] space to negotiate how they are named and represented in the research is a vital element of this process" (Allen & Wiles, 2016, p. 163). Individuals expressed care and thoughtfulness with the selection of their names, reflecting on aspects of their heritage, family members, favourite actors and musicians, and nicknames. For participants who were unable to decide on a pseudonym for themselves,

the researcher made an effort to choose names that reflected the personality and ethnocultural background of the individual.

Subsequent to the selection of a pseudonym, participants were asked to respond to a short demographic survey to collect a range of characteristics, such as gender, age, and household size. The purpose of the demographic survey was to help classify some findings based on some simple personal characteristics. Participants were then asked to respond to the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) to understand their food situation in the past 12 months. The Canadian HFSSM was adapted from a method developed by the USDA, which includes research-based conditions, experiences, and behaviours that characterize food insecurity and hunger (Bickel, Nord, Price, Hamilton, & Cook, 2000; Government of Canada, 2012; USDA, 2000). The questionnaire relies on self-reported conditions of "uncertain, insufficient or inadequate food access, availability, and utilization, due to limited financial resources, and the compromised eating patterns and food consumption that may result" (Government of Canada, 2012). As a generalized measure, it is not designed to include other factors that may compromise food consumption (e.g. personal lifestyle factors) and is unable to determine the food security status of individual household members (Government of Canada, 2012). However, the HFSSM allows for a rough classification of the participants according to three categories of food (in)security, and helps to align the given findings with national-level research (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Household food security survey module food security status categories (Government of Canada, 2012)

Food security status	Adult status (based on the Adult Scale)	Child Status (based on the Child Scale)	Household status (derived from Adult and Child Status)
Food secure	no, or one, indication of difficulty with income-related food access 0 or 1 affirmative responses	no, or one, indication of difficulty with income-related food access 0 or 1 affirmative responses	Both adult status and child status are food secure
Food insecure, moderate	indication of compromise in quality and/or quantity of food consumed 2 to 5 affirmative responses	indication of compromise in quality and/or quantity of food consumed 2 to 4 affirmative responses	Either adults or children, or both adults and children, in the household are moderately food insecure, **and** neither is severely food insecure
Food insecure, severe	indication of reduced food intake and disrupted eating patterns ≥6 affirmative responses	indication of reduced food intake and disrupted eating patterns ≥5 affirmative responses	Either adults or children in the household are severely food insecure

Finally, open-ended questions were included in the study, structured around five major themes: the residents' personal food environment, food-related health, placemaking related to food procurement, community change, and alternative food perceptions. These questions were designed to understand residents' perspectives on food environment changes, attitudes toward urban food initiatives, food procurement behaviours, and other observations on community change (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Thursday, March 14, 2019). A more detailed description and justification for the chosen interview questions is provided in Table 3.2 and the full interview guide for the primary population is available in Appendix C. Findings became saturated at roughly 12 interviews for a subset of the population that fell under a similar demographic (white individuals, age 40+ years). However, 20 interviews were conducted to utilize the full amount of funding available, and to consider alternative perspectives from POC and people in different income or housing situations.

Table 3.2 Description and justification for the interview question design

Theme	Associated Question(s)	Description/Justification
Food Environment	• Can you tell me about the places where you primarily buy or get food in this community? a. What are the specific places you shop at? b. How frequently do you shop at x, y, z? • What do you like about the food stores in this community? a. What do you think about: *Service? Safety? Accessibility?* b. Is there anything that you don't like?	Participants are asked to describe the specific places where they procure food to meet their regular food needs. They are also asked to detail the frequency of their food procurement and to consider aspects that they like and don't like about the stores in the community. By conceptually mapping the participants' personal food environments, it is possible to understand their food procurement habits and basic factors that influence their store/social service selection.
Health	• What are the foods and/or drinks you choose to buy at these stores? Why are these foods important to you? a. Are there any culturally-specific foods that are important to you? If so, what is your experience in obtaining those? b. Are there any foods or drinks that you want but cannot get in this area? • Do you consider your diet to be healthy? a. What does 'healthy' mean to you in terms of food/diet? b. How difficult/easy is it for you to acquire and prepare healthy foods?	In many ways, the alternative and sustainable food movements are tied to specific ideas of personal and community health. Accordingly, it is valuable to consider the participants' subjective outlook on their health as it relates to diet and nutrition. This will help to establish a baseline for what individuals value in terms of health, barriers to eating healthy foods, and links between food, health, and culture.
Food Places	• Narrowing in a little more, what are the factors that drive you to return to shop at x, y, z? • How do you feel about your social interactions at x, y, z? a. With the service staff? b. With the other customers? • Do you feel *welcome* during your food shopping experiences? • Do you purchase any of your food from organic, health, or natural food stores? Probes: *Are you treated with respect? Do you feel valued? Would you feel comfortable seeking help from another person in the store?*	This series of questions is focused on the connection between food and place-making/ place-attachment. They aim to highlight the social and cultural factors that affect food place selection, as well as the challenges and negotiations that people make to acquire food from certain places. This section also introduces the concept of "welcomeness", which encourages participants to reflect more deeply on the impact of these food places on their social lives, sense of community, and personal wellbeing. The aim is to understand to what degree food places are culturally embedded in peoples' lives.

Table 3.2 *Description and justification for the interview question design*

Community Change & Food	• Has your cost of rent or any other regular payments changed over the years? • During your time in this community, have there been changes to the *places* where you purchased your food? - Probe: For example: *Consumer culture? Quality of service? Store closures?* • Have there been changes in the *food itself* at these places? - Probe: For example: *Food prices? Food quality? Food selection* • Do you participate in any sustainable food projects? Why or why not? - Probe: a. For example: *Participating in a community garden? Volunteering at a market garden? Using edible public spaces?* b. As someone who identifies as low income, do you think that low income populations benefit from these projects? Why or why not? • Do any *local* food retailers support your personal or household food needs? Why or why not? - Probe: For example: *Community shared agriculture? Community gardens? Local farmers' markets? A personal backyard garden? Retailers e.g. Legacy Greens, Full Circle?*	This theme broadens out to the community-scale, and is focused on understanding the direction of the relationship between food and gentrification. By inquiring about factors such as property prices, changes to food places, and changes to the food available in the area, it is possible to identify the nature of food gentrification in this local context. This section also integrates discussions on alternative food in terms of sustainable food projects and the popularization of localism in Kitchener-Waterloo. These questions allow participants to reflect on their awareness of alternative food projects, provide their perspectives on the value of projects to low-income populations, and give opinions on local food.
Reflections	• Do you have any other thoughts about how urban development has affected your food habits/household food situation? • What do you want to see come out of this research? Do you have any recommendations related to improving the wellbeing of local residents in face of urban change?	Finally, participants are also probed to reflect on any of their remaining thoughts on the topic. These questions aimed to gather participant input less formally. By asking individuals directly about their aspirations with regard to this research, I aim to express my value in their perspectives, while pursuing allyship and participatory activism.

Secondary population processes. Key informants were invited to participate in a brief interview on the study topic. This complementary study is an attempt at clarifying the link between food environments, gentrification, and health from a higher level perspective; additionally, I aimed to identify potential strategies for moving forward, and to highlight any differences in views compared to the primary population. Potential participants were contacted through email to schedule an in-person interview at a convenient time and location. Again, all procedures were conducted orally, with audio recordings if the participant consented. Participants reviewed the information letter on the study and signed a multiple consent form prior to participating, then selected a pseudonym for use in the study.

Specifically, the interview questions encouraged participants to reflect on how urban development has affected their organization's work. They were also given definitions of *gentrification* and *alternative food practices* (Table 3.3), and were asked to share their thoughts on food security, health, and accessibility accordingly. The interview concluded by asking for participants' views on what strategies and programming they believe are needed to improve the wellbeing of diverse residents over time. After answering to the five open ended questions, they were asked if they were interested in receiving the results of the study, and were thanked for their participation.

Table 3.3 *Secondary population interview questions*
1. What 'sector' does your work primarily fall under? E.g.: - Health and emergency services - Planning and policy - Housing - Family or community services - Immigrant and settlement services - Employment services - Education - Other: please specify _____ **2. How long have you worked with [*insert organization*]?** **3. Has urban development in this region affected the work of your organization over time? In what ways?** **4.** *"Gentrification is…a process in which the needs and rights of existing residents often come second to those of wealthier in-movers (Hartman, 1984; Newman and Wyly, 2006) and can be understood as "the production of urban space for progressively more affluent users" (Hackworth, 2002, p. 815)."* **What are your thoughts on how gentrification in this city is linked to food security and health?** **5.** *Alternative food practices [are] those that advocate more ecologically sound and socially just farming methods, food marketing and distribution, and healthier food options…The target of these efforts is the conventional food system that privileges corporate agriculture, commodity subsidies, transcontinental shipping and foods high in fats, salt and sugars. Some examples include: community gardens, guerrilla gardening, local farmers' markets, organic, non GMO, fair trade, animal welfare, etc.* **Do you believe that alternative food initiatives are accessible to a diversity of residents? People of colour? Low income residents?** **6. What strategies/programming do you think are necessary to address local food needs of diverse residents over time?**

Semi-structured interviews. Overall, interviews were a crucial piece of the research methodology. On one level, interviews support the participatory action tradition contained in the transformative framework of this study, by heavily involving participants in the research process (Mertens, 2015). Interviews place value in the knowledge and lived experiences of participants, and their participation is essential to building a deep understanding of this newly developing topic area (Seasons, 2018a). Specifically, this study aims to involve voices that might be marginalized in local food systems research, namely, low-income, long-time residents of Kitchener-Waterloo. By encouraging a mixture of conversation and storytelling, a fine-grained analysis was possible. Interviews were conducted solely in-person, in order to develop a personal connection with each of the participants. For some participants, in-person interviews were also a crucial way to build and establish trust by exchanging personal stories, expressing the intentions of the study outcomes, and generally interacting face-to-face. During this experience, I was thus able to honestly express the anonymity of the study and ease anxieties around the voice recording procedure.

Reflexive journalling in qualitative, critical food research. To deepen the research process, thoughts were recorded throughout all stages of planning, recruitment, interviewing, analysis, and reflection. On January 30, 2019, this process was initiated by keeping a reflexive journal. Entries have been inserted throughout this thesis, in order to provide reference to journalling that contributed to certain methods and decision-making. As an introverted, reflective, and feelings-oriented individual, reflexive journalling was well-suited to my style of learning and expression. As suggested by multiple qualitative researchers, critical research increasingly seeks to "make clear how the researchers' own experiences, values, and positions of privilege in various hierarchies have influenced their research interests, the ways they choose to do their research, and the ways they choose to represent their research findings" (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001, p. 325; Ortlipp, 2008, p. 695). For example, during the interview stage, I reflected on my decision to meet with a potential participant at a local community kitchen:

> I got a rough description of the individual but it was a challenge given the number of people at the kitchen. I asked some people if they knew of this person, which eventually led me to speak with a social worker working there. "I don't know who you are and why you're here," they said to me in an aggravated tone. I understood the hostility, and responded apologetically, sharing that I had a prearranged meeting with this person for a food interview…The social worker hinted at the fact that in the past they've had weasle-y people come in, threatening the security and safety of people at the kitchen. It does urge me to think through the role of researchers in society and to question the disproportionate benefits of this work - do I gain most by being able to complete my degree? What is the purpose of this work?…This experience brought to light that you cannot simply talk your way into a position of trust. (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Wednesday, April 10, 2019)

Although there were several misunderstandings that took place during this encounter, I ultimately made the decision to select alternative meeting locations, to avoid tensions with the community organization. While this journalling does not necessarily increase the "validity" of my research in any traditional sense, it allowed for continuous learning, the settlement of methodological tensions, and the justification of decision-making (Ortlipp, 2008). As suggested by Harrison, MacGibbon, and Morton (2001), the "conscious recognition of the relationship between values and research" helps to bring a complex, human element to qualitative research (p. 325). Rather than wholly rejecting the psychological and intellectual baggage that we as researchers carry, we can make visible our

personal "[histories], values, and assumptions" and allow the reader to scrutinize them as they see fit (Ortlipp, 2008, p. 698). Journalling was thus a valuable way to confront my personal thoughts, positions of privilege, and subjectivities throughout the entire process of interview design, data collection, and analysis. The collection of these journal entries can be found in Appendix D.

3.4.4 Participant Sample

Twenty primary participants were interviewed throughout the months of March, April, and May 2019. The interviews ranged from 24 to 100 minutes, averaging 58.9 minutes long per interview. Interviews were set up throughout Kitchener-Waterloo, at locations that were convenient for the participant. Locations were chosen by the participant to maximize their level of comfort during the interview process, and included quiet spaces such as: coffee shops, public libraries, community centres, or participants' homes. Five key informants were also interviewed from two social service organizations, a planning/advocacy group, an urban agriculture program, and a grocery store in Kitchener-Waterloo. The participants were social service workers, an executive director, a garden supervisor, and an owner of a grocery store, chosen on the basis of primary participants' responses. Interviews ranged from 24 to 36 minutes, averaging 27.6 minutes long per interview. Most secondary interviews took place at the participant's place of work, while two conversations were conducted at a local coffee shop.

3.4.5 Data Analysis Methods

Transcription and coding. The completed HFSSM and demographic surveys were analyzed to determine the characteristics and food security status of the primary participant sample. First, data from the demographic surveys were compiled into a Google Spreadsheet, allowing for descriptive statistics to be calculated and charted (Appendix E). Responses from each of the HFSSMs were also tabulated to determine food security status of participants, according to the measure developed by Health Canada (Table 3.1). Based on the number of affirmative survey responses provided by the participant, food security status was able to be determined for the household. Results from the HFSSM are found in Appendix F.

Audio recordings were first transcribed automatically using free software called *Otter* (Otter, version 2.0; Los Altos, CA: Otter.ai, 2019). Because the software could not guarantee accuracy, the text files were then uploaded to a computer and were revised by the researcher. Depending on the length of the interviews, the transcription process ranged from approximately 30 minutes to 4 hours. Although efforts were made to select a quiet location for the interviews, factors such as background noise, speaking volume, and accents affected the ease with which transcription would be completed. Following transcription, data was used for a *constructionist narrative analysis*, to compare personal stories to wider social and political processes. Narrative analysis is primarily interested in "how people story their lives", addressing how various narratives operate dialogically with one another and with the surrounding physical and social worlds around them (Esin, Fathi, & Squire, 2014). Specifically, the constructionist approach to narrative analysis makes transparent the "co-construction of a story" between the researcher and the participant, and takes into account other dynamics that affect the building of that story (Esin et al., 2014, p. 204). In this study, this approach has enabled reflection on the complexities of individual food and dietary decision making, and suggests that the agency of individual food choices is related to shifting micro- and macro-level structures

(Howse, Hankey, Allman-Farinelli, Bauman, & Freeman, 2018). In line with the socioecological model of health, this approach understands that there is a dynamic relationship between "factors at the individual, societal, and environmental level" that influence food behaviours and decision-making (Howse et al., 2018, p. 2). Given that this research topic focuses on the impacts of gentrification, this technique effectively helps to understand how individuals' physical and social settings are complexly tied to their personal choices and behaviours over time.

The constructionist narrative analysis thus involved a multistage coding process, both by hand and using *Dovetail* computer software (Dovetail, version 1.0; Dovetail Research Pty. Ltd., 2017). First, *open coding* involved building *thematic stories* in an iterative way (Howse et al., 2018, p. 3). Thematic stories represent similar ideas that arise during the interviews, which can be grouped into broader theoretical narratives. The aim of this analysis was to build conceptual density with regard to the factors that drive individual food behaviours, perspectives on food gentrification, and opinions on AFIs. To initiate this process, the transcript was read fully, and any concepts that seemed important with respect to the research questions were highlighted in one colour. As other transcripts were read, some high level themes were conceptualized. After continuously reading transcripts and notes from resident interviews, it was then possible to build a colour coding system based on observed commonalities (Haselden, 2003; Howse, 2018; Mohamedally & Zaphiris, 2009). Through a method called *axial coding*, high level themes were refined, connected, expanded, and collapsed. Several themes were dissected into more specific sub-themes, and new categories of themes were also developed. Brief definitions were given to the themes in order to place boundaries around the meaning and application of that theme within interview transcripts. Highlighted words, phrases, and/or whole paragraph sections were then assigned to one or more themes (Skinner, 2013). After conducting the full coding exercise by hand, data and codes were imported into Dovetail for *focused coding*. Focused coding involved another read-through of transcripts, revising the assignment of codes, and condensing the codes in order to effectively relate interview findings to the major research objectives (Brandow, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The given process was highly engaged, and involved multiple stages of reflection on the created themes, including a visual concept mapping exercise (Appendix D: Reflexive journal entry, Tuesday, August 13, 2019). In the end a set of six major themes and thirty categories (sub-themes) were developed, shown in Table 3.4 (Skinner, 2013).

Table 3.4 *Focused coding results: Themes and categories*

Theme or category

(A) LOW-INCOME FOOD ENVIRONMENT
A1) Factors for place selection
- Cost — *price of food/free food cited as a factor for place selection*
- Geographic access — *any scenario in which geography is of importance for place selection*
- Food value — *residents assessing the "ratio" of price to quality in procuring food from certain places*
- Cultural food availability — *availability of foods that have cultural importance cited as a factor for place selection*

A2) Social service use — *use of a meal program, food bank or pantry, community kitchen, income supplements, or other social services*

A3) Strategies for affordable food
- Reinventing cooking practices — *adaptation strategy through use of particular cooking methods or appliances to support ideal diets in an affordable manner*
- Food sharing and exchange — *sharing or exchanging resources to get food, or sharing/exchanging food directly, as well as getting food from social networks*
- Eating seconds or waste — *procuring food on discount, from dumpsters, or in any scenario in which food would typically be viewed as waste, in order to satisfy hunger or food needs*
- Resourcefulness — *broadly refers to a scenario in which residents strategically use transit, social services, social networks, or cooking practices to affordably meet their food needs*
- Frequency of food procurement — *frequency of food procurement cited by the participant*

A4) Budget and basic income matters — *Code for any discussion of budget or the need for basic income, in relation to meeting essential needs*
- Housing first matters — *housing costs or cost of rent specifically cited in relation to budgetary matters*

A5) Cultural food procurement — *places where people procure culturally-appropriate foods, including any strategies used to do so*

(B) FOOD PLACES
B1) Perceptions of welcomeness — *subjective perceptions of welcomeness described, including feelings of respect, belonging, getting assistance, etc.*
B2) Place attachment — *attachment to a food place or AFI is evident, whether the experience at the location is positive or negative*
- Community building and food — *attachment is evident through positive social networks or relationship building, which has led to continuous use of that place*

(C) COMMUNITY CHANGE AND FOOD
C1) Changes to local food environment
- Changes to food — *any changes to food prices, quality, availability, etc.*
- Changes to social services and food places — *any changes to the provision of social services, food environment characteristics, etc.*
C2) General opinions and observations
- Property prices and changes to food environment — *comments on changing property prices and effects to the food environment*
- Growing wealth gap — *observations/perspectives on the growing socioeconomic gap and how that might affect food security*

(D) TRANSPORTATION AND FOOD
D1) LRT development and the food environment — *effects of the LRT development on food costs, food availability, or food places*
D2) Transit, mobility, and food access — *general input on how transit and mobility influence food access and procurement behaviours*

(E) FOOD SECURITY AND HEALTH
E1) Negotiating health for nourishment — *eating food to address hunger, while not fulfilling ideal diets or compromising personal health*
E2) Ability to cook/store food and health — *any experience or perspective on cooking or storing food in relation to health*
E3) Mental health and food — *any relationship made between mental health and food*

(F) ALTERNATIVE FOOD PERCEPTIONS
F1) General opinions — *perceptions or experiences with alternative food that are mixed or neutral in nature*
F2) Positive experiences or perceptions
F3) Negative experiences or perceptions

(G) RECOMMENDATIONS
Any recommendations provided, including but not limited to: policy change, input for local food outlets, required social change, etc.

Assessing interrater reliability for code development. A random selection of 25% (n=4) of the interviews were also confirmed by a second analyst who carries extensive experience with food environment assessment and public health. By having the analysis conducted by two researchers through an exercise of *interrater reliability*, the credibility of the codes and their applicability was enhanced (Patton, 1997; Skinner, 2013). Interrater reliability is a measure of the extent of agreement among two or more human observers, which can help to establish confidence in a study's findings and conclusions (McHugh, 2012). This method involved providing themes to a second independent analyst to code the selection of four interview transcripts by hand. After both analysts separately coded the transcripts, the primary analyst looked at words/phrases that have been highlighted mutualistically, and utilized a matrix for measuring agreement and disagreements. If multiple codes were assigned to a highlighted word or phrase, at least one common code was necessary for an agreement to be assigned. Reliability was then measured as *percent agreemen*t among the raters, which is defined as the percentage of coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree (Lombard et al., 2002).

The importance of this exercise is that high levels of disagreement among coders might point to weaknesses in the research methods, definitions of codes, or training of the coders (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002; McHugh, 2012). After the second researcher analyzed four of the transcripts, an average percent agreement of 83.5% was established. Because 80% agreement is known to indicate an acceptable level of reliability (Marques & McCall, 2005), the codes for classifying the data could generally be considered valid. However, more meaningfully, this exercise allowed for any points of disagreement to be assessed, to further refine the final codes (Table 3.4).

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Conducting research under a transformative philosophy is a complex matter, involving critical self reflection and personal reflexivity. Extensive care and rigour is meant to go into the study methodologies, so that the full process and body of work is grounded in the idea of critical consciousness. As such, the process of collecting information and developing findings and recommendations should ensure the involvement of traditionally marginalized groups (Mertens, 2015). Similarly, power inequities should be assessed in planning and reporting the research, to ensure that conceptual resources are being distributed equitably (Mertens, 2015). This would allow lessons to be extracted and applied in multiple contexts, and ideally supports the creation of cascading material benefits (in terms of food security and policy change). Coming out of the participatory action research tradition, it is thus crucial to identify a mechanism for translating the study results into social action (Mertens, 2015, p. 33). The inclusion of diverse stakeholders and the empowerment of marginal communities is integral to creating such plans. As one demonstration of how I considered these ethical matters, I strategically utilized participant input to explore food security solutions in my personal not-for-profit work (for example, piloting a pay-what-you-can market in Kitchener in the summer 2019), and also sought to continue connections with multiple participants outside of this research.

With regard to the narrative analysis, it was important to also acknowledge that stories are personal and sometimes sensitive in nature. To build rapport during these sometimes difficult conversations, I shared personal stories and was transparent about my positionality to participants. I shared my position as an academic, but also as an engaged activist and not-for-profit founder, and showed that my intentions with this work were focused on

improving social justice at the local scale. From an ethics standpoint, the analysis and revealing of my own positionings allowed for me to pursue participatory action with the research participants (as opposed to simply viewing them as sources of data). Participants were thus assured that their stories and lived experiences could work in tandem with other people's stories, and could make a marked impact on directions of academia, planning, and policy. Altogether, this permitted a transparent, creative, and collaborative research process.

3.5.1 Preparation of an Ethical Research Program

A range of stringent measures have been put in place to ensure the confidentiality, respect, and reduction of any potential harm to participants. Before conducting field research, the code of ethics set out by the University of Waterloo (UW) was thoroughly reviewed. A proposal was submitted to the UW Research Ethics Board, and received approval on March 4, 2019, ORE#40480. In this application, the potential risks for each participant sample were described. For the target population, this study involves interviews on individual and household food security experiences, which can potentially upset some participants depending on their emotional well being and state of food insecurity. However, the probability and magnitude of these possible harms were both considered low, as the study is designed to collect data on opinions, observations, and decision-making rather than discussing food security directly. Participants were expected to judge that the probability and magnitude of possible psychological or emotional harms from being involved in this study would be no greater than those encountered in their everyday life. The service provider interviews presented no known risks to the associated participants.

Multiple workshops and trainings were also undertaken in advance of the interviews, to prepare a research program that is sensitive and focused on justice. As Cameron (2012) highlights, mainstream academic projects that attempt to document and understand the experiences of indigenous, racialized, and other marginalized groups are often tied in a complex system of power, which in itself is related to the reproduction of colonization. As such, the building of trust, respect, and ideally, allyship, are crucial endeavours in the full research process. In an attempt to build knowledge on these issues, I first participated in an online workshop, *Environmental Data Justice: Visions & Values*, on February 28, 2019. Hosted by the Environmental Data & Governance Initiative, this workshop focused on confronting the discriminatory force of data. Issues were raised around access, anti-racism, indigenous data sovereignty, consent, and community control over justice work and data collection. A mental health workshop with Bee Quamie was also attended at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, on March 4, 2019. This engaging workshop looked at the power of media and storytelling, and centred around black voices, mental health, and trauma. For notes and reflections on these two workshops, refer to Appendix D.

3.5.2 Ethical Research in Practice

Upon commencing the data collection, diverse elements of power were taken into consideration in the researcher-participant interaction. First, consent was obtained in written form and participants were informed of their rights to withdraw from the study (Appendix G). The conversation was controlled to stay on track with the interview guide, and sensitive discussions were avoided to reduce emotional/psychological harms. For the secondary population, the email invitation (Appendix H) and information consent letter (Appendix I) also communicated the

participants' freedom to refuse to answer any question, or to withdraw entirely by informing the researcher prior to the publication of the thesis.

This study acknowledges that possible ethical issues include: differential treatment of participants, "using" the participants as mere subjects of research, and collecting harmful information (Creswell, 2014, p. 133). To prevent these problems, efforts were made to build a personal rapport with all participants, which involves being clear about how the gathered information will be used. Multiple participants were informed of my role in community food work as a cofounder for a not-for-profit, and longstanding connections were even made with some of the participants. Participants were also considered collaborators on the project, and their input was highly regarded throughout the research program. During the design of the research questions, the decision was thus made to integrate a final question asking participants how they would like to see this research be used, with regard to education, awareness-building, policy, and planning. Their input ultimately guided the synthesis and recommendations section of this thesis, which was done with the intention of honouring the stories that they shared.

Following data collection, each type of information collected was stored securely, based on the recommended procedures set out by UW. During the research analysis, multiple perspectives were reported to express the truth of the case study. The privacy of participants was also protected by assigning aliases to to individuals in the communication of findings (Creswell, 2014). The reporting of conversations was done honestly, and participants could request to receive a copy of the results to reflect on their role in the study. Based on the transformative tradition, discussions and relationships are continuing beyond this study program, to further the conversation and build a practical plan of action based on the research.

3.6 Limitations and Justification for the Methodology

As outlined, this research program is grounded in a qualitative-leaning mixed methods approach. Independently, the quantitative and qualitative traditions face their own limitations. The quantitative side of the study can create a perceived rift between the collected data compared to real accounts of peoples' lived experiences, due its focus on reporting trends and attitudes of a specific population sample (Creswell, 2014). By nature, the quantitative tradition can thus neglect the dynamic nature of social relationships and the complexity of variables at play (Seasons, 2018b). The qualitative components also face the drawback of being labour-, time-, and resource-intensive. The process of recruitment required significant communication and coordination in order to successfully schedule interviews across Kitchener-Waterloo. The coding analysis was also conducted manually, with only minor use of computer software for organizing the data. While this offered a highly visual, iterative, and creative learning process, it was time-consuming in nature. Due to a focus on participant opinions and perspectives, another critique might concern the generalizability of the study to broader contexts or geographies as well as the neutral interpretation of the data collected (Seasons, 2018b)

Some limitations to the chosen research approach also revolve around criticisms of the pragmatic worldview and methods of triangulation. As a philosophical basis for mixed methods research, pragmatism believes that *truth* is "what works" at a given time (Creswell, 2014, p. 11). In response, the approach has been criticized for subscribing to the ontological assumption that a "single definitive account of the social world" is possible through research (Wilson, 2014). The concepts underlying triangulation have also been misunderstood, and have often translated into the

application of a simplistic "multi-methodological approach" (Oppermann, 2000, p. 141). Without a strategic design or cross-validation among the differing forms of data and methods, the process is ineffective in improving the rigour of the research process (Oppermann, 2000, p. 141). However, the comparison of data across different research methods is gaining validity in scholarly circles. When conducted mindfully and strategically, triangulation is known for its ability to increase the scope and depth of analysis for a complex societal problem (Wilson, 2014). This mixed methods approach allows findings to be generalized to a broader scale theoretically, while also developing in-depth insights on the given participants and case study (Creswell, 2014). This combination of results can lead to comprehensive and robust findings with respect to the chosen research problem. As described by Mertens (2015), the process of learning and understanding some phenomenon in depth creates the possibility of "intelligent action" (p. 38). Consequently, the mixed methods approach can facilitate tangible solutions in food programming, policy, and planning. By combining the pragmatic worldview with transformative theories, this study also aims to achieve practical solutions without compromising the complexity of participants' unequal realities. This study puts at the forefront the diverse experiences of participants with their local food system.

   In terms of the chosen research methods there are several challenges involved with with carrying out a sensitive, constructionist narrative analysis. Issues of validity arise due to differences in people's experiences and the stories they tell about those experiences, and also in the process of interpreting stories as a researcher (Polkinghorne, 2007). The co-construction of a story is determined in part by a researcher's personal research interests, and their interpretation of social and political circumstances that impact the participants' narratives. Ultimately, the interpreter carries asymmetric power to shape what becomes known about the participants' experiences, which in some cases can lead to the imposition of an agenda, or of meanings on a person's experience that are inaccurate or unproductive (Esin et al., 2014; Willig, 2014). However, I acknowledge that narratives are socially constructed through various social and cultural relations and are not meant to be a representation of reality with a single meaning (Esin et al., 2014). The constructionist approach to narrative analysis instead urges a researcher to parse through their positionalities within the research, and pays attention to language, processes and change, and power dynamics in the co-construction of a story (Esin et al., 2014). In doing so, this approach emphasizes that "it is the readers that make the judgment about the plausibility of a knowledge claim", based on the rigour of the methods and the evidence provided by the researcher (Esin et al., 2014; Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 484). As mentioned, this involved empowering interview participants, being mindful about distorting participants' stories, and exposing one's subjective "place" within the research context. Although time constraints did not permit continuous exchange with participants during the analysis stage, one future practice could be to give generated texts and findings to the participants, to confirm whether descriptions capture their felt meanings, and to obtain advice for alterations if necessary (Polkinghorne, 2007)

   Overall, the strategic integration of qualitative and quantitative tools has created a robust research design in full. The qualitative tools led to an in-depth understanding of the underlying factors that affect food gentrification with respect to urban development. These findings were complemented by the measurement of patterns numerically; in combination, these tools helped to determine relationships among demographic factors, food security status, and transcripts, through abduction. In line with the pragmatic tradition, some degree of transferability was sought in the research analysis. To do so, critical self-reflection was utilized, and all assumptions were made transparent. The

quantitative tools also helped to characterize findings and address the issue of generalizability, but the complex factors that affect the transfer of knowledge into other settings were also made clear (Morgan, 2007). Ultimately, this research does not aim to be generalized, but the combination of tools and frameworks in this study can be used to reliably assess food gentrification experiences elsewhere. These approaches offer findings that address the complex reality of the case study, while also focusing on solving problems on the ground, in a specific context. The triangulation of theories, data, and methods has produced a rigorous, mutually beneficial approach to conducting food gentrification research overall.

Chapter 4.0

Life stories of food agency and resilience in a rapidly gentrifying urban centre:

Building a multidimensional concept of food access

Written and formatted for submission to *Critical Public Health*

Abstract

This study investigates how food and gentrification might be related using a case study in the rapidly changing urban centre of Kitchener, Ontario, Canada. The context of this inquiry is two-fold: first, while there exists abundant research on the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to predict urban food access, better understanding is needed around the non-geographic elements of food access; secondly, food insecurity can be clustered in space, making gentrification (the design of urban space for wealthier in-movers) a significant health and sociospatial equity concern. To carry out this inquiry, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 low-income longtime residents of Kitchener-Waterloo, and five key informants in the region. Interview findings from this study complicate the traditional concepts of food access that focus on density or proximity of healthy/unhealthy food outlets, and instead shed light upon the complex decision-making of residents in procuring healthy, affordable, and appropriate foods. Critical race-based and equity-based research is also needed to understand the disproportionate effects of gentrification on racialized residents, who face barriers to obtaining essential needs like culturally-appropriate foods. Overall, these findings extend upon food access research by showing how individuals cope and adapt to changes within their food environments, focusing on the effects of gentrification. In order to achieve a multidimensional concept of food access under conditions of gentrification, it is crucial to build an understanding of individuals' diverse priorities, adaptation strategies, motivations, and behaviours related to food procurement. By supporting residents' food agency and sovereignty in gentrifying cities, it might be possible to develop more effective interventions to food security and health.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Food Environments, Diet, and Health: An Equity Lens

Recently, the Global Burden of Disease Study (2017) across 195 countries found that poor diets are the leading cause of death, making the food-health link vitally important for both research and policy interventions for the improvement of population-level nutrition (Afshin et al., 2019). *Diet quality* is a multifaceted concept that includes measures of food diversity, nutrient adequacy, and nutrient balance (McInerney et al., 2016). Importantly, research has shown that poor diet quality is a primary risk factor for a number of chronic health conditions, such as obesity, cardiovascular disease, and mental illness. To address these downstream impacts to health, many scholars have sought to understand how contextual — rather than individual — determinants of food choices might shape population-level dietary intake. For example, the *food environment* has been posited as a potentially important factor in constraining individual dietary behaviours. Broadly, the food environment can be described as "any

opportunity to obtain food, such as accessibility to and availability of food stores, as well as marketing and advertising of food and food products" (Minaker et al., 2016; Le, Engler-Stringer, & Muhajarine, 2016, p. eS42). One common method for measuring food consumption is the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to map out "healthy" versus "unhealthy" food destinations in a given spatial context (Lytle, 2017; McInerney et al., 2016; Minaker et al., 2016). In urban Canada, these methods have shown that more deprived areas exhibit higher geographic access to food outlets that carry unhealthy foods, compared to less deprived areas: a phenomenon known as a "food swamp" (Minaker et al., 2016).

Food insecurity is another major, complex food-health issue being faced in both the global north and south. Research has shown that structural issues of poverty, racism, and community divestment are some of the root causes of food insecurity (Anguelovski, 2015; Siegner, Sowerwine, & Acey, 2018; Tarasuk, St-Germain, & Mitchell, 2019). For example, one national study utilizing data from the 2011-12 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) confirmed that the probability of household food insecurity and the severity of the experience was closely tied to place of residence, household income, income source, housing tenure, education, Aboriginal status, and household structure (Tarasuk et al., 2019). There is consistent evidence that household ownership and income are the key predictors for household food insecurity status, and that vulnerability is largely determined by one's capacity to handle negative income shocks (Tarasuk et al., 2019). Moreover, issues of distributive equity and higher vulnerability to food insecurity has been disproportionately felt by Inuit populations, households dependent on social assistance, and Aboriginal communities in particular (Agyeman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016; Tarasuk et al., 2019).

While poor nutrition and food insecurity are experienced at an individual level, both can be clustered in space. As such, environmental determinants of nutrition and food insecurity may be viewed through a lens of environmental justice. Some environmental policy solutions aimed at 'fixing' poor diets or food insecurity include opening healthier food retail in underserved neighbourhoods (Engler-Stringer, Fuller, Abeykoon, Olauson, & Muhajarine, 2019). However, cases in which supermarkets have opened or been upscaled in underserved areas may indicate that other processes of neighbourhood *gentrification* are taking place. Broadly put, gentrification is the design of urban space for wealthier in-movers, rendering the needs and rights of existing residents less important or invisible (August, 2008; Hartman, 1984; Newman and Wyly, 2006). When supermarkets are opened to address healthy food access in a deprived area, critical urban scholars have noted that these interventions can actually exacerbate social exclusion and displacement (Anguelovski, 2016a; Anguelovski, 2016b; Bunce, 2017; Hubbard, 2017; Sullivan, 2014). Food access is not merely geographical in nature; access includes multiple material and social dimensions, including availability, accessibility, affordability, acceptability, and accommodation (Charreire et al., 2010). In light of these considerations, the term *food mirage* has been coined to describe a scenario in which healthy foods are geographically available but inaccessible due to other socioeconomic barriers (Sullivan, 2014). Food mirages can thus obscure the exclusion of low-income or otherwise marginalized residents from procuring healthy foods by invisibilizing the non-geographic dimensions of food access (Sullivan, 2014).

Toward a multidimensional concept of food access. While GIS might capture high level geographic relationships between a given organizational environment (e.g. home, school) and different food destinations (e.g. supermarkets, convenience stores, restaurants), they do not provide a comprehensive understanding of real food

access conditions. In a scoping review of Canadian retail food environment research conducted by Minaker and colleagues, 91% of articles focused on the number of food stores per census tract (density) as a primary measure of food environment exposures, rather than other measures related to the consumer nutrition environment or person-based patterns (Minaker et al., 2016). One major limitation here is that food outlets must necessarily be designated as "healthy" or "unhealthy" even if diverse food types are made available at these locations. Moreover, the assumption here is that consumer food procurement behaviours are invariably predicted by outlet type (McInerney et al., 2016; Minaker et al., 2016). In reality, people's perceptions of access and diet quality are both highly subjective in nature and are influenced by individual agency. Accordingly, quantitative measures of the food environment alone cannot capture the array of social, emotional, and economic factors that determine food choice on the ground.

Alternatively, a more holistic concept of community food environments, developed by Glanz et al. (2005) utilizes multiple environmental, social, and individual factors to explain eating behaviours. As seen in Figure 4.1, this ecological model of community food environments integrates four interlinked environmental variables: the community nutrition environment, the organizational nutrition environment, the consumer nutrition environment, and the information environment (Glanz, Sallis, Saelens, & Frank, 2005; Le et al., 2016). Actual eating patterns at the individual level are also viewed as being moderated by sociodemographic characteristics, psychosocial factors, and subjective perceptions of the food environment (Glanz et al., 2005). This model offers a foundation for addressing the multiple ways in which food environments might influence healthy eating outcomes.
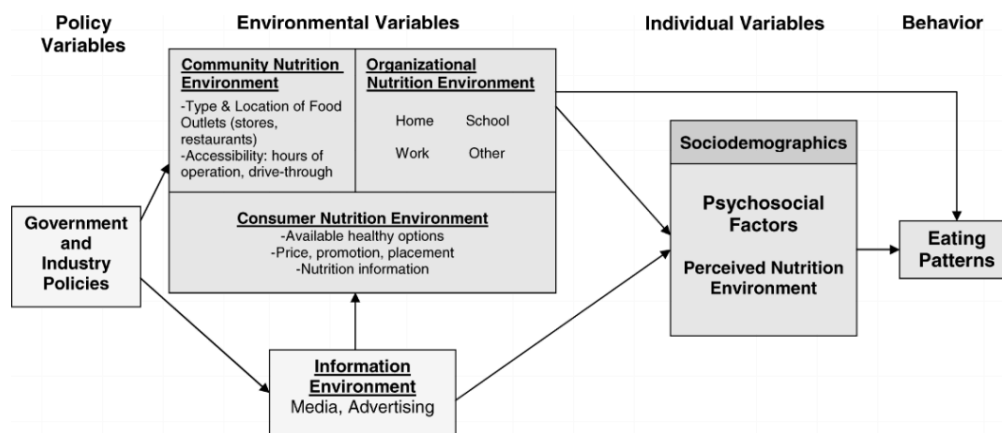

Figure 4.1 *Model of community nutrition environments (Glanz et al., 2005)*

4.1.2 Relationships between Food, Gentrification, and Health

Gentrification is a restructuring and place-changing process with a marked impact on the flow of urban social life. While theories on gentrification are numerous, this study is interested in the place-altering effects of both larger redevelopment activities as well as seemingly mundane processes that foster symbolic change within the city. Alkon and Cadji (2018) offer a concept of gentrification that unites environmental justice with critical race theory; the authors describe it as a racialized process, which predicates on previous divestment from the urban core, the devastation of segregated neighbourhoods, and the displacement of people of colour (POC) by more affluent white residents. The loss of neighbourhood organizations and retailers that serve marginalized communities is also typical (Alkon and Cadji, 2018; Hackworth, 2002).

Reflecting on Toronto's gentrifying Junction neighbourhood, Kern (2016) also describes gentrification as the "restructuring of neighbourhood rhythms around consumption-oriented and place-making events", which revolves around recreating lived spaces that carry new social and symbolic boundaries (p. 442). Powerful people and systems imprint new rhythms through branded events (such as: street festivals, night markets, and fresh food events), which progressively reshapes the neighbourhood's identity. Through policy, surveillance, social exclusion, racism, and displacement, certain lives are then rendered *arrhythmic* in that their sense of place in that very neighbourhood has been disrupted (Kern, 2016). This arrhythmia (rhythms suppressed or made discordant), is problematic in that the erasure of people and their livelihoods can play out incrementally and seemingly uneventfully; without critical reflection, the "slow violence" of gentrification might not appear to be violence at all, the result being the masking of chronic urban inequality (Kern, 2016; Massey, 2019). Of course, this is a highly unequal process that discriminates across gendered, racial, and other socioeconomic lines.

This study is also concerned with a growing body of research that aims to address the adverse effects of community change in relation to food. The term *food gentrification* was coined by the Chicago-based scholar and activist Mikki Kendall, to describe a process of "elevating" previously affordable foods or staple ingredients to a condition of higher symbolic or aesthetic value and cost, especially for racialized communities (Howard, 2014; Ross & McAdon, 2018). For example, a number of racialized writers in the US have noted that foodies treat "ethnic" foods like a form of "discounted tourism", while immigrants often experience shame for their food choices and Black communities are villainized for causing the country's health woes (Howard, 2014; Kendall, n.d.; Ross & McAdon, 2018; Tam, 2015). One well-documented case, from 2011 to 2013 in Jamaica Plain, Boston, tracks the experiences of Latinx residents and activists throughout the closure of an affordable grocer, and the opening of a Whole Foods supermarket. The study gave rise to several issues including: controversies around the meanings of food access, sociocultural losses in food choices and affordable foods, colourblind definitions of healthy food, and increasing feelings of exclusion and displacement among Latinx residents (Anguelovski, 2015; Anguelovski, 2016a).

Reflecting on this, this study employs a malleable concept of food gentrification, which is inclusive of multi-directional relationships between food and gentrification. As Sbicca (2018) describes, low-income communities "can experience the deleterious effects of food driving gentrification", for example, when alternative food initiatives (AFIs) increase property prices and attract new residents to a neighbourhood (p. 1). On the other hand, cultural foods can themselves be gentrified, when once-affordable foods become upscaled and made out of reach for racial and ethnic minorities (Howard, 2018; Ross & McAdon, 2018; Sbicca, 2018). Ultimately, the nature of this relationship is highly

dependent on a neighbourhood's class and ethnoracial characteristics, foodscapes, housing conditions, policy, and broader economic factors (Sbicca, 2018).

4.1.3 Study Background and Justification

Study area characteristics. The City of Kitchener is the largest city of the Region of Waterloo, situated in midwestern Ontario, Canada. Kitchener has experienced rapid urban change due to a local planning mandate for deindustrialization, transit redevelopment, growing sustainability efforts, and a range of broader political forces affecting in-migration. Kitchener is currently home to over 240,000 residents, and the Downtown is forecasted to grow by 18,400 people and jobs by 2031 (Allen & Campsie, 2013). As one of nine designated refugee resettlement communities in Ontario, the number of permanent resident landings has grown significantly over the years (Folkema & Vandebelt, 2019). The most recent census indicates that 60,425 residents (25.9%) identify as immigrants, 17,150 residents (7.4%) have refugee status, and 50,200 (21.8%) individuals identify as visible minorities (Statistics Canada, 2017). Based on common measures of low-income in the most recent census, 13.7% (31,450) of the population in private households are classified as low-income in the City of Kitchener based on the LIM-AT (50% of median-adjusted after-tax income of private households) or 8.1% (18,560) based on the LICO-AT (an income threshold below which people are likely to devote more than average to basic necessities) (Statistics Canada, 2017). Due to the spatial contiguity of the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo, residents from either city were invited to take part in this study; however, participant recruitment and analysis focused on the City of Kitchener.

Study purpose. The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between food and gentrification, using a case study in a rapidly changing urban centre in midwestern Ontario. The aim of this exploratory research is to extend upon the primarily US literature showing that green amenities can create the conditions for feelings of erasure, aggravated inner city conflicts, and broader socioeconomic changes (Agyman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016; Anguelovski, 2016b; Braswell, 2018; Kern, 2015; Dooling, 2012). This study offers a fine-grained analysis of residents' food behaviours in Kitchener, Ontario, amidst widespread changes to the region's housing, transit, and retail environment. These findings contribute to the literature on how individuals cope and adapt within their consumer nutrition environments, with a specific focus on the effects of gentrification. I argue that in order to achieve a multidimensional concept of food access under conditions of gentrification, it is crucial to build an understanding of individuals' diverse priorities, adaptation strategies, motivations, and behaviours related to food procurement. By supporting low-income, longtime residents' food agency and sovereignty, it might be possible to explore more personal and culturally-appropriate interventions in relation to food security. To support this argument, the research questions are:

- How have changes in the local food environment affected individual coping and adaptation strategies for procuring food, among people living on low income?
- What kinds of foods do residents living on low income get and where?
- How might food gentrification impact individual and community health?

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Research Strategies and Data Collection

This study is grounded in theories of critical consciousness, environmental justice, and sites of memory, which is meant to capture reflective action, sociospatial equity concerns, and personal stories and histories related to food. Data were collected using in-depth interviews with low-income longtime residents of Kitchener-Waterloo (KW), the primary population, as well as interviews with key informants in the Region, the secondary population. Primary participants were required to be adults (age 18+), who self-identify as low-income, and have resided in KW for a minimum of five years. Participants were recruited primarily through posters displayed at food outlets, social services, and community organizations, and also through *snowball sampling*. Snowball sampling is a method allowing for new informants to be sought out by getting contacts through those already enrolled in the study.

Semi-structured interviews were identified as the most appropriate method for collecting data from this traditionally marginalized population, as trust could be built through face-to-face interactions and the exchange of stories. A semi-structured interview guide was developed to gather participant characteristics and to allow participants to venture into a range of food and gentrification issues. Participants were invited to select their own pseudonym to be used in the study, allowing them to understand their personal contributions to the research. Individuals then responded to a sociodemographic survey and the 18-item CCHS Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) to determine household food security status. Open-ended questions encouraged discussion around food environments, health, food places, community change, and broader personal reflections. The interview concluded by remunerating the individual with $20, and asking the participant whether they would like to receive the study results.

Based on the data collected from the resident interviews, a number of key informants from various organizations in KW were also contacted to provide input on the study. A six-question interview was conducted with two social service providers, an urban agriculture manager, an owner of a local food store, and an executive director of a planning/advocacy organization. The studies were approved by a research ethics board at the University of Waterloo, ORE#40480.

4.2.2 Data Analysis

During interviews, audio recordings were transcribed automatically using software called *Otter* (Otter, version 2.0; Los Altos, CA: Otter.ai, 2019). Text files were then uploaded to a computer for manual edits and revisions, which prepared the data for a constructionist narrative analysis. This analysis involved an incremental coding process, both by hand and through the use of *Dovetail* computer software (Dovetail, version 1.0; Dovetail Research Pty. Ltd., 2017). Through open coding, the first step was to collect similar ideas across the interview data ("thematic stories"). Each transcript was read fully and concepts of importance were highlighted in one colour. As more transcripts were read and highlighted, high level themes were developed based on observed commonalities (Haselden, 2003; Howse, 2018; Mohamedally & Zaphiris, 2009). To follow, high level themes were refined through a method called *axial coding*, allowing for further theme development and creation of more specific sub-themes. Definitions were given to the themes in order to establish rough boundaries for the meaning and application of a given theme to the twenty transcripts. A colour coding exercise was then fully conducted by hand, using different colours to assign phrases or

paragraph sections to one or more themes (Skinner, 2013).   Data and codes were imported into *Dovetail* for focused coding, which involved revising the code assignment and finalizing codes prior to an interrater reliability exercise.

To extend the focused coding stage and to test the validity of the codes developed, one additional researcher took part in the code development. Here, reliability has been measured as percent agreement among the raters, and utilized a matrix for measuring scores across the different variables. Percent agreement is defined as the percentage of coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree (Lombard et al., 2002). This exercise specifically looks at words/phrases that have been highlighted mutualistically, applying a value of one for using one or more common codes (perfect agreement) or zero for no agreement on the codes. After the second researcher analyzed four (25%) of the transcripts through hand-coding, an average percent agreement of 83.49% was established. Moreover, any points of disagreement were assessed to further refine the transcript codes via consensus.

Table 4.1 *Focused coding results: Themes and categories*

Theme or category

(A) LOW-INCOME FOOD ENVIRONMENT
A1) Factors for place selection
- Cost — *price of food/free food cited as a factor for place selection*
- Geographic access — a*ny scenario in which geography is of importance for place selection*
- Food value — *residents assessing the ratio of price to quality in procuring food from certain places*
- Cultural food availability — *availability of foods that have cultural importance cited as a factor for place selection*

A2) Social service use — *use of a meal program, food bank or pantry, community kitchen, income supplements, or other social services*

A3) Strategies for affordable food
- Reinventing cooking practices — *use of particular cooking methods or appliances, to support ideal diets in an affordable manner*
- Food sharing and exchange — s*haring or exchanging resources to get food, or sharing/exchanging food directly, as well as getting food from social networks*
- Eating seconds or waste — *procuring food on discount, from dumpsters, or in any scenario in which food would typically be viewed as waste, in order to satisfy hunger or food needs*
- Resourcefulness — *broadly refers to a scenario in which residents strategically use transit, social services, social networks, or cooking practices to affordably meet their food needs*
- Frequency of food procurement — *frequency of food procurement cited by the participant*

A4) Budget and basic income matters — *Code for any discussion of budget or the need for basic income, in relation to meeting essential needs*
- Housing first matters — *housing costs or cost of rent specifically cited in relation to budgetary matters*

A5) Cultural food procurement — *places where people procure culturally-appropriate foods, including any strategies used to do so*

(B) FOOD PLACES
B1) Perceptions of welcomeness — *subjective perceptions of welcomeness described, including feelings of respect, belonging, getting assistance, etc.*
B2) Place attachment — *attachment to a food place or AFI is evident, whether the experience at the location is positive or negative*
- Community building and food — *attachment is evident through positive social networks or relationship building, which has led to continuous use of that place*

(C) COMMUNITY CHANGE AND FOOD
C1) Changes to local food environment
- Changes to food — *any changes to food prices, quality, availability, etc.*
- Changes to social services and food places — *any changes to the provision of social services, food environment characteristics, etc.*
C2) General opinions and observations
- Property prices and changes to food environment — *comments on changing property prices and effects to the food environment*
- Growing wealth gap — *observations/perspectives on the growing socioeconomic gap and how that might affect food*

(D) TRANSPORTATION AND FOOD
D1) LRT development and the food environment — *effects of the LRT development on food costs, food availability, or food places*
D2) Transit, mobility, and food access — *general input on how transit and mobility influence food access and procurement behaviours*

(E) FOOD SECURITY AND HEALTH
E1) Negotiating health for nourishment — *eating food to address hunger, while not fulfilling ideal diets or even compromising personal health*
E2) Ability to cook/store food and health — *any experience or perspective on cooking or storing food in relation to health*
E3) Mental health and food — *any relationship made between mental health and food*

(F) ALTERNATIVE FOOD PERCEPTIONS
F1) General opinions — *perceptions or experiences with alternative food that are mixed or neutral in nature*
F2) Positive experiences or perceptions
F3) Negative experiences or perceptions

(G) RECOMMENDATIONS
Any recommendations provided, including but not limited to: policy change, input for local food outlets, required social change, etc.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Participant Sample

Interviews took place from March to May 2019 at various locations requested by participants, such as: coffee shops, public libraries, community centres, or participants' homes. The study invited 25 respondents (n=20 primary population and n=5 key informants) to speak on the research topic, with characteristics of the primary population shown in Table 4.2. According to participant responses to the Canadian HFSSM, it was also found that 85% of residents were food insecure, with 35% of adults being classified as "moderately" food insecure and 50% facing severe food insecurity. Three residents (15%) were classified as food secure. In the two households with children, the children were classified as moderately food insecure in both cases. Table 4.3 shows all affirmative responses to the questionnaire.

Table 4.2 Descriptive statistics of the primary population (N=20)	
Characteristic	**N (%)**
Gender	
Female	8 (40)
Male	12 (60)
Age	
18-28	0 (0)
29-39	2 (10)
40-50	7 (35)
51-64	9 (45)
65+	2 (10)
Education	
Elementary school	0 (0)
High school diploma or equivalent	6 (30)
Post-secondary degree	13 (65)
Graduate degree	1 (5)
Household size	
One person	10 (50)
Two people	7 (35)
Three or more people	3 (15)
Visible minority status	
Visible minority	6 (30)
Not a visible minority	14 (70)
Years residing in Kitchener-Waterloo	
Five to nine years	6 (30)
10 to 14 years	0 (0)
15 to 19 years	2 (10)
20 or more years	12 (60)

Table 4.3 Household food security survey module affirmative responses

Questions	Food secure households	Moderately food insecure households	Severely food insecure households	All respondents
"In the past 12 months…"	n=3 N (%)	n=7 N (%)	n=10 N (%)	n=20 N (%)
Adult				
1. You and other household members worried that food would run out before you got money to buy more.	2 (66.7)	5 (71.4)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
2. The food that you and other household members bought just didn't last, and there wasn't any money to get more.	0	4 (57.1)	10 (100.0)	14 (70.0)
3. You and other household members couldn't afford to eat balanced meals.	1 (33.3)	6 (85.7)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
4. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
5. How often did this happen?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
6. Did you (personally) ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money to buy food?	0	3 (42.9)	10 (100.0)	13 (65.0)
7. Were you (personally) ever hungry but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?	0	2 (28.6)	9 (90.0)	11 (55.0)
8. Did you (personally) lose weight because you didn't have enough money for food?	0	0	6 (60.0)	6 (30.0)
9. Did you or other adults in your household ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
10. How often did this happen?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
Child				
11. You or other adults in your household relied on only a few kinds of low-cost food to feed the children, because you were running out of money to buy food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
12. You or other adults in your household couldn't feed the children a balanced meal, because you couldn't afford it.	0	1 (14,3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
13. The children were not eating enough because you or other adults in your household just couldn't afford enough food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
14. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of any of the children's meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	1 (10.0)	1 (5.0)
15. Did any of the children ever skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0
16. How often did this happen?	0	0	0	0
17. Were any of he children ever hungry but you just couldn't afford more food?	0	0	0	0
18. Did any of the children ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0

4.3.2 Interview Data

For each quote presented below, the participant's pseudonym, visible minority status, age, gender, and food security status are also presented. The primary themes that were found from the data include the factors that residents consider in selecting food outlets, strategies used to procure affordable and appropriate foods, relationships between food choices and health, and findings related to food gentrification.

       4.3.2a Primary factors for food destination selection. To understand participants' personal food environments, respondents were asked about where they primarily buy or get food, what they like and dislike about the places they frequent, and the factors that have them returning to these food destinations. Almost all (90%) participants in this study stated that price was one of the primary factors affecting their food destination selection (which included a mixture of supermarkets, discount stores, meal programs, food banks, charitable programs, and community kitchens). In some cases, residents compromised food quality and even personal morals, in order to procure affordable food:

> In the summer I go up to the farmers' market to get stuff because it's really fresh, but the winter unfortunately I go to [the discount, corporate grocer] because it's really cheap. But I hate [the discount, corporate grocer], they destroyed a lot of small businesses…the mom and pop, they just crushed them and they're dead and gone, and now I feed this multi-billionaire monster with my income, I hate it. — Iván, white male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

       Six participants (30%) also commented on the importance of shopping at locations with a reasonable "price to quality ratio" and would actively seek out what they perceived to be the best quality food at a fair price (or for free). These discussions revolved around how residents utilize knowledge of their food environments to purchase the best valued food that is suited to their needs, including reading labels at unconventional food outlets (like the dollar store) and strategizing within social service environments. Karen, a severely food insecure white woman in her 40s, discussed how she applies her nutritional expertise to achieve this balance:

> I'm really frugal and I just go for the…basics, like the nutritional stuff…Like I go straight to the deals that are on sale, and I mean the deals that are healthy…It's the knowledge component, the knowledge of how to…eat right. And also where to find it with…buying strategies, and also the availability. So yes, those are…different factors that come into play for being able to do it on the limited [budget].

       Touching on the geographic aspects of food accessibility, nine participants (45%) included accessibility by active transit (bike, walking, bus) as a secondary factor for place selection. For six participants (30%), it was considered to be one of their primary factors for choosing their most regular food destinations, in addition to price, and for two participants (10%), geography was a key factor due to physical disabilities. For example, Charlene, a resident dependent on a personal vehicle for mobility, described:

> Usually I get food from [charitable food provider], and if there's nothing there, then I do this. I come here to eat and sometimes their meals are very poor, they're not sustainable. And I complained about it many times…I cannot always go where I would like to go, like the soup kitchen, it'd be further downtown and it would cost me too much gas money to go there, since I cannot take buses. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

On top of geography, three residents (15%) also prioritized factors of convenience more broadly, including proximity to other essential services and travel routes that match up with their regular daily activities:

> The trail pretty much goes from my house to the store…it's a bit of a meditation to be able to walk without the cars zooming around. And this mall again, I can walk there and often I have to because I have health issues so the lab is there. So then I can shop and kind of get things done. — Jane, white female, age 51-64, moderately food insecure

As a peripheral factor, five residents (25%) were also attentive to the social environment of their chosen food stores. Residents noted that they appreciate the level of care and attention received at independent grocers, connecting with vendors at food markets, and even maintaining anonymity at discount stores:

> Where I'm shopping most other people are…in a lower socioeconomic group, so…I don't feel out of place… it's just you know just anonymous in there as opposed to, like I would never shop at a [higher-end supermarket] because their prices are way higher. — John, white male, senior citizen, moderately food insecure

Spending income on culturally-appropriate foods. Five out of six visible minorities (83% of visible minorities, 25% of the study population) discussed sacrificing some of their traditional foods and ways of cooking due to food insecurity. Three (50% of visible minorities, 15% of the study population) further commented on the need to sacrifice money from their income in order to procure foods that are culturally-appropriate. As such, the availability of specific ingredients was the number one factor for place selection for these three residents, regardless of cost. In the following quotation, Thomas lamented about the rising cost of his cultural foods, which has pushed them further out of his reach:

> The prices are too high. And they keep increasing, they keep increasing almost every three four five six months but you must go there because that's the only place where you can have that. When you go to food bank can't have them. Rarely, rarely, sometimes at the food bank at the Guelph Street there, it can bring ripe plantains, plantains which are over ready or they bring some other kind of things like beans and all that, but generally they don't…have African foods there. — Thomas, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

Similarly, Samuel, shared that while he tries to maintain a traditional diet, he and his family must supplement with Western foods, which are more affordable and widely available:

> Most of the time [we] eat African food but sometime like North African food, they are so expensive. You cannot rely on African food, sometimes supplement with normal stuff from the store…we find them but for the past year, it's like every year prices they are goes up, it's like more expensive every year. We don't know why, but I cannot do without this so you have to buy. — Samuel, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

4.3.2b Strategies to procure affordable and appropriate foods. Through conversations on respondents' food and drink choices, barriers to acquiring healthy foods, and perspectives on food places in the community, it became evident that residents meet their food needs by actively navigating the food environment. Residents were highly knowledgable of their community and consumer food environments, understanding when and how often they can get food from charitable resources, available healthy options within unconventional food outlets, general pricing structures of stores, and promotions. With this foundation of place-based knowledge, residents demonstrated

resourcefulness through researching flyers, utilizing rain check (a voucher provided to purchase an out of stock item at the current sale price, at a later date), price matching, asking for healthy food options at charitable programs, and even physically moving between stores during a single grocery trip to find the best prices. Rain checking was cited as an important tool because fair prices on groceries could be secured without having to pay upfront. Through price matching, residents could use flyers and phone applications to seek out the lowest prices while still going to stores that are geographically accessible. While residents must dedicate significant mental and time resources to procure food, they were highly capable of seeking out low cost food and accommodating transient income resources:

> I went to one, check the prices, went to the other, check the prices, bought what I needed, and went back to the other one…like to compare. Like you don't want to go to one and buy and then go to the other and oh shit it's cheaper there. So you can imagine walking back and forth like three times between. — Karen, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Challenging the boundaries of what might be considered one's personal food environment, Thomas also discusses his commute to Toronto to procure a greater variety of affordable African foods:

> Even those who are working and are able to buy, we don't have all the variety around, might want to go to like Toronto, they have more variety…it's like the kind of meat we eat, you have cow skin, you have cow legs, and all this is shipped in from Toronto, and it's very expensive. The [local African food store]…they get it they sell it at almost double what they buy in Toronto. — Thomas, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

There was also one instance of resourcefulness within a shared household environment, where Charlene has been forced to find low-cost appliances and simple cooking preparation methods to nourish herself. Due to these housing pressures, she has also been seeking out a public location where she might be able to prepare foods for herself:

> I just have a rice cooker…to get around in a kitchen would be too difficult for me so I do it with a rice cooker. But I've been cut off that too because of the cost of electricity. They say they telling me I could just warm up the soup. And a rice cooker goes very fast. Like by the time you start a meal on a stove I'm already done making it and it's still not good enough…the rice cooker only takes about four amps compared to what a stove takes, so it's much cheaper and faster. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Charlene's experience and resourcefulness seems to contrast some assumptions about why low-income people might choose the foods and cooking practices that they do, as illustrated through comments made by a local meal program director:

> There's been a loss…like generationally, of how to cook foods for yourself versus getting access to convenient food and then turning on your microwave or oven, right. And so people that…have the ability to cook for themselves, and the basic cooking skills, are going to be better off being able to do that than buy the prepared foods…So I think that one of the things that would be really helpful is to to make accessible some basic cooking classes for people that are low-income…to be able to just educate people in those ways. — Kim

Frequency of food procurement practices. Under the theme of resourcefulness, one other behaviour noted among multiple residents is highly frequent shopping or food procurement practices, in line with available promotions or charitable resources. Ten participants (50%) stated that they procure food two or more times a week.

Consider Veronica, a white woman in her 40s facing moderate food insecurity, who must regularly work the resources to acquire healthy foods:

> It's a little hard because I bus. I no longer own a car…I really think if people put the effort in and they think about it, they can really find ways. It is out there. you can find ways to get really good food that doesn't cost you know a whole lot… that's why I'll go like, you know, sometimes two times a week to get a tiny bit.

Food sharing and exchange. Finally, sharing and exchange happens within social service environments and among peoples' social networks in order to get supplementary food that is suited to their needs:

> I'm not starving [but] if I didn't have the church or a friend, my girlfriend…I'd probably be going to the [local meal program]…to get something to eat. — Mama, white female, senior citizen, severely food insecure

Strategies to procure affordable foods. For 15 residents (75%) it was also necessary to select seconds (e.g. discounted, donated, or end-of-market produce) or even food waste within the neighbourhood, at grocery stores, and within charitable programs. These experiences were wide ranging and included a resident getting sick from "dumpster diving" (see section 4.3.1d), as well as utilizing seconds to prepare healthy foods affordably. For example, Henry describes how this shopping habit has sparked creativity in his cooking:

> I like when I can find sort of like a good deal…You go into what I call…the rotten fruit section, the discounted items…If you can find something on there, it almost can inspire you to maybe do something different with food, based on what the product is, that might be outside of my normal realm, of my food regimen. One that kind of got me on a kick there for a while was there was like a package of apples…discounted for whatever price. And I was like oh wow, what a great deal, I'm gonna buy those. And then I ended up making applesauce, which I forgot, I love applesauce. And I always remembered one of my grandfathers making applesauce…the whole process of like peeling and the aroma of the making the applesauce, was kind of like a positive food experience. — Henry, white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure

4.3.2c Relationships between affordable food availability and health.

Inadequate income to support ideal diets. Participants in this study had varying experiences with procuring food to meet their personal preferences and health needs. Eight food insecure residents (40%) noted that in spite of best efforts to accommodate food quality and personal food preferences, they would at times sacrifice the nutritional quality of foods in order to procure free food or food at a discount. Six of these residents (30%) commented on the sacrifices that they make to their diet quality in utilizing social services such as food banks and meal programs:

> I'm on the autism spectrum and the specialist in that area recommended that I eliminate pasta, bread, a whole bunch of things…And would wipe out…everything that I eat…If I were to get what she was suggesting I get, it would quadruple my budget and require so much work for me. — John, white male, senior citizen, moderately food insecure

> You know what happened if you rely on food bank, there is not much food. It's not balanced diet, so it's more cookies and stuff…processed food actually puts you more weight, you know…and I decided to eat that instead of giving to my child. I use the money to buy fruit and veggies for him and then I'm not eating the fruit and veggie, so that's the problem there…They should give you like at least some vouchers and stuff, that you can go and buy at the fresh market and before they used to do that…People with low income…they're going to get sick, and they don't have the money for the medication, you know what I mean, it's gonna be a cycle of problem in there. — Josie, visible minority: Latin American, female in her 40s, moderately food insecure

Regular meal program attendee, Charlene, also shared how she has learned to strategize around procuring food in the program, in spite of potential health hazards:

> I do a nasty thing here too is like somebody else leaves a plate of food behind, I ask 'em for it. Because I've seen the volunteers and even the supervisors take the plate of food…and then they give it away to somebody else and it's like, once it's out on the table they should not be taking back food, it might be contaminated. And I don't care if it's contaminated because I'm used to eating that already. And people around here know that I got the food for me and for three other people…So they do come and offer. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Touching on the complex intersections between diet quality, cultural survival, and health, Samuel also comments on the challenge of ensuring "balance" in his diet. In this quote, we see how food is connected with culture, which is, in turn, intertwined with subjective perceptions of health:

> You can eat balanced food, which is not our choice. We can eat balanced food which is fast food. Food is balanced but it is not our food that we used to eat. It's balance but it's not really…it's not really our food. — Samuel, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

Ability to cook and store food. Contrary to efforts addressing food insecurity through food skills creation, 17 participants (85%) shared stories that demonstrate their knowledge, skills, and creativity to prepare and cook foods for themselves and their families. More notably, reported barriers to acquiring and preparing healthy foods included insufficient or unstable income, food storage challenges, and eating healthily while maintaining a busy lifestyle. In the face of the affordability crisis and rising food costs, residents reported adapting their cooking and food preparation through methods like bulk meal preparation, aiming for simplicity in meals with affordable and reliable supplies, and even reinventing cultural foods creatively and affordably:

> I used to work on the burger line, it's ground meat…It's not processed, doesn't have any flour, it doesn't have anything…If it's frozen, let it be, you know, soft, and then you could do your own cooking. So from that burger, you're making ground meat. You don't have to use it as a burger…then you can use it with rice, you can use it with potatoes. So that's why like I said I reinvented my cooking here with the option that [the food bank] gave. — Josie, visible minority: Latin American, female in her 40s, moderately food insecure

Mental health and food security. The link between mental health and food was discussed both indirectly and directly in multiple interviews. Income or employment was explicitly discussed as a source of concern for seven residents (35%), which for some has placed stress on their food budget and has increased their reliance on charitable food programs. Beyond food availability, two residents (10%) also discussed how their mental health has had an effect on their food choices and diet quality:

> When things go badly for me…I get depressed…And then I go and start eating like not healthy. And also when you're stressed, you're not looking after yourself properly. So those are all things all tied together. Even if you're knowledgeable [of healthy food sources] it doesn't always help. — Karen, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Two participants (10%) also made explicit links between food security and mental health when asked about their definition of "healthy food". For Thomas, an African-American originating from Ambazonia, eating well and eating culturally appropriate foods is explicitly linked to his subjective concept of health:

> Enjoy that you are eating well. You have it in mind that you are eating well. When you go out and get all these things they cook around here, it's, you don't enjoy it…but once you cook all this to your taste, you are

psychologically satisfied you are eating well. Is it not health? Is that not part of health? So you get satisfaction from it, and that is what is called good living. — Thomas, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

4.3.2d Observations in relation to food gentrification.

Evidence of food gentrification in KW. Most notably, 17 of the longtime residents (85%) that took part in this study recognized a noticeable change in food prices in the region. Whether or not the inflation of costs is causally related to gentrification, multiple residents perceived that the price increase is pronounced in this region specifically, and even made connections to how the influx of higher income in-movers (i.e. gentrification) might affect the food environment. Further, while multiple residents made note of growing food variety in the region, certain foods have fallen out of financial reach due to changes in store management, the effects of transit construction, and temporary store closures:

> Prices are going up...quite a lot. And I would have to say that KW seems to be one of the more expensive regions. I go to visit my dad every two, three months, up in Ottawa, and I see a marked difference between the prices in…a suburb of Ottawa where he lives, versus here. So I would say there's been a large increase in prices. — Robert, white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure

> [The independent grocery store has] been battered because of all the LRT construction. The prices have definitely gone up in certain areas, however, they're still staying true to their roots in was saying that no, we have butchers on site, we will cut any kind of meat the way you like it. And that's pretty valuable, because otherwise you go into [the high end grocer], which is lovely, but wow those prices are…yeah…There had to be changes because they're fighting for survival, you know, through all this distress. — Diane, white female, age 51-64, food secure

> The condos, the mass could drive up property by property taxes, and therefore drive up food prices in the stores. Maybe… it's going to be supporting the higher-income, the low-income will be excluded. — Bart, white male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

A number of residents also reflected on memories of their childhood food environments and how foods have changed during their time in this region. For six residents (30%), there has been a notable shift in the marketing of previously affordable foods. Residents shared how stew beef, oxtail, lard, canned bully beef, local milk, and cheeses were once "cheap" foods or at least within financial reach. For example, Jane discusses the dramatic shift in the aesthetic and meaning attached to localism in her lifetime:

> Peter Etril Snyder, [a well-known local painter], when he was a little boy used to take care of the horses there that pulled the wagons that delivered the milk and so these were the local farmers who contributed. So it wasn't a choice that, like there was no Beatrice and international conglomerate that you could buy them from, you bought it from the local dairies because there wasn't anything else. We used to go to my grandmother's and there were creameries all along way where you bought cheese I mean, like so many, but they weren't…they're different now that, they were just people making a living. And now it's artisanal. — Jane, white female, age 51-64, moderately food insecure

Changes to food places and the community food environment. When asked to reflect on any changes to food places within the community, nine residents (45%) discussed notable price changes after a local supermarket changed ownership. Within the meal program that Charlene regularly attends, she reported changes in the culture of generosity of the space due to its reliance on volunteers:

Their policy was like you get an extra 15, 20 minutes…after their doors close that they will give you food. So once doors are closed they're not allowed to because they want volunteers to be able to go home and…what I've just been told a week or so ago that they want people to start leaving at about 20 after nine instead of 9:30 so the people volunteering can be home by the time it's 9:30. And it's like, okay, this place used to be open 'til 10:00 and I've seen like an hour later people knocking or buzzing at the door. Like there's kindness in that. And now they don't have kindness anymore. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Robert, a white male in his 40s facing moderate food insecurity, also expressed concerns about how gentrification might affect traditional social service locations, and how the displacement of affordable food opportunities is not being adequately addressed:

The problem that's occurring at least in terms of food security, is as the gentrification of downtown is occurring, we're losing churches which is one of the primary sources of food…["Social service program" is] a collection of churches…A couple have dropped out…The Downtown Kitchener ones were very heavily utilized. The Waterloo ones…weren't as heavily utilized because they either required a 45 minute walk from the Downtown Kitchener core, or transportation of some sort…So as the food opportunities locate further… it's becoming more of a burden to have your food security, 'cause you have to have the ability to travel…If you're an individual who's dealing with addiction and mental health issues, and you're pulling everything in a two wheel cart…do you have the capability to secure the food even if it's available?

In observing changes to the price of food and the closure of affordable food outlets, some residents shared that they have had to buy certain groceries at regular price, and also suggested that food bank usage might be on the rise in turn. For example, because Thomas has witnessed a notable increase in African food prices, he has begun to rely more heavily on a charitable food program in the region. Charlene also described a concerning scenario of procuring food waste to fulfill her hunger, which weaves together challenging issues of city redevelopment, affordability, and food safety:

I've seen like when you go into pizza places, and you eat some of the pizza that you dumpster dive for, and you get sick because there is rat poison on it. They just don't tell you that…So what are you supposed to do because the city's overrun with rats because of all the construction that has been happening. Soon as you disturb the ground, rats come out. It's like having an earthquake. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

4.4 Discussion and Future Directions

This exploratory study has sought to understand the various ways in which food gentrification might be experienced in Kitchener-Waterloo. One key objective was to bring to the forefront the life stories of individuals who are navigating a rapidly changing food environment, to demonstrate patterns in their experiences and the power of their food agency. This study thus aimed to provide an outlet for individuals to share their diverse priorities, adaptation strategies, motivations, behaviours, and concerns related to food procurement, in order to build a multidimensional concept of food access. I argued that by supporting low-income, longtime residents' food agency and sovereignty, it is possible to explore more personal and culturally-appropriate interventions to food security.

Firstly, participants in this study stated that the primary factors for their food destination selection included a mixture of: cost, geographic accessibility, price to quality ratio, retail social environment characteristics, and convenience. Among multiple visible minorities enrolled in this study, rising cultural food prices in the region were noted as a prominent issue. However, to deal with the affordability of food, residents demonstrated that they carry

valuable place-based knowledge and can navigate their food environments to support their food needs through: deal hunting, frequent shopping, and social networks. Residents often strategize within charitable organizations, meal programs, grocery stores, and other unconventional stores, in order to get suitable, healthy foods. As such, proximity or density of "healthy" food outlets and "unhealthy" food outlets do not provide a comprehensive picture of how individuals strategically engage with local resources to procure foods that are healthy, economical, and culturally-appropriate. This complicates municipal actions to address equity through the distribution of food stores, such as Kitchener's Official Plan policy (15.D.1.5) to ensure residents have access to a food store within one kilometre of their residence (City of Kitchener, 2014). While only 30% of participants enrolled in this study identified as visible minorities, this urges further food access research on the differential experiences of racialized longtime residents of KW in procuring appropriate foods and maintaining their food security.

In spite of these stories of resilience, residents were certainly feeling the pressure of rapid urban change in relation to managing their food needs and health. While a number of residents have adapted their food preparation practices based on affordable food availability, many are still challenged by insufficient or unstable income, lack of food storage, and busy lifestyles. Accordingly, participants at times sacrificed the nutritional quality of food in order to get food for free or at a reduced cost — considering problems with healthy food provision within emergency food programs, or scenarios in which food safety is a concern, the downstream health effects could be serious. Given the growing use of emergency food services in KW, it would be meaningful to address how rising food costs in the region might affect the dietary outcomes of low-income residents. On another level, mental health is also tied up in a range of these issues in a multidirectional way. Lack of income can place stress on residents' food budgets, and poor mental health can also affect food choices. Further study on how urban change might influence income inequality and affect mental health is thus crucial.

Considering longtime residents' reflections on the local food environment over time, this study offers some evidence of food gentrification happening in Downtown Kitchener. In line with Kendall's discussion of "food being gentrified", multiple participants problematized the symbolic elevation of once-affordable foods (Howard, 2014; Ross & McAdon, 2018). More prominently, broader processes of gentrification due to multiple housing, technology, and educational developments, has also placed pressure on the cost of food in Kitchener. While residents recognize that food costs rise over time, 85% of participants enrolled in this study perceived that the rise in cost has been pronounced in this region specifically. Moreover, residents even made connections to how higher-income in-movers are influencing the food environment, and expressed worry that ongoing changes to essential goods and amenities will lead to the erasure of their needs and personal livelihoods. These findings suggest that further action on environmental justice in relation to urban food planning is needed, by enhancing recognition, capabilities, and participation of different groups. In the midst of rapid city change, it is crucial address how social and built environments might support cultural continuity and healthy community functioning in an inclusive way.

Overall, the data from this study were exploratory, in-depth, and subjective in nature; accordingly, the findings emerging from these interviews are not wholly transferable to another population sample. For example, definitions of health, cooking ability, and diet quality were all based on the perceptions of participants. In the future, more sensitive tools to provide a dietary assessment of specific population groups might be valuable, in order to more precisely identify dietary responses to changing social services and food retail options (Desjardins, 2010). However,

as urban environments continue to evolve, this study has shown the importance of recognizing the role of gentrification on food behaviours, as well as the active agency of residents in response. These life stories should indicate to planners, public health practitioners, and policymakers that complex interventions addressing basic income, affordable housing, and the built environment are needed, in order to address food access more holistically. Future studies might consider developing a conceptual framework around food gentrification, which can serve as a critical lens on urban food security. By uniting a range of issues related to environmental justice, cultural resilience, urban health equity and food sovereignty, food gentrification can help to assess how people are responding to changes in other urban food environments, and developing solutions that are tailored to local needs.

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Chapter 5.0

"There's parallel realities that seldom intersect": Longtime residents' place meanings in a gentrifying urban food environment

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Abstract

Recent research has shown that food and gentrification are complexly tied. The purpose of this study is to examine how residents might build a sense of place in urban environments through the mechanism of food, and consequently, how gentrification functions as a place-disrupting process. Interviews with low-income, longtime residents in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, Canada raised concerns around the inequitable benefits of incoming food environment changes, structural barriers to participating in the alternative food environment (AFM), and worries of exclusion and displacement through gentrification. It was found that the gentrification of the Downtown core (including changing food environment characteristics) has disrupted longtime residents' sense of place in the City, and in some cases has caused deleterious psychosocial impacts. Key recommendations include incorporating marginalized voices in urban planning, as well as the integration of a multi-pronged anti-displacement strategy. Further, critical reflexivity must be actively built into neighbourhood planning and community food work, in order to address the essential needs of longtime residents while preventing displacement.

Keywords

food gentrification, sense of place, displacement, planning, equity

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 Gentrification Concepts

Gentrification is a place-altering process with a marked impact on the flow of urban social life, typically characterized by the displacement of existing low-income residents and a loss of affordable housing (Walks & August, 2008). Through explicit policy efforts as well as more gradual societal changes and governance tactics, the process involves the production of cultural distinctiveness and new city rhythms. Because this study explores sociospatial equity matters in relation to changing urban goods and amenities, it is crucial to focus on a concept of gentrification that is grounded in environmental justice and critical race theory (CRT). As, Alkon and Cadji (2018) describe:

> Through gentrification, capital expands through the (re)production of urban space as guided by city and regional policy. It is also a racialized process, not only because white residents displace people of [colour] but also because it is predicated on the previous divestment from the urban core that characterized segregation and redlining, as well as the devastation of segregated [neighbourhoods] through urban renewal…Thus this process capitalizes on racism, lowering property values and providing opportunities for subsequent investment. Displacement and violence are two of its core features…[Neighbourhood] organizations and retailers serving vulnerable groups…often follow not far behind (p. 5).

Moreover, gentrification involves a shift in a neighbourhood's identity, through a transformation in consumption practices and place-making activities. As Kern (2016) describes in the context of Toronto, people of affluence, powerful corporations, and local institutions play a role in imprinting new "rhythms" upon a city, rendering the lives of marginalized residents "arrhythmic". Arrhythmias are policed through surveillance, policy, and more subtle forms of exclusion. The slow violence of gentrification plays out through the erasure of vulnerable residents and their needs, and the urban socioeconomic gap widens all the while (Kern, 2016).

Ecological gentrification in the sustainable city. Further, one strand of urban gentrification research focuses on how the sustainability narrative has catalyzed redevelopment and urban inequality. Traditionally, the concept of *ecological, environmental, or green* gentrification has focused on the inequitable effects of green space renewal or expansion within deteriorating inner city neighbourhoods (Anguelovski, 2016a; Anguelovski, 2016b; Checker, 2011; Dooling, 2009; Goodling, Green, & McClintock, 2015). Official sustainability discourses are often framed as democratic and ethical in nature (through rhetoric such as: complete, whole, or livable cities), but multiple case studies have indicated that these initiatives do not produce equitable benefits, and can even be a detriment to racialized, low-income populations (Goodling et al., 2015). Accordingly, ecological gentrification can be described as: "the implementation of an environmental planning agenda related to public green spaces that leads to the displacement of the most economically vulnerable human population — homeless people — while espousing an environmental ethic" (Dooling, 2009).

More recently, *food gentrification* has been explored as one subset of ecological gentrification literature, in large part due to the growing popularity of the alternative food movement (AFM). The AFM is a multidimensional effort, broadly aimed at addressing social and environmental issues within corporate food systems. Among planners and environmental advocates, the AFM carries significant emancipatory potential in that it aims to unite environmental values, urban sustainability objectives, and a culture of localism that is embraced amongst foodies (Bunce, 2017; McClintock, 2018; Ross & McAdon, 2018). Notably, the AFM has elevated the symbolic value of eating food waste to address sustainability, the ethical implications of organic agriculture, and the overall aesthetic of localism.

On the other hand, there is a growing body of evidence that alternative food initiatives (AFIs) contribute to distinctive consumerist practices, uneven investment, and the demarcation of racialized poverty (Goodling et al., 2015). Here, food gentrification describes a scenario in which marginalized communities experience the negative impacts of food driving gentrification (Sbicca, 2018). Alternatively, cultural foods may themselves become "gentrified" when once-affordable staples have become financially inaccessible for racialized populations (Howard, 2014; Ross & McAdon, 2018; Sbicca, 2018). Overall, the common thread is that food serves to attract capital to a previously deteriorating urban centre, while neglecting the needs and aspirations of preexisting vulnerable communities.

5.1.2 Concepts of Place and the Lens of Food

Extending this further, *sense of place* is a valuable lens through which food gentrification can be explored. Based on the tradition of humanistic geography, "place" is understood as a human construct with relational dimensions. As

Desjardins (2010) describes, place "is space made meaningful through a combination of social interactions, personal senses and spatial attributes or perceptions" (p. 11). Sense of place is thus inherently subject-centred and experiential in nature, and includes subjective perceptions of welcomeness, exclusion, and concepts of home (Dam & Eyles, 2012: Desjardins, 2010; Sack, 1992). In turn, place attachments are foundational to individuals' sense of being, cultural identity, and concepts of community. Butz and Eyles (1997) describe the complex construct of place in this way:

> Before any choices there is this "place", where the foundations of earthly existence and human condition establish themselves. We can change locations, move, but this is still to look for a place; we need a base to set down our Being and to realize our possibilities, a here from which to discover the world, a there to which we can return" (p. 2).

Sense of place is thus centred around an individual's subjective reaction to community features, and is also influenced by external characteristics of the built and natural environment and structures of power. *Place attachment* is one specific dimension of sense of place, which reflects the embeddedness of people in their everyday surroundings at behavioural, emotional, and cognitive levels (Butz & Eyles, 2008; Eyles & Williams, 2008, p. 90). At the community scale, place attachments reflect a "sense of rootedness" and bondedness to the social and physical community at hand (Desjardins, 2010; Eyles & Williams, 2008, p. 90). Further, sense of place and place attachments are both connected to individuals' health and wellbeing. From a *capabilities* standpoint, a person's wellbeing is largely related to their ability to achieve "valuable functionings", which includes how the environment might support one's ability to meet their needs and goals (Eyles & Williams, 2008). Places that are perceived as supportive of our valuable functionings tend to be places to which we become attached. In gentrification literature, these concepts have been used to debunk the stigmatizing views of public or community housing as being "housing of the last resort" (Eyles & Williams, 2008). Borrowing from Desjardins (2010), the following indicators: sense of belonging, sense of agency, and sense of connection (shown in Table 5.1) are being used to assess the people-place-food interactions found in this study.

Moreover, food is a valuable material entity through which sense of place can be analyzed, because it unites consumption practices and social interactions (Valentine, 2002). Non-human objects like food and drink have *political strength*, as they can mediate social relations, construct meanings through human associations, and stabilize or destabilize linkages to particular places (Desjardins, 2010; Valentine, 2002). These associations are meaningful in that they can offer insight into determinants of community health, subjective interactions with the environment, and the disruptive effects of gentrification. In food environment and gentrification research, the lens of humanistic geography can help to understand how people create, perceive, or experience different food places, in the midst of changing sociospatial structures (Desjardins, 2010). While new food institutions might improve social opportunities and livability for some urban residents, the effects of city restructuring can disrupt the daily activities and deep social bonds established by longtime residents. For example, some expensive grocers have appropriated cultural foods, while traditional consumers have experienced shame or exclusion in acquiring those same foods; for example, when a controversial Whole Foods opened in Jamaica Plain, Boston, supporters accused Latinxs of buying "dirty and smelly foods" from "third-world countries" in spite of the store also carrying Latinx products (Anguelovski, 2015; Anguelovski, 2016a; Anguelovski, 2016b; Komakech & Jackson, 2016; Howard, 2014). As a complement to food retail mapping, qualitative research thus can expose how people who have been marginalized on the basis of gender,

socioeconomic status, race, age, or disability have experienced injustice within local food systems.

Table 5.1 *Indicators of sense of place (Desjardins, 2010)*	
Sense of belonging	The ways in which people conceptualize their bonds to a neighbourhood in which they are engaged, formed from both negative and positive experiences. E.g. degree of value assigned to community or interactions
Sense of agency	The direct interactions that people have with their food environments, varying in levels of social involvement, intentionality, and impulsiveness. As agents, people create meaning about their environments and can shape its characteristics to different extents. E.g. Facing undesirable or unaffordable foods at a food outlet
Sense of connection	Looks at how sense of place arises from the mixture of both local and global relations, linking one place to places beyond. Addresses "relational complexities" of objects and geographies. E.g. Ethnocultural foods and reflections on their place of origin

5.1.3 Study Context

The following study reflects on food gentrification in the context of Kitchener, Ontario, a mid-sized city and the largest municipality of the Region of Waterloo. Kitchener's downtown area once served as a thriving business centre for the Region, until confronted with rampant suburbanization and shopping mall development in the 1960s (Bunting, Filion, Frenette, Curry, & Mattice, 2000). During this time, the region faced an unrelenting decline in retail activity and employment, a scenario compounded by the existence of employment opportunities in the close, neighbouring city centre of Uptown Waterloo (Bunting et al. 2000). However, in recent years, Kitchener has experienced rapid urban change due to a combination of political forces and policies, and is now forecasted to grow to a population of over 300,000 by 2031 (Allen & Campsie, 2013). To manage this projected growth, Kitchener's Official Plan (OP) integrates policy and regulatory directives from the provincial Planning Act, Provincial Policy Statement (PPS), the Greater Golden Horseshoe Growth Plan, and other relevant pieces of legislation. The language of the OP focuses on facilitating deindustrialization, directing industrial land uses to the urban periphery, intensifying the urban core with mixed land uses, and creating post-industrial employment opportunities (City of Kitchener, 2014). In light of these policies, the streetscape currently features derelict buildings and retail shops juxtaposed against modern condominiums and a 19-km light-rail transit system that opened in 2019 (Davies, 2016). Indicators of gentrification in the region include new municipal policies and incentives that have facilitated intensification in the Downtown landscape, which is now home to several technology companies, office spaces, and university satellite campuses. Kitchener's main street, King Street, is dotted with ethnic food markets, coffee shops, and high-end restaurants.

Further, Kitchener's Strategic Plan, Compass Kitchener Committee, and Neighbourhood Strategy (titled, #LoveMyHood) support the design and implementation of priorities at the community scale. The 12-member Compass Kitchener Committee was established in 2000 to implement public engagement activities, research community issues, guide strategic priorities, and measure Kitchener's progress through a citizens' report card (Cooper, 2017; Dever & Cooper, 2018). Evaluations address five key areas meant to support the development of the Kitchener's strategic vision: open government, strong and resilient economy, safe and thriving neighbourhoods, sustainable environment and infrastructure, and effective and efficient city services. Grades and comments are based on data collected by City of Kitchener staff, reports and documents, and personal observations by local citizens (Cooper, 2017). Furthermore, #LoveMyHood is Kitchener's strategy for positive neighbourhood action, with a focus

on how residents might engage in *placemaking* projects with the support of the city. Placemaking is described as a way to turn everyday spaces into gathering places and destinations by engaging with the geography, culture and heritage of a place, and to build meaningful relationships in the process (The City of Kitchener, 2017b, The City of Kitchener, 2018). Through this plan, Kitchener provides grant opportunities, toolkits, and step-by-step guides to support residents in creating positive change within their neighbourhoods. One of the most popular ideas to date has been neighbourhood community gardens and pop-up neighbourhood markets, which has been supported by multiple OP policies under Section 7 on Sustainable Development, and Section 14 on Complete and Healthy Land Uses (City of Kitchener, 2014; City of Kitchener, 2017).

Alternative food characteristics and policies. In Kitchener, there is a growing appetite for *alternative food*, evidenced by the wide range of projects and retailers that have emerged in recent years. While alternative food practices focus on a wide spectrum of food issues, Slocum (2006) proposes four broad classifications: local food organizations and farmers, including policies supporting localism; businesses and non-profits working on health and nutrition equity; groups and organizations with an environmental focus, advocating for organic agri-food, animal welfare, seed saving, fertility, and food heritage; and social justice groups advocating for oppressed communities and farmers' rights.

Beyond #LoveMyHood, the City of Kitchener has also addressed community gardening and urban agriculture under its Parks Strategic Plan (City of Kitchener, 2010). Within this Plan, the rhetoric focuses heavily on sustainable development, and prioritizes resolving the backlog of undeveloped parks on dedicated parkland, ensuring timely parkland provision, and addressing equitable access to green space in redevelopment areas (City of Kitchener, 2010). Its Section 3 policies are complementary to the Series 7 policies in the OP, and aim to support the identification of potential sites for gardens programs and the development of rooftop gardening and urban agriculture on public lands (City of Kitchener, 2010). Reflecting on these emerging developments, Slocum's (2006) model can be used to characterize the AFIs in Kitchener. This includes both non-market projects and market-based initiatives (i.e., stores and restaurants) that sell "alternative" or "health-focused" foods within private sector economic channels. While these lists are not comprehensive, and organizations might overlap across categories, Table 5.2 offers a general picture of the AFM within the study area:

Table 5.2 *Four categories of alternative food initiatives in Kitchener, Ontario (adapted from Slocum, 2006)*

Local Food Organizations	Nutrition-Based Organizations	Environment-Focused Organizations	Social Justice Organizations
- Kitchener Farmers' Market - Belmont Village Market - Dutchie's Fresh Market - Borealis Grille and Bar - Little City Farm - New Leaf Market Garden and CSA Farm - Fertile Ground Farm - eKhaya Garden - Foodlink Waterloo Region - Food System Roundtable of Waterloo Region - Grand River Hospital rooftop gardens - Community Garden Council of Waterloo Region - 32 community gardens in Kitchener	- The Healthoholics Wellness Centre - S&H Health Foods - Relish Cooking Studio - The Culinary Studio - Kitchener Downtown Community Health Centre - Waterloo Region Peer Program - Kitchener Market Kid's in the Kitchen Program - The Marketplace - goodvibes juice co. - PURE Juice Bar - Freshii - CityDetox	- Fiddleheads Health and Nutrition - Legacy Greens - Chelsea Market - Steckle Heritage Farm - My Sustainable Canada - Full Circle Foods - Cafe Pyrus - Nature's Nurturing - Rawlicious Kitchener - KCI Green Industries Program - Gleaners Guild of Waterloo Region - Tri-Cities Gleaners Guild	- Food Not Bombs - Food Justice and Climate Action Waterloo Region - Hacienda Sarria Market Garden - Young City Growers - Maurita's Kitchen - KW Urban Harvesters - Littlefoot Community Projects

5.1.4 Study Purpose

In light of gentrification processes and current policies addressing social innovation and food, there is a unique opportunity to explore food gentrification in the City of Kitchener. This study's broad focus is on exploring food gentrification in the rapidly changing Downtown core of Kitchener, Ontario. To do so, this study asks three interrelated questions:

- How might food play a role in the way that longtime residents symbolically, emotionally, and physically build a sense of place in Downtown Kitchener?
- To what extent have residents experienced food gentrification in Kitchener? Do experiences of food gentrification impact residents' sense of place in the City?
- How could alternative food initiatives address sociospatial equity in their community food work?

Firstly, this study aims to illustrate that residents can build a sense of place in urban environments by engaging with others around food, or through forming bonds to food places. In building an understanding of the place-based realities of low-income, longtime residents, this study argues that there are different examples of food gentrification taking place in Downtown Kitchener. As changes to the Downtown core continue to impact the local food environment, longtime residents' sense of place in the City can be radically disrupted through exclusion and displacement. Critical reflexivity must be actively built into neighbourhood planning and community food work, in order to address the essential needs of longtime residents while preventing place disruption.

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1 Research Design

This study is grounded in three major theories: critical consciousness, environmental justice, and sites of memory (Freire, 1997; Hamilton, 2012; Morgan, 2007; Schlosberg, 2007). The interaction among these theories is meant to capture the importance of reflective action in alternative food work, sociospatial equity concerns, and personal (his)stories related to food. These theories influenced the design of the participant criteria and the interview questions, and were integral to the way that data were analyzed and communicated (Section 5.4). Data were collected using in-depth interviews with low-income, longtime residents of Kitchener-Waterloo (KW), as well as interviews with key informants in the Region. Participants were required to be adults (age 18+), who self-identify as low-income and have resided in KW for a minimum of five years. Participants were recruited primarily through placing posters at food outlets, social services, and various community organizations, and also through *snowball sampling*. Snowball sampling is a method for seeking out new informants through residents who have already enrolled in the study. This method produced rich information on individuals' social connections while helping to access some hard-to-reach populations such as racialized groups and residents without regular access to technology (Heckathorn, 2011; Noy, 2008; Kirchherr & Charles, 2018).

Semi-structured interviews were identified as the most effective method for collecting data from a traditionally marginalized population — it allowed trust to be built by interacting face-to-face, having the researcher share personal stories, and using language that emphasized the collaborative nature of this project. An interview guide was developed to broadly explore different food and gentrification issues, and was reviewed by one other researcher who has experience in public health and working with marginalized residents. In advance of the interview, participants were provided with an information consent letter, and were given the opportunity to ask any questions on the study. On the day of the interview, they provided written consent to participate, and also for the use of audio recordings and anonymous quotations. During the interviews, participants were invited to select their own pseudonym, allowing them to understand their personal contributions to the research. They then responded to a sociodemographic survey and the 18-item Household Food Security Survey Module (HFSSM) to determine food security status. Open-ended questions encouraged discussion around food environments, health, food places, community change, and broader personal reflections. The interview concluded by remunerating the individual with $20, and asking whether they would like to receive the study results.

Based on the data collected from the resident interviews, a number of key informants from various organizations in KW were also contacted directly via email to provide input on the study. A six-question interview guide was again developed in collaboration with one other researcher, and was designed to allow participants to comment on the major thematic areas that arose from the primary interviews. Interviews were conducted with two social service providers, an urban agriculture manager, an owner of an organic food store, and an executive director of a planning/advocacy organization. In total, 25 respondents (n=20 low-income residents and n=5 key informants) were enrolled in this study. The studies were approved by a research ethics board at the University of Waterloo, ORE#40480.

5.2.2 Data Analysis

During interviews, audio was recorded and transcribed automatically using phone software called *Otter* (Otter, version 2.0; Los Altos, CA: Otter.ai, 2019). Text files were uploaded to a computer for manual edits and revisions, which prepared the data for a constructionist narrative analysis. This approach sees the interview data and analysis ad a process of co-constructing a story between the researcher and participant, while also paying attention to how various socioeconomic, interactional, historical, and institutional contexts might shape those stories (Esin, Fathi, & Squire, 2014). The analysis involved an incremental coding process, first by hand, then through the use of *Dovetail* software (Dovetail, version 1.0; Dovetail Research Pty. Ltd., 2017). Through a process called *open coding*, similar ideas were collected across the interview data by reading transcripts fully, highlighting concepts of importance, cross-referencing multiple transcripts, and generating high-level themes (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016. High-level themes were assessed further through a process called *axial coding*, to explore relationships among data categories, create sub-themes, and refine the coding scheme (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Each of the themes were given broad definitions to establish boundaries for the meaning and application of a given theme to the transcripts. A colour coding exercise was then conducted by hand to assign phrases or paragraph sections to one or more themes. Finally, data and codes were imported into Dovetail for *focused coding*, to revise the code assignment and finalize codes (Brandow, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

To enhance the credibility of the codes developed, one additional researcher took part in the code development (Patton, 1997; Skinner, 2013). Reliability was measured through percent agreement (percentage of coding decisions made by pairs of coders on which the coders agree), utilizing a matrix for measuring scores across the different variables (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002). This exercise specifically looks at words/phrases that have been highlighted mutually, applying a value of one for using one or more common codes (perfect agreement) or zero for no agreement on the codes. After the second researcher analyzed 25% (n=4) of the transcripts by hand-coding, an average percent agreement of 83.5% was established. Any points of disagreement were assessed to further refine the transcript codes via consensus, as seen in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 *Focused coding results: Themes and categories*

Theme or category

(A) LOW-INCOME FOOD ENVIRONMENT
A1) Factors for place selection
- Cost — *price of food/free food cited as a factor for place selection*
- Geographic access — *any scenario in which geography is of importance for place selection*
- Food value — *residents assessing the ratio of price to quality in procuring food from certain places*
- Cultural food availability — *availability of foods that have cultural importance cited as a factor for place selection*

A2) Social service use — *use of a meal program, food bank or pantry, community kitchen, income supplements, or other social services*

A3) Strategies for affordable food
- Reinventing cooking practices — *use of particular cooking methods or appliances, to support ideal diets in an affordable manner*
- Food sharing and exchange — *sharing or exchanging resources to get food, or sharing/exchanging food directly, as well as getting food from social networks*
- Eating seconds or waste — *procuring food on discount, from dumpsters, or in any scenario in which food would typically be viewed as waste, in order to satisfy hunger or food needs*
- Resourcefulness — *broadly refers to a scenario in which residents strategically use transit, social services, social networks, or cooking practices to affordably meet their food needs*
- Frequency of food procurement — *frequency of food procurement cited by the participant*

A4) Budget and basic income matters — *Code for any discussion of budget or the need for basic income, in relation to meeting essential needs*
- Housing first matters — *housing costs or cost of rent specifically cited in relation to budgetary matters*

A5) Cultural food procurement — *places where people procure culturally-appropriate foods, including any strategies used to do so*

(B) FOOD PLACES
B1) Perceptions of welcomeness — *subjective perceptions of welcomeness described, including feelings of respect, belonging, getting assistance, etc.*
B2) Place attachment — *attachment to a food place or AFI is evident, whether the experience at the location is positive or negative*
- Community building and food — *attachment is evident through positive social networks or relationship building, which has led to continuous use of that place*

(C) COMMUNITY CHANGE AND FOOD
C1) Changes to local food environment
- Changes to food — *any changes to food prices, quality, availability, etc.*
- Changes to social services and food places — *any changes to the provision of social services, food environment characteristics, etc.*
C2) General opinions and observations
- Property prices and changes to food environment — *comments on changing property prices and effects to the food environment*
- Growing wealth gap — *observations/perspectives on the growing socioeconomic gap and how that might affect food*

(D) TRANSPORTATION AND FOOD
D1) LRT development and the food environment — *effects of the LRT development on food costs, food availability, or food places*
D2) Transit, mobility, and food access — *general input on how transit and mobility influence food access and procurement behaviours*

(E) FOOD SECURITY AND HEALTH
E1) Negotiating health for nourishment — *eating food to address hunger, while not fulfilling ideal diets or even compromising personal health*
E2) Ability to cook/store food and health — *any experience or perspective on cooking or storing food in relation to health*
E3) Mental health and food — *any relationship made between mental health and food*

(F) ALTERNATIVE FOOD PERCEPTIONS
F1) General opinions — *perceptions or experiences with alternative food that are mixed or neutral in nature*
F2) Positive experiences or perceptions
F3) Negative experiences or perceptions

(G) RECOMMENDATIONS
Any recommendations provided, including but not limited to: policy change, input for local food outlets, required social change, etc.

5.3 Results

The following section describes the characteristics of the participant sample enrolled in this study and communicates findings obtained from the interview data. The interview data has been categorized under four major themes: using the lens of food to understand sense of place; reflections on recent placemaking efforts and AFIs; effects of urban development on sense of place; and experiences of exclusion in planning processes. To follow, a final section presents key findings from the key informant interviews, focusing on equity in the AFM, effects of gentrification on social service provision, and input for improving residents' food security and health.

5.3.1 Participant Sample

Interviews were conducted from March to May 2019 at various locations requested by participants, such as: coffee shops, public libraries, community centres, or participants' homes. Participants' sociodemographic information can be found in Table 5.4. Responses to the Canadian HFSSM showed that 17 residents (85%) were food insecure, with seven adults (35%) being classified as *moderately* food insecure and ten (50%) facing *severe* food insecurity. Three residents (15%) were classified as food secure. For the two participants (10%) with children in the household, the children were classified as being moderately food insecure in both circumstances. For the detailed data on the prevalence of affirmative responses to the questions on food security, see Table 5.5.

Table 5.4 *Descriptive statistics of the primary population (N=20)*	
Characteristic	**N (%)**
Gender	
Female	8 (40)
Male	12 (60)
Age	
18-28	0 (0)
29-39	2 (10)
40-50	7 (35)
51-64	9 (45)
65+	2 (10)
Education	
Elementary school	0 (0)
High school diploma or equivalent	6 (30)
Post-secondary degree	13 (65)
Graduate degree	1 (5)
Household size	
One person	10 (50)
Two people	7 (35)
Three or more people	3 (15)
Visible minority status	
Visible minority	6 (30)
Not a visible minority	14 (70)
Years residing in Kitchener-Waterloo	
Five to nine years	6 (30)
10 to 14 years	0 (0)
15 to 19 years	2 (10)
20 or more years	12 (60)

Table 5.5 *Household food security survey module affirmative responses*

Questions	Food secure households	Moderately food insecure households	Severely food insecure households	All respondents
"In the past 12 months…"	n=3 N (%)	n=7 N (%)	n=10 N (%)	n=20 N (%)
Adult				
1. You and other household members worried that food would run out before you got money to buy more.	2 (66.7)	5 (71.4)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
2. The food that you and other household members bought just didn't last, and there wasn't any money to get more.	0	4 (57.1)	10 (100.0)	14 (70.0)
3. You and other household members couldn't afford to eat balanced meals.	1 (33.3)	6 (85.7)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
4. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
5. How often did this happen?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
6. Did you (personally) ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money to buy food?	0	3 (42.9)	10 (100.0)	13 (65.0)
7. Were you (personally) ever hungry but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?	0	2 (28.6)	9 (90.0)	11 (55.0)
8. Did you (personally) lose weight because you didn't have enough money for food?	0	0	6 (60.0)	6 (30.0)
9. Did you or other adults in your household ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
10. How often did this happen?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
Child				
11. You or other adults in your household relied on only a few kinds of low-cost food to feed the children, because you were running out of money to buy food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
12. You or other adults in your household couldn't feed the children a balanced meal, because you couldn't afford it.	0	1 (14,3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
13. The children were not eating enough because you or other adults in your household just couldn't afford enough food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
14. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of any of the children's meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	1 (10.0)	1 (5.0)
15. Did any of the children ever skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0
16. How often did this happen?	0	0	0	0
17. Were any of he children ever hungry but you just couldn't afford more food?	0	0	0	0
18. Did any of the children ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0

5.3.2 Conceptualizing Sense of Place Through the Lens of Food

Through a series of questions on food destination selection, social interactions within food places, and subjective perceptions of welcomeness, participants shared a wide range of experiences demonstrating place attachment through the mechanism of food. The following section aims to cover residents' diverse experiences with conventional supermarkets, specialty food outlets and alternative food institutions (AFIs), and social service programs (including community kitchens, meal programs, food banks, and other charities). When participants were asked about the typical food outlets where they choose to procure food, 15 (75%) generally responded positively about their ability to receive assistance from store staff, interactions with other customers, and being treated with respect. However, four respondents (20%) had some deeper reflections on the social environments of their chosen food outlets. For example, some residents attribute their level of comfort to the fact that these food outlets are geared toward lower socioeconomic groups and others have witnessed stigmatizing situations for people who appear more stereotypically low-income. One resident also shares that she experienced a stigmatizing encounter historically:

> Soon after coming to Kitchener, I went to shop at [independent grocer] and they had yogurt on sale, and the store manager got pissed off at me because I bought too many…Since then, I've never had a problem with it, but for a long time after that I was like kind of on the defensive…It's not like I go into the store and feel embarrassed, it's more like I am aware of the perceptions of how other people perceive me, and I don't want the stores to get pissed off at me…I try to be a little bit careful, like I don't go in twice on the same day to get a deal, and…avoid getting the same cashier...If you go into a store and shop that way, they will know that you are the poor person…I am conscious of my shopping habits being unorthodox and not liked by the store I'm going in. — Karen, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Cultures of exclusion and community through alternative food initiatives . At specialty food outlets and AFIs such as local grocers or organic and health food stores, participant experiences tended to be more neutral or negative in nature. One participant describes an encounter at a specialty deli, which he perceived as being based in racist attitudes:

> I walked into the European deli down the road there and I've never felt more unwelcome…I feel more welcome at the Chinese supermarket than I do at the European Deli down the road. They looked at me like like I was lost…I think it was outright racism to be honest with you…It was almost like, what are you doing here?…Like some guy walked in, they started speaking the same bloody language. Like they do that in the Chinese store, but it doesn't feel like they're just ignoring you. — Dan, visible minority: mixed ethnic background, male, age 51-64, food secure

Four participants (20%) described broader feelings of discomfort or shame in exploring new stores that they perceived to be more expensive than the typical stores from which they procure food. One participant described feelings of obligation to make a purchase so as to not appear as though they were stealing; in other scenarios, participants simply left the stores empty-handed. For example, John, a white senior citizen facing moderate food insecurity, describes entering a higher-end grocer to purchase an item on sale:

> The thing that attracted me was they had…ground pork for $0.99 a pound special…I unfortunately made it there one day and they were all completely out of it…I felt uncomfortable, going through there and that's the only thing that I could afford to buy and it wasn't there. So I just kind of slowly snuck out the door…I gotta blow off that sort of tension and not feel so bad.

On the other hand, four participants (20%) expressed a sense of attachment to farmers' markets in the region because of the ability to procure fresh, fairly-priced foods while having deep and regular interactions with vendors. In terms of community building, the three participants (15%) with garden plots described how they have formed bonds with other community members through the experience of sharing food and gardening collectively:

> Oftentimes you run into other people in the garden in their little spot and you know, there's small talk about gardening and plants. So I remember thinking like, wow, this is…literally…community. So you're basically like talking to strangers, but you've got this commonality between you that now it doesn't make you strangers. — Henry, white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure

Charitable food spaces. Among the 14 participants (70%) using social services to supplement their food, all had positive perceptions of welcomeness and belonging within these spaces. During a conversation on welcomeness, Charlene commented on her unofficial role in clearing out the meal program venue during closing hours:

> I like most of [the people] but the only thing is some are not mentally well, some are in need of help. I try to be positive with everybody I interact with even if they're higher than a kite…I think most people get to know who I am…if they're kind. If they're not, it's just a business. [But] what they need to get done is…they need people out of here and he asks me, "if you don't move nobody else will move". So I get up and move and everybody else starts moving, it was like you were right!…They listen to me for some stupid reason, I don't know why…Maybe it's my kindness or because I've interacted with everybody and they know that if they see me going they'll go — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Contrary to her experiences in conventional food outlets, Karen also gave an anecdote on how her unorthodox behaviours were accepted at a local community kitchen:

> There, it's completely acceptable to…be in that situation…Nobody judges and it's…normal to do things like package your meal and take it home. I used to take the food…and put it in a bag and take it home…I didn't care because my attitude is if you put it in a tub…it's plastic. If you put it in a bag, it's plastic. And then the funny thing is other people started doing it, and it's not a big deal right…The culture of the place allows you, like if people are down and out they're doing things related to being down and out, other people will accept it, especially if other people are doing it too. — Karen, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Concepts of home abroad. Although this study only involved six people (30%) who identified as visible minorities, these participants brought rich knowledge on how place attachment can span international boundaries through the mechanism of food. Amidst conversations on food and farming, five participants (25%) made references to their home countries, expressing various feelings of longing, loss, and cultural attachment. Even after living in the country for five or more years these conversations illustrated a clear link between home-foods and personal identity:

> The ones that are available here I buy them from these stores, but most of what I use as my ingredients they come from Africa. I bring them when I travel or some friends travel they bring them…once a year…I have wives…they are in Africa. I used to have one woman that came to meet here but we've parted ways…it didn't work out, the culture here is very different from home. — Thomas, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

5.3.3 Reflections on Placemaking Efforts and Alternative Food

The following section presents a summary of participants' reflections on recent placemaking efforts and local AFIs. Although participants at times had mixed feelings toward different AFIs, participant responses tended to fall into the categories of either *positive* or *negative* experiences and perceptions. Accordingly, Table 5.6 below provides a general overview of people's motivations, values, ethical stances, and criticisms in relation to the local AFM.

Table 5.6 Participant reflections on alternative food

	Alternative Food Category	# of Participants N (%)	Themes	Example Quotations
Positive Experiences and Perceptions	Local food organization: Community supported agriculture (CSA)	1 (5%)	• Health • Ethics • Food quality	I scrimped and saved to purchase a crop share…and so I can do that because it is subsidized…Just because I think that it is so important to get those greens and vegetables in…[and] of course the quality, the nutrition, but then also the more society sides of supporting a local farmer, just in transportation costs and pollution, eating local. — **Robert,** white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure
	Local food organization: Community gardening or urban agriculture	5 (25%)	• Health - Mental health • Community building • Social benefits • Supporting community food needs	We got some good food out of it last year. I wouldn't say… it's any way sustainable…but it's fun…I mean every week you know they will have a potluck dinner…So it's production and sharing of food. — **Dan**, visible minority: mixed ethnicities, male, age 51-64, food secure
	Local food organization: Farmers' market	4 (20%)	• Community building • Food quality • Fair food prices - End-of-market deals	At the farmers' market you can see the delight the person has when you buy from the person and they are more than happy to ask if they can get you something else…So it's interesting to see the dynamics of price, quality and service. And I would still rate the farmers' market higher than any of the other [commercial] stores. — **Jack**, visible minority: South Asian, male, age 29-39, moderately food insecure
	Social justice organization: Housing-food projects	1 (5%)	• Health - Mental health • Social benefits • Community building	Our at-risk population tends much more to be…the ones that have mental health or drug addiction problems… Some of the tiny housing projects I've seen tend to form an estate type thing…and they will actually set up a community garden…and it will help supply the communal kitchen, and those that are interested…are able to…do the gardening with support…That kind of project I think would do much more than just setting up community gardens. — **Raibert**, white male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

Negative Experiences and Perceptions	Local food organization: CSA	2 (10%)	• Cost • Perceived inconvenience • Perceived socioeconomic difference	I've seen it a couple of times they have the greens baskets, you know where you pay your fee, and it's delivered. They have a pickup house there…I think they have zero… interest in feeding the poor…Gentrification and what starts with the outliers, the artists, and then it's attractive to the hipsters who are attracted to that lifestyle without living that lifestyle, and then the yuppies...and so I don't think that these are people who have social conscience. I mean, these are people who identify with a particular… lifestyle. — **Jane**, white female, age 51-64, moderately food insecure
	Local food organization: Community gardening	11 (55%)	• Physical effort and disabilities • Time • Governance and power dynamics • Perceived socioeconomic difference • Access to land or greenspace • Distance to gardens/transit • Cost	I like to say that there's parallel realities, that seldom intersect…I think that somewhere around the Centre in the Square is a community garden somewhere, and I know that the city councillor from the last term lives in this area, and was saying why don't I check it out. I've never seen where it was. The houses in this area, although I did live in one…when I was a teenager…the prices of them now are substantially different. He has a Porsche… So, if it's other people like that that are at the garden, I'm totally out of their…social realm. And I think others would feel the same because I'm involved with advocacy people that are marginalized. And also I get into things that are either free or cheap…you can only put up with so much of that feeling that you are an outsider. — **John**, white male, senior citizen, moderately food insecure
	Local food organization: Farmers' market	4 (20%)	• Lack of trust - Produce sourcing, labels, and product information • Ability to store fresh foods • Plastic packaging	I knew who the egg man was and I knew who the cheese man was, where to get the sausage…a long time ago. I'm not trying to fluff that off but it has evolved to the point where I can't be bothered to go [to the farmers' market]. And if I do go there…I'm highly suspicious of where things are coming from. Unless I know, I'm asking you a lot of questions…I'm a little cynical. — **Diane**, white female, age 51-64, food secure
	Environment-focused organization: Organic and health food stores	15 (75%)	• Lack of trust • Ethics: - Corporate power and manipulation - Ecological footprint • Cost • Differing cultural definitions	I think most organic food is a scam. They say it's organic because they don't use pesticides, but they still use petrochemical fertilizers so it's still toxic…I read the labels…Unless you read and really understand it, you think you're buying something that's good for you and it's pure chemicals, sugar, foreign by-product, or just garbage. Green is the new red as far as I'm concerned. It's, "oh, this is for the planet". No, it's for them to take control of us, every aspect of your life…Green is the new moneymaker, it's a big facade. — **Iván**, white male, age 51-64, severely food insecure I cook for myself because I cook the natural food…'Cause I know most of the food that is grown here…they have added chemicals to…So what I buy, I believe is natural food…Those things don't mean anything to us from Africa because you see there, everything is grown naturally, organically. So we don't understand what is the difference. — **Thomas**, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

5.3.4 Disruptions to Sense of Place in the Changing City

Growing wealth gap. In extending the alternative food discussions to broader issues in the changing urban environment, seven participants (35%) made observations of a growing socioeconomic gap and worsening accessibility of essential amenities for low-income populations. For example, Charlene expressed concern over the power dynamics of incoming AFIs, such as community gardens:

> Do they sell it…to make money? Because the ones that sell to make money are the ones that are going to get fired up saying like you know, they're stealing and everything…They're the ones that complain the most. Because money talks and bullshit walks…There's too many people making way too much money and the gap is like, way back when they said there's no middle class…There's nothing to survive on here. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

Figure 5.1 Delineated boundaries between members and non-members at a community garden
Source: photos by Vanessa Ong

Further, while livability and mixed-use development are common planning imperatives, the implementation of higher end housing within underserved areas to address overall city wellbeing has produced controversial social outcomes (August, 2016; Stratopoulous, Divani, & Petrovic, 2019). Multiple residents actually suggested a need for improved affordable housing alongside strategies to address food security. This is understandable as over 6000 people/households are on the waiting list for community housing in the Region of Waterloo, and hundreds are facing chronic homelessness (Canadian Observatory on Homelessness, 2019; Stratopoulous et al., 2019). Thomas shares his improved food security situation upon entering affordable housing:

> I am in community housing, I have come to since last year…But before then rents were too expensive…It's why I used to take most of my money from my cheque and get food…so but now for me, since I'm in community housing, it's less expensive. — Thomas, visible minority: African, male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

Experiences of displacement and unstable essential amenities. Two residents (10%) in this study experienced displacement due to broader socioeconomic forces as well as changes to urban housing and the retail environment. The following anecdotes are indicative of place disruption due to forced relocation:

I was one of the people that got renovicted…renovation-eviction. Their excuse is we gotta renovate your place, get the fuck out…I was 25 years at one place…and they didn't want to do any repairs…The super passed away, they came in and says, okay, we need to do repairs and whatnot…They did that for about a week and after he says…because you didn't cooperate I'm going to say we don't want you as a tenant anymore…I could not fight that, because of the stuff they did not fix when I asked for fixing…We made the mistake about signing for something…I didn't know anything about the law or anything else that they could have done for me…I didn't know what I was doing…So I got screwed for that, and I'm still living the horror nightmare about that. 'Cause I don't have a place anymore, after 25 years, my rent was $660 and they wanted…$850 or something stupid like that. — Charlene, white female in her 40s, severely food insecure

When I moved a year and a half ago…I was in an apartment above a storefront that is now [high end organic grocer]. The owner…bought the building from the previous owner which is a tailor, who's been there for years and years…Because of the sale I was forced to move. My friend…always was like you should take them to court!…I told her through numerous conversations…it was such a great change for me…But due to that, so I had to move, and my rent did go up…This month, and last month, I've just been like, extra broke. And really noticed having to like make everything work and make it happen, and not knowing exactly how. — Henry, white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure

Jane, a friend of Henry's, reflects on the legalities of the scenario and the role of alternative food in spurring these housing pressures:

When they received the notice, it said that the new owner was claiming personal use. But this woman gave an interview to the Record, where she said she was going to use the space to renovate as a kitchen to make bone broth…I said what she's doing is illegal, you should fight it…I think you have a social responsibility…She handed him the notice of eviction in August, saying well you may as well have it…it doesn't come into effect until the first of September and I said, you see what she's doing - the new law…comes into effect the first of September, so she owes you a month's rent…He didn't fight, so he moved…further away from the Downtown, and lasted about a year, the honeymoon…The last time I saw him…he goes, "the penny is kind of dropping". [And] he said, "you know the building I live in is owned by a middle-aged couple, whose mother lives there" and he said, "what if the mother dies?". And I'm thinking, now you're getting it eh? This is not a matter of this happening once, this is the constant chasing. — Jane, white female, age 51-64, moderately food insecure

In another case, Avery contemplates the effects of moving to a neighbouring city for cheaper housing, while still trying to maintain ties to her anchoring community in Kitchener:

They used say Cambridge is cheaper but I don't think its cheaper…you go all the way out there and then you gotta pay all the money to come back for resources…Cambridge is over there and then Kitchener's here… You get cheaper rent…and then you gotta get a bus pass to come all the way back. So now your rent's not cheaper anymore. — Avery, white female, age 29-39, severely food insecure

5.3.5 Exclusion in Planning Processes

Reflecting on housing, the disruptive impact of the LRT development, and other changes to the consumer food environment, four participants (20%) were concerned about the power dynamics of planning processes. When asked about how urban development might affect her food security, Diane expressed concerns for the narrow scope of urban redevelopment in KW:

The LRT, the disruption that it's caused…I think that drove a lot of people to have to search out other [food] venues…It was really, really hard. And that went on for what two years, three years? Yeah, that really impacted a lot of thinking. But what I really get upset with is…I don't know about you, but I saw the big dream planning mockups, and you're going, oh, and there's that smart, urban man with the little briefcase. I don't see the woman with the strollers and the toddlers, the old people with the wheelchairs and mobis.

People with bags and packages and trying to get their groceries and take them home on this transit. I cannot see that being accounted for. And I'm sure you've ridden the bus, you know what it's like. It's very challenging and unhealthy. — Diane, white female, age 51-64, food secure

Figure 5.2 *Duke Street Condos proposed development site and planning mockups ("find culture here")*
Source: photos by Vanessa Ong

Observing the growth in the education and technology sectors, one resident has witnessed a distinct shift in the housing and food retail environment to suit the needs of students and young professionals:

That new tower…it's like all young people in it, then there's an optometry school right across. So that education thing is sort of brought Downtown…Then there's Google behind there, and a couple tech companies which are all the young people…What you don't realize is that you rule the world. The old folks like us control it, but you rule it. Everything is made for you…Five years ago, there weren't half those towers…Like popcorn, pop, pop, pop, pop…And it brings its demands along with it, like the foods. Kids don't eat the kind of foods that I would and I don't eat the foods they would. — Iván, white male, age 51-64, severely food insecure

Robert adds to the subject by offering a critique on planning for diverse community needs and for the well being of all residents, beyond the simplistic approach of mixed housing development:

The cities are requesting that the developers put a certain proportion of development to lower-income rents and stuff like that, but for the most part they're not looking at the holistic picture of the life of the lower-income person…It goes back to again…what is the purpose of city governance? The transit centre…what are they going to do with that? I bet you it's going to end up being a 40-story condo. Does it have other potential that the City could use to make this neighbourhood better, not just for low-income, but for other people… There is the segment of the lower-income people that do not get involved or invest in anything except for survival. And survival is whatever *it* is…So there is…a segment that we probably can't involve, but we still have to, as a society, find a way to include that in our planning. — Robert, white male in his 40s, moderately food insecure

5.3.6 Key Informants' Input on Gentrification, Food, and Equity

The following section provides a summary of key informants' input on AFIs, how urban development has affected social service programming, and recommendations for addressing diverse food and health needs in Kitchener. In

terms of AFI characteristics and matters of equity, all key informants (100%) recognized that structural barriers to participate can be overlooked, including factors like cost, time, and exclusionary dynamics. In line with some residents' lack of trust for certain forms of alternative food, one key informant also suggested that food has become a marketing tool that is part of the gentrification process. Similarly, multiple key informants have witnessed growing interest in AFIs among a very particular demographic:

> I ask people…how they found out about [our program] and they just say, "oh, I just looked it up online"…so it's not necessarily that they already know the [umbrella social service program]…People moving to the area, they might have done a CSA elsewhere…I think our CSA members generally are affluent. — Martina, Manager, urban agriculture project

> They're putting up private property signs, no trespassing…and it's definitely not low-income people who are using those, it's people who have houses and like land and leisure time that they can use, and they're taking previously public space and privatizing it…and it's a closed process ostensibly that's supposed to be open, but it's managed by…the Neighbourhood Association, which is not really probably representative of [the] community necessarily. — Sean, food security services

Two key informants (40%) also specifically recognized how systemic racism and unequal power dynamics might constrain participation in AFIs:

> [The] network of social supports and safety nets that we have in place are woefully inadequate for people who are not able to participate in the job force or who have barriers to employment because…they have credentials outside of Canada, or they are newcomers or part of racialized communities that experience systemic and structural racism that prevents them from using their skills. There are a tremendous wealth of assets, especially food-related ones that low-income racialized populations [in our programs] have…[but] there's no venue for that or no support or ability to access credit markets. — Sean, food security services

On a different strand, an owner of a food store carrying local and organic foods reflects on the ethics of diversifying the store's sourcing by observing the supply at other ethnic food stores:

> We're not trying to cater only to high income folks…We're taking examples from a lot of businesses…ethnic food stores have a lot of affordable prices…I do question, like, is it ethical for me to like, get the same foods as them and bring it downtown?…Is it my place to like, check into those networks and get some foods? But I have decided that we are going to do that. — Alice, Owner, organic food store

Among participants involved in social services, the effects of urban development on programming has been prominent. Key informants view housing and transit as foundational issues that have placed pressure on the budgets of program attendees, disrupted residents' food access, and challenged people's agency over their essential goods and amenities:

> There's only a limited supply of access to the social housing…the waitlist is years long…And when you got the rent prices going up [and] landlords…that are able to update the apartments…now all of a sudden you can charge…quite a few hundred dollars more for the same apartment. Well that person that lived there for, say ten years…they maintain this low rent rate. But now they have no housing and have to find a new apartment, and they can't afford what is available at market rent. — Kim, social services

> Where people live can impact how accessible the program is, as well it can impact how much income they have available to buy food, and therefore impact their need to come here or not…The Downtown is increasingly becoming gentrified…it has really constrained where people are able to live and kind of pushing them out to the periphery, which makes it harder to access services…Then the transit grid and the changes to that over time…there was a bus that went directly across the street from us, but they closed that down…The

logistics [are] quite difficult. You've got to go like 300 metres up the street to get to the bus stop and if you're carrying a lot of heavy food, it's difficult...Even some of the volunteers here, trying to help them puzzle through how they're able to come here now...was quite difficult. — Sean, food security services

Finally, when asked about opinions on strategies or programming that are needed to address diverse food needs and the wellbeing of residents, four key informants (80%) wanted to see structural improvements to basic income, employment opportunities, social safety nets, and recognition of barriers to participate in AFIs, alongside transformative food policy changes:

In the 1980s, Ontario Works was almost comparable to where it is now...So we're looking at [40] years later...and all of the inflation...and we're still giving people approximately the same amount as we were in 1980...And then the market rent [in Kitchener] is one of the fastest growing...but there's nothing to supplement on the other side of that. — Kim, social services

Food banks...make the issue of hunger invisible, because...being able to donate...takes off a lot of the cognitive dissonance that people experience...like, am I implicated in this vast, socially unjust system of exploitation? Oh, I'll just give a can to the food bank and then not think about it anymore...The main focus...increasingly has to be on just advocating for adequate incomes...employment insurance or disability or Ontario Works...but [also] broader sort of justice in terms of...the nature of the capitalist mode that we are deeply embedded into. — Sean, food security services

Under this topic, two key informants (40%) further recognized that listening to, and amplifying, the voices of marginalized groups is crucial to strategic planning around food access and health. Suggestions included progressively creating a language to better communicate across difference, and conducting market research to find out how to support various forms of participation in urban agriculture:

We're really concerned about the lack of understanding of commonalities we live in by different socioeconomic groups, classes. And in small ways, we would like to learn and create a whole new language that we can talk to each other without...blaming...because we're biased in all sorts of directions...So that language, and with removing economic growth from every single strategic direction of the Region...we work towards something that first and foremost takes care of the people and the environment. And economic growth is ensured if we have healthy people and healthy environment. Everything else is just...exploitation and absolutely disruptive for our future. But we don't have language to talk to each other about that. — Sonja, Director, policy/advocacy organization

5.4 Discussion and Future Directions

Overall, this study has addressed how food gentrification is being experienced in the rapidly gentrifying Downtown core of Kitchener, Ontario. To do so, I explored three interrelated questions:

- How might food play a role in the way that longtime residents symbolically, emotionally, and physically build a sense of place in Downtown Kitchener?
- To what extent have residents experienced food gentrification in Kitchener? Do experiences of food gentrification impact residents' sense of place in the City?
- How could alternative food projects address sociospatial equity in their community food work?

Most residents (75%) responded positively about their social interactions and sense of welcomeness at the typical stores from which they procure food, which is indicative of a built sense of belonging. Especially at charitable food organizations, several residents had positive perceptions, built through having regular conversations with staff

and other residents, witnessing commonality and a culture of acceptance, receiving support and guidance on using unfamiliar foods/ingredients, and perceptions of staff dealing with program attendees altruistically. While multiple participants described difficult situations within these environments in light of mental illness, growing signs of drug use, and violence, they demonstrated a sense of rootedness to these communities nonetheless. Reflecting on wider relations, multiple visible minorities enrolled in this study also challenged the parameters around which sense of place might be understood. Through ongoing familial connections, travel, and memories around traditional foods, residents showed that they maintain connectedness to places outside of Kitchener. Their responses demonstrate how home is conceptually a "place of constancy", where one feels a sense of centredness and stability (Eyles & Williams, 2008).

Building on this, there are signs that food gentrification might be happening in Downtown Kitchener and impacting low-income longtime residents' sense of place in a number of ways. Reflecting on community gardens and organic/health food stores especially, residents were concerned about socioeconomic difference, power dynamics and political questions around the meaning of "community", and high costs to participate and reap associated benefits. With regard to new grocers and rapid changes to the housing stock, residents have expressed concerns around exclusion and being "priced out" of the food environment in which they are currently embedded. Key informants involved in the AFM expressed similar concerns around their pricing and even ethical concerns around undercutting ethnic food vendors. In this lens, the language of alternative food appears in contrast to the aspirations of residents amidst urban change. Instead, some residents and key informants suggested that gardens might be a positive complement to broader programs that seek to house, educate, or foster socialization among marginalized residents. This indicates a need to address environmental justice in terms of asking about the complex social, cultural, or financial barriers to participating in AFIs, including how the very design of AFIs might cater to a select demographic.

A highly prevalent theme throughout this study is housing and broader budgetary matters. In two separate cases, food insecurity has been worsened due to housing matters: one longtime resident was displaced from the Downtown due to the purchase of a property by a local/organic grocer, and another longtime resident experienced renoviction after living in an apartment for 25 years. These residents alluded to feeling "at the mercy" of broader economic and political forces, which has impacted their sense of agency around housing and food choices (Desjardins, 2010). These experiences are important as studies have shown the detrimental psychological impacts of relocation in cases of urban renewal (Eyles & Williams, 2008; Fullilove, 2004). Relocations that are involuntary in nature are particularly disruptive as they can overwhelm stability and cause feelings of loss and alienation (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Eyles & Williams, 2008). Described by psychiatrist Fullilove (2004) as "root shock", residents may have a "traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem", otherwise known as their anchoring community (p. 10). This study has brought light to lived experiences of forced relocation, demonstrating its downstream effects on one's income situation, sense of stability, and livelihood.

Taken together, greater representation of low-income voices, especially those who are affected by multiple oppressions, is needed in planning processes. There is a need for anti-displacement policies and equity planning to be taken seriously in the midst of urban development in Kitchener, which is also mindful of the limitations of mixed-housing as a catch-all equity solution. Instead, multiple key informants pointed to the importance of environmental justice to be integrated into policy solutions, in order to recognize the inequitable benefits of incoming food

environment changes, structural barriers to participating in the AFM, and the place-disrupting consequences of gentrification. As residents have also pointed out, city planners must find ways to involve the needs and aspirations of diverse residents, which includes considerations around basic income, employment opportunities, transit, housing options, and changes to food retail. For example, public policy could support the maintenance of industrial lands for working-class employment within the inner city, which acts opposite to the urban trend of attracting the "creative class" to the core (Walks & August, 2008). This would require a complex assessment of tradeoffs between environmental externalities, employment, and local quality of life, as well as consideration for national and federal policy pieces related to the offshore outsourcing of industry (Walks & August, 2008).

The message borne out of this study in Kitchener is that belonging, agency, and connection can be built through food. These stories on exclusion and place-disruption demonstrate how gentrification can have severe consequences to food security and wellbeing, but also illustrate that longtime residents possess innovative urban imaginaries. As the local food environment continues to evolve in Downtown Kitchener, marginalized residents deserve to have their voices amplified in determining the trajectory of development; accordingly, we might discover ways to halt gentrification and allow longstanding communities to maintain a healthy sense of place in the city.

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6.0 Thesis Conclusions

The following section synthesizes findings from both manuscripts to provide recommendations for future directions, both in theory and in practice. These recommendations are fundamentally grounded in the life stories of the longtime, low-income residents who participated in this study, and are guided by the input of the secondary population as well. In addition to reflections from the two manuscripts, recommendations from primary participants were also noted, leading to the creation of four areas of focus: conducting interdisciplinary urban health research through the lens of food gentrification, addressing equity in the AFM, advancing local and national level food policies, and pursuing more equitable forms of food planning.

6.1 Food Environments, Gentrification, and Interdisciplinary Urban Health Research

First, findings from both manuscripts illustrate the significance of pursuing interdisciplinary health research and action by connecting food environment and gentrification inquiries. Some of the major findings related to food gentrification included perceived socioeconomic difference and power asymmetries in new AFIs, financial exclusion from new restaurants and retailers, and complex health issues associated with food access challenges that might be influenced by urban change. From the perspective of food access and public health (Manuscript One), it is crucial to note that many participants are concerned with the changing symbolism attached to once-affordable foods (due to various trends, sustainability concerns, and food environment changes) and rising food prices were a concern for all participants in this study. As poor diet quality is linked to a variety of chronic health conditions, food security is a significant health equity issue. As mentioned, a future study might consider using more sensitive, quantitative tools to assess the diets of longtime, low-income residents, in order to complement subjective stories on food agency and adaptation to changes in the urban food environment. On another level, these research findings also allude to several social and community health questions that might be caused by displacement, including negative psychosocial effects felt by those who faced forced relocation. The severe impacts of forced relocation described in Manuscript Two suggests that there is room to research the food security characteristics and perceived health situation of longtime residents who have specifically faced place disruption in KW.

6.2 Addressing Justice in the Alternative Food Movement

This study offered a broad, open-ended forum for residents to speak on AFIs of their choosing, which led to varying perspectives on alternative food. However, by coding the interview data into positive, negative, or general perspectives on different categories of alternative food, several important insights were gained. As Manuscript Two showed, a number of residents perceived community gardens as positive for mental health and socialization, and several also had positive experiences with community building and healthy food procurement at farmers' markets. However, several criticisms and barriers were also cited with respect to incoming environment-focused organizations and local food organizations. Common themes included a lack of trust and skepticism around the benefits of AFIs, feelings of exclusion or social difference, and a range of logistical challenges to participating like cost, time, transportation, and physical effort. These perspectives were mirrored by an urban agriculture manager involved in this study, who suggested that improved market research is necessary to address logistical challenges with getting involved, and to find out how people wish to engage in their project rather than making assumptions. In other cases,

there are challenging social attitudes and power dynamics to be addressed, in terms of the meanings of *community*, ownership around public space, and the benefit distribution of urban AFIs.

To address some of these social and political challenges, some residents instead suggested uniting AFIs with more comprehensive, socially-minded projects. Applying Freire's concept of conscientização, there is a need to integrate critical consciousness into alternative food work and to engage community food workers in a constant search for political alternatives, allyship, and justice in the food system. This might involve developing skills in personal reflexivity relative to one's involvement in food work, and also building partnerships, engaging, and listening to the aspirations of marginalized communities. For example, Raibert reflected on the intersectional issues faced by some food insecure people, including addictions, mental illness, and social isolation. He suggested that gardening could be integrated into communal tiny housing projects to address multiple community health needs. Another resident, Iván, also suggested that food projects could be more structured in nature, with facilitators helping to engage low-income populations and empowering them to meet their personal goals. As Jack mentioned, the seasonal nature of AFIs must also be addressed in order to give food insecure residents habitual security and information security, when participating in programs that are intended to support their essential needs. Future studies might focus on building understanding on the effectiveness of specific projects or organizations (e.g. CSAs or community gardens), in order to collect a fuller set of interview data on specific AFIs.

6.3 Advancing Priorities for Local and National Food Policies

Reflecting on the recent Food Policy for Canada (2019), this study also gave insight into some of the limitations of the proposed national policy, by shedding light on lived experiences with low income and food insecurity. As mentioned, significant financial resources have been dedicated to agri-food matters such as innovation in food waste management and promoting Canadian agriculture, and 37% of the $134 million Fund is earmarked for community-led initiatives to improve local food infrastructure (Toronto Food Policy Council, 2019). While a portion of resources have been dedicated to addressing food insecurity within Northern indigenous communities, the given Policy otherwise fails to encompass the root causes of food insecurity. Furthermore, while the Kitchener OP is attempting to address equity through planning food outlet distribution, matters of affordability and cultural appropriateness need to be brought to the forefront of food access policy decisions. As emphasized by several participants, food insecurity is deeply entrenched in questions of living wage compared to rising costs of living, complicated power dynamics leading to urban inequality, a lack of affordable housing, and insufficient social supports. Instead, participants cited the need for independence around food choices, which might mean social innovation in terms of addressing affordability of essential goods and services, supporting the creation of data around the benefit of basic income guarantee and moving policies forward on basic income, and addressing the availability of affordable housing in the Downtown core.

Building on Kendall's initial conception of food gentrification ("food being gentrified"), it is crucial to also recognize how racialized populations face different barriers to food security, in order to develop policies that are tailored to diverse food insecure populations (Ross & McAdon, 2018; Howard 2014). While only 30% of residents enrolled in this study identified as visible minorities, their stories distinctly indicated the need for stronger racial justice principles to be integrated in both local and national food policies. Manuscript One illustrated that the

majority of the visible minorities involved in this study have either sacrificed their traditional food practices to maintain a level of food security, or even continue to dedicate significant financial resources to procure increasingly expensive cultural foods. Manuscript Two indicated how meanings of place and cultural foods are closely intertwined for a number of racialized populations, and how connectedness to international places helps to ensure their cultural survival here in KW. These findings emphasize how healthy food access should be understood as culturally-specific, and suggests that culturally-sensitive food policies are needed to address the food needs of new and longtime immigrants, refugees, and other food insecure people of colour.

In terms of a possible shorter-term, localized policy change, multiple residents wanted to see a change in the nutrition and quality of emergency food services as well as more consistent food provision throughout the year. For example, lessons could be taken from a food program called *Loving Spoonful* in Kingston, Ontario, where donated food is upheld to strict standards of nutrition and safety. Combining both environmental and social justice principles, the organization developed a set of "Healthy, Safe Food Donation Guidelines" to help food industries divert food waste while donating good food to residents in need (Loving Spoonful, 2019). Volunteers involved in food reclamation are told explicitly to accept food "only if it is good enough to feed to [their own] family" (Loving Spoonful, 2019). In KW, supermarkets can thus be more attentive to the quality of foods being donated to social service programs and can address the quality and pricing of foods being placed on discount within stores themselves. Clarification around liability policies and educational campaigning could complement these efforts, in order to reduce the culture of fear that exists around donating fresh produce to people in need. While advancing the priorities of the National Food Policy might be a longer term endeavour, improving the quality of food provided through social services could be addressed through local policy change in the meanwhile.

6.4 Pursuing Equitable Food Planning

Continuing on the policy discussion, the interview data also illustrated the importance of addressing food planning strategically and equitably in the Region of Waterloo. The Region of Waterloo should make explicit strides to address food issues in the area, including wealth inequality and affordability, the prevalence of food insecurity, localized food environment issues, cultural food access, and equity matters related to the diet-health link. As discussed by longtime resident, Karen, food planning in KW might benefit from the revival of campaigns like "Do the Math" and "Put Food in the Budget", to explicitly link conversations on basic income guarantee and food security. Alongside these conversations would be a critical examination of the sufficiency of social supports like the Ontario Disability Support Program and Ontario Works at the provincial level, programs that have not evolved to adequately support residents' current cost of living in the context of KW.

At the local scale, equitable food planning might thus involve a combination of diverse policy changes, built/food environment changes, a transformation in social supports, and developing working class employment opportunities. Critically, this must involve (re)placing value and importance on the lives of marginalized residents of KW. As Robert suggested, there is a need for planners and other public servants to address stigmas around low-income people, and to ask how we might plan for different life-ways in KW; this includes questions around what social and material supports are needed by those who face barriers in navigating the food environment to meet their food needs affordably. To accomplish this at the neighbourhood level, citizen science and advocacy groups might

consider pursuing research and campaigning on universal income in relation to food insecurity. On another level, it is important to acknowledge that placemaking infrastructure does not spontaneously improve residents' sense of place. Accordingly, the City might also consider developing guides and toolkits to improve allyship and collaboration with diverse community residents; toolkits must be designed through direct partnership with residents who carry lived experience with racial injustice, poverty, and other forms of marginality. To address the life-ways of diverse populations, barriers to public transit and issues of affordability are also important considerations. Several participants highlighted the need for a larger-selection affordable grocer in Downtown Kitchener, and many also suggested that free transit would be hugely beneficial to the wellbeing of low-income residents. The prevalence of transportation-related issues could also warrant further research on the equity impacts of the LRT on food security and health, including how the transit system supports certain flows of urban social life while inhibiting or neglecting others.

Considering how multiple residents were concerned with the cascading effects of unaffordable housing, including concerns around displacement, pushing for new investment in affordable housing units is also a crucial endeavour. However, as Robert emphasized, the "holistic picture of the life of the lower income person" must be accounted for in planning decisions, beyond requiring developers to build affordable housing units. As one example, the protection of industrial employment lands in the inner city core has been one way to slow the process of gentrification, and can involve simultaneous conversations around equitable planning (Walks & August, 2008). As Walks and August (2008) have discussed in the context of multiple Toronto neighbourhoods that have succeeded in limiting gentrification, municipal policies can be designed to prevent the residentialization of employment lands, and to protect housing from being taken up by the capitalist real estate market. Important equity matters under this policy agenda would thus include the maintenance of working-class employment, assigning roles and responsibilities in mitigating negative environmental externalities from industry, and supporting the maintenance and expansion of non-market forms of housing (Walks & August, 2008). The effectiveness of these strategies necessarily requires revisiting urban design principles and social policy in order for non-market forms of housing (such as housing cooperatives, land trusts, or non-profit housing corporations) to support not only affordability, but also the health and livability of longtime, low-income residents (Condon, 2018).

Finally, the interviews aligned closely with Hamilton's (2012) concept of sites of memory, proving how orality, storytelling, and memory are powerful tools for building commonality and change. Residents reflected deeply on the current world order in comparison to their personal histories, and their memories supplied them with tools to address power asymmetries in the urban food environment. Multiple visible minorities in this study also utilized their subjective concepts of home and alternative geographic reference points to suggest how food justice might be achieved. This included suggestions for building stronger international food networks through policy, providing vouchers to increase the food agency of new immigrants, and developing more affordable fresh food markets. Another common finding from residents' stories was that they were keen to be heard within official planning circles, and to play a role in fostering social and cultural exchange in other informal forums. For example, with regard to coping and adapting to local food environment changes and gentrification, some residents suggested that grocery store tours or online communication forums could be used to help low-income populations strategize around purchasing affordable, healthy foods. On this note, it is important to recognize the work of local forums like the

Social Development Centre's Civic Hub or Disabilities & Human Rights Group, which offer grassroots-led workshops, discussions, consultations, and engagement around a wide range of community issues. In doing so, these forums have cultivated meaningful social action and innovation in KW. Reflecting on participants' stories, further developing space to communicate and innovate across social difference is a crucial effort that could help to address the root problems of food gentrification. Not only does this work require a transformation in the business-as-usual consultation practices conducted by municipal planners, but it also is predicated on changes in attitudes and stigmas around marginalized residents. To extend on the work of this thesis, it would be beneficial to pursue race-based food security data, to help amplify the stories of food insecure, racialized populations specifically. Overall, cross-cultural exchange is a fundamental piece in the design of policies and urban spaces that aim to improve diverse residents' livelihoods and wellbeing.

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Appendix A: Canada Food Policy 2019

We asked Canadians to tell us their views on how to improve our food system. More than 45,000 shared their views, and we listened. Budget 2019 proposes $134.4 million in new investments, on a cash basis, to complement existing initiatives in the following areas of action.

HELP CANADIAN COMMUNITIES ACCESS HEALTHY FOOD

- Critically important for a child's education is ensuring they have healthy meals before and during school. Currently, Canada has a mix of different school breakfast and lunch programs, but much more could be done. Budget 2019 announces the Government's intention to work with provinces and territories towards the creation of a **National School Food Program**.
- **Local Food Infrastructure Fund** — $50 million over five years, starting in 2019-20, in support for infrastructure for local food projects, including at food banks, farmers' markets and other community-driven projects.
- **Buy Canadian Promotion Campaign** — $25 million over five years, starting in 2019-20, for an advertising and marketing campaign to promote Canadian agricultural products, in collaboration with existing branding initiatives.
- **Tackling Food Fraud** — $24.4 million over five years, starting in 2019-20, to enhance federal capacity to detect and take enforcement action against instances of food fraud.

MAKE CANADIAN FOOD THE TOP CHOICE AT HOME AND ABROAD

- **Support for Food Processors** — a commitment to invest an additional $100 million from the Strategic Innovation Fund to support agri-food value added production in Canada.
- More assistance for exporters through the **Export Diversification Strategy** (announced in the 2018 Fall Economic Statement).
- To help the agri-food sector meet Canada's ambitious export targets and attract and retain needed labour, the federal government will launch a **three-year immigration pilot** to bring in full-time, non-seasonal agricultural workers that will include a pathway to permanent residency.

SUPPORT FOOD SECURITY IN NORTHERN AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

- **Harvesters Support Grant** – a new grant to help lower the high costs associated with traditional hunting and harvesting activities, which are an important source of healthy, traditional food (announced in the 2018 Fall Economic Statement).
- **Northern Isolated Community Initiatives Fund** — $15 million over five years, starting in 2019-20, to support community-led projects, with funding for equipment such as community freezers, greenhouses, local food production projects, and skills training for local and Indigenous food producers.

REDUCE FOOD WASTE

- **Food Waste Reduction Challenge** — $20 million over five years, starting in 2019-20, to create a new challenge with funding awarded for the most innovative food waste reduction proposals in three sectors: 1) food processing; 2) grocery retail; and 3) food service.
- **Federal Leadership in Food Waste Reduction** — the Government will refocus $6.3 million in existing resources over five years, starting in 2019-20, to set new ambitions to lower its own food waste by developing new plans to support federal employees and facilities in reducing their food waste, and to launch a National Food Waste Reduction Forum.

Appendix B: Recruitment Contacts and Timeline

Recruitment Strategies and Timeline					
Date(s)	Organization/Contact	Task/ Recruitment Strategy	Target Population	Completed?	Interviews Scheduled ?
Feb 27, 2019 - Mar 1, 2019	N/A	a. Print recruitment posters b. Draft emails to service provider contacts (Appendix B)	Residents (primary population), service providers (secondary population)		
Mar 4, 2019	Service Provider Survey Recruitment: Contact List (Appendix B)	Send contacts the Web Survey Recruitment Email (Appendix A: A1)	Service providers (secondary population)	Rescheduled	

Mar 4, 2019 - Mar 9, 2019	*First priority organizations:*
	- House of Friendship
	  - Admin Office 51 Charles St E - Mar 7
	- CMHA Waterloo-Wellington - Mar 7
	- Kitchener-Waterloo Multicultural Centre - Mar 7 - send online
	- Social Development Centre Waterloo Region - Mar 7 - VISIT - Apr 9 - EMAIL
	- The Working Centre - Mar 7
	  - QSC - Mar 7
	- Downtown Community Centre - City of Kitchener - Mar 7
	- Ray of Hope Community Centre - Mar 7
	- Kitchener Public Library - Mar 8
	- Kitchener Downtown Community Health Centre - Mar 8
	- YWCA 153 Frederick - Mar 8
	- Community Justice Initiatives - Mar 8 - n/a
	- The Working Centre
	  - St John's Kitchen - Mar 8
	  - Fresh Ground - Mar 8 - n/a
	- Lutherwood - Mar 8
	- House of Friendship
	  - Food Hamper 807 Guelph St - Mar 8 - n/a
	- YMCA Immigrant and Employment Services - Mar 13
	- Marillac Place - Mar 16
	- John Howard Society - Mar 16
	- Central Fresh - Mar 16
	- Reception House - Mar 18 - n/a
	- Independent Living Centre - Mar 18
	- Kitchener Housing Inc - Mar 18 - followup? - done
	- Kitchener City Hall - Mar 18
	- Region of Waterloo Public Health - Mar 19
	- The Green Door - Mar 19 - n/a
	- Carizon Family and Community Services - Mar 19
	- KW Counselling Services - Mar 19
	- Thrift on Kent - Mar 19 - n/a
	- KW Habilitation - Mar 19 (Jenny)
	- Thresholds Homes and Supports - Mar 20
	- Kitchener Housing Inc. -
	- Our Place Family Resource & Early Years Centre - Mar 13
		In-person: directly consult organizations and receive approval to hang up poster
		
		Print2Go:
		- Mar 7: ten (11) posters
		- Mar 8: four (5) posters
		- Mar 9: four (4) posters
		20 copies total
		
		- 20 square posters
		10 copies total
			Residents (primary population)		

	Race-Based Data? ˜ SMK African Foods - <u>Mar 26</u> ˜ BT Supermarket- <u>Mar 26</u> ˜ New City Supermarket - <u>Mar 26</u> ˜ Mi Tienda ˜ Coalition of Muslim Women - <u>Apr 8 - EMAIL; x - VISIT</u> ˜ Muslim Social Services KW - <u>Apr 8 - EMAIL; x - VISIT</u> ˜ ACCKWA - <u>Apr 9 - EMAIL; x- VISIT</u> ˜ A to Z - <u>Apr 8</u> ˜ Centre for Community Research - <u>Apr 9 - EMAIL; x - VISIT</u> ˜ Anishnaabe Outreach - March 22 - 1 ˜ Healing of the Seven Generations - <u>March 22</u> - 2 ˜ Ahwenehaode Indigenous Justice; Waterloo Region Community Legal Services - <u>March 22</u> - 3 ˜ Waterloo Indigenous Student Centre - <u>Apr 9 - EMAIL; x -</u> <u>VISIT</u> ˜ Mauritas - <u>Mar 20?</u> ˜ Kitchener Market - <u>Mar 20</u> ˜ The Causerie - <u>Apr 9 -FB MESSAGE</u> ˜ Community Housing Access Centre? - ˜ Supportive Housing Waterloo - <u>Mar</u> ˜ Victoria Place? ˜ Bridges to Health Women's Day Treatment HoF - Apr 25 ˜ Bread and Roses Co-op - ˜ Willowside Housing Co-op ˜ Central Ontario Co-op Housing Federation - ˜ Victoria Hills Community Centre - <u>Mar 13</u> ˜ Food Bank of Waterloo Region - <u>Mar 13 - n/a</u> *Second priority organizations:* ˜ Kitchener Parent Child Resource Centre - <u>Mar</u> ˜ Region of Waterloo Public Health and Emergency Services ˜ Salvation Army 300 Gage5197454215 ˜ Sadaqat Halal *Emails* ˜ LSPIRG ˜ WPIRG ˜ Food Not Bombs ˜ Waterloo Bail Program ˜ Marillac Place ˜ KW Community Foundation ˜ oneROOF Youth Services				
Mar 11, 2019 - Mar 15, 2019	Service Provider Survey Recruitment: Contact List (Appendix B)	Email contacts the Follow-Up Email (Appendix A: A2)	Service providers (secondary population)	Rescheduled	
Mar 11, 2019 - Mar 15, 2019		In-person: directly consult organizations and receive approval to hang up poster	Residents (primary population)	Rescheduled	
Mar 18, 2019 - March 23, 2019	Start with first priority organizations followed by second priority organizations	Targeted emails to direct contacts or in-person contact to get assistance with recruitment **if needed**	Residents (primary population)		
April 2019	Service Provider Survey Recruitment: Contact List (Appendix B)	Send contacts Survey Closure Email (Appendix A: A3)	Service providers (secondary population)		

Appendix C: 3-Stage Interview Guide

<u>1. Demographic Survey</u>

Gender	o Female o Male o Other o Prefer not to specify
Age	o 18-28 o 29-39 o 40-50 o 51-64 o 65+
Highest level of education attained	o Elementary school o High school (secondary school) diploma or equivalent o Bachelor's degree or college diploma o Master's degree or doctorate o Not applicable
Household size and children	Total number of people: _____ Total number of children (under 18 yrs): _____ Ages of children: _____
The term *visible minority* is used in Canada for employment equity purposes and has helped to understand ethnic diversity in Ontario: **Do you identify as a visible minority*?**	o Yes o No o Unsure **The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour". The visible minority population consists mainly of the following groups: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese*
What is your ethnic or cultural identity?	_____
How many years have you lived in Kitchener-Waterloo?	_____ years

2. CCHS Household Food Security Survey Module

The following questions are about the food situation for your household in the past 12 months.

* Q1.[20] **Which of the following statements best describes the food eaten in your household in the past 12 months, that is since [current month] of last year?**

1.   You [and other household members] always had enough of the kinds of food you wanted to eat.
2.   You [and other household members] had enough to eat, but not always the kinds of food you wanted.
3.   Sometimes you [and other household members] did not have enough to eat.
4.   Often you [and other household members] didn't have enough to eat.
– Don't know / refuse to answer **(Go to end of module)**

20 Question Q1 is not used directly in determining household food security status.

STAGE 1: Questions 2–6 - ask all households

Now I'm going to read you several statements that may be used to describe the food situation for a household. Please tell me if the statement was <u>often true</u>, <u>sometimes true</u>, or <u>never true</u> for you and other household members in the past 12 months.

* **Q2. The first statement is: you [and other household members] worried that food would run out before you got money to buy more. Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true in the past 12 months?**

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true
3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

* **Q3. The food that you [and other household members] bought just didn't last, and there wasn't any money to get more. Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true in the past 12 months?**

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true
3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

* **Q4. You [and other household members] couldn't afford to eat balanced meals. In the past 12 months was that often true, sometimes true, or never true?**

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true
3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

**IF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN HOUSEHOLD, ASK Q5 AND Q6;
OTHERWISE skip to first-level screen.**

Now I'm going to read a few statements that may describe the food situation for households with children.

Q5. You or other adults in your household relied on only a few kinds of low-cost food to feed the children because you were running out of money to buy food. Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true in the past 12 months?

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true

3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

Q6. You or other adults in your household couldn't feed the children a balanced meal, because you couldn't afford it. Was that often true, sometimes true, or never true in the past 12 months?

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true
3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

---

* FIRST-LEVEL SCREEN (screener for Stage 2):
If AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE to ANY ONE of Q2–Q6 (i.e. "often true" or "sometimes true") OR response [3] or [4] to Q1, then continue to
STAGE 2.
OTHERWISE skip to end.

STAGE 2: Questions 7-11 - ask households passing the First-Level Screen

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IF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN HOUSEHOLD, ASK Q7;
OTHERWISE skip to Q8.

Q7. The children were not eating enough because you or other adults in your household just couldn't afford enough food. Was that often, sometimes or never true in the past 12 months?

1. Often true
2. Sometimes true
3. Never true
– Don't know / refuse to answer

The following few questions are about the food situation in the past 12 months for you or any other adults in your household.

Q8. In the past 12 months, since last [current month] did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No (**GO TO Q9**)
– Don't know / refuse to answer

> **Q8b. How often did this happen?**
> 1. Almost every month
> 2. Some months but not every month
> 3. Only 1 or 2 months
> – Don't know / refuse to answer

Q9. In the past 12 months, did you (personally) ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money to buy food?
1. Yes
2. No
– Don't know / refuse to answer

Q10. In the past 12 months, were you (personally) ever hungry but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?
1. Yes
2. No
– Don't know / refuse to answer

Q11. In the past 12 months, did you (personally) lose weight because you didn't have enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No

– Don't know / refuse to answer

STAGE 3: Questions 12–16 - ask households passing the Second-Level Screen

Q12. In the past 12 months, did you or other adults in your household ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No **(IF CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN HOUSEHOLD, ASK Q13; OTHERWISE skip to end)**
– Don't know / refuse to answer

> **Q12b. How often did this happen?**
> 1. Almost every month
> 2. Some months but not every month
> 3. Only 1 or 2 months
> – Don't know / refuse to answer

Now, a few questions on the food experiences for children in your household.

Q13. In the past 12 months, did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of any of the children's meals because there wasn't enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No
– Don't know / refuse to answer

Q14. In the past 12 months, did any of the children ever skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No (**GO TO Q15**)
– Don't know / refuse to answer

> **Q14b. How often did this happen?**
> 1. Almost every month
> 2. Some months but not every month
> 3. Only 1 or 2 months
> – Don't know / refuse to answer

Q15. In the past 12 months, were any of the children ever hungry but you just couldn't afford more food?
1. Yes
2. No
– Don't know / refuse to answer

Q16. In the past 12 months, did any of the children ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know / refuse to answer

End of module.

3. Interview Questions

Theme	Interview Question

Food Environments & Health	Can you tell me about the places where you primarily buy food in this community?
	    Probes:
	    * a.What are the specific places you shop at?
	    * b. How frequently do you shop at x, y, z?

Culturally specific foods: food items that are appropriate to the cultural/ethnic background that you identify with; foods that you might have grown up with as a child	What are the foods and/or drinks you choose to buy at these stores? Why are these foods important to you?
	    Probes:
	    * a. Are there any culturally-specific foods that are important to you? If so, what is your experience in obtaining those?
	    * b. Are there foods or drinks that you want that you cannot get in this area?
	
	Do you consider your diet to be healthy?
	    Probe:
	    * a. What does 'healthy' mean to you in terms of food/diet?
	    * b. How difficult/easy is it for you to acquire and prepare healthy foods?
	
	What do you like about the food stores in this community?
	    Probe:
	    a. What do you think about:
	    Service? Safety? Accessibility?
	    * b. Is there anything that you don't like?

Places	Narrowing in a little more, what are the factors that drive you to return to shop at x, y, z?
	
	How do you feel about your social interactions at x, y, z?
	    a. With the service staff?
	    b. With the other customers?
	
	Do you feel 'welcome' during your food shopping experiences?
	    Probe:
	    Are you treated with respect? Do you feel valued? Would you feel comfortable seeking help from another person in the store?
	
	Do you purchase any of your food from *organic, health, or 'natural'* food stores? (e.g. Fiddleheads, Full Circle)
	    a. If yes: do you feel 'welcome' during your shopping experience? Why or why not?
	    b. If no: do you feel 'welcome' to go and shop at these stores?
	        b1. If yes: why do you still not shop at these stores?
	        b2: If no: why?

Community Change & Food	Has your cost of rent or any other regular payments changed over the years? Has this affected the types of foods you choose to purchase?
	
	During your time in this community, have there been changes to the *places* where you purchased your food?
	    Probe: For example:
	    Consumer culture? Quality of service? Store closures?
	
	Have there been changes in the *food itself* at these places?
	    Probe: For example:
	    Food prices? Food quality? Food selection?

In recent years, government organizations and non-profits are showing increased support for the 'sustainable' food movement - we see this through supportive policies for urban agriculture, community gardens, 'edible' public spaces (e.g. Sandhills Park and Elmdale Park) etc.	Do you participate in any sustainable food projects? Why or why not?
	    Probe:
	    a. For example:
	    Participating in a community garden? Volunteering at a market garden? Using edible public spaces?
	    * b. As someone who identifies as low income, do you think that low income populations benefit from these projects? Why or why not?
	
	Do any *local* food retailers support your personal or household food needs? Why or why not?
	    Probe: For example:
	    Community shared agriculture? Community gardens? Local farmers' markets? A personal backyard garden? Retailers e.g. Legacy Greens, Full Circle?

Theme	Interview Question
Reflections	Do you have any other thoughts about how urban development has affected your food habits/ household food situation? What do you want to see come out of this research? Do you have any recommendations related to improving the wellbeing of local residents in face of urban change?

Appendix D: Reflexive Journal Entries

Wednesday, January 30, 2019

I am feeling refreshed by the writings of Sylvia Hamilton, which I discovered from Ted Rutland and his talk at the University on racism and planning in the context of Nova Scotia. Hamilton has written on blackness, space and temporariness, and her work may help to integrate issues of oppression as it relates to place making in a Canadian context. She is focused on poetry, orality, and story telling, and I'm feeling positive about how it might relate to critical food work.

Friday, February 1, 2019

As I work through my methodology, I'm thinking more and more of the value of triangulation as a way to combine both transformative and pragmatic approaches to my work. I want to be reflective, to pursue ongoing growth, and constant learning in my alternative food activism (especially with my not-for-profit, Littlefoot Community Projects). I love this concept of scholarly activism…to be engaged and grounded in the practical aspects of my academic and philosophical values, and to acknowledge that activism should be in flux as learning grows. The potential in Tornaghi's concept critical praxis is so huge.

Monday, February 4, 2019

I am feeling overwhelmed by the theory and philosophy that backs my research. There is always more to read. I'm aiming to finish my rough methodology by February 6 but I know that I need to write out notes on all my theories more fully prior to my thesis defence…I want to understand these concepts in depth, independent of their application to my research, in order to articulate their validity and value.

Wednesday, February 20, 2019

I have been feeling sluggish post-vacation but I am determined to finish my introduction section b the end of the month. I have heard from ethics (Erin) and I expect to call to chat about my application tomorrow. I'm hoping for my motivation to build.

Thursday, February 21, 2019

I received my review from ethics back and I'm feeling sad about the need for revisions. I understand that the HHFSM is sensitive in nature and I likely should have included more procedures to ensure that the participants feel comfortable to share or not share about their lives, and to seek help as needed. I'll likely compile a list of mental health resources and emergency food resources for those who might become distressed by sensitive conversations as well. Back to the edits I go.

Friday, February 22, 2019

Need to clarify some details with Erin to ensure we are on the same page about some ethics topics she introduced. In terms of writing my introduction - phew - I am overwhelmed. Possibly it'd be nice to talk to Leia to establish the scope and boundaries of this section.

Wednesday, February 27, 2019

One thought for today is that for the Kitchener food environment context (alternative food), it might be a good idea to chart locations and projects to get a sense of the breadth of different type of initiatives, according to the different categories I found in my literature review. This could serve my intro well.

Thursday, February 28, 2019

I'm attending the Environmental Data Justice webinar tonight and I'm really hoping it will help to inform my research approach, in terms of methodology, security, and sensitivity toward data use and retention. I truly want to respect participants' stories in terms of environmental justice and social justice and I understand that allyship requires unforced reciprocity and the building of trust.

NOTES
- Opportunity for activists to collaborate, first online event
- EJ is about marginalized population disproportionately affected by environmental impacts; data justice includes digital justice, indigenous data governance, data harms, algorithmic inequality, and tech redlining
- Kristyn Sonnenburg, Detroit Community Tech Project
  - Equitable internet initiative to address digital privacy, resilience planning etc.
- Desi Rodriguez Lonebear - committed to creating data warriors among indigenous peoples, data collected for their aspirations and wellbeing
  - Data equity and sovereignty seen as crucial
  - Data revolution taking place, paving indigenous futures for indigenous peoples
  - Acknowledge empirical practice and expertise of indigenous peoples
  - Scarce data collected by indigenous peoples themselves - issues of mistrust and irrelevance prevalent
  - Address the RIGHT of indigenous peoples and nations to govern the collection, ownership, and application of their own data (SOVEREIGNTY)
  - Knowledge seen as belonging to the collective
- Nasma Ahmed involved in alternative urban futures to recognize data justice, sex work, learn from each other
- Q&A SESSION:
  - data should be seen as nation specific, collaboration concept is weak so there is a need for partnership; talk about consultation - see it as reciprocal; not just about consulting

- Critical to survival; reclaim; re-envision; clash with the colonial so must rebuild ways of knowing and being
  - For NON indigenous peoples: ASK how we can help; has to be led by indigenous peoples; difficult but beautiful and necessary
- See Anti Eviction Mapping Project critical cartography to map out evictions: rented out and evictions to create profit; asks who people are being evicted by and map it out; observe racial lines of displacement too

I have so much to reflect on regarding partnerships, asking participants questions, and archiving data.

Monday, March 4, 2019
TORONTO OISE, NEXUS LOUNGE
JOIN THE CONVERSATION: MENTAL HEALTH WORKSHOP, BEE QUAMIE
- "What does it meant to take this land acknowledgement into action?"
- BEE:
  - Freelance writer, panelist on CBC - the Cultured SHow
  - Health science background and blogger
  - Drunk feminist films
- "Caring for myself is not self indulgence, it is self preservation, and that is an act of political warfare"
  - Audre Lorde, a black queer woman
  - Come away from the consumption aspect…how do we recentre ourselves?
- "Misogynoir" - Moya Bailey speaking on antiblack racism combined with misogyny and oppression
- Chloe Cooley: an enslaved woman, Upper Canada
  - Forced on a boat and sold, believed she did tnot end up going to NY
  - Lieutenant General starts a wave of of antislavery law
- Peggy Pompadour: an enslaved woman in the Toronto area, Peter Russell her 'owner'
  - King Edward Hotel above the jail where slaves and tenants were imprisoned

- GENERATIONAL TRAUMA AND TRANSFERS
- Trauma CAN change GENES
- Holocaust survivors compared to Vietnam veterans: absorption of trauma is real - interpretation of violence and threat
- Slave disorder - PTSD
- West Indian Policy to bring Caribbean single woman domestics: How black mothers say I love you - speaks to gaps of mothership
  - Different wave of Phil. women now
- "How are we providing culturally competent mental health care?"
  - e.g. relevance to people coming from war torn countries?
  - NOT enough to just say you are here and you are safe - how do we ensure we are healthy and whole?

- The function, the very serious function of racism is distraction re: proving yourself to those who are racist (Toni Morrison)
  - "there will always be one more thing"
- GLASS CLIFF THEORY
  - Replacing the white man CEO during turbulent times with their polar opposite, providing zero supports, and watching this optically different individual fall of the cliff
  - Reaffirms that the minority should not be in power
  - It is NOT just in your head
- School to prison pipeline: well documented in US int erms of racism in schools, institutionally embedded; becomes pattern
  - We NEED more race based data in Canada
- Think about the 'police talk' black parents must have with young black children
  - this is entrenched in mental health problems
- PODCAST: Intersectionality matters
- Even when people are well meaning, racism seeps into everything
TROPES AND STEREOTYPES AND MISOGYNOIR
- Sapphire, angry black, strong, mami,… feeds into mental health issues
- E.g. the strong black single woman handling everything; she doesn't need anything - what if you do need help as a black woman?
- Takeaway: SAY their name, empower by acknowledging these above people
- There are odd corners for black women: they are against white femininity and also unloyal to black men

RESILIENCE
- Accessibility of help? cost barriers; priority people; physical resources and availability
- What happens when your depression and anxiety does not appear like others? other mainstream forms?
- Can be very similar with men who do not show emotion; seek help
- Diversity in mental health profession crucial
- Be open to multipronged approaches

ALLYSHIP
- Create space: no one is voiceless: you do not need to speak on behalf of others
- ARUNDHATI ROY: using your voice is important
- Taking care of yourself is an act of political warfare - the system is not set up to allow this!

Tuesday, March 5, 2019
I'm feeling curious and motivated to prepare recruitment materials in accordance with my experiences with the environmental justice and mental health workshops. First and foremost, I want to create space to listen to stories and be a simple medium through which voices can be shared. I am also so intrigued by this concept of caring for self as a form of self preservation…as a person of colour, acknowledging my history in all of it's shame, sadness, loss…can help me to appreciate it more, to fight for my culture's survival. In all, I know it will be so crucial to pursue (and not assume) partnership and allyship in my research…I am working on getting into this mindset for my primary research.

Friday, March 8, 2019
Postering has generally been well received by organizations, lots of them complementing the research and saying it "looks like a good one". A suggestion that I got is to go to churches and supportive housing.

Monday, March 11, 2019
I'm leaning toward the use of pseudonyms over alphanumeric codes after doing some research on the value in using a name. On a simple level, it allows me to employ a more personal writing style, but there is also psychological meaning to naming interviewees. "How do we name people respectfully" - a thought that I am loving to engage with right now. Rather than being a paternalistic research allocating names or numbers, I want to allow participants to be part of the naming process. They can know themselves in the final research project, and can visibly see their contributions to the work. More on this can be sought in the Allen & Wiles article, "A rose by any other name". Names are cultural and political, and allowing one to name oneself can be a learning process in itself.

Thursday, March 14, 2019
I've started a few interviews at this point - Sometimes participants go on (seemingly) unrelated tangents and talk for a while. Some of them seem to appreciate having someone to talk to. I listen patiently and with a genuine heart, because I care to connect. But I've also been reading these long excerpts and have begun to see their utility in producing knowledge in this topic area too. I'm learning that there is purpose to every story, whether or not they seem to align perfectly with the initial interview questions. They have meaning, and they are expressive of the participant's worldviews and sense of identity - in itself, that is of value.

Wednesday, March 13, 2019
Decision: integrate a break into my interview schedule. Schedule interviews in the near future to have some room to breathe!

Friday, March 15, 2019
I've entered a slow phase of interviews and I'm rethinking recruitment strategies…how do I include a more diverse crowd in terms of different housing situations, racial/ethnic backgrounds, income stability etc.?

Tuesday, March 19, 2019
Will need to consider alternative recruitment methods like snowball sampling and the assistance of organizations…possibly even contacting social service providers directly, according to my contact list.

Also, I attended an event in commemoration of the Elimination of Racism - some important concepts:
- South African apartheid policy was actually based on Canadian Indigenous law (shame)
- We are a society of polite racists
- I need to reflect on the NEED or race based data and equity based data in public health, planning, and food…it is lacking, and crucial ("no data, no problem") ie. we need equity based positive data and not just data that reinforces a negative outcome on certain racialized people
- "Allyship is not performative…I don't need to hear about it after" (Lori Campbell)
- What is the impact of a land acknowledgment - establish positionality but also MUST enact change

Wednesday, April 10, 2019
I am embarrassed, sad, and angry today. From the beginning, I felt that soliciting in community spaces was not an appropriate method of recruitment - I understood how it can bring discomfort to people who are in vulnerable life situations. However, my experience at St. John's Kitchen today required a whole different level of mindfulness and self awareness. Through snowball sampling, I organized a meeting with a resident who frequents St. John's and they consented to speak with me in person so long as I meet them in person at the Kitchen. I got a rough description of the individual but it was a challenge given the number of people at the Kitchen. I asked some people if they knew of this person, which eventually led me to speak a social worker working there. "I don't know who you are and why you're here," they said to me in an aggravated tone. I understood the hostility, and responded apologetically, sharing that I had a prearranged meeting with this person for a food interview. I peeked over at the desk in the office and saw that my recruitment poster had been removed from last month; even though I did get permission to make the posting, I suppose it wasn't well received. The social worker asked me to just leave a note for them…I knew the note wouldn't get to the individual.

I decided to take a seat and look around for someone that matched the description that I got from my previous interviewee. Some time passed and I bumped into a friend, which warmed my heart - I sat with this older gentlemen and we got to catch up. I was confronted yet again…I suppose we were an odd pair. This time the person who approached me was more understanding, simply checking in to ensure that I was not recruiting people for my study. They saw very clearly that I was just chatting with a friend. My friend chuckled, saying, "maybe they were thinkin' you were trying to get me to do your study!". I was embarrassed. In that moment of sitting there with my friend, I realized that the simple act of not eating a meal was probably suspicious, but I wasn't hungry so I went to grab a cup of coffee.

I'm shy, I'm thoughtful. I didn't wear flashy clothes. I had my cellphone tucked away in my backpack. But I realize I am also relatively young compared to those who frequent the Kitchen and I was an unfamiliar face. The social worker hinted at the fact that in the past they've had weasle-y people come in, threatening the security and safety of people at the Kitchen. It does urge me to think through the role of researchers in society and to question the disproportionate benefits of this work - do I gain most by being able to complete my degree? What is the purpose of this work?

This experience brought to light that you cannot simply talk your way into a position of trust. I was a new face looking for a specific individual, and this made me highly suspicious. I was definitely angry that even after explaining where I came from with the social worker, that I couldn't find any sense of understanding. But reflecting on this, it mostly makes me sad that there are manipulative people out there that turn these social workers and volunteers to become so unrelentingly protective. Social activism is an ongoing process though, I know that now more than ever.

Thursday, April 11, 2019
I was disheartened by yesterday, but my previous interviewee (an active community member) offered to come to the Kitchen with me to connect with their friends who might be interested in the study. Again, we were confronted by the same social worker. Despite them knowing my previous interviewee, the two got into a heated conversation. The social worker came under the impression that we were pressuring an individual to participate, but they were a friend and were actually very willing to speak with me. They whispered, "I would have liked to talk but [the social worker] has done so much for me and I don't want to make her mad". I was understanding, and just explained that I only wanted to give the option to reach out to me and participate if they expressed interest. I thanked them and returned to have lunch with my old friend who was there again. I admit, I expressed real anger toward the social worker this time around. This individual was intrigued by the study and may have wanted to share their experiences. They worried that by speaking to me, they would threaten their relationship with the social worker. I understand being protective, but I felt in this situation that a line had been crossed with speaking on someone else's behalf.

This second time around, I concluded my presence to be a problem for the social worker, and I decided not to return to St. John's anymore. I wrote to my previous interviewee the next day, "Hey [interviewee], I was thinking to maybe take a break from St. John's for a little bit. I tried to communicate that my intention was not to recruit participants but I can really sense their lack of trust. I know that they're being protective but I see that they aren't believing my word when I'm saying that I'm not recruiting random people. Even when I was just chatting with my friend…I was questioned. Anyway, I'm just feeling uneasy being watched by the staff, so I think it's best to just stay away for a while. I really appreciate all of your help, I've been able to connect with so many people" (Friday, April 12, 2019).

Thursday, June 6, 2019
Dovetail has been a hugely beneficial app to work with…may be useful to purchase for a month extra to compile, tag, and trace patterns in the data

Sunday, July 21, 2019
There appears to be a sense of understanding by social service providers on these issues, showing that possibly there are broader political and administrative challenges to implementing meaningful ideas. Sometimes they spoke in ideals of what might work rather than addressing fundamental changes in their organizational structure or policies…we need to find a way for action to match reflection on these issues. Sometimes I scoffed in my head at certain comments e.g. about local food being available and accessible, but I realize that in reality we need to be able to communicate the level of difference that exists in this community, and how accessibility is not for middle- to upper-class people to decide.

Saturday, August 3, 2019
I have been feeling overwhelmed by the task of balancing not-for-profit work, employment, and research…As I prepare to go to vacation, I have to let myself relax while also using my time wisely.

Monday, August 5, 2019
I was feeling nervous as I entered the Social Development Centre, recognizing that they are very well-versed in my topic of study. I felt juvenile asking about how gentrification affected their organization, knowing well that their work has revolved around these topics for many years now. I was relieved by how brief the conversation was able to be. I felt embarrassed at multiple points but in my discomfort there was learning. I know that I felt external to the grassroots…need to aim to stay rooted.

Tuesday, August 13, 2019
Coding the transcripts has been a complex, iterative, highly time intensive task. I've been using concept mapping to help think through my themes and categories and to rearrange or even eliminate codes — as Leia suggested, opening up the codes into an open sea, in order to see them unconstrained by my previous assumptions about where they fit best

Monday, November 11, 2019
I want to centralize the voices of my participants in designing the future directions section, so I have decided to take notes on their recommendations, to reflect upon and categorize into themes…My reflections on the two manuscripts will guide the discussion, but I want to ensure that their advice is solidly communicated in the end. This is fundamental to the transformative and pragmatic underpinnings of my study.

Thursday, November 14, 2019
I have been reflecting a lot on being out of touch with my research participants. Throughout the summer I did try to connect with several of them, to even see them in social situations. Given my busyness, it just didn't happen. I've messaged one of the participants several times, but sometimes it feels forced. I think these feelings point to self-doubts in my research process, and feeling like I am not thoroughly respecting the traditions of participatory action/collaborative research. When I finalize my results I think it will be a good time to reconnect and share my work with the participants to receive their thoughts and feedback.

Appendix E: Primary Population Descriptive Statistics

Table 5.4 *Descriptive statistics of the primary population (N=20)*	
Characteristic	**N (%)**
Gender	
Female	8 (40)
Male	12 (60)
Age	
18-28	0 (0)
29-39	2 (10)
40-50	7 (35)
51-64	9 (45)
65+	2 (10)
Education	
Elementary school	0 (0)
High school diploma or equivalent	6 (30)
Post-secondary degree	13 (65)
Graduate degree	1 (5)
Household size	
One person	10 (50)
Two people	7 (35)
Three or more people	3 (15)
Visible minority status	
Visible minority	6 (30)
Not a visible minority	14 (70)
Years residing in Kitchener-Waterloo	
Five to nine years	6 (30)
10 to 14 years	0 (0)
15 to 19 years	2 (10)
20 or more years	12 (60)

Appendix F: HFSSM Results

Questions	Food secure households	Moderately food insecure households	Severely food insecure households	All respondents
"In the past 12 months…"	n=3 N (%)	n=7 N (%)	n=10 N (%)	n=20 N (%)
Adult				
1. You and other household members worried that food would run out before you got money to buy more.	2 (66.7)	5 (71.4)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
2. The food that you and other household members bought just didn't last, and there wasn't any money to get more.	0	4 (57.1)	10 (100.0)	14 (70.0)
3. You and other household members couldn't afford to eat balanced meals.	1 (33.3)	6 (85.7)	10 (100.0)	17 (85.0)
4. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of your meals or skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
5. How often did this happen?	0	5 (71.4)	8 (80.0)	13 (65.0)
6. Did you (personally) ever eat less than you felt you should because there wasn't enough money to buy food?	0	3 (42.9)	10 (100.0)	13 (65.0)
7. Were you (personally) ever hungry but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?	0	2 (28.6)	9 (90.0)	11 (55.0)
8. Did you (personally) lose weight because you didn't have enough money for food?	0	0	6 (60.0)	6 (30.0)
9. Did you or other adults in your household ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
10. How often did this happen?	0	0	4 (40.0)	4 (20.0)
Child				
11. You or other adults in your household relied on only a few kinds of low-cost food to feed the children, because you were running out of money to buy food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
12. You or other adults in your household couldn't feed the children a balanced meal, because you couldn't afford it.	0	1 (14,3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
13. The children were not eating enough because you or other adults in your household just couldn't afford enough food.	0	1 (14.3)	1 (10.0)	2 (10.0)
14. Did you or other adults in your household ever cut the size of any of the children's meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	1 (10.0)	1 (5.0)
15. Did any of the children ever skip meals because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0
16. How often did this happen?	0	0	0	0
17. Were any of he children ever hungry but you just couldn't afford more food?	0	0	0	0
18. Did any of the children ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?	0	0	0	0

Results: Adults
Food secure: 3
Food insecure (moderate): 7
Food insecure (severe): 9

Results: Children
Food secure: 0
Food insecure (moderate): 2
Food insecure (severe): 0

Appendix G: Primary Population Information Consent

Title of the study: Analyzing long-time resident perceptions of food gentrification in Kitchener-Waterloo

Principal Investigator/Faculty Supervisor:
Leia Minaker
School of Planning
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Student Investigator:
Vanessa Ong
School of Planning
Faculty of Environment
University of Waterloo
905-330-8003, v2ong@uwaterloo.ca

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the study is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask one of the investigators prior to consenting to the study. You will be provided with a copy of the information and consent form if you choose to participate in the study.

What is the study about?
You are invited to participate in a research study about the relationship between food and urban development in the context of Kitchener-Waterloo. The purpose of this study is to understand whether 'sustainable' food projects (including: community gardens, organic and natural food, and farmers' markets) contribute to changing the local community culture and the displacement of low-income residents. Specifically this study seeks to better understand residents' food shopping experiences and opinions on these new food projects.

Past research has shown that environmental sustainability efforts have at times led to negative effects in low-income, mixed-race neighbourhoods. For example, green space renewal in some neighbourhoods has been associated with further urban development, an increase in property prices, and displacement of vulnerable residents. However, little work has been done to understand how sustainable food projects can contribute to these processes, as well as residents' adaptation behaviours in response.

This study is being undertaken as part of my (Vanessa Ong) Master's research. I plan to combine my literature review of food gentrification concepts with perspectives from residents of Kitchener-Waterloo and service providers in the Region of Waterloo.

I.   Your Responsibilities as a Participant

What does your participation involve?

Participation in the study will consist of one (1) session of approximately 1 hour (60 minutes). You will be asked to first review this information consent letter, ask any clarifying questions on the study, and sign the multiple consent form. The session then begins by responding to a basic demographic survey (orally), which includes questions on age, income, ethnicity, etc. This will be followed by responding to the Household Food Security Survey Module (orally), which focuses on topics such as: availability of food, quality of meals, and ability to purchase food. You will then respond to interview questions (orally), which includes questions on your shopping behaviours, food retail environment, and community change. The sessions will be scheduled throughout the months of March and April in Kitchener-Waterloo according to the participants' availability.

With your permission, interviews will be audio recorded and only anonymous quotations will be used in any paper or publication.

Who may participate in the study?

In order to participate in the study you must be at least 18 years of age, self-identified low-income, and a resident of Kitchener-Waterloo for a minimum of five (5) years.

II.   Your Rights as a Participant
Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide to end the session at any time by communicating this to the researcher. During the interviews and surveys, you may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer by requesting to skip the question or by leaving them blank. You can request your data be removed from the study up until August 2019 as it is not possible to withdraw your data once my thesis has been submitted.

Will I receive anything for participating in the study?

In appreciation for your time, you will receive $20 for your participation. You will receive renumeration regardless of whether you decide to withdraw from the study. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

Participation in this study may not provide any personal benefit to you, but it is intended to improve planning and programming related to community food security and urban development. The study will benefit the academic society by advancing knowledge on resident perceptions of urban food projects, decision making on food procurement, and effects of community change on the local food environment. These findings may support the efforts of community organizers and social service providers to address equity in urban food security work.

What are the risks associated with the study?

Some questions in this study deal with individual and household food security. Given the topic, there is the potential for you to feel upset, especially if you have had negative experiences with food insecurity or your dietary health. If an interview question or discussion ever makes you feel uncomfortable, you are able to decline to answer at any time by informing the interviewer.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Your participation in this study will be confidential. Your name will not be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study, however, with your permission, anonymous quotations will be used. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected, and will be stored separately. Collected data will be stored for a minimum of seven years on a password protected computer and in a locked office. You can withdraw your participation and request that your data be removed from the study up until August 2019, before my thesis has been submitted.

III. Questions, Comments, or Concerns

Who is sponsoring/funding this study?

The study is not being funded. Renumeration has been graciously provided through the seed money of Dr. Leia Minaker.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40480). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact either Vanessa Ong or Dr. Leia Minaker:

Vanessa Ong, BScH, MES Candidate
School of Planning
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University of Waterloo
905-330-8003
v2ong@uwaterloo.ca

Dr. Leia Minaker, PhD, Associate Professor
School of Planning
Faculty of Environment
University of Waterloo
519-888-4567 ext. 35615
lminaker@uwaterloo.ca

<u>Consent Form</u>

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

_____

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Vanessa Ong of the School of Planning, Faculty of Environment at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time during the study, without penalty, by advising the researcher. I am aware that data cannot be withdrawn once study results have been submitted for publication.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40286). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Vanessa Ong at 905-330-8003 or v2ong@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES   NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES   NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES   NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix H: Secondary Population Recruitment Email

Analyzing long-time resident perceptions of food gentrification in Kitchener-Waterloo.

Dear [***insert organization name/contact***]:

I hope you are doing well today! As an important [*food retailer, social service provider, urban food program*] in Kitchener-Waterloo, I was hoping that you might be interested in participating in a study related to food and gentrification.

This research is being conducted by Vanessa Ong, under the supervision of Dr. Leia Minaker, School of Planning, University of Waterloo, Canada, focusing on food and urban development in the context of Kitchener-Waterloo. The purpose of this study is to understand whether 'sustainable' food projects (including: community gardens, organic and natural food, and farmers' markets) contribute to changing the local community culture and the displacement of low-income residents. The results will help to build an understanding of equity in urban agriculture and community food work, and aim to provide recommendations on how to better integrate social objectives into sustainability and food planning. This study is being undertaken as part of my (Vanessa Ong) Master's research.

If you decide to volunteer, I would be happy to set up a convenient time and location to meet with you. Participation involves a short, six-question interview, which will take approximately 10 minutes. Interview questions focus on determining perceptions on food gentrification and whether organizations are addressing the health effects of gentrification. Any service-provider in Kitchener-Waterloo is able to participate in the study.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee..

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact either Vanessa Ong at 905-330-8003, v2ong@uwaterloo.ca or Dr. Leia Minaker at 519-888-4567 ext. 35615, lminaker@uwaterloo.ca. Further, if you would like to receive a copy of the results of this study, please contact Vanessa Ong.

Thank you for considering participation in this study.

Appendix I: Secondary Population Information Consent

Title of the study: Analyzing long-time resident perceptions of food gentrification in Kitchener-Waterloo

Principal Investigator/Faculty Supervisor:
Leia Minaker
School of Planning
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University of Waterloo
519-888-4567 ext. 35615, lminaker@uwaterloo.ca

Student Investigator:
Vanessa Ong
School of Planning
Faculty of Environment
University of Waterloo
905-330-8003, v2ong@uwaterloo.ca

To help you make an informed decision regarding your participation, this letter will explain what the study is about, the possible risks and benefits, and your rights as a research participant. If you do not understand something in the letter, please ask one of the investigators prior to consenting to the study. Please print a copy of this letter for your records.

What is the study about?

The given study focuses on food and urban development in the context of Kitchener-Waterloo. The purpose of this study is to understand whether 'sustainable' food projects (including: community gardens, organic and natural food, and farmers' markets) contribute to changing the local community culture and the displacement of low-income residents. The results will help to build an understanding of equity in urban agriculture and community food work, and provide recommendations on how to better integrate social objectives into sustainability and food planning. This study is being undertaken as part of my (Vanessa Ong) Master's research.

I.   Your Responsibilities as a Participant

What does your participation involve?

Participation involves an in person interview, which will take approximately 10 minutes. You will be asked to first review this information consent letter, ask any clarifying questions on the study, and sign the multiple consent form. Questions focus on determining perceptions on food gentrification and whether organizations are effectively addressing the health effects of gentrification. The session will be scheduled throughout the month of July in Kitchener-Waterloo according to the participants' availability.

With your permission, interviews will be audio recorded and only anonymous quotations will be used in any paper or publication.

Who may participate in the study?

Any service-provider in Kitchener-Waterloo is able to participate in the study.

II.   Your Rights as a Participant

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide to end the session at any time by communicating this to the researcher. During the interviews and surveys, you may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer by requesting to skip the question. You can request your data be removed from the study up until August 2019 as it is not possible to withdraw your data once my thesis has been submitted.

What are the possible benefits of the study?

Participation in this study may not provide any personal benefit to you, but it is intended to improve planning and programming related to community food security and gentrification. The study will benefit the academic society by advancing knowledge on resident perceptions of urban food projects and effects of community change on the local food environment. These findings may support the efforts of social service providers to address equity in urban food security work.

What are the risks associated with the study?

There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.

Will my information be kept confidential?

Your participation in this study will be confidential. Your name will not be used in any paper or publication resulting from this study, however, with your permission, anonymous quotations will be used. Identifying information will be removed from the data that is collected, and will be stored separately. Collected data will be stored for a minimum of seven years on a password protected computer and in a locked office. You can withdraw your participation and request that your data be removed from the study up until August 2019, before my thesis has been submitted.

III.   Questions, Comments, or Concerns

Who is sponsoring/funding this study?

The study is not being funded.

Has the study received ethics clearance?

The study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40480). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

Who should I contact if I have questions regarding my participation in the study?
If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact either Vanessa Ong at 905-330-8003, v2ong@uwaterloo.ca or Dr. Leia Minaker at 519-888-4567 ext. 35615, lminaker@uwaterloo.ca.

<u>Consent Form</u>

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

_____

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Vanessa Ong of the School of Planning, Faculty of Environment at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time during the study, without penalty, by advising the researcher. I am aware that data cannot be withdrawn once study results have been submitted for publication.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40286). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

For all other questions contact Vanessa Ong at 905-330-8003 or v2ong@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES   NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES   NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES   NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____

Date: _____