Are You What You Eat?
Deconstructing the Accessibility of the Local Food Community in Saratoga Springs, New York.

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Abstract

The local food movement seeks to create an alternative food system, which addresses social and environmental concerns through the rejection of large-scale, industrial agriculture. However, because of its emphasis on consumer purchasing power it is often criticized for being elitist, catering to a primarily white demographic of a high socio-economic class. This study attempts to characterize the local food community in Saratoga Springs, New York, identify perceptions of those both involved and uninvolved, and finally deconstruct the ways in which social culture, among other factors, contribute to both its accessibility and inaccessibility.

Keywords

Local food community, culinary capital, perceptions, accessibility, farmers' market

Introduction

"People who have a lot of opportunity, the affluent, love to hear about ... crisis. 'Oh my god, global warming, we're all going to die.' For people who have a lot of crisis already, they don't want to hear about another big crisis. They've got sick parents, no health care, all the kind of stuff -- they don't want to hear about it. The rhetoric has to change. For people with a bunch of opportunity, you tell them about the crisis. For people with a bunch of crisis, you tell about the opportunities."

-Van Jones, Grist Magazine, 2007

The environmental movement's current method of advertising promotes a shift in beliefs and lifestyles, which are not openly available or intriguing to all. Civil-rights lawyer, activist, and environmental advocate, Van Jones, has called for a new rhetoric within the environmental movement. Jones stresses the importance of collaboration between the social justice and environmental movements and argues that the "eco-elite" need to engage the minority voice in order to effectively create change (Roberts, 2007). Jones' work challenges the environmental movement to change the expression and diversity of input into the movement to create an opportunity for a new form of inclusive control and decision-making. The need for a shift in rhetoric and action is also applicable to the larger food movement, as part of the larger environmental movement. The prevailing food movement rhetoric often assumes that it is

feasible and desirable for everyone to purchase food that it deems "better," for the health of the environment, society, and the individual.

The food movement calls for a reformation of the mainstream industrial food system. The movement aims to address both social and environmental concerns. As a large consumer of fossil fuels, emitter of greenhouse gasses, and user of synthetic pesticides and fertilizers, industrial agriculture is a large contributor to global climate change, responsible for 10-12 percent of anthropogenic emissions (Martinez, 2010). The food movement also targets issues of animal welfare, the rights of those working in the food system, and the accessibility of healthy food. The local food movement, as a subsect of the larger food movement, aims to develop and sustain local economies and reduce fossil fuel use by reducing food's transportation distance. The local food movement capitalizes on consumer purchasing power to fight the monopoly of mammoth food corporations, like Monsanto and Cargill Inc. The local food movement additionally supports food sovereignty -- the right of people, and nations, to define their own food system. Small farms often adhere to sustainable farming practices, and many consumers value local food for the ability it gives them to engage with the people growing their food and learn about their practices. However the local food movement goes beyond this and simply acknowledges food as a fundamental component of life by attempting to strengthen and personalize the consumer-producer relationship and by recognizing the role of food in fostering community (Pollan, 2010).

Though the local food movement espouses social goals like fostering community, it is often criticized for its lack of diversity. Because of its emphasis on purchasing power, the movement is often seen as catering to mostly white, middle to upper-class participants (Pollan 2010; Holt-Giménez & Wang 2011). Many of those involved are people who can afford to purchase more expensive food items, and who in return acquire culinary capital, power or status

for the consumption of these products and participation in the social culture that surrounds them (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012). However, as a fundamental component of life, food affects every being. Systems of food production and consumption have power and control over many aspects of everyday life. The food *powerhouses* that have arisen, including the local food movement, are capable of marginalizing less privileged populations when creating opportunities and access to food and its production.

The purpose of our research was, through surveying and interviewing residents of the general area of Saratoga in New York state, the explore people's perceptions of the Saratoga Springs local food movement, whether these perceptions influence people's involvement or lack of involvement in the Saratoga Springs local food movement, and explore whether the Saratoga Springs local food movement is accessible and inclusive. Through this research we explored our hypothesis - that the local food movement in Saratoga Springs is based on consumer purchasing and is consequently exclusionary, both economically and socially.

Literature Review

The food movement is expansive, branching into many realms of activism. It reaches communities across the nation through various means, such as grassroots organizations, community education, community supported agriculture (CSA), farmer's markets, restaurants, print publications, websites, and community gardens. In the following literature review, we describe the various sectors of the food movement, focusing specifically on the local food movement, its participants, and its goals, and likewise explore the food movement's shortfalls and the varied critiques that have arisen in response to it.

The Evolution of the Food Movement

Traditionally, "the food problem" referred to the worry of obtaining food dominating

almost every aspect of daily life. Many Americans count themselves lucky that this primal need no longer seems to have a place within the borders of their country, thanks to the high production levels of industrial agriculture and the government subsidies imposed by the Nixon administration to drive down the price of commodity crops like corn and soy. While crop prices plummeted with these new food policies in the 70s, the triumph was short lived. With a wave of books criticizing industrial agriculture, and later, a series of food safety scandals, "the food problem" began to morph into a concern about the method through which the American population was being fed (Pollan, 2010).

Today, the food movement seeks to address these concerns by targeting the various problems with the industrialized food system. According to Catarina Passidomo (2013), "Scholars and popular authors have charted and critiqued a variety of food-related movements, which represent a range of interests and priorities — from human health (Lang, Barling, & Caraher, 2009; Nestle, 2002) and social justice (Gottlieb & Joshi 2010) to environmental sustainability (Perfecto, Vandermeer & Wright, 2009), animal welfare (Singer, 2009 [1975]; Safran Foer, 2009), and food sovereignty (Wittman, Desmarais & Wiebe, 2010), among others. These movements advocate on behalf of farmers, on behalf of consumers, on behalf of seeds, animals, fish, and soil." (p. 90). The food movement has made big strides, gaining an onslaught of popularity and support and entering the mainstream public consciousness. In 2001 Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation* topped the charts as a best seller and in 2007 the term "locavore" was officially granted a place in the New American Oxford Dictionary (Delind, 2011; Pollan, 2010). Yet the movement still defies categorization in a single realm of activism. It targets a broad range of systemic issues that have been linked to the prevailing large-scale, industrialized agriculture and food system. Activists and concerned consumers support alternative food as

nutritionists, environmentalists, animal welfare advocates, sociologists, and economists, uniting under the common goal of reforming the industrialized food system (Pollan, 2010).

The Local Food Movement

The push for increased consumption of local food is a principal way through which the food movement seeks sustainability, as well as food justice and food sovereignty. Though "local" is a term that has recently gained popularity in food rhetoric, there is no consensus as to its definition in terms of distance between production and consumption. However, it is loosely agreed upon that in the promotion of the economic, social, and environmental ideals for which local food activists advocate, closer is better (Martinez, 2010). In the 2008 Food, Conservation, and Energy Act, the U.S. Congress proclaimed that to be considered a "Locally or regionally produced agricultural food product," a product must be transported less than 400 miles from its origin, or within the state in which it was produced (Martinez, 2010).

However, the commitment of some to local food goes beyond a desire for geographic proximity. More notably, the local food movement works toward promoting regenerative and sovereign food systems, which additionally seek to empower local people through participatory democracy (DeLind, 2010). Feentsra defines the local food movement as "A collaborative effort to build more locally based, self-reliant food economies -- one in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution, and consumption [are] integrated to enhance the economic, environmental, and local health of a particular place" (Feenstra, 2002. p. 100). Such collaborative systems allow individuals to foster stronger consumer relationships with the producers of their food and give communities a sense of ownership over what they put into their bodies and how it gets to them.

The local food movement in many ways defies categorization, lacking a central force of

leadership or point of congregation. Rather, the movement manifests itself through a web of grassroots organizations, alternative food purchasing venues, and the written and photographic material of self-proclaimed food writers, present both in print and on the internet. People involve themselves as individuals and as members of groups, as consumers, advocates, and learners. Common venues through which people consume local food are farmers' markets and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA). Beyond this, there are organizations that support these efforts; the Vermont Farmers' Market Association (2013), for example, supports a network of farmers markets throughout the state of Vermont. The local food movement has embraced today's technological culture as well, with much action present exclusively on the internet. Sustainable Table, for instance, is a website that aims to educate consumers about current issues, gives tips for action concerning local and other types of food, and "works to build community through food" (GRACE Communications Foundation, 2013). The action tips available include changing consumer habits and how to support various macro level changes through petitions and the campaigns of other organizations (GRACE Communications Foundation, 2013).

Food & Water Watch (2013) is a non-profit organization that advocates for safe, accessible, and sustainable food, water, and fish. They work so that "we can all enjoy and trust in what we eat and drink, we help people take charge of where their food comes from," among other goals. They do this through policy advocacy; research; providing information to the public; and providing ways for people to support the goals of the organization through donations, petitions, events, and volunteering for local campaigns. As part of their food work they support local food systems an example being advocating for certain changes to the Farm Bill. Many organizations have a broader focus of which local food is just a facet. 350.org, for example, is dedicated to "building a global grassroots movement to solve the climate crisis" ("What We

Do"). However, one of their campaigns, 350 Food and Farm, focuses on promoting local food as a means to achieve their mission of combating climate change.

Critiques of the Food Movement

Though the food movement is diversified in its participants and their goals, it has been criticized for catering to a predominantly white, middle to upper-class constituency (Pollan 2010; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011). Because much of food activism revolves around individual purchasing power, participants are often required to have the monetary means to afford the more expensive food options that the movement promotes – local, organic, or "healthy" products. And, according to Alkon (2012), people that support local, organic food tend to see it as a way to support social and ecological systems but often forget the social justice implication of creating an alternative food system for many people of color and people of low income, and the unjust treatment of farm workers. Many scholars note that the creation of alternative food systems ignores the large scale problems of the dominant industrial food system that it claims to combat (Alkon, 2012; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Passidomo, 2013).

Many people are food insecure, "without reliable access to a sufficient source of affordable nutritious food" (Martinez, 2010), and even the cheapest food can be hard to access. Food deserts, loosely defined as "rural communities and the urban core [that] are underserved by grocery stores," are one of the biggest outcomes of food insecurity (Conway and Lassiter, 2011, pg. 20). Because fresh food in these areas is replaced by easily accessible and affordable processed and high caloric food options, living in food deserts can lead to obesity, diabetes, and other health related problems (Conway & Lassiter, 2011). While there are many factors influencing the formation of food deserts, "farmers practicing sustainable agriculture are at a distinct disadvantage in reaching these households given the subsides and 'economics of scale'

that conventional, petro-chemical-based and subsidized agribusiness enjoy" (Webber & Dollahite, 2008). Currently, policy surrounding food distribution and labeling are not directly focused on improving and eliminating food deserts.

The views and habits involved people with the means to purchase food that the food movement deems "better," creates status, a major part of the discourse in the food movement today. Culinary capital, among other types of capital (cultural, economic, etc.), is food patterns that provide a person with "status and power" (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012, p. 2). This can change over space and time (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012). Culinary capital is a "necessary precursor to bio-power," a concept coined by Foucalt, concerning how the body is involved in the process of accepting or rejecting power (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012, p. 4). It is also applied to a new type of self-governance based on how the potential for status from good citizenship influences individual choice (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012). Following or deviating from certain food habits also plays a role in the creation of certain identities (Naccarato & Lebesco, 2012). The romanticized view of local, organic farms "[s]imultaneously leads to a more utopian politics in which particular discourses and actions are presupposed by a small subset of relatively privileged people and legitimized through their claim to natural-ness" (Alkon, 2012, p. 673). These views create "a politics of conversion," where people who do not accept the beliefs and actions as their own are judged (Alkon, 2013, p. 673).

Concerning local food movements specifically, there are critiques of the concept that local food supports the local economy. Allen (2010) argues that this can be problematic for social justice efforts because localities vary in their economic privilege, and if economically privileged localities only focus on their own well-being they do not address justice issues in other localities with less economic privilege. There is also often an assumption that needs to be

questioned, that localities that are part of the local food movement will make "equitable decisions that prioritize the common good" (Allen, 2010, p. 301). The power dynamics in localities means that a variety of interests are not automatically included in the decision making process (Allen, 2010).

The Food Justice Movement

Where the dominant food movement is criticized for catering to the elite, the subset of the food justice movement promotes the access of quality food for all and health for everyone involved in the process of production. However, food justice movements are composed mostly of white people (Passidomo, 2013) even while they focus on creating alternative food systems specifically for communities of color (Alkon, 2012). Food justice is an ideology within the food movement that strives to ensure "that the benefits and risks of where, what and how food is grown and produced, transported and distributed, and accessed and eaten are shared fairly" (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010, p. 6). Food justice advocates for "healthy food (i.e., food security) as a basic human right" and works toward social change (Conway & Lassiter, 2011, p. 17). According to Kato (2013), the movement revolves around two primary concerns: food access and the production and distribution of healthy food; and food sovereignty, that is, regaining ownership and power of management over the food system. Others separate the food justice movement from the community food security movement, which "strives to mainstream food security into the existing food system" (Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011, p. 85) and the food-sovereignty movement that is "based on the notion of entitlement and redistribution of food-producing resources" (p. 90). Food sovereignty is traditionally more radical, yet is currently less so in the U.S. (Alkon, 2012). Eric Holt-Giménez & Yi Wang (2011) describe the food justice movement as growing but being "less-celebrated" than the dominant food movement (p. 86).

However, many scholars call for a "transformation" of the current food system instead of the creation of alternative systems, which ignore the problems of the dominant industrial food system (Alkon, 2012; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Passidomo, 2013). Alkon (2012) calls for transformation through further work of the food justice and sovereignty movements.

Food Systems Research

Passidomo (2013) calls for research on food systems that go "beyond food" to look at the structures that created the problems ("*non*-alternative food systems") and increased engagement with larger societal problems (p. 90). She encourages more research into the functioning of the industrial food system so that it can be changed as a whole, with equitable access, instead of putting emphasis on individual choice and the creation of unnecessary alternative food systems, such as the local food movement. In order to create change, she emphasizes the need to analyze current and historical power, and to look at the ways initiatives have failed to do this in the past (Passidomo, 2013).

The food movement has developed many different facets and smaller branches within the movement. Understanding the main components of the food movement in general, as well as the sub-movements, allows for a comprehensive analysis of the local movement's current status. Focusing on the local food movement and food justice movement provides the necessary background information to help achieve our research purpose for the local food movement in Saratoga Springs. Although the literature provides broad overviews of the different perspectives, aspects, and critiques within the local food movement and food justice movement, these generalizations help craft the direction and methodology of our research.

Methods

Population and Setting

Our research focuses on the local food movement in Saratoga Springs, New York. For the purposes of our research, we are referring to the culture surrounding local food in Saratoga Springs as the Saratoga Springs local food movement. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the 2012 population estimates for Saratoga Springs was 26,960 people (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). A primarily white population, with a small yet diverse racial minority population, dominates the city of Saratoga Springs (Table 1). The per capita income level in 2011 was $36,148, while the median household income was $63,145 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The total land area in 2010 for Saratoga Springs was 28.07 square miles and persons per square mile were 947.3 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The major industries within Saratoga Springs are both public and private; education, healthcare, hospitality, Stewart's Company, and Saratoga BRIDGES are the main sources of employment for the city.

Race	Percentage
White alone, percent, 2010	92.3%
Black or African American alone, percent, 2010	2.6%
American Indian and Alaska Native alone, percent, 2010	0.2%
Asian alone, percent, 2010	2.0%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, percent, 2010	0.0%
Two or More Races, percent, 2010	2.2%
Hispanic or Latino, percent, 2010	3.2%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino, percent, 2010	90.3%

Table 1. Saratoga Springs, NY Race Breakdown (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013)

Instrumentation and Data Collection

Our qualitative research employed ethnographic and phenomenological methodologies, utilizing surveys, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation (Cresswell, 1998). We used two main methods of data collection and used similar methods to reach out and locate our sample population. In addition to accessing demographic information from Census data, the majority of our data came from surveys and semi-structured interviews. The research questions and themes created for the survey helped to formulate the semi-structured interview questions. Various methods were implemented to locate survey and interview respondents such as snowball sampling and convenience sampling.

The survey was created to provide an easily accessible and less time consuming option to gather results on people's perceptions of local food. Although the survey is long, with 21

questions, and took an estimated 10 to 15 minute to complete, it provided a quicker way for people to participate in our research, compared to our interviews. The survey consisted of both multiple choice and open-ended (short answer) questions. The survey begins with three multiple-choice questions, geared at understanding respondents' definition of local food (Appendix A). The remainder of the survey focuses on describing perceptions and defining characteristics of the Saratoga Springs local food movement. The majority of these questions were designed to be open-ended, allowing respondents to answer the questions to the best of their ability and whichever way they interpreted them. The survey finishes with a brief demographics section.

We distributed our survey using two methods: informational flyers and word of mouth. The flyers provided an explanation of our research, contact information, and a link to our SurveyMonkey site. We distributed the flyers throughout Saratoga Springs, posted in coffee shops, local food pantries, community centers, and at the Adult and Senior Center of Saratoga. Our survey link was also distributed online via Twitter . In addition to the flyers and Twitter, we also relied on word of mouth and snowball sampling (Creswell, 2003). The Saratoga Springs Farmers' Market allowed us to pass out surveys during the Saturday market. We also attended the Growing Community panel, hosted by the SUNY Empire State College and the Saratoga Springs Farmers' Market. During this event we networked and reached out to the Friends of the Market Association, who agreed to send our research pitch, survey, and interview information out on their weekly newsletter. At the end of our survey data collection, we received 33 surveys in total.

The semi-structured interviews we conducted were structured to be an extended version of our surveys. We created an interview guide that was based off the questions in our survey and was estimated to take anywhere from 30 minutes to an hour (Appendix B). Our interview guide

was created using a semi-structured format and gained inspiration from an interview guide we received from a student in the Masters in Development Practice program at Emory University, conducting a case study on an urban farm in Atlanta and the community needs of the elderly populations and households receiving Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits. After our first few interviews we added questions to the interview guide based on important points that surfaced.

We accessed interview participants using some of the same methods used to distribute our survey. The flyers used for the surveys also provided information about interviewing. In addition to posting flyers around town, we created flyers specifically aimed at finding interview participants that were distributed to Skidmore Facilities and Dining Services employees. In addition to posting flyers throughout Saratoga Springs and Skidmore's campus, we also used snowball sampling by asking Skidmore professors, who we knew lived in Saratoga Springs, to send to their friends our research and interview pitch (Creswell, 2003). We purposefully did not want to rely on the Skidmore community to produce our sample population because we wanted to reach the perspective of the larger Saratoga Springs community, though we recognized that our network within Skidmore was a good resource to locate other participants. We also used our connections gained from the Growing Community panel to interview local farmers and organizers within the Saratoga Springs farmers' market. Using our multiple means of contact, we were able to conduct 27 interviews with consumers, producers, and distributors of local food, with a focus on consumers. Out of our 27 interviews, two of the respondents were producers and two were local distributors. All the data we collected was reported anonymously.

Data Analysis and Limitations

Respondent semi-structured interview data was thematically coded and identified for common themes and ideas that arose (Creswell, 2003). Data from the structured online and pen and paper surveys and semi-structured interviews were coded in a similar fashion in order to determine prevailing perceptions of the local food movement. Respondent data was also organized thematically and put in a quote chart. Additionally, we utilized descriptive narratives to organize our data, as, according to Schneller, "Descriptive narratives proved useful in our prior research as a low-inference data analysis technique used to recognize trends in participant responses and to convey our multiple research findings" (Schneller, 2010, p. 10). Validity of the findings was further addressed by identifying accounts of discrepant information or deviant cases (Creswell, 2003).

Throughout the data collection process, multiple limitations were faced. Though the data was not representative, it provided us with the opinions of people with varying levels of involvement in the local food movement. Although our data is unrepresentative and we experienced some limitations, many of these limitations could be avoided if our research were continued. One of the biggest factors influencing our data collection was time; managing and balancing schedules between three research partners was difficult. We easily could have benefited from three more months of research time. While trying to define the movement, we also struggled to identity a geographic boundary for our sample size and eventually decided not to create one because of the fluid definition of the local food movement. We also wanted to build a sample size that was diverse and representative of all in the Saratoga area. However, this was difficult because our data collection methods were mostly limited to word of mouth and chance advertising. As stated from the Census data, Saratoga Springs is not a racially diverse town and

finding interested respondents from all income brackets and different levels of involvement with local food was challenging. We also found that women were more likely to be interested in participating than men and that people that were involved with local food were also more likely to be interested in participating.

Some of our interview questions asked participants to look at involvement as an "either/or" issue, but as we talked with them we realized involvement is better qualified on a gradient. People may have had different perceptions if we had asked them about their perceptions of people at multiple levels or types of involvement.

Results and Discussion

Vagaries of "Local Food"

Though 26 of our 27 respondents were able to qualify the term "local food," it carried no concrete definition that was constant among our respondents. "There's so much gray area," one respondent said regarding the term. "It's like the word natural. It's just big." As the popularity of eating locally has grown, the label "local" has become ubiquitous on food products. However, the USDA asserts "there is no consensus on a definition of 'local' or 'local food systems' in terms of the geographic distance between production and consumption" and thus no standardized system of labeling (Martinez 2010).

As such, "local" has become a modifier that is personally defined, using a wide range of criteria. Interview respondents cited a variety of means through which to qualify the concept. Some defined the term using mileage, ranging from a 25 to a 100-mile radius around Saratoga Springs, with the most commonly repeated limit at "50 miles." Others defined the term regionally, and only considered food to be local if it was produced anywhere from within the capital region to the Northeast to the country. Responses collected from surveys were similarly

wide-ranging (Figure 1). When given several criteria, both in mileage and region, with which to define the boundaries of local food, there was no majority indicating that a single definition prevails in Saratoga Springs.

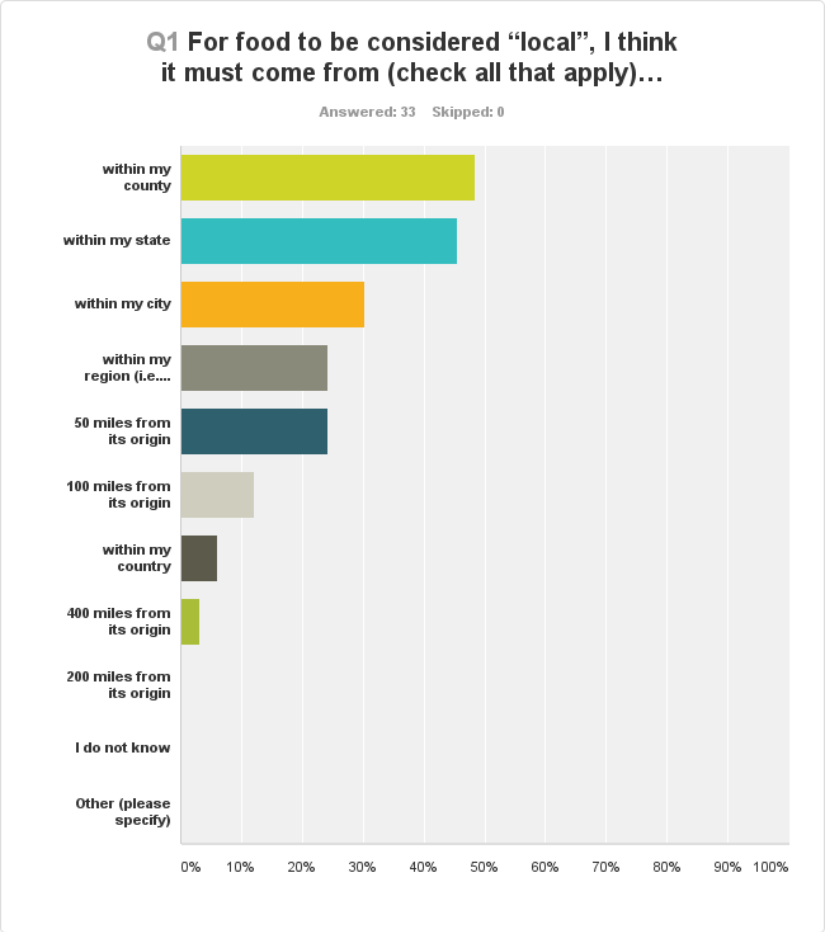

Figure 1. Survey Results Showing Respondents Definitions of "local" food.

Similarly, there was no consensus on whether or not the size or scale of a company, business, or production operation affects the locality of their products. Some respondents expressed that local products must necessarily be produced at small, "family or community farms," while others applauded local business, like Stewart's, for expanding, and continued to consider their products local, despite the larger size of the operation.

In many cases, interview respondents interpreted "local" more fluidly, relying on criteria that spoke to the quality of the food product as something that stemmed from the area in which it was produced. Many spoke of the ability to speak directly to the farmer who grew their food, or the ability to visit their operations and see first-hand under what conditions the food was being grown or produced. One respondent said that "local food is really really knowing, having physically visited the source that the food comes from and understanding, having a relationship with the people who produced it for you."

Though there was no universally acknowledged definition of the term, we found recurring rhetoric used to qualify local food. Many respondents equated local food with fresh food. Because products that travel shorter distances to reach consumers are stored for less time, many consumers would choose to purchase certain products labeled as local because they believed them to be of higher quality. For example one respondent always buys her milk from Stewart's, "Because I know that [the milk is] coming from a local dairy and it's fresh…And there is a difference." Universally, respondents felt that higher quality was a benefit of purchasing local food. Many perceived that this freshness translated into a better tasting product. Moreover, many respondents believed local food products to be inherently healthy. They associated both highly processed food products with being unhealthy, and local food with being less processed.

In addition to seeking out local food for its higher quality, many respondents also purchased local products with the specific intent of supporting their local economy. Many felt loyalty toward companies that were based within their own town. One respondent said that they like to support Stewart's because "it's kind of endearing because it's an area specific thing." Others wanted to know to whom their money was going and be assured that it was supporting

something they approved of. Another consumer explained, “I don’t mind [spending a lot for local food] because it is going to benefit someone that is local and not go into some big supermarket fund.”

Many respondents mentioned that they like that they can trust the quality of local food, especially when they can interact directly with the producer. Because of the inconsistency of the term local, this sort of interaction was particularly important to people. One consumer respondent said "I just have a hard time with credibility and trust, I guess for the simple fact of false advertising and how corporations have learned to manipulate words to make it seem organic, to make it seem local."

Another theme that emerged is something we are calling “local washing” which is when food is marketed as local, consumers often automatically trust that it has other characteristics such as being organic, healthy, or humane. Even though this is often associated with ambiguous labeling as the last consumer respondent mentioned, one producer said that this often happens with face to face interaction as well. This producer respondent also said: "I think the consumer feels like there’s some real good comfort words out there, and local is one of them...Words like natural, real, trust your neighbor, local, farm fresh. All of those just were gimmicks. They’re good hooks." They also said that this practice can hurt farmers that use organic practices because it allows the label local to determine the price farmers can ask for regardless of their practices.

Characterizing the Movement

One of the main goals of conducting interviews and distributing surveys was to gain an understanding of how people, both involved and uninvolved, perceive local food culture in Saratoga Springs, which we have classified as the Saratoga Springs local food movement. Through both our surveys and interviews, we tried to define the movement by

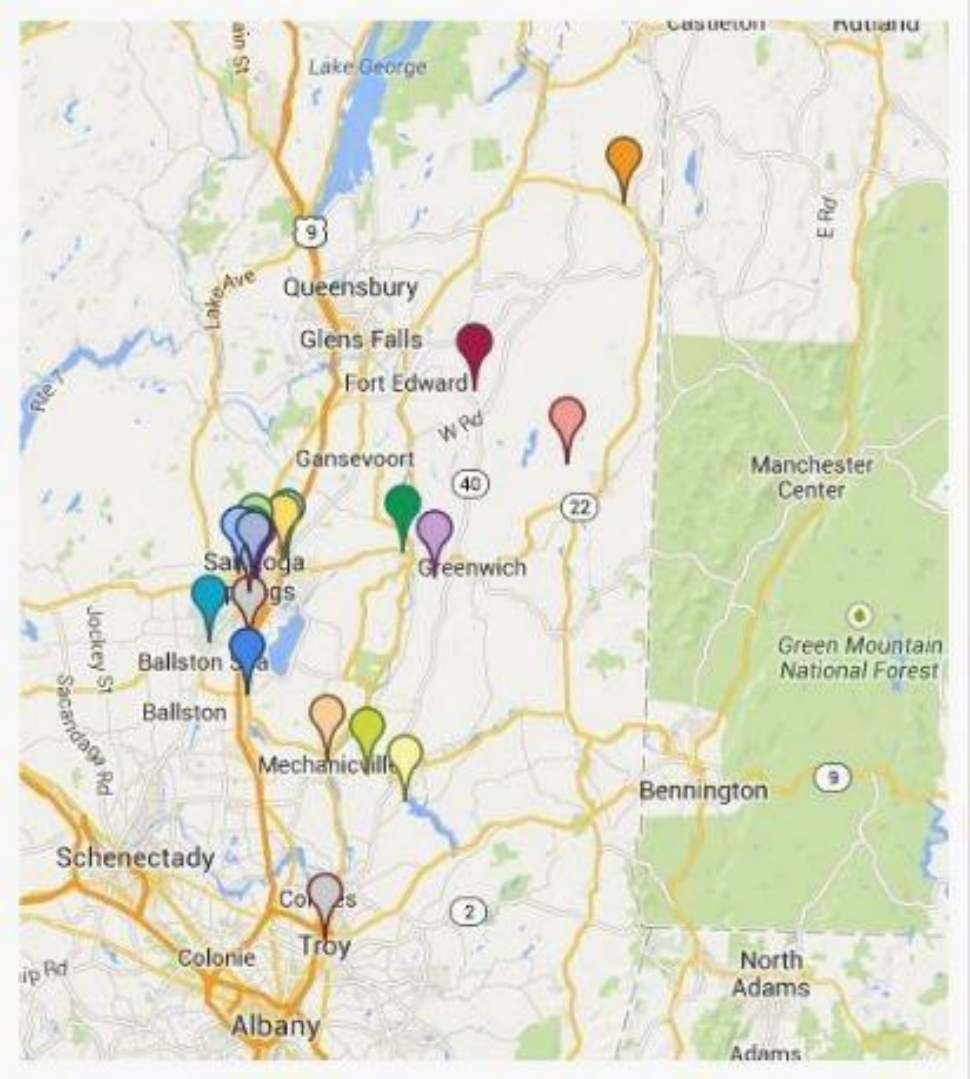

Figure 2. Map of Organizations Identified as a Part of the Movement

the organizations, institutions, businesses, leadership or individuals, and other defining factors of involvement. We received a wide variety of responses and found the Saratoga Springs local food movement defies a concrete boundary (Figure 2).

Interview participants identified several restaurants in the area that are actively trying to incorporate local food into their menus. Fifty South and Comfort Kitchen were two of the main restaurants identified as contributing to the movement. Respondents also referred to the multiple ways local farmers contribute, through farm stands, Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs),

and vending at various farmers' markets in the area (Figure 3). The two farmers' markets located in Saratoga Springs, the Spa City Market and the Saratoga Springs Farmers' Market, were also identified, in addition to the market in Troy. Many of the farmers who vend at these markets were specifically identified; especially those that also offer CSAs, including Denison, Kilpatrick, Hand Melon, Malta Ridge, Saratoga Apple, and Battenkill Creamery. Grocery stores were also mentioned as a part of the movement. Specialty stores like Four Seasons, Healthy Living and buying groups or co-ops were named as major actors, while larger grocery stores like Price Chopper and Hannaford were mentioned for increasing the amount of local food and local food products on their shelves. Skidmore College was also mentioned as a player of the movement because of Sustainable Skidmore's work both with the college and in town, and for its efforts to incorporate local food into the school's dining hall. Lastly, civic organizations (NGOs) like Sustainable Saratoga and Saratoga PLAN were mentioned as part of the local food movement because of their leadership in the environmental movement in Saratoga.

Restaurants	Fifty South	Comfort Kitchen	Forno	Jack Dillon's Farm to Fork Cuisine		
CSAs	Denison	Kilpatrick Farms				
Farm Stands/Farms	Hand Melon	Saratoga Apple	Elsworth	Malta Ridge	Battenkill Creamery	
Grocery Stores	Healthy Living	Four Seasons	Stewarts	Buying Groups/ Co-ops	Price Chopper	Hannaford
Farmers' Markets	Spa City	Saratoga Springs	Troy			
Skidmore College	Dining Hall	Sustainable Skidmore				
Civic Organizations	Sustainable Saratoga	Saratoga PLAN				

Figure 3. Defining Characteristics of the Saratoga Springs Local Food Movement, as Identified by Respondents.

While multiple notable organizations, businesses, and farmers were used to describe the Saratoga Springs local food movement, the Saratoga Springs Farmers' Market was most frequently identified as an icon of the movement. When asked to describe participants of the movement, one respondent responded, "The Farmers' Market is always my touchstone, all the time", which emphasizes this idea of The Farmers' Market seen as representative organization within the movement.

The movement was also described by correlating health and well-being with local food. Many of the respondents related fresh, healthy food with local food. One local producer explained this mentality of local and healthy being equated as similar,

> I think it may be healthier because it's certainly not been waxed or sprayed with some sort of fumigants after harvest, or whatever, but some still is

> [sprayed], being local. But I think anything coming right from the ground has got to have more vitality than something that's imported… would you choose a local apple or an organic apple?

There was a recurring perception that local or organic food meant spray or pesticide free even though this often isn't the reality. Instead the question should be what kind of spray or pesticides are used? The legacy of Saratoga Springs's mineral springs and spas were also used as a unique defining factor of the local food movement. When asked to describe the movement, one respondent identified it as a "rare" movement because of the wellness and healthy conscious mentality present in Saratoga Springs, especially in relation to local food.

While support of various organizations, businesses, farms, and healthy, fresh lifestyles were mentioned, this approach to support and be involved with local food is heavily dependent on a consumer base. We found that some respondents considered themselves involved because they either gardened or maintained a small-scale farm that produced enough yield to supplement their daily intake. As one respondent explains,

> We grow a lot of our own food. Uh, and because it's the wintertime right now we're still eating stockpiles, what's leftover of stockpiles from the winter… Most of the vegetables we have in storage. We would buy them if we didn't have them, but we've got them.

Most of the respondents who mentioned either running a small-scale farm or garden, mentioned that they were capable of supplementing most of their food purchasing and the food they did purchase was often local. Gardening and small-scale farming created an opportunity for individuals to be more involved in the local food movement that wasn't entirely based on consumer spending.

Our respondents identified many organizations, businesses, and farms that provide and support a market for local food in Saratoga Springs. While our respondents were able to identify these characteristics, including isolating the Saratoga Springs

Farmers' Market as an icon of the movement, there was also a huge discrepancy between whether or not the local food culture in Saratoga Springs was accurately described as a movement. During our interviews, a variety of opinions were produced in response to our classification of a local food movement. While some respondents didn't comment on the term movement, many respondents addressed the term movement and described the local food culture as a trend instead. One respondent explored this idea by stating,

I might just say that there's a difference between a movement and a trend. I mean I feel like the interest in local food is pretty diffuse and inarticulate, and that people will be able to say why they to want buy local food and how it's good to have farms and not houses… in terms of really having some deep discussions or strategic discussions, I'm not sure that's going on. I think that basically different organizations are pushing their own interests.

None of our respondents were able to reach a decisive conclusion, but of those who mentioned some inconsistency in our labeling seemed to like the word trend better than movement.

Perceptions of Local Food Involvement

Although we set out a general framework to explain local food activity in the area, respondents had many different views of what it meant to be involved in the movement we described. When talking about people that are involved, many referred to consumers, which may have been because the majority of our respondents were consumers themselves and because an emphasis was put on purchasing behavior in our interviews. However, because consumers are integral to the rising popularity of local food nationally, and contribute largely to the culture of the movement in Saratoga Springs, this is an important sector to emphasize.

Most commonly, respondents described those involved in the local food community in Saratoga Springs as people who care, specifically about the health of themselves and their families, the local economy, and/or the environment. They were often described as being of a higher class, having free time in their days, or having a received a higher level of education. They were additionally perceived as living a healthy lifestyle ("fitness" or "wellness") or having a passion for good food in general ("foodie"). As one consumer respondent said, "It's people that really are concerned with environmental issues, with their own personal health, the health of their families...people that actually care about how food, where it comes from and what's going into their body."

Some outliers were more extreme, including descriptors like, "left leaning," "granola," "progressive," and "elitist." Despite these outliers that showed harsher criticism, respondents' perceptions of people that are involved with the local food community in Saratoga Springs were generally positive or neutral. For example, one consumer respondent who considered herself to be involved said:

> I think their intentions and their hearts are really in the right place...It would be healthy for [people involved in the local foods movement] to take a look at some of their unexplored assumptions. Even I, you know I've been doing this for like 30 years now, and even I will go to a place like Four Seasons and I feel like they look at me like I smell bad, because I'm not fitting some demographic profile, you know I'm not white, I'm not beautiful, I'm not young, I'm not dressed a particular way.

While she emphasized that people that are involved care about the "right" things, she also mentioned that "there is an attitude of superiority that comes with doing things that are good for the society."

When asked to describe people that are uninvolved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement, respondents' were generally careful to present their perceptions as non-judgmental.

However, often underlying many of these seemingly neutral responses implications that the respondents knew what "good food" is and that uninvolved people are simply unaware of the benefits of local food or don't care enough to purchase it. While some respondents implied that people who are uninvolved *should* care about local food, their lack of knowledge was often attributed to the fact that the local food movement is often something that people are only exposed to if they are born or marry into a farming family or are part of a social scene in which people are already involved in local food. Therefore, many respondents felt that this lack of exposure gave those uninvolved good reason not to be aware or care about local food. Good food was often conflated with local food, demonstrated when one consumer respondent said, "They have other things going on...Maybe they weren't raised in an environment where there was a big emphasis put on putting good things into you."

Other common descriptors that they were of a low socio-economic class, lacked time, wanted the cheapest food, and had families to provide for. Though both people involved and uninvolved were described as having families to care for, for those involved this was perceived as a reason to purchase local food, because of the associated health benefits. Conversely, for those uninvolved, having a family was a limiting factor because it led to less free time and a tighter budget, indicating that purchasing local food is perceived as a privilege of a disposable income and the flexibility that comes from having at least one parent without the time constraints of employment. Many respondents explicitly mentioned that those uninvolved do see local food as "pricey." Descriptions that were outliers, with two or less respondents mentioning them, were that people who are uninvolved are young, do not have cooking skills, or have different tastes.

While many respondents were careful to not explicitly pass judgment on those uninvolved, one producer respondent delivered candidly what many others only hinted at. She

believes that “they’re unhealthy. They’re out of touch with reality and unfortunately they’re in the majority. Way way way in the majority!" While this producer also expressed that she could understand why some people are not involved, she was the only person to explicitly state that their lack of involvement negatively affects others, saying, “And I can see why [they aren’t involved]. Because it’s such a huge problem that we’re facing. It's not that I’m not sympathetic, it's just that I’m living in the world with them and they need to do something more.”

Accessibility and Inclusivity

Using these perceptions, we attempted to understand the accessibility of the Saratoga Springs local food movement. While we received a mix of impressions - many people found the local food community to be very inclusive - everyone was able to identify barriers that could prevent people from becoming involved in the local food community in Saratoga Springs. Five prevailing barriers to the accessibility of local food emerged from our research.

Price

The majority of respondents (55.6%) indicated a belief that local food is more expensive than conventional food products. If factors related to quality or production practices, like cage-free or organic, are disregarded, participant observations comparing products sold at the farmers’ market with the same products at Price Chopper and Stewart’s revealed this to be accurate (Table 3). Many respondents expressed the impression that these higher prices reflect the marketability of the term “local” rather than higher production costs, indicating that some consumers are aware of local-washing. Furthermore, many consumers perceived that producers and distributors see Saratoga Springs as an affluent community in which people are willing to pay a high premium for specialty products. Others recognized the higher price as a result of the higher production costs they believed to be inherent in small scale production. When asked what about prices at the

Saratoga Springs farmers' market compared to Price Chopper, one consumer said, "Well they're higher. But it's fresh you know. And I understand that. It's fresh and usually better. You get some taste out of it. Some of that [non-local] stuff there's just no taste to it."

Despite this, there are several programs that currently exist to address the economic inaccessibility of local food. The farmers' market accepts state funded economic assistance programs like Economic Benefit Transfer (EBT) and Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), which has a program specific to the farmers' market, the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (FMNP). Denison Farm, for example, also works to make their CSA shares more accessible with low-income shares that allow for payment in installments rather than upfront. However, there are limitations to these systems. EBT tokens, for example, handed out in the amounts of $1 and $5, may not be used to purchase prepared foods. The tokens can also act as a physical representation of economic status. As one respondent explained:

> It's kind of hard for people to have a different kind of token. That's another way of not fitting in, of standing out, and of being told, you're not really one of our regular customers, you're not really a person we consider to be part of our regular community, you're kind of a foreigner to us.

However, at the same time many respondents said that, though it may not be immediately apparent, local food is actually more affordable in the long run. This was often blamed on an inability for many consumers to separate themselves from the dominant national food rhetoric that paints local food as a premium product. "The thing that I've found is that if price is a barrier it's because we've been conditioned to shop in a certain way as a society, so we've been conditioned to look at the superpack as the best option."

Location

Additionally, in comparison to nearby supermarkets, the location of the farmers' market can pose problems for people who don't live downtown and have to rely on public transportation

when purchasing food. Many respondents expressed that the limitations of Saratoga Springs' public transportation system in turn limit the convenience of places like the farmers' market. Though from May to October the market is located downtown on High Rock Avenue, a central location for some, in the winter it is moved to the Lincoln Baths, and is not on a CDTA bus route. Because it offers a limited selection of products, it is more convenient for people, especially those using public transportation, to go to a larger supermarket or to the many supermarkets located near each other in Wilton, where they can buy a multitude of products at the many stores located in the area, in a single trip.

Time

Another factor of accessibility is time. Respondents often said that buying local food at specific times or taking the time to navigate the market can be a barrier to accessing local food, especially for working parents with children. For example, the hours of a farmers' market may be restrictive because it requires basing one's schedule for food procurement around very specific, and short time during the week. Other respondents recognized that some have a need or desire to get food quickly, and not linger in a social space, like that of the farmers' market. One consumer respondent values local food enough that she is willing to pay higher prices for it, but will only go to the farmers' market if she can get up before it closes. She said of farmers' markets "A lot of them, they're there at the crack of dawn and then they close up at like noon or so...They could easily serve more people and make more money, if they have enough inventory."

However, many respondents that local food is available at grocery or specialty stores that are open on a regular basis or farm stands that have longer hours in the summer months such as "that one in the summer out on Route 9 is like three or four days a week and it's from 11am on until like 4[pm]."

However, for all of these locations seasonality is a different kind of time constraint. Many respondents mentioned that they only go to a farmer's market or buy local food elsewhere in the summer because that is when certain produce is available or that is when they get around to going.

Awareness

The issue of awareness is twofold, with a lack of awareness both within the community those involved and those uninvolved. Much of this is attributed to a lack of transparency and adequate labeling. Many respondents spoke of the need to engage in "detective work," in order to find products that they could be sure were local. Because they felt local products were not well-labeled, these consumers felt the need to search among many products for those that were local and read the existing labels closely to ensure that they didn't fall ploy to the use of the term as a marketing technique. However, one producer interviewed also believed that consumers of local food don't have an intimate enough knowledge of their food systems to know which questions to ask when trying to overcome local washing.

According to respondents there is also a lack of awareness about local food culture and buying practices among people who don't already live within its sphere of influence. Many within the local food community contend that shopping at the farmers' market can actually be much less expensive than the grocery store, but this necessitates knowing how to navigate the market, purchase smartly, and then store products bought in bulk. Through participant observations we found that if purchasing local food, like eggs, for additional qualities like organic or cage-free, that this perception was true. Local brand, organic, and pasture raised eggs sold in Price Chopper are significantly more expensive than those sold at the farmers' market (Table 3).

The belief was also expressed that these barriers are also used as excuses, and could be overcome with increased education and effort of those uninvolved. One respondent said, “I definitely think, it’s education, money and time perhaps, but sometimes I think those are cop outs, even though I use them.”

Distributor	**Type of Eggs**	**Price (per dozen)**
Price Chopper	Handsome Brook Farm organic, pasture raised eggs	$6.79
Saratoga Springs Farmers’ Market	Kilpatrick Family Farms	$4.50
Price Chopper	Price Chopper organic, cage-free eggs	$3.99
Saratoga Springs Farmers’ Market	Malta Ridge Farm	$3.50
Price Chopper	Price Chopper Large Grade A eggs	$2.49
Stewart’s	Stewart’s Large Grade A eggs	$2.09

Table 3. Price Comparison between Different Brands of Eggs

Culture

The culture of the local food community was seen as an overall defining factor for accessibility. Our respondents generally recognized that the atmosphere is inclusive but some also recognized that it can be judgmental and hard to access if not already involved. In reference to the Farmers’ Market, one respondent described a festive and celebratory vibe, "There's an inviting atmosphere [at the farmers' market]. You can go and listen to music, your kids can get balloons or get their faces painted. And you can just talk to people."

While many of our respondents saw the culture surrounding local food to be inclusive and celebratory, the culture was also described as being a part of a social club, a place to see and be seen. One respondent captured the social atmosphere well by saying, “the rest of the world that comes into the Saratoga Springs Farmers’ Market are people that it’s almost cool to be there and to be seen there. It’s a social as much as a food-gathering place”. In addition to being a social club, the movement has also taken on a certain air of competition among consumers – who can be the better ‘local’. Another respondent describes the feeling of competition by saying, “What the hell do I do with this bushel?! Photograph it. Post it. Show everybody what a good local you are”. The idea of being a “good local” further supports the idea of an elitist environment within the local food movement. In addition to being competitive, a lack of support or camaraderie is described best by one respondent, “I feel like [the local food movement hasn’t] taken on an air of let’s support each other, let's eat healthy. Like I eat better than you, type of thing… It’s more like a condescending attitude”. While inclusive to those involved, the local food movement was seen by many as an unwelcoming environment, if not already a part of the ‘club’. Tying back into the barrier of price, the elitist, unwelcoming culture is articulated by one respondent who views this atmosphere as problematic, “I think there’s that kind of elite class of people that are drawn to, unfortunately. What those markets represent sometimes doesn’t feel very inclusive to people of certain income levels and that’s something that could get worked on.” The respondent’s reference to the values or culture a farmers’ market represents connects back to many of the previously listed barriers. While smaller, easier to combat barriers can exist with the local food community, the general atmosphere surrounding a specific location or business is seen as exclusive and unwelcoming to a particular group of people, then the culture surrounding that place becomes inaccessible.

Connecting the Themes

Our data overlapped in many areas and was often able to fit in multiple themes. These themes also had many possible connections between them. Our results closely matched many of the themes described by Julie Guthman (2011) in her study of farmers market and CSA managers in California. She asked explicitly about race, which we did not do, and spoke more generally about alternative food. Many of her respondents also mentioned lack of awareness and values as barriers and also described alternative food as a lifestyle, which were the main themes in our results concerning respondents' perceptions of people that are uninvolved. She describes the alternative food rhetoric, exemplified by phrases like "if they only knew," as being coded as white and also says "it not only works as an exclusionary practice, it also colors the character of food politics more broadly and may thus work against a more transformative politics" (Guthman, 2011, p. 264). One of our respondents echoed this rhetoric: "People who are aware, they are going to be supportive of it because they know. It's kind of like once you know you can't go back to not knowing". Other respondents assumed that people who do not have access to local food would want it. Guthman (2011) continues that those in her study,

> portray their own values and aesthetics to be so obviously universal that those who do not share them are marked as other. These sorts of sensibilities are hallmarks of whiteness…those who value this food [alternative food] ask those who appear to reject this food to either be subject to conversion efforts or simply be deemed as other (p. 271)

Although Saratoga Spring is a mostly white area, this does not preclude it from being an exclusionary space to the people of color that do live in the area. The connection that Guthman (2011) makes between this rhetoric used toward people that are uninvolved and resulting exclusivity could also be drawn between our similar results on perceptions of those uninvolved and level of accessibility. The assumptive nature of these perceptions could be a point of

exclusion in the local food movement in Saratoga Springs. Because respondents in our study often equated local food with healthy or organic food, Guthman's (2011) study on alternative food is made more comparable to our findings.

Our results demonstrate a clear connection between local food and the space it is found in, and therefore both of these factors must be considered when trying to understand accessibility. Another factor that was connected with the idea of accessibility was the presence of family. Interestingly the point was made that someone having a family and caring for their health was often a reason for being involved with local food but others, sometimes the same people, said that people with families could often not take the time to be involved with local food. This again brings in the idea that many respondents focused on people's values. Respondents also sometimes connected these differences to the socioeconomic class of the family though this was not always the case. The respondents' perceptions of people that are involved had a tendency to focus on socioeconomic class more than ability or willingness to pay while respondents' perceptions of people that are uninvolved tended to focus on the lack of willingness to pay over socioeconomic class. This might demonstrate less understanding or empathy toward the possible contextual reasons for people being uninvolved, such as limited time or money.

Conclusion and Recommendations

During our data collection and research period, we decided to refer to the culture surrounding local food as the Saratoga Springs local food movement. While conducting our interviews and on our survey, we explained to our participants that we were classifying the culture surrounding local food in Saratoga Springs as a movement, as a reflection of the national local food movement and for lack of a better term. However, in the course of our research we discovered that the term local food movement connotes an image of a more concrete and

institutionalized system of support of local food, that didn't exist in Saratoga Springs. We kept the use of the term throughout our research for consistency, and because there did not seem to be a better term for the culture of local food in Saratoga Springs. The idea of calling the culture a local food trend instead of a movement was mentioned by several of our respondents. However, by the end our data collection and analysis, we decided that the best way to describe the culture surrounding local food was to name it the Saratoga Springs local food community. The lack of organized leadership and mass social change directed us away from the continued use of the term movement. Instead, we think the trend of local food has developed a social community within Saratoga Springs that has established itself as a separate sector of the larger community.

We asked respondents if there is anything they would like to change about the local food movement in Saratoga Springs and received a large variety of responses. The most common response was to make it available in stores like Wal-Mart, Price Chopper, and Stewart's. Other responses mentioned by more than one person were having farmers' markets open more often, making it possible to get involved in more ways than purchasing local food (i.e. community or personal gardens), there should be more local food school programs, more outreach, encourage more diversity in the local food movement, less competition for local food producers or distributors, more conversations to be had surrounding accessibility, and that current local food consumers should ask the next layer of questions to avoid local-washing. However, many also said that the movement was naturally growing and would expand organically of its own volition. A few outlying opinions stood out to us. One producer suggested a change in the focus of local food marketing: "We're really moving more once again into community service agriculture, not supported. Where, 'what do you want, you can choose it, whenever you want it, if you don't want it now, don't worry'...Well, I think it will be in service of the wealthy. I don't think it will

really be in service of those in need". She also discussed her approach to target customers new to local food as "meeting them where they are". For further research one respondent suggested "one way perhaps to see how much the local food or sustainable food culture permeates an area would need to look at what is served at non-food related events that are not kind of exclusive". Another respondent mentioned that Ballston Spa lacks any food access nearby and that she was working on a project to fill the need for food to purchase nearby, possibly with local food if there is interest and desire.

Based on our research we think that consuming local food should not require people to assimilate into a culture they do not identify with. We think local food should be expanded beyond the local food community that currently exists to become a part of the broader Saratoga Springs food culture and that convenience should be a focus moving forward. Some possible actions that could support these changes would be bringing more local food into major grocery stores, like Price Chopper and Wal-Mart, having additional farmers' markets in new locations near other grocery stores, expansion and more advertisement of low-income assistance programs for local food, and more transparency in producer and distributor advertising to avoid local washing. Based on similar patterns in the literature (Guthman, 2011) concerning perceptions of people that are uninvolved with local food and the connections made by Guthman of these perceptions to the level of exclusion in alternative food, perceptions of those uninvolved in the Saratoga Springs local food community should be addressed. However, addressing these types judgments is beyond the scope of our research, but some sort of education of people that are involved might be considered.

In the long term, making local food more common and widespread could help to eliminate the elitism we've found to be associated with it and facilitate the creation of a more

inclusive local food community, which could in turn contribute to more sustainable environmental practices. Exposure to local food in a familiar context may interest more people in connecting with the origins of their food in new ways. By increasing accessibility of local food, it may become an avenue to address larger social problems, which, as Passidomo (2013) suggests, should be considered more. For any new project aiming to increase the accessibility of local food, it is important first consider whether or not there is even interest. In addition, there are many obstacles that fall beyond the scope of this research, such as the influence of government subsidies on the price of local food.

Finally, we think more research should be done on the topic of local food culture and accessibility in the Saratoga Spring area to create more solutions based on the needs of people who live in the area. This should focus not only on people who are uninvolved, but also include those that are involved in a variety of ways, as well as looking at the potential role of local food in areas that residents utilize for other purposes.

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APPENDIX A

Local Food Perceptions Survey

For the purposes of this survey we are referring to the culture surrounding local food of Saratoga Springs, as the Saratoga Springs local food movement. This includes the collection of individuals and organizations that support the local food system and the interactions among them.
If questions or concerns arise, please contact our research advisor, Andrew Schneller at aschnell@skidmore.edu.

Section 1: Defining local food

1. For food to be considered "local", I think it must come from (circle all that apply)…

   a. within my city
   b. within my county
   c. within my state
   d. within my region (i.e. the Northeast)
   e. within my country
   f. 50 miles from its origin
   g. 100 miles from its origin
   h. 200 miles from its origin
   i. 400 miles from its origin
   j. I do not know
   k. other: _____

2. In your opinion, what does it take for food to be considered "local"?

   a. I do not know
   b. It must be locally grown
   c. It must be produced by a local business or company
   d. It must be either locally grown **or** produced by a local business or company
   e. It must be both locally grown **and** produced by a local business or company
   f. Other condition: _____

3. Consider a product that is produced by a local business or company, for example bread. For the bread to be considered a local food product, how many of its ingredients need to be local?

    a. All
    b. None
    c. Less than 50%
    d. More than 50%
    e. I do not know
    f. Other: _____

Section 2: Local food movements

1. How would you describe Saratoga Springs's local food movement?

    a. Please describe any specific organizations, institutions, and/or businesses that you think are involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement.

    b. When you think of people who are *involved* in the local food movement, what characteristics come to mind?

    c. When you think of people who are *uninvolved* in the local food movement, what characteristics come to mind?

    d. Describe the leadership, if any, of the Saratoga Springs local food movement

    e. Are there any other defining factors that you would use to describe the Saratoga Springs local food movement?

2. Do you consider yourself to be involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement? If No, **skip to Question 4.**

Yes No

3. If you *do* consider yourself involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement...
    a. Please describe how exactly you are involved.

    b. What are your reasons for your involvement?

-- skip to Question 5 –

4. If you *do not* consider yourself involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement...

a. Why don't you consider yourself to be involved?

b. Would you like to be involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement?

No Yes I do not know

c. If ***No***, why are you *not interested* in getting involved? If ***Yes***, what has stopped you from getting involved up until now?

5. If you could change anything about the Saratoga Springs local food movement, would you?

Yes No I do not know

If **Yes**, what would you change? Please be specific.

6. Please rate how inclusive you think the Saratoga Springs local food movement is
Defining inclusive as: welcoming and accessible to everyone, not limited to certain people
*Defining exclusive as: not shared, available to only one person or group**

Circle one:

very exclusive somewhat exclusive neutral somewhat inclusive very inclusive

7. What do you think are the barriers to involvement, if any, in the Saratoga Springs local food movement? (Please be specific)

8. What aspects of the Saratoga Springs local food movement make it inclusive, if any? (Please be specific).

Section 3: Demographics

1. When you go food shopping, who are you shopping for?
a. Myself
b. Myself and _____ adult(s)
c. Myself and _____ child(ren)
d. Myself and _____ adult(s) and _____ child(ren)
e. Other: _____

2. Where do you typically purchase your food? List more than one source if applicable.

3. Years in living in Saratoga Springs?

a. 0 - 2
b. 3 - 5
c. 6 - 10
d. 11 - 20
e. 21 - 30
f. 31 +
g. I am not a resident. I am a resident of _____.

4. Age:

a. 18 - 23
b. 24 - 29
c. 30 - 39
d. 40 - 49
e. 50 - 59
f. 60 - 69
g. > 70

5. Gender:

a. female
b. male
c. other _____

6. Race:
Please choose the race(s) and/or ethnic group(s) that you most closely identify with. (Circle all that apply).

a. African American/Black
b. Asian American/Asian/Pacific Islander
c. Latina(o)/Hispanic American
d. Native American/American Indian/Alaskan Native
e. Arab American/ Arab
f. White/European American
g. Other (please specify): _____

7. Annual Income:

a. $0

b. $1 - $10,000
c. $10, 000 - $20,000
d. $21,000 - $30,000
e. $31, 000 - $40,000
f. $41,000 - $50,000
g. $51,000 - $100,000
h. more than $100,000

8. Employment:

a. full time
b. part-time or seasonal
c. unemployed
d. retired

9. Occupation(s) (if applicable): _____

10. Highest Level of Education:

a. primary school
b. some high school
c. high school
d. some college
e. Associates Degree
f. BS/BA
g. MA
h. PhD
i. JD or MD

11. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations states that: *"Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life."*

Using this definition, in the past year have you ever found yourself to be food *in*secure?

12. Have you ever been a part of Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) or Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)?

Yes No

13. Please circle all that apply:

I am a member of, volunteer for, or work for an environmental organization
I compost
I recycle
Political affiliation: _____
I have health care
I volunteer for a political or civic organization on a regular basis
I vote in local elections every year
I garden
I read a newspaper every day
I am aware of a national local food movement

Any additional comments?

If you are interested in talking with us further, please provide your email or phone number below and we will be in touch to set up a time.

*Definition according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary

APPENDIX B

Interview Guide-Local Food Perceptions Capstone

We would like to thank you for taking the time to talk with us today.

We are doing this research as part of our Senior Research Capstone for our Environmental Studies majors at Skidmore College in order to understand peoples' perceptions of the Saratoga Springs local food movement and their reasons for uninvolvement or involvement. Through our research we hope to gain insight into ways the Saratoga Springs local food movement can be more inclusive.

All information will be used anonymously. Do we have your permission to record our conversation today?

Please be as honest as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested in your opinions.

We would like to talk with you for about an hour. If you need to take a break to use the bathroom etc. just let us know!

Considering what we have told you, do you give consent to share information we can use as part of our research?

Any questions?

If you have any further questions after we talk with you please contact us using this information. *(Give them contact sheet.)*

Are you ready to begin?

- Tell me about your household. Who do you live with?
- Where do you get your food from? Tell us about your food shopping habits.
    - *who purchases the majority the food you eat?*
    - *where do you shop for food?*
    - *when you go food shopping who do you shop for?*
    - *when you go grocery shopping what kind of food do you buy? what are your staples that you buy every week?*
    - *what does a standard dinner, lunch, or breakfast look like?*
- The concept of local food can be difficult/complex to define. What does local food mean to you?
    - *What comes to mind when I say local food?*
    - *Produced, grown, and/or processed? (Bread example)*
    - *All ingredients and if not what percentage?*
    - *Scale/size of company or production?*
    - *Sustainable and/or organic? Seasonal?*

-What differentiates local food from non-local food besides the main defining factors (e.g. is it also always sustainable?)

- Do you ever encounter local food when doing your food shopping?
  - *Does it seem to different to the non-local food available?*
  - *How often?*
  - *What products?*
- Do you ever purchase local food when doing your food shopping?
  - *What makes you decide to or not?*
  - *How often?*
  - *What products?*
- Where could you find local food in the area?
  - *Have you ever heard of or visited the Saratoga Springs Farmers Market?*
  - *Have you heard of or are familiar with any farms in the area?*

-Why do you think the Farmer's market price is the way it is?

-For the purposes of this survey we are referring to the culture surrounding local food of Saratoga Springs, as the Saratoga Springs local food movement. This includes the collection of individuals and organizations that support the local food system and the interactions among them.

Examples: Grocery stores, restaurants, farms, Farmer's Market

- Please describe participants of the Saratoga Springs local food movement.
  - *-Perceptions of others involved and uninvolved*
  - *-*How do your perceptions of participants affect your level of involvement?*
  - *-Do you know people personally that are involved and uninvolved?*
  - *-Examples: consumers, farmers, farm workers*
- Describe leadership of the Saratoga Springs local food movement.
  - *Can be in various organizations etc. and don't need to be connected or related.*
  - *Examples of specific individuals?*
- Other defining factors?
  - *-*Organizations*- ex: Farmer's Market, Healthy Living, own garden, etc.?*

-Do you think there is a dominant Saratoga Springs food culture or multiple food cultures? How does the Saratoga Springs local food movement fit into this?

Where have you heard this information from (newspapers, friends, etc.)?

- To what extent do you consider yourself to be involved in the Saratoga Springs local food movement?
  - *-Reasons for uninvolvement/involvement*
  - *-How you're involved (if applicable): how often, what ways?*
  - *-Would you like to be involved at all/more? If so in what ways? What has stopped you? If not, why are you uninterested?*
  - *-How did you first get involved/interested (if applicable)?*
- If you could change anything about the Saratoga Springs local food movement, would you?
  - If yes, what would you change?
  - *Ideas for making this change happen?*
  - *-*Would you like the role of people involved or uninvolved to change?*
- Do you think there's a need for local food and people and related organizations involved with local food in your community? Why or why not?

- Where do you think the Saratoga Springs local food movement falls between Accessible/Inclusive to Inaccessible/Exclusive?
- What do you think the barriers to the involvement in the Saratoga Springs local food movement are, if any?
    -*Where do these come from?*
- What aspects of the Saratoga Springs local food movement make it inclusive, if any?
    -*Where do these come from?*

Ask them to fill out Demographic section.

Ask if they know anyone who would be interested in talking with us or taking our survey, especially people that are uninvolved with local food.

Thank them and give them Gift Card.