

Toward a Food Secure City Region Food System in Peterborough



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Toward a Food Secure City Region

Food System in Peterborough

Introduction and Background

Reason for this study

In Canada, the beginning of the 2020s has been marked by upheaval as weather chaos, wild fires, the COVID-19 global pandemic, and the effects of social and health inequities have raged across this country and far beyond. Central among both the causes and effects of this turbulence are the ways in which food is produced, processed, distributed, accessed, consumed, and disposed of. It has become clear that the dominant, industrial food system continues to fall far short of ensuring: eaters' right to food; the livelihoods of food producers; and the regeneration of food producing lands and waters. Moreover, the industrial food system *contributes* significantly to social, health, and environmental degradation and inequity.^{i ii}

The most recent (2017-2018) pre-pandemic estimate from Statistics Canada's Canadian Community Health Survey found that more people than ever in Canada, 4.4 million, were living with food insecurity.ⁱⁱⁱ Farm debt has risen consistently for decades while the number of farms has declined.^{iv} In general, many producers struggle to earn a sustainable living while many citizens struggle to afford to eat what they need, let

alone the food that producers in their communities provide. To address such challenges, researchers have recommended looking to the systems in which food is embedded for both the roots of these challenges and ways to address them. As Marit Rosol explains,

“Agri-food systems are not only the place where we vividly experience the convulsions caused by the current capitalist system but are also a laboratory for solutions”^v

Through this study, we sought to learn more about ways that local programs, policies, and initiatives can simultaneously help to address the challenges of producers and eaters and how producers and eaters can both support each other. In short, we wanted to know:

How can city-region policies add to eaters' and growers'/harvesters' vulnerabilities

AND

how can policies at this level, as well as local programs, ameliorate food insecurity while also supporting sustainable smallholder farmer/harvester livelihoods?

For simplicity, this report draws a virtual distinction between eaters and growers, despite the obvious overlap between them.

When the global COVID-19 pandemic took centre stage in early 2020, a major shift occurred in perceptions of place—as people retreated into isolation, connected virtually, relied more on nearby social networks and relationships, questioned long-distance food supply chains, and diverted their trust either to local foodways or to more industrial food. As such, the pandemic became a greater focus of this research than originally expected. It affected how the work could be done; starkly illuminated existing food system-related inequities, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies; and provided insights into the extent and speed with which the state and communities can respond to new and intensified crises.

For all these reasons, this report serves to complement *From Crisis to Continuity: A Community response to local food systems challenges in, and beyond the days of COVID-19*, a community report that illustrated ways in which food access, practices, and programs in Peterborough were affected early in the pandemic.^{vi} The current report builds on that work, in part by taking more of a systems approach to food in Peterborough and considering the simultaneous needs of both producers and eaters. It takes as a starting point the concepts of resilience, universality, and sustainability all of which have become increasingly important during this period of ongoing crisis. In doing so, this report offers pathways forward for creating stability in the face of the crises we can surely expect beyond COVID-19.

About Peterborough

Unless otherwise specified, “Peterborough” used in this document refers to the area

that includes the County and City of Peterborough and Curve Lake and Hiawatha First Nations. In 2016, the population of Peterborough Census Metropolitan Area was about 122,000 and was growing at a rate slower than either Ontario or Canada.^{vii} Peterborough’s population stands out in part for its high proportion of seniors. In fact, in 2016, among all Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in Canada, Peterborough CMA had the second highest proportion of people aged 65 and over.^{viii}

The setting of Peterborough suits this study well for several reasons. Not only have researchers identified a need for more attention to the food systems of medium-sized centres like Peterborough,^{ix} but this area also hosts a complex food system comprising urban and rural/farming communities and First Nations. These communities operate a broad and vibrant range of initiatives supporting both eaters and producers.



Methodology

In exploring community food security in the Peterborough City-Region Food System, this study collected data through:

Scans: of food system statistics, policies, and food programs

Network participation: ongoing engagement with 1) the Peterborough Food Action Network (PFAN), which works to, “Ensure that everyone in Peterborough has enough healthy food to eat as part of a long-term food security strategy” (Peterborough Food Action Network, 2015) and 2) the Food Access for Vulnerable Populations Network which developed out of PFAN in March, 2020 to gather individual advocates and organizations together to share challenges, understandings, and resources regarding food access for local vulnerable people.

Interviews: completed from March to July, 2021 with community stakeholders including representation from:

- 5 community programs
- 1 food service organization
- 2 food retailers
- 8 farmers/food producers
- 1 educational institution
- 1 food bank

The interviews (see Appendix A for the questionnaire) sought insight into:

- the work that people are conducting in the food system
- how this work changed with the global pandemic
- how this work, along with local programs and policies, may

support the food security of local eaters, the livelihoods of local

producers, and bridges between them

Taking a Systems Look at Food

Researchers at the international organizations FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) and RUAF (Resource Centre on Urban Agriculture and Food Security) promote a City-Region Food System (CRFS) approach for building stronger, more resilient food systems. This means using:

“a ‘food systems’ perspective which considers the entire cycle of food provisioning – production, harvesting, processing, distribution, retail, wholesale, consumption and disposal, in addition to the social, economic, environmental and nutritional elements of food”^x

In short, a CRFS perspective allows people to explore all aspects of a food system and how they are specific to a particular place. In so doing, it ultimately:

“helps define policies, interventions and mechanisms of territorial governance for food system transformation, reinforcing cooperation and collaboration among different local governments and other actors, which is one of the key elements to build resilience of the local food system to shocks, including pandemics, epidemics, and climate events.”^{xi}

The Peterborough Food Charter



The Peterborough Food Charter^{xii}

(Appendix B) is one tool that takes a CRFS approach. It provides a broad, multi-faceted vision for the local food system in Peterborough City and County, Curve Lake First Nation, and Hiawatha First Nation. The Charter, which resulted from a community consultation process led by Peterborough Public Health, is guided by the principle of *community food security*.

Community Food Security

“A community enjoys food security when:

- all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to nutritious, safe, personally and culturally appropriate foods,
- food is produced in ways that are environmentally sound, socially just, and promote community self reliance, and
- food is provided in a manner that promotes human dignity.”^{xiii}

The Charter is grounded in seven pillars, which express the value of:

- a local food system
- health
- social justice
- culture and community
- education
- economic sustainability
- the environment

In part, the Food Charter envisions:

dignified access to healthy and local food for all; a living wage for the production of food, and a safe and respectful environment for all farmers and people who work to feed others; income, education, employment, housing, and transportation policies and practices that support access to healthy, sustainable food; and minimizing negative environmental impacts of the food system.

Overall, this study uses a CRFS perspective to explore the ways that community food security can be promoted in the wake of the global pandemic in Peterborough, specifically as it relates to addressing both the food insecurity of local residents and the ability of producers to increase food security for the region. In doing so, this research builds on and contributes to the work of the Peterborough Food Charter.

Food Production in Peterborough

By raising concern about the fragility of global food supply chains, including cross-border food transport obstructions, the COVID-19 pandemic has turned public attention to local producers.^{xiv} Our previous study, *From Crisis to Continuity*, found Peterborough survey respondents during the first wave of the pandemic to be concerned about food availability. In addition, about half of the respondents tried to buy local food or support local businesses both before and during the first wave.^{xv} Other pandemic research beyond Peterborough also found support for local food. One Ontario study found that 75% of respondents were concerned about food supply reliability, 92% believed that local food systems would be more reliable for their food access than the global supply chain would be, and 96% wanted the Ontario Government to provide more support for local food systems.^{xvi}

A closer look at producers in Peterborough County^{xvii} reveals the multiple challenges they have experienced in recent years. For example, Table 1 indicates that, from 2006 to 2016, both farm area and number of farms in Peterborough County have decreased markedly and more sharply than across Ontario. At the same time, average net operating incomes are much less in Peterborough County than they are across Ontario.^{xviii} In addition, farmers' average age has increased in Peterborough County.^{xix}

Table 1. Changes to Farming in Peterborough County and Ontario^{xx xxixxii}

	Change 2006 to 2016			
	Total Farm Area	Total Farm-land	No. of Census Farms	Ave. Net Operating Income Per Farm
Ptbn. County	-19%	+1.0%	-21%	+18%
Ontario	-7%	+1.6%	-13%	+80%

Across Ontario, people are using many approaches to building their own bridges between local eaters and producers. Our scan of Ontario food programs and initiatives shows local food itself being transferred through sale, mutual aid, and charity. In addition, awareness, education, and skills are shared regarding foods themselves, seasonality, food production, processing and preparation, and ecological conditions for growing. Such bridges are being built on the basis of relationships and the proximity, trust, respect, and loyalty that help to sustain them (see Appendix C).



What We Found in Peterborough: Who supports local producers?

The Peterborough Food Charter's vision prioritizes a local food system through the support of:

- local farmers
- procurement of local food and food producing lands
- and “connecting people to the land and farmers to the people”

Local retailers

- source their products locally
- promote local producers
- share information about local production
- provide opportunities for local eaters to engage with local producers (offering events, CSA drop-off sites, referrals to farmers' markets)

Food access and food literacy programs

- connect participants with local farms and producers (e.g., through educational trips and opportunities to harvest and participate in farmers' markets)
- provide participants and the public with means of purchasing food from local farmers' markets and local businesses (e.g., Nourish Dollars)
- teach about local food through cooking classes, newsletters, videos
- support people to grow their own food (e.g., community gardens, growing workshops)
- host events that feature and promote local food (e.g., Nourish community dinners)

The Peterborough area hosts a wide range of food programs and initiatives, many of which had to change their approaches during the COVID-19 pandemic in order to meet the needs of the populations they serve and to adhere to public health regulations. Overall, programs often straddle distinctions between food production and consumption. For instance, Nourish evolved from recognition of the triple challenge of:

- inadequate healthy food access for residents living on low-incomes
- inadequate producer incomes
- the economic perspective that food is only a commodity rather than a human right^{xxiii}

The City of Peterborough^{xxiv}

A new official plan for the City of Peterborough, adopted in late 2021, expresses support for local food production through:

- “the continued use of excess lands for agriculture, until they are needed for urban development in accordance with this Plan, recognizing that Peterborough's excess lands are not prime agricultural lands” (p.168)
- recognizing the positive impacts that local food and urban agriculture can have locally
- promoting access to community gardens and encouraging food growing in private gardens and rooftop gardens
- supporting farmers' markets in the city

The County of Peterborough protects agriculture land from development. The County Official Plan, consolidated in March 2020, states “it shall be a policy of this Plan to discourage the development of non-rural related uses within the Prime Agriculture designation and to prevent uncontrolled and scattered development. This leads to an unnecessary fragmentation of the land base and in particular, farmland. Non-rural growth-related uses shall be encouraged to locate within the designated growth centres and hamlet areas identified on the land use schedules.”^{xxv}

Institutions

Because academic and healthcare institutions purchase large quantities of food, they are well-positioned to affect local food sales. In Peterborough, they:

- set goals for local food procurement (e.g., Trent University's food service minimum threshold for purchasing local food)
- participate in a new local working group which will work to develop an institutional (schools, university, hospital) procurement policy for local food in order to coordinate and optimize purchasing at scale

Producer-specific supports

Peterborough is home to various organizations that support and promote producers, local food, and local agriculture. They:

- provide trainings and opportunities that support new and existing farmers and farmland (e.g., Farms at Work)^{xxvi}

- develop online marketing tools for producers (e.g., Local Food Peterborough)
- provide advocacy and research specific to local agriculture (e.g., Peterborough Alliance for Food and Farming^{xxvii})

About procurement

Producers appreciated the commitment of some local institutions and commercial customers to seasonality and procuring local food. They noted that such support can vary with staffing. That is, commercial customers can vary in their comfort with buying producers' surplus produce, using certain varieties of produce, or purchasing produce with imperfections. It was also noted that some terms of payment can mean that producers experience a long delay in payment for their product. In addition, local producers can find that they receive less for their product from retailers than direct sales customers, sometimes making it unattractive to market through local retailers.

Supporting Local: Important and complicated

Even though “local” can have various meanings (e.g., from within a certain radius or within a county, region, province, or country), local food can provide the benefits of reduced travel miles, more transparency around food's origins, strengthened relationships between producers and eaters, and greater understanding and appreciation of how food is produced. It can provide ways to ‘do things differently from’ dominant food systems practices, creating

space for new approaches to equity and social organizing.^{xxviii} Indeed, the concept of “local food” has not only come to mean quality, freshness, and community, but it has also been equated with justice, environmental responsibility, food sovereignty, and morality.

And yet, the benefits of local food can also not be separated from the broader systems that it is a part of. For example, the idea that buying local food is the ‘right’ choice can overlook its inaccessibility for the many people who cannot afford it or are unable to access the places where it is sold. It may also ignore that much of Canada’s local food is grown and picked by Mexican or Caribbean workers who lack the same rights as Canadian-born workers. Additionally, food that is produced locally may be exported many miles out of region to its final destination. Furthermore, while shorter supply chains can certainly reduce costs and increase accessibility, they may also eliminate jobs for those, such as processors and distributors, in the middle of the chain.

Along with the many benefits of local food, it is important to maintain a critical perspective—thinking about and acting on ways to build food systems that are fair, just, and sustainable.^{xxix} **The Peterborough Food Charter** envisions this by seeking:

Social Justice

- the ability of all people to access healthy, local food with dignity
- “Income, education, employment, housing, and transportation policies and practices” that support this food access

- wages and working environments that support the health, safety, and dignity of farmers and all people working in the food system

A Healthy Environment

- reducing any of the food systems’ negative effects on the environment

Healthy People

- strategies and policies that recognize and centre food’s role in all forms of health and well-being
- making nutritious food knowledge and choices accessible in people’s daily lives



Food Consumption in Peterborough

The pandemic has shone a spotlight on the precarity of food access. Its early days in Ontario saw hoarding, empty grocery shelves, and shifting consumption patterns.^{xxx} Food bank usage has soared^{xxxii} and the Canadian Government has invested hundreds of millions of dollars into food banks.^{xxxiii}

Food Insecurity in Peterborough

Food insecurity is defined as “the inadequate or insecure access to food because of financial constraints.”^{xxxiv} In 2017-18, the household food insecurity rate for the Peterborough Census Metropolitan Area was (14.5%) as compared to the rates for Ontario (13.3%) and Canada (12.7%).^{xxxv}

To be food secure, people need adequate funds in order to afford, not only food itself, but also the transportation to acquire it and the equipment and premises to store, prepare, and consume it. In Canada, food insecurity rates (especially severe food insecurity) rise sharply as annual household incomes dip below \$30,000 (Tarasuk, 2017). However, the 2016 Census reports that the Peterborough CMA in 2015 only had a median income \$31,867 (as compared to \$33,539 in Ontario). This means that half of Peterborough residents live below an income of \$31,867, placing many Peterborough residents at risk of food insecurity.^{xxxvi}

The *source* of people’s income is an important contributor to their financial insecurity and food insecurity. For example, across Canada those relying on social

assistance have a much higher prevalence of food insecurity (60.4%) than those relying on other forms of income. Ontario Works (OW) and Ontario Disability Support Plan (ODSP) assistance rates are standard across the province and, as reflected in Table 2, fall well below \$30,000 for ALL households with 2 or fewer children.

Table 2: Ontario Social Assistance Rates as of October, 2020^{xxxvii}

	Ontario Works		Ontario Disability Support Plan	
	Per Month	Per Year	Per Month	Per Year
Single	733	8,796	1,169	14,028
Single parent- 1 child	1,124	13,485	1,718	20,613
Single parent- 2 children	1,301	15,606	1,905	22,854
Couple	1,136	13,632	1,750	21,000
Couple- 1 child	1,313	15,753	1,937	23,241
Couple- 2 children	1,494	17,922	2,131	25,566

Early in the pandemic, for the months of April, May, June, and July, 2020, the Ontario Government provided municipalities the discretion to provide an additional \$100/month to OW and ODSP individual recipients who requested the benefit and were deemed by OW/ODSP to be eligible.^{xxxviii} In comparison, it is notable that individuals in Canada who had lost employment and qualified for the Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB) in 2020

were eligible for \$2000 a month from March to September, 2020, a much more substantial rate than that of OW or ODSP for individuals.^{xxxviii}

Housing costs are typically fixed, so households often prioritize them over more ‘flexible’ costs like food. That is, because people can adjust the quality or quantity of food that they purchase, food is often regarded as a flexible cost—one that can be restricted by more inflexible costs like rent, utilities, and medication. Therefore, housing costs often ‘eat up’ money available for food quality and quantity.

And yet, the cost of housing has grown much faster than wages in recent years.^{xxxix} In Canada, most food-insecure households (61%) rent their homes and food insecurity is more than three times as prevalent among renters (25%) as compared to homeowners (7%).^{xl} Given that housing affordability is defined as paying no more than 30% of income on housing, **no household type receiving social assistance (see Table 2) could affordably rent an apartment for more than \$639/mo. And yet the average rent for just a bachelor apartment in Peterborough was \$819/mo. in 2020.**^{xli}

Not having incomes that are adequate to cover basic needs affects whether people can afford to buy local food, to go to local businesses, or to be available to shop during farmers’ market hours. In turn, this can limit familiarity with seasonality, understandings of food’s origins, and the preparation of local varieties of food.

What We Found in Peterborough: Who supports local eaters?

Retailers

- donate food to local organizations or programs for their participants
- educate the public on food
- make nutritious food available for sale

Producers

- donate food to local organizations or programs for their participants
- offer sliding scales and make low-cost options available
- work with community programs and grow food specifically for them
- connect with local eaters through newsletters, tours, and hands-on experiential learning opportunities, and events like harvest dinners

Institutions

- make nutritious food available for those using the institution
- provide educational opportunities around food
- transfer surplus food credits to those who need them

The City of Peterborough

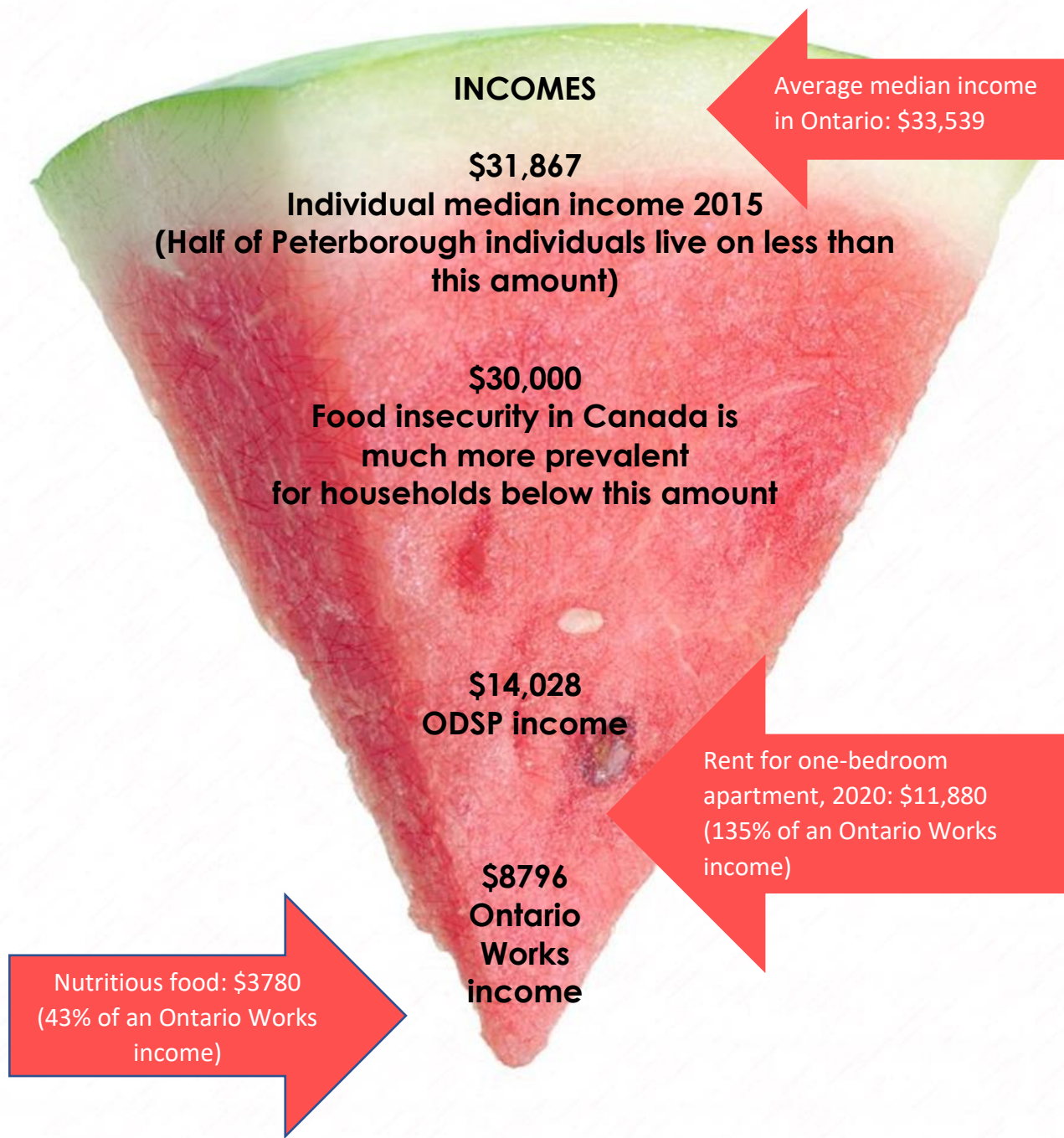
The November 2021 draft Official Plan for the City of Peterborough^{xliii} (see Appendix D) notes that the City:

- recognizes and supports the benefits of local food and urban agriculture for food security—and encourages community gardens and roof-top gardens.
- encourages distribution of large-scale food stores based on population
- supports food sources such as urban growing, community gardens, community kitchens, existing farmers' markets, and "the creation of food spaces that will enable people of all incomes and abilities to meet and to access nutritious food" (p. 168)
- supports the use of land for food, e.g., through agriculture (on excess lands before they are developed), edible landscapes, and food-related industry
- may permit small-scale food processing and distribution and food-related home businesses



Key Numbers Related to Annual Income and Expenses for Individuals^{xliii}

(in Peterborough unless otherwise indicated)



Policy Areas Identified by Participants

A multitude of policies impact the local food system and the ability of eaters and producers to meet their own needs. The following summarizes the policy priorities raised by the interview participants.

Global and Multiple Levels

Neoliberalism, the global food system, and the commodification of food

At the broadest level, participants identified the general need for policies that are strong enough to challenge: capitalism; the problem of commodifying a basic necessity like food; and the perceived challenge of having to “sell food to make a living based on how society is organized.” Participants pointed out that, although food is a vital part of the health care system, 40 years of austerity policies have promoted individualism and reduced trust in public services and community which, in turn, limits civic engagement—and that this is all permeated with stereotypes (e.g., around people on low income) which in turn create barriers to policy change.

Seed sovereignty

Keeping seeds open sourced and maintaining people’s ability to save and keep seeds, especially for farming communities, is necessary at provincial, national, and international scales. New farmers also require support in seed saving and other farming practices. As one participant stated, “I just always really

believed we would not have any food security without seed security.”

Federal and Provincial

Labelling

Federal regulations for labelling (e.g., around made-in-Canada, organic, multiple languages, and differences with US regulations) can present challenges for food retailers.

Employment

Interviews revealed that inadequate funding to hire workers can lead to a reliance on volunteers, and the challenges of turnover, burnout, precarious employment, and limited capacity.

Income

Multiple participants identified a need for a basic income to ensure that the needs of both eaters and farmers are met. The need for stronger social assistance support was also identified.

Student support

Student levy groups are important for supporting campus food programs and need to be protected from dismantling by the Provincial Government.

Grant funding

Policies that exclude collectives (as opposed to incorporated not-for-profit organizations) from applying for grants leave them having to rely instead on connections with other organizations in order to access grants.

Food safety/origins

Interview participants identified challenges arising from inconsistencies in food safety regulations (e.g., where eggs are permitted to be sold).

Land access and farmer support

Land needs to be protected in order to keep it available for farming. The cost of land and the complications of borrowing land can both present challenges. Helping people to access land in ways that are more affordable may support new farmers and, in doing so, increase diversity among farmers.

School Food programming

School nutrition programs (SNPs) typically make healthy snacks or meals available to any student in participating schools. The Ministry of Children, Community and Social Services funds Ontario school food programs but at a level far below program costs, and this funding has not increased in recent years. These programs must comply with Ministry of Education and Public Health regulations and work within Ontario Student Nutrition guidelines. However, these programs require: ongoing, secure funding; provincial program and nutrition guidelines; and consistent, good communications between ministries. The Council of Ontario Directors of Education and the Council of Ontario Medical Officers of Health have asked the Ontario Government for SNP funding that is sufficient for both nutritious food and paid coordinators.^{xliv} Furthermore, a national school food program is necessary for ensuring that the needs of students across the country are being met.^{xlv} As one participant noted,

"I think people don't realize how much food these programs are actually serving...and how so many students are relying on that food to be available in the schools and it is [on] a daily basis, right, that these programs are running."

This participant recommended,

"encouraging and making people more aware of how schools fit into that [the broader food system] as I think that has, because we don't have federal funding for school food, it's because it is more ad hoc in each community."

Individual SNPs can experience challenges like online purchasing minimums, food transportation (especially for rural schools), and lack of representation at decision-making tables.

Municipal

At the municipal government level, participants identified challenges with: building permits; the cost of accessing certified kitchens; land severance policies; zoning/rezoning; the need for support and incentives for community gardens; and the need for support for increasing individuals' cooking and growing skills and initiatives like food hubs.

Public Health Department

Overall, participants expressed respect for public health regulations around both food safety and COVID-19 transmission and found that public health was able to provide valuable support and to model good practices in these areas. One challenge raised was the lack of access to necessary

food safety training during the pandemic. In fact, the Council of Ontario Directors of Education and Council of Ontario Medical Officers of Health have asked the Ontario Government to provide free online food safety training for student nutrition programs' vital volunteers.^{xlvi}

Farmers' Markets

Despite the value of farmers' markets as a community-focused site for connecting local residents with fresh local food and those who have produced it, participants specifically raised financial, geographic, and time access to farmers' markets as an issue. Apart from being unaffordable for some residents, limited hours each week can restrict residents' access to farmers' markets, especially for those living at a distance and not having the advantage of personal vehicles. One participant pointed out that access to the food that people need and want from the market is "just based on who has access to market spaces and market prices."

Institutional and Commercial Procurement

Producers spoke about the benefits and challenges surrounding procurement by institutions and commercial customers. They found that some such customers are very committed to purchasing, not only local and seasonal food, but also surplus, varied, and imperfect product. However, staff changeover with these customers can mean a change in support for certain product (e.g., not wanting blemished, imperfect, or harder-to-process).

Terms of payment can sometimes mean long delays for producers receiving payment. Procurement policies that stipulate that a minimum percentage of food purchases will be local were mentioned by participants as beneficial in providing some stability for producers and demonstrating a dedication to a greater good than least expense. It was noted by some producers that having to lower their prices and compete with other producers who have lowered theirs can make it unappealing to sell to some local retailers.

Institutional Support

- Student levies and annual employment grants have been important for sustaining campus food and agriculture programs that do not generate their own revenue. Nonetheless, there is a recognition that these funding sources are not assured from one year to the next. Funding was made more precarious when the Ontario Government temporarily made student levies optional for students until this initiative was struck down by the Divisional Court of Ontario in 2019.^{xlvi}
- Campus food and agriculture programs require more visibility (especially during the pandemic) and support from the university community, both of which could help with raising institutional support.
- A suggestion was made to have a (non-profit) campus food program where students could access fresh produce.

- Campus agriculture programs encountered challenges around land, including growth restrictions, lack of autonomy in using the land, and a need for both infrastructure and a sense of permanence.



What's Important

In discussing the many ways in which the needs of both eaters and producers are being addressed in Peterborough, interview participants noted the importance of the following considerations:

Affordability

Frequently mentioned in interviews was the unaffordability of locally produced food. For people living on low incomes, affording *enough* food, let alone *local* food, can be prohibitive.

However, farmers expressed that it can be challenging to ensure affordable prices while still making money. One farmer noted that, in setting prices, producers charge the “real” costs of producing food. These include costs that are often not seen in food retail because they are externalized by the industrial food system (e.g., ecological damages). Another participant identified the pressure that farmers can experience to set their prices too low when other producers lower theirs.

One participant noted the apparent paradox that, in general, “food has become very cheap [so farmers are not supported] and also unaffordable at the same time [so low-income eaters are not supported].” Perversely, local and sustainably produced food becomes framed as exclusive and, what one participant called “artisanal.” To address this exclusivity, a number of participants identified the need for adequate incomes for both eaters and producers. As one person stated:

“I do think that food should be valued more, but it needs to be understood within a context [that] people aren't making enough money for that to really happen. And then you just sort of continue feeding people that only have money, that already have money to access good food at the grocery store as well.”

Proximity

In addition to being financially out of reach for some people, local food can also be geographically out of reach because of location and access to transportation. However, some Peterborough examples of connecting people with local food include bringing people to farms (e.g., through the gleaning program) and bringing local food to consumers at the institutional, retailer, program procurement, and charity level.

Collectivity and Scale

The numbers of people participating in initiatives like gleaning and food box programs not only provide opportunities for social connections and the development of friendships, but they also help to build a

critical mass to allow residents to access food more affordably.

Reciprocity and Mutual Support

Producers and retailers shared experiences of promoting each other, taking steps to not undermine each other, buying inputs from each other, sharing knowledge/expertise, and advocating for change in and beyond the agri-food sector.

Consumer Knowledge

For residents to access and make use of locally produced food, they require an awareness of local food vendors, events, varieties, and ways of using local products.

Situating Local Food Access

Participants noted that simply engaging with local food (e.g., by buying it at a farmers' market) does not necessarily mean thinking about food within broader contexts and processes (e.g., those involving farmers, domestic and migrant farm workers, ecological implications, and corporate influence). These participants pointed out that moving towards justice in the food system extends beyond consumer transactions.

Corporate Interference

The prevalence of corporate advertising, food branding, and food outlets intensifies competition with local producers and helps to set public standards for acceptability. For example, this affects the varieties and appearance of products that residents, commercial customers, and institutions will purchase.

Recognizing Essentiality

During the pandemic, the concept of “essential,” (being too vital to go without) became widespread, especially as governments determined which businesses, services, and programs were too important to shut down or restrict. In April, 2020, community garden networks were successful in having the Ontario Government deem community gardens essential and able to remain open. The designation of “essential” also allowed some businesses, such as those selling food, to operate more successfully during times of heightened provincial regulation. Overall, the pandemic has heightened awareness of the essentiality of all parts of the food system.

Environmental Health

Producers spoke about the challenges that climate change may have on sustaining enough food production. For example, a lack of springlike conditions makes it increasingly difficult to grow certain crops like cauliflower, broccoli, and peas. Concern was raised about droughts and the more intense rains that remove nutrients from the soil. Producers are trying new approaches and technologies to adapt to such changing conditions.



Something Solid to Stand On: Addressing Provisionality

The global, industrial, corporatized food system treats natural and human resources as infinite. And yet, a sense of *provisionality* (the state of being temporary and conditional) permeates our food system, especially since the start of the global pandemic. There is a pervasive sense that access to food and the means to provide it are not assured. Locally, we heard provisionality identified in multiple ways. It came across as a lack of continuity and permanence in: **programs** (funding, workforce, and access); **food** (supply and access); **land** (access and use); **climate** (conditions and impacts); and **government** (entitlements and supports).

We also heard about the countless ways in which those working with the food system are attempting to build a greater sense of stability and predictability for producers, eaters, and themselves. Through food access and food literacy programs, advocacy, education, awareness building, donations, mutual support, local procurement, land access, and networking, actors across the local food system are working to create more solid ground for both producers and eaters. In one example, a participant working with a student nutrition program stated,

"Families in need in our community have so many unknowns in their life. And hopefully when they need help, we are there consistently for them. We may be one of the only

consistent components of their lives."

This participant explained that the program's existence assures all students that they are looked after and can expect to be able to access food for nutrition, success in their endeavours, and a feeling of belonging, something that has been particularly important during the uncertain and disconnected times of the pandemic.

Universality

Crucial in creating a sense of food system stability is the principle of universality. Universality of food access ensures that food is available for everyone (e.g., for all people in the world, all members of a community, all students in a school or school board, all people who attend a market). It eliminates the distinction between those who do and do not 'deserve' food based on conditions like their financial and spatial access to it. Further, it can eliminate a two-tiered system where healthy, local, sustainable food is deemed "artisanal" and only accessible to privileged consumers. Considering food as a *universal* entitlement means looking at food as much more than a commodity, but as the entitlement of all people. This participant illustrates the importance of universality by saying,

"No kid should ever be hungry ever, ever, right? One thing I would love to do is, you know, establish a free breakfast for everybody, you know, across our country. Right. No kid should ever go hungry."

When all students can access healthy food in school, this contributes to students

universally being able to learn during the school day without being hungry. More broadly addressing *food insecurity* among all students requires that households have universal access to sufficient *income* for the food that they need.^{xlvi}

Universality among community food programs has been affected during the pandemic in various ways. Because of increased community need, lockdowns, and physical distancing requirements, community food programs have been challenged throughout the pandemic in their efforts to provide universal food access. For example, food boxes that were previously available to any community household on a sliding fee scale were transformed into emergency food boxes for particular at-risk groups. When schools were closed, school nutrition programs previously available to all students in participating schools shifted to food boxes for at-risk families selected by principals. In another example, the pandemic exclusion for anyone under 18 years old on gleaning program trips meant that adults with young children and no childcare supports could not participate although, in many cases, households who were able to attend gleaned extra for those who could not.

Shifts to online approaches to programs and the risks of shared transportation also hindered universality by making it difficult for people without the technology, technical skills, or personal vehicles to participate.

Through vital attempts to address the greatest needs in the community while maintaining safety, such program shifts

reduced access for some, increased the visibility of some households' need, and reduced the relative anonymity and reassurance that comes with programs available to anyone.

The role of the state

Community food programs, producers, businesses, community members, and institutions on their own cannot ensure universal access to adequate or local food. None of these groups has the resources and authority of the state. However, interview participants expressed limited faith in the state to address provisionality, based on multiple factors.

First, despite the enormous material and human resources that not-for-profit organizations can gather to address food insecurity, participants perceived a sense of *state* impoverishment and powerlessness, believing that meeting human needs and addressing broader, global challenges like capitalism are more than the state is able to do.

Second, participants found that government can sometimes be out of touch with what communities need at a local/hyperlocal level regarding, for example, grants, policies, and categorizations of farming types.

And third, some participants observed a pattern of civic disengagement based in part on public cynicism and a lack of knowledge about the state. It was also pointed out that not having enough resources limits the ability of individuals and organizations to do 'the right thing' or to be as civically and community engaged as

they might otherwise be. As one participant stated,

"It's very hard to think about ending capitalism or ending a colonial government, or really changing anything radically, if you're hungry or you don't have anywhere to live, or your kids can't drink the water where you live."

Although some Peterborough producers and small retailers try to ensure greater access to food through means like paying fair wages, working with and supporting food insecurity programs, and accepting market dollars, in many ways, it appears that community organizations, businesses, producers, and residents have been assigned—and taken on—some responsibilities of the state without the associated authority or resources to fulfill them.

Indeed organizations, retailers, and producers find themselves in the business of a kind of **tax collection and resource redistribution** by asking people to donate (money, food, time, leftover university food plan dollars) in order to redistribute from those who have more to those who have less. They also make donations themselves, give out food for free at the markets and use sliding fee scales which allow for inclusiveness and universality. Charging more for specialty foods and less for more common foods is another way that some retailers are taxing higher-income people to support lower-income people.

Unlike actual taxes, however, such redistribution activities are discretionary. Organizations can decide who will benefit and these activities can also sometimes

leave beneficiaries' personal need more visible than it would be through a more progressive tax system. Although offering such forms of redistribution is optional, some interview participants said they would also like to do *more* to help people access food through:

- being able (for market vendors) to offer their leftover food in a sort of 'free market'
- encouraging people to 'pay it forward' by buying something for a future customer along with their own purchase
- incorporating a sliding fee scale
- being able to just give food away for free

In addition to redistribution, producers and organizations are engaged in **re-educating citizens** regarding skills that have been lost with industrialization and globalization, such as those pertaining to food growing and preserving.^{xlix} Furthermore, organizations are educating themselves around meeting the needs of their community members, advocating, and engaging in political processes.

Making new roads

Through their efforts, organizations, producers, retailers, and institutions are modelling new possibilities. They are finding ways of supporting each other and helping to ensure that people have some dignified access to the food that they need. And they are building capacity through, for example, networking, mutual aid, and collective purchasing. In some ways, they are "mak[ing] the road by walking it,"^l creating

new possibilities by implementing them and showing what the food system can look like.

At the same time, the need for supportive government policies on a higher level is necessary to: enable the work on the ground; to broaden its scale; and to ensure that the benefits are felt universally. As one participant stated,

"If we were to do this model all on our own scaled up, it would maybe be completely exhausting, but a lot of what we do is showing what's possible."

Key to moving from provisionality to consistency and universality is building in *resilience*, a concept that has been widely used during the pandemic. Unfortunately, the term is too often applied to under-resourced individuals, organizations, or communities once they have *already* struggled to overcome systemically rooted barriers and challenges. To the contrary, what is required is a **systemic resilience** that is sufficiently resourced and formalized in policy at all levels to ensure that people's needs are met.



Recommendations: Moving beyond Provisionality

Moving beyond provisionality means committing to policies, processes, dialogues, and resources that ensure that all people can meet their basic needs consistently and permanently. It means, as the Food Charter states, that:

- all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to nutritious, safe, personally and culturally appropriate foods,
- food is produced in ways that are environmentally sound, socially just, and promote community self reliance, and
- food is provided in a manner that promotes human dignity

And, as one participant stated, it means "investing in people before they get sick."

In order to move beyond provisionality in addressing the needs of producers and eaters in Peterborough, we make the following recommendations.

- Being able to produce or access local food entails adequate income. Income structures like a living wage, sufficient social assistance rates, and Basic Income Guarantee could help ensure that all people, including both consumers and producers, can afford the food that they need and it can provide them with more ability to choose local food. Likewise, food producers and food programs need sufficient resources to be able to pay their workers adequately for their labour.

- Until universal food access is achieved, food-centred organizations that aim to address the roots of food insecurity as well as related issues, like housing, employment, and mental health issues, need the funding required to do this work.
- In order to retain local farmers and encourage new farmers to this area, land purchase and borrowing must be made affordable to them.
- The ability to collect post-secondary student levies needs to be protected in order to ensure that student-run groups can continue to support campus food and agriculture programs.
- A national school food program is needed to ensure that all schools can consistently make nutritious and local food available to all students
- Supports for home food growing and community gardens are necessary.
- It is important that grants be available to smaller organizations that may not have registered charitable status and that funders provide discretion for organizations to use their community knowledge to address their communities' needs.
- Digital technology and skills must be available to all in order to stay connected and informed around food access, programs, and issues.
- More investment is required in diverse forms of production, local processing, and distribution infrastructure.
- Training in vital areas like food safety needs to be available and free for food program staff and volunteers.
- Institutional procurement minimums for local food are important for adding much-needed predictability for producers.
- It is important to continue to strengthen relationships and build trust within food networks and between all actors in the food system, including government, through good communication and mutual support.
- Seeds, land, food programs, and universal food access need to be protected, supported, and regarded as essential.

Conclusion

In this time of great upheaval, it is common for people to feel, as one participant said, "like you are marinating in fear all the time." The global pandemic, climate emergencies, blatant social inequities, and the threat of future crises are shifting the ground under our collective feet and leading people to search for something solid to stand on. At the very least, people need to be able to count on being able to consume the food that they need and to know that it will continue to be available.

There are many examples of producers, retailers, institutions, government, and residents working to help ensure that the food system is fulfilling its fundamental purpose: allowing people to eat for survival and wellness. Importantly, what is also needed are robust systems that are less prone to collapse. The pandemic and its uneven tragedies arose from the pre-existing 'normal' that will only contribute to more crisis. Instead, it is vital to take steps so that people can *expect* that everyone's basic needs will be met—so that the inability to access sufficient, healthy, and local food becomes inconceivable.

Appendix A- Interview Questionnaire

Interview questionnaire:

1. Can you tell me a bit about your work?
2. Has this changed since COVID-19 was declared a global pandemic?
3. Why do you/your organization do this work?
4. Does your work help ensure that local residents have the food that they need and want to eat? How? Can you tell me about the impacts of your work in this respect?
5. Does your work help support local producers in supporting themselves and their community? How? Can you tell me about the impacts of your work in this respect?
6. Does your work build connections between eaters and producers? How?
7. What policy barriers do you face in the work you do?
8. What other kinds of challenges do you face in your work?
9. What policy, programming, or other solutions would you propose?
10. Can you think of anyone else I should speak with?

Appendix B: The Peterborough Food Charter



Peterborough Food Charter

For All Residents of Curve Lake & Hiawatha First Nations and the County & City of Peterborough

Peterborough has a rich agricultural history and food production continues to be important to our community. There are many cross-sectoral collaborations and partnerships supporting social justice, food literacy and the local food system. Sustainable Peterborough identifies the goal of feeding ourselves sustainably with local, healthy foods. Despite these community food security assets, 16.5% of local households report being food insecure. Locally, research shows that 1 in 4 households with children (18 years of age and younger) experience food insecurity. Food insecurity is inadequate or insecure access to food due to financial constraints and is a serious public health problem.

A food charter is a value, vision or principle statement and/or a series of goals developed by a city, town or region that has a broad base of support and describes what a community wants their food system to look like. Food charters help to raise awareness and education about food issues that can form a basis for action.

This Food Charter is a guiding document to encourage the development of policies and support for programs that promote a healthy and just food system for all residents of Curve Lake & Hiawatha First Nations, and the County & City of Peterborough. The Charter acknowledges the right to food and is a commitment to work together to build a vibrant, sustainable, food secure community with healthy and local food for all.

This Food Charter was developed based on extensive consultation over a number of years by many partners and reflects the diverse voices of our community.



BECAUSE WE VALUE A LOCAL FOOD SYSTEM

WE SUPPORT

- Local farmers and their commitment to sustainable stewardship of food producing lands.
- Policies, programs and infrastructure to ensure that locally grown food is available in the future.
- Land use policies that protect food producing lands.
- Policies to increase procurement of locally grown food where people live, learn, work, and play.
- Increased understanding of the challenges involved in producing food locally.
- Opportunities that connect people to the land and farmers to the people.
- Access to wild foods obtained by fishing, hunting and gathering.



BECAUSE WE VALUE HEALTH

WE SUPPORT

- Strategies that ensure all residents, at all times, have physical and economic access to nutritious, safe, personally and culturally appropriate foods.
- Public policy that recognizes food's contribution to physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional well-being.
- Communities and neighbourhoods that encourage and build adequate transportation links to make healthy food accessible to all, including pedestrians and cyclists.
- Baby Friendly™ policies that protect, promote, and support breastfeeding and the importance of breastmilk as a first food.
- Nutrition education and healthy food choices where our residents live, learn, work and play.



BECAUSE WE VALUE SOCIAL JUSTICE

WE SUPPORT

- Dignified access to healthy and local food for all.
- A living wage for the production of food, and a safe and respectful environment for all farmers and people who work to feed others.
- Increased access to land for people interested in growing and facilities for processing food.
- Income, education, employment, housing, and transportation policies and practices that support access to healthy, sustainable food.



BECAUSE WE VALUE CULTURE & COMMUNITY

WE SUPPORT

- Strengthening links between the farm and table.
- Celebrating and promoting culturally and spiritually significant foods and traditions to connect communities and strengthen collaborations.
- Opportunities for all community members to grow, prepare, and eat together.

BECAUSE WE VALUE EDUCATION

WE SUPPORT

- Public awareness of the food system's role in our lives.
- Promoting the connections between our health, the environment, and our food choices.
- Programs for current and future farmers, home gardeners, food producers, and others involved in the food system.
- Initiatives and programs that develop food literacy for everyone.

BECAUSE WE VALUE ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY

WE SUPPORT

- Increased production, storage, processing, distribution, consumption and marketing of local, healthy food.
- Promotion of our region as an agricultural and culinary destination.
- Food and agricultural research that is innovative, sustainable, and includes alternative food systems.
- Economic and physical services and infrastructure that support local food producing lands and the development of local food related programs and businesses.
- The protection of land for sustainable food production.

BECAUSE WE VALUE THE ENVIRONMENT

WE SUPPORT

- Farming practices and food production that promotes environmental stewardship.
- Minimizing negative environmental impacts of the food system.
- Practices that improve soil, water and air quality for sustainable food production.

WHAT FOOD SECURITY MEANS TO US

A community enjoys food security when:

- All people, at all times, have physical & economic access to nutritious, safe, personally and culturally appropriate foods,
- Food is produced in ways that are environmentally sound, socially just, and promote community self-reliance, and
- Food is provided in a manner that promotes human dignity.

Peterborough Food Action Network

For more information or ways to take action, visit www.foodinpeterborough.ca/foodcharter

April 2017

Appendix C-Food Programs and Initiatives across Ontario that Build Bridges between Growers and Eaters

Food Access	
Food Boxes	use scales of economy to access more affordable food for residents; overall focus on nutrition; healthy but limited choice for residents
Alternative Markets	include low-cost/culturally specific/mobile markets; allow for greater choice of healthy/locally produced foods; financial access varies
Gleaning Programs	picking unharvested food on farms and from trees in urban public and private spaces; experiential, collective, skill/knowledge-building; provide large quantities of limited kinds of food; harvested food is often divided between pickers, growers, and donation to local organizations
Food Currencies	include market dollars, food prescriptions; rationales differ (e.g., nutrition/health for vulnerable residents; accessibility for those who can afford it; promotion of local farmers' markets); they have differing: accessibility; universality/confidentiality for vulnerable people; dependence on people's prior connection to the markets
Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs)	the cost and access to funds for the season up front can be prohibitive for consumers; some CSAs have a sliding scale, weekly payment options, or donated boxes/shares; some availability of picking for personal donation
Community Fridges & Pantries	no restrictions for who can take food or how much they can take; some questions about food safety and sanitation; not necessarily stocked with healthy or local food
School Nutrition Programs	each program makes healthy snacks and meals available to all children and youth in the schools where they operate
Food Literacy	
Cooking Programs	bring people together to develop food literacy skills, social connections and they sometimes add to food access. Many were closed or needed to move online during the pandemic, which created access challenges for those without technical resources but reduced access challenges for some with mobility or transportation restrictions
Community Kitchens	bring people together to learn food literacy skills, prepare food, and eat together

Urban Agriculture	
Community Gardens/ Urban Farms	provide opportunities for community members to grow their own food and often donate to local food programs; community gardens were deemed essential in April/20 and are now moving under the auspices of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA); like many programs, they had to limit numbers onsite during pandemic
Education And Employment	
Value-Added Waste	some employ out-of-work youth in using waste from local farmers, businesses, and suppliers to produce products available for sale to the public
Youth Employment	hire youth in settings like: farms, markets, warehouses, kitchens, classrooms/schools, rooftops; provide skills development in food work, business/marketing, sustainability
Food Sovereignty	
Collective Impact Project	food sovereignty approach with the goal of everyone in a community being food secure; about food access, training, food literacy and community engagement; grassroots & ecological focus; multifaceted, but approach does not necessarily extend to structural/policy change focus
Indigenous Food Sovereignty	Includes: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • urban food gardens and medicine gardens • workshops for Indigenous community members and community members more broadly • community cooking, dinners, gatherings • accessibility of wild game and other traditional foods • sugarbush and manoomin experiential teachings • youth trips to learn about and experience the land & food sovereignty lessons • developing an understanding of the language and culture of food • food-themed festivals • community blueberry picking (and youth selling the berries to support their community programs)
Marketing and Sales	
Online Platforms	for people to purchase from local vendors; pooling of marketing resources and developing centralized spaces for customers
Producer Listings	provide a central online location for consumers to find local producers; can become confusing for consumers when there are multiple, overlapping listings in a community

Appendix D: Local Food Production section of City of Peterborough Official Plan, November 2021

5.6 Local Food Production

- a. Community gardens, urban agriculture, and farmers markets provide residents with increased access to healthy food, leisure and educational opportunities and support sustainable food practices. The City acknowledges the benefits of local food and urban agriculture on the local economy, food security, sustainability, social inclusion and community building.
- b. It is the intent of this Plan to encourage and support local food activities and urban agriculture. The City will encourage increased production and access to local food sources through the following means:
 - i. Supporting the growing of food and the sharing of produce in local neighbourhoods through access to community gardens and community kitchens;
 - ii. Supporting the continued operation of the farmers markets in the Central Area and Morrow Park and the creation of food spaces that will enable people of all incomes and abilities to meet and to access nutritious food;
 - iii. Supporting the continued use of **excess lands** for agriculture, until they are needed for urban development in accordance with this Plan, recognizing that Peterborough's **excess lands** are not prime agricultural lands;
 - iv. Considering the expanded use of City land for growing food, including edible landscapes;
 - v. Considering permissions for small-scale food processing and distribution (e.g. food co-ops, community food centres);
 - vi. Considering permissions for food-related home occupations/industries, subject to applicable policies and regulations;
 - vii. Encouraging private gardens throughout the community and roof top gardens in higher density development as part of the private outdoor amenity; and,
 - viii. Designating sufficient land for food-related industry and uses.

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- ⁱⁱⁱ Tarasuk, V. & Andy M. (2020). “Household Food Insecurity in Canada, 2017-2018.” PROOF Food Insecurity Policy Research. <https://proof.utoronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Household-Food-Insecurity-in-Canada-2017-2018-Full-Reportpdf.pdf>
- ^{iv} Statistics Canada, 2021; Statistics Canada, (2017). Across Canada, outstanding farm debt has increased almost every year since 1971 from \$4.6 million to \$121.9 million in 2020. (Statistics Canada, 2021, Farm Debt Outstanding, classified by lender (x 1,000))
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- ^{vi} Martin, M.A., Classens, M., & Agyemang, A., (2021). From Crisis to Continuity: A Community response to local food systems challenges in, and beyond the days of COVID-19. <https://www.trentu.ca/agriculture/experience/grow-change/current-research-projects>
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- ^{xvi} Knezevic, I., Dong, B., & Tyson, H. (2020). Food Access, Concerns and Perceptions During Covid 19 First Wave: Ontario Survey https://www.kpu.ca/sites/default/files/Food%20access%20concerns%20and%20perceptions%20during%20COVID-19_ON_0.pdf
- ^{xvii} Across Canada, comprehensive local data on farm numbers, farmland, and farm incomes is collected every five years by Statistics Canada through the Census of Agriculture. Because the most recent Census of Agriculture data collected was conducted in 2016, many of the statistics in this section are already 5 years old.
- ^{xviii} For Peterborough County in 2016, net operating income per farm was negative for all brackets with less than \$100,000 gross receipts. It was also less than Ontario’s net operating income per farm across all gross receipt brackets. OMAFRA. (2021). Average Net Operating Income per farm by county and township 1991-2016 <http://www.omafra.gov.on.ca/english/stats/county/NOIbyfarmsize.xlsx>
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- xxiv City of Peterborough. (2021). City of Peterborough Official Plan July, 2021. <https://www.connectptbo.ca/10840/widgets/42411/documents/62727>
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- xxvi Farms at Work, according to its website endeavours to: "Support farmers in diversification and expansion to ensure that farmland stays in production; Attract new farmers to the region; Ensure access to local farmer training opportunities; Provide opportunities for new and establishing farmers to integrate into the agricultural community through mentorship, internship and events; Support access to farmland and financing by new farmers; Engage farmland owners who are non-farmers in active use of their land for agricultural purposes; Create partnerships and outreach that result in on-the ground farm stewardship in the region." Farms at Work. (n.d.). Our Mission, https://farmsatwork.ca/our-mission?_ga=2.4754033.336895990.1629393065-1529453018.1625418557
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- xxix See Allen, P. (2010). Realizing Justice in Local Food Systems. Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy, and Society. 3(2): 295-308.
- xxx Knezevic, I., Dong, B., & Tyson, H. (2020). Food Access, Concerns and Perceptions During Covid 19 First Wave: Ontario Survey. https://www.kpu.ca/sites/default/files/Food%20access%20concerns%20and%20perceptions%20during%20COVID-19_ON_0.pdf
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