Food Consumption Practices in Thompson, Manitoba: A Northern Narrative

By

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Abstract

Drawing on a multi-layered theoretical framework of consumption, this thesis explores food consumption practices using a socio-cultural lens. It attempts to map food practices, illustrate environmental influences, and explore processes of negotiating preferred practices of consumption in a northern Canadian context; specifically Thompson, Manitoba. This focus provides insight into the complexities of food consumption habits and produces a northern narrative of the food experiences of those living in Thompson.

The thesis is based on a mixed methods approach, encompassing both survey and interview data collection strategies. The findings show that habitus, gender, and identity-values have a significant influence on food consumption practices and are expressed through food routines and traditions involving purchasing, selection and preparation. My findings also illustrate a mismatched relationship between Thompson's food milieu and its diverse population. The findings of this research can be taken into consideration by political representatives as they evaluate and develop future plans for Thompson's food environment.

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Chapter One: Introduction

In this thesis I apply a socio-cultural analysis, using a multi-layered theoretical framework, to explore the dynamics of food consumption in a northern Canadian context; specifically Thompson, Manitoba. A case study is the most suitable form of study to further the understanding of food consumption in this northern setting as it offers a historically and geographically sensitive approach to the socio-cultural dimensions of food practices. Thompson is an interesting case, since it hosts a diverse population, has a low unemployment rate, and is located over 700 kilometres north of Winnipeg, the main distribution centre for food and other consumer items in Manitoba. Thompson's food environment has a delicate role to play in northern Manitoba. Its food environment serves both Thompson residents and outlying northern communities as a supply 'hub' for food. It is important to examine food environments like Thompson because of this role and its relatively secluded location in the north. Moreover, a northern context focus on food is needed as the majority of sociological studies of food consumption focus on large urban centres located in the southern provincial regions of Canada. The main question I am pursuing is: How do socio-cultural and place-based factors influence food consumption practices in Thompson?

For my case study, I employed a multi-layered theoretical framework drawing on socio-cultural and geographical approaches to consumption in order to grasp the complex nature of food practices, consumption, and behaviour in a specific environment. I conducted the research using mixed methods. These included an on-line survey and semi-structured interviews designed to examine aspects related to habitus, gender, occupational

culture, and place identity, and how these intersect with and shape food consumption practices.

In Canada, the dominant lens used to examine food consumption has been through a health paradigm. This is in part due to the links between health and food and the increasing prevalence of type II diabetes currently experienced in Canada. However, a dominant focus on health in relation to food permeates an imbalanced understanding of how people interact with food and offers a limited analysis of consumption. Though a health approach to food is informative, it overlooks the socio-cultural elements of food and instead promotes a medicalization view of food; food as only a nutrient factor.

The increasing medicalization of food has significant social impacts (Lawrence & Germov, 2007). It involves constructing and treating food like a drug with therapeutic properties in order to prevent diseases (Lawrence & Germov, 2007). This approach assumes that consumers engage with food strictly on a health basis dictated by health education messages and focuses solely on the biological use-value of food. Aside from the fact that health education messages are subject to change (e.g. foods once categorized as unhealthy are now categorized as a healthy choice), the imposed ideal nutritional declarations are far from natural and instead reflect particular cultural dimensions (Ashley, Hallows, Jones, & Taylor, 2004). Ashley et al. (2004) argue that healthy diets are equated with middle class European diets, which can lead to the marginalization of other types of diets. This can hinder the effectiveness of health and food policies and promotional materials as it neglects the multi-cultural dimension of Canadian society. Further, it is important to recognize cultural factors in the context of the Canadian

population as Canada has a remarkably culturally diverse population. So what role can a socio-cultural analysis of food consumption practices play in a Canadian context?

In order to avoid an overly health-centric perspective and the medicalization of food, and to address Canada's remarkable cultural diversity, a multi-dimensional approach to the investigation of food consumption practices is warranted, if not imperative. As such, the theoretical framework I apply integrates socio-cultural approaches as well as geographical perspectives to develop a multi-layered analysis of food consumption. Applying a socio-cultural lens to the examination of food consumption practices within a Canadian context recognizes diverse cultures and practices as it considers distinctions between groups in a forum where cultural influences on food are significant. Two prominent practitioners of this approach are sociologists Pierre Bourdieu and Alan Warde, whose work examines the relational dynamics that shape and are shaped by consumer behaviour, and explains how these dynamics are displayed through specific tastes for certain kinds of foods. Bourdieu's (1984) theory of cultural capital and taste, which emphasizes the role of habitus, and Warde's (1997:2010) cultural analysis of food consumption, which emphasizes consumer processes such as communification, as well as the three values that guide consumption, provide an avenue to fruitfully explore food consumption practices in northern Canadian contexts.

The theoretical framework I apply also incorporates geographical approaches that consider the relationship of consumers to place and illustrate the relational dynamic between the social and physical environment that cultivate culture and taste (Mansvelt, 2009). These approaches place an emphasis on place identity in food consumption practices. Place identity is an essential component when looking at social phenomena in

Canada. According to a news release by the Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canada had welcomed the highest number of legal immigrants in more than 50 years in 2010 and saw the provincial nominee program expand to four times its rate since 2005 (Government of Canada, 2013). In addition to immigration, intra-national employment related mobility is also increasing with more workers commuting between municipalities or provinces (Newhook, Neis, Jackson, Roseman, Romanow & Vincent, 2011). Therefore, incorporating place identity into an exploration of food consumption can reflect these processes and better illustrate the dynamics of food consumption in northern Canada. A layering of consumption theories will better reflect the complexity of consumption practices in northern Canadian environments. They allow for an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of food consumption, particularly its social and cultural embeddedness, and relation to specific food environments.

My case study, focusing on Thompson, Manitoba allows for the contextual examination of these consumption theories, and consideration of the way factors such as habitus, consumption values, gender, and place-based identity interact within a northern food milieu. Questions that allow me to explore these socio-cultural and place-based aspects of consumption include: How does social and place identity interact through food consumption? What roles do gender, occupational culture, and place identity play in food consumption practices? How does the environment influence food consumption practices? How do residents of Thompson negotiate their food consumption practices? Addressing these questions in my research produced a socio-cultural map of food consumption practices in Thompson and facilitated a much needed alternative understanding of food consumption practices in this northern community.

1.   Organization of Thesis

In chapter two I discuss the different theoretical approaches to examining food consumption practices, as well as how each approach can be layered to develop a multi-dimensional framework. I first explore the economic approach and outline its limitations. I then show how a socio-cultural approach can address these limitations, drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) theory of distinction and concept of habitus, as well as consumer culture theory (Warde, 1997). My discussion of consumer culture focuses predominately on the work of Warde. Lastly, I suggest how the exploration of consumption practices can be extended through the investigation of place identity as an extension of the social element of geographical influences.

In chapter three I introduce my research methods, which centre on a case study of Thompson, Manitoba. Descriptive facts of Thompson are provided, as well as an in-depth ecological description of Thompson in terms of a food desert analysis in order to contextualize participants' experiences. I provide a detailed explanation of my methodology, specifically my quantitative and qualitative data methods, and the chronological steps taken in order to apply a multi-layered theoretical framework in my study of food consumption practices in Thompson.

Chapter four explains the organization of survey data in terms of addressing the skewness of variables and results of the reliability tests for the place identity index and the correlation tests for the Occupational Culture Matrix. The univariate analysis provided in this chapter predominantly focuses on survey data but is followed by descriptive statistics of interviewed participants. This chapter focuses on the descriptive

stage of the research findings, which in turn portrays the demographic characteristics of participants and a brief analysis of their responses.

Chapter five illustrates food consumption practices in Thompson through the mapping of broad and intricate patterns. Broad patterns are defined through survey results, which are then elaborated upon using interview data. Intricate patterns of food consumption are mapped predominately using interview data. Collectively, this analysis provides a food consumption practices map of those living in Thompson. The findings also illustrate how a diverse population interacts with a limited food environment.

In chapter six I explain the dynamic interplay between Thompson's food environment and participants' tastes. I provide a detailed description of the conflicting nature of people's food practices in terms of their exchange values, food preferences, and identity values, and how these find expression in Thompson's specific food milieu. I also outline how people negotiate their preferences using various kinds of cultural and social capital. These dynamics illustrate the intimate connection between environment and cultivation of food practices and taste.

In chapter seven I summarize my findings and discuss the dynamics between my findings and Thompson's food milieu. I also discuss how my research can be applied and used in order to address conflicts within this environment. Lastly I suggest further research ventures that should be explored.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Foundations

In this chapter I discuss the different approaches to examining food consumption practices, as well as how each approach can be layered to develop a multi-dimensional framework. I first explore the economic approach and outline its limitations. I then show how a socio-cultural approach can address these limitations, drawing on Bourdieu's theory of distinction and concept of habitus, as well as consumer culture theory. My discussion of consumer culture focuses predominately on the work of Warde (1997). Lastly, I suggest how the exploration of consumption practices can be extended through the investigation of place identity as an extension of the social element of geographical influences. Together, these various approaches constitute the building blocks of a multi-layered theoretical framework for understanding consumption practices.

1.   *Economic Approaches*

In terms of consumption, an economic analysis of food purchasing behaviour offers a linear explanation as to why certain foods are bought by different social classes. How much is spent on food gives an indication of differences in behaviour between social classes. Economic analyses focus on the purchasing power of each social class relative to the costs of food. At the base of this perspective is rational choice theory.

1.1 Rational Choice Theory

Rational choice theory highlights the mental processes by which individuals consciously attempt to master reality (Redmond, 2000). As a consumer, the individual is depicted as sovereign in their decisions regarding which products to choose. The choices made by a consumer are seen to be reflective of the consumer's true interests and

preferences (Redmond, 2000). These interests and preferences are related to consumer sovereignty in that a consumer is capable of allocating income between current and future consumption (Redmond, 2000). The balancing of the amount and type of consumption that an individual engages in requires rational thought.

Rational choice theory seeks to explain human behaviour as an outcome of an evaluative goal oriented thought process, wherein the individual's goal is to maximize the utility of the purchase (Redmond, 2000). The choice of what is purchased is determined by its functionality: how useful the purchase is to the individual (Redmond, 2000). As explained by Redmond (2000) Becker (1996) argues that advertising conveys information to consumers that contributes to their rational decision making process. The concept of an independent consumer highlights the theory of human agency. Becker's human agency theory views the individual as attempting to maximize the utility of their purchases through consideration of both current and future consumption; a "more for less" approach to consumption. This approach is highlighted in Travers's (1996) study of disadvantaged women and their families in an urban centre in Nova Scotia. The constant balancing of current and future consumption is evident in her case study. The women were commonly forced to diminish the amount of money spent on food and apply it to other essential expenditures, specifically rent (Travers, 1996). Travers' (1996) study illustrates the "more for less" type of approach. Additionally, it clearly fits with rational choice theory which positions consumer spending behaviour as a rational response to price-like incentives (Redmond, 2000).

1.2 The Power of Price Incentives

Price-like incentives are seen as pivotal in consumer decisions to purchase more nutritional foods. Powers (2005) argues that in order to decrease the discrepancy between the diets of those with higher and lower socio-economic status, food prices need to be lowered. In particular, she states there is a socio-economic gradient in diets and that the lowering food prices would mitigate this inequity. This socio-economic gradient is illustrated in Beydoun, Powell, and Wang's (2008) study of the effects of the pricing of fast foods, fruits, and vegetables, on dietary intake, Body Mass Index, and obesity risk. Their regression analysis revealed that an increase in fast food prices resulted in increased fibre intake and lowered intake of saturated fats, which resulted in a better overall quality of diet. Beydoun et al.'s (2008) recommendation to increase fast food prices in order to induce healthier eating habits, however, neglects to consider which social classes would be negatively affected by this change: mainly the working class or working poor. Furthermore, although reducing nutritious food prices may increase the consumption of healthier food, its significance is likely exaggerated (Warde, 1997). Although the socio-economic gradients in diets and rational choice theory are informative, these theories offer a narrow scope of what factors influence food practices. A view of food purchasing through an economic lens considers only income, purchasing power, and the price of foods.

This approach to understanding the dynamics of food consumption behaviour leads to a grossly over-simplified analysis. Economic analysis highlights the different amount each social class spends on food but cannot account for the influence of social and cultural factors on purchases (Warde, 1997). The rational choice theory and the ideal

of the sovereign consumer ignore the cultural processes of consumer engagement with products and value infused decision-making processes. An economic analysis also overlooks the significance of social relationships. Arguments based solely on economic and market strategies neglect the critical role domestic provisioning plays in individual and household patterns of consumption (Warde, 2010). However, the social relationships in which the individual is situated do not simply disappear when food prices change.

Instead, sociological accounts such as; Bourdieu's (1984) theory of taste and cultural capital address the short-falls of an economic analysis and dismantles its overarching explanation of consumption. Bourdieu (1984, p. 375), for instance, argues that the coherence of consumer choice is really an effect of habitus, which is expressed via taste:

> "If everything encourages a belief in the existence of a direct relationship between income and consumption, this is because taste is almost always the product of economic conditions identical to those in which it functions, so that income tends to be credited with a causal efficacy which it in fact only exits in association with the habitus it has produced"

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus, a socialized set of dispositions, tastes, and practices, illustrates the limitations of an economic analysis of consumption behaviour. Relying on price incentives to change behaviour would only provide a limited amount of change as it neglects the individual's social relationships and the importance of group identity practiced through a definitive lifestyle.

2.   *Socio-Cultural Approaches*

Various sociological accounts of consumption suggest that consumption is a form of conscious and unconscious communication (Warde, 2010). Consumption allows consumers to use goods to affirm and display a set of judgments and values (Bourdieu, 1984; Warde 1997; 2010; Douglas & Isherwood, 2010). In turn consumption is a social act. Veblen's model of consumption provides a basis for an understanding of consumption as a social act: a form of communication.

2.1 Veblen: Conspicuous Consumption

Veblen's model of consumption maps the social dynamics of consumption through his concept of conspicuous consumption (Campbell, 2010). Conspicuous consumption reveals a class structure of consumption. Veblen([1925] 2010) states that certain dietary and other consumer items are perceived as noble and honorific, as a marker of status, and are embedded in the tastes of the leisure class. Veblen's model views consumption as a vehicle for social climbing as a strategy to belong to or be viewed as part of the leisure class (Veblen, [1925] 2010). In order to consume successfully in this respect, a consumer must cultivate their tastes to illustrate that they have the skills to determine inferior goods (Veblen, [1925] 2010). Food connoisseurship or wine-tasting seminars are examples of how different classes still try to imitate the upper class and try to mobilize their social class through certain skill attainments. Furthermore, Veblen argues that consumers are motivated by envy and social anxiety, as failure to consume the 'right' items or materialistic items in general is viewed as a social marker of inferiority and demerit (Campbell, 2010). However, Veblen's' model of

consumption is limited in modern consumer culture as modern society is less concerned with social hierarchy than differentiation (Campbell, 2010).

2.2 Bourdieu: Distinction, Habitus, and Taste

Bourdieu's (1984) theory of habitus provides a more refined model of consumption, in which consumption practices are viewed as an act of distinction; of differentiation (Tampubolon, 2008; Warde, 1997). Bourdieu's (1984) theory of taste and cultural capital involves a relational approach to understanding social phenomena and can assist in furthering the understanding of consumption practices. Bourdieu (1984) views consumer culture as a tool for depicting habitus. Habitus is a very complex circular and circuitous concept that serves as a powerful socializing and normative agent (Warde, 1997; Bourdieu, 1984). It is the relationship between the principles of judgement and the systems of classification that provide meaning and value to the collective consciousness and practices (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (1984) states that habitus is "necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perception; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic universal application… of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions" (p. 170). Habitus is acquired via a process of socialization. Social relationships shape an individual's judgement of what is tasteful and valuable. It functions as a unifying resource that unites practices and goods and as a unifying principle that creates a lifestyle. A key aspect of habitus involves generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices such as what a worker eats and how he eats (Bourdieu, 1998, p.8). It serves as a classificatory scheme of different tastes and distinctive signs (Bourdieu, 1998). Furthermore, habitus is a multi-dimensional structural concept that involves social

reproduction, lifestyles, tastes, and acts of differentiation. Exploring these dimensions of habitus allows for a greater understanding of the social relations that shape consumer behaviour.

One element of habitus consists of the social reproduction of values. Social values are produced historically and propelled into the present via the practicing of habitus. Values are reproduced through socialization and these values are linked to habitus. Social reproduction is done through what Bourdieu (1984) terms 'true pastiche'. True pastiche involves the copying of values; it represents the reproduction of habitus through the regurgitation of the original discourse of one's habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). True pastiche voices one's habitus through the imitation of a particular style or view point that is seen as valuable. This practice allows the habitus to socially reproduce itself as it sets parameters of how to engage oneself. These parameters serve to define oneself through opposition; through the act of differentiation.

Adhering to the practice of one's habitus develops into a wider act of lifestyle. Bourdieu (1984) argues that the practicing of habitus functions as lifestyle and that it is an agent of class. Consumer culture is used as a means to depict one's lifestyle. Bourdieu (1984) argues that lifestyle suggests a hidden unity. The consumption of goods, thus, is a form of communication between groups and between members of a group. Bourdieu (1984) refers to this social interaction as an act of deciphering and decoding meaning. Being able to decode the communication requires internal knowledge. The practical use of this knowledge of what to consume solidifies one's membership in a particular group by sharing a certain lifestyle and demonstrating shared taste.

Taste is a key dimension of habitus. Taste is the generative formula of lifestyle that defines preference (Bourdieu, 1984). It is a classification system shaped by social structures of differentiation. Taste mobilizes distinction between each class as it is expressed through the transformation of necessities into strategies of consumption (Bourdieu, 1984). What is consumed is a signifier of taste; a condition and representation of habitus. Taste is a match-maker of groups of people to goods as well as a match-maker of people with people (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (1984) proposes that taste is 'amor fati', a choice of destiny; a forced choice that is produced by one's social positioning. Consequently, one prefers the taste of what is available to them. Bourdieu's (1984) focus on the working class illustrates how 'choice of the necessary' imposes a 'taste for necessity'. Taste of necessity shapes definitions of what is valuable, luxurious, or what constitutes 'good' taste. Bourdieu (1984) debunks the significance of the economic analysis of food using his theory of taste: 'having a million francs does not in itself make one able to live like a millionaire' (p. 374). He argues that taste would not change with an increase in monetary assets; instead, consumption of quantity, or 'more of the same' would ensue.

Bourdieu's (1984) study of habitus highlights his concept of amor fati and the tastes of luxury and necessity. His study reveals how people of different occupation and economic status engage with food and drink, along with other consumption goods and practices, differently. The focus on occupational class is important to understand tastes, as occupation has been deemed to be a very influential factor in terms of rates of adoption and diffusion in consumer activities (Tomlinson, 2003). Bourdieu's (1984) study of the French population during the 1960's and 1970's illustrates how class differences are

prominent in consumption patterns. For instance, he reveals that a higher proportion of farm workers drink milk for breakfast everyday than other occupational classes and discusses how the working class diet includes more salty, 'substale', meat and cheese, whereas the middle class consume more sweet foods. Bourdieu's (1984) quantitative study reveals that what is defined as 'eating well' is class dependent. His study shows that manual workers associate 'good eating' with wine, coffee, and sugar, but this association declines sharply in the upper classes. Bourdieu (1984) argues that the working class develops a taste for what is made available to them. Their disposition is a product of their realistic choices. Choices are socially monitored by what each class defines as a reasonable choice.

Acts of differentiation highlight the struggles between different social classes to define their class, their taste, and their lifestyles as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1984). The practice of difference stems from distinctions between each class group. Each class group engages in the act of differentiation purposefully as it solidifies group identity. Distinction exists only in and through the relation with other properties and people in that difference is defined through comparison (Bourdieu, 1998). A group uses distinction to express difference from another group. Bourdieu (1984) argues that this act is an ethical stance of adhering to the practice of one's habitus.

Bourdieu's (1984) study of habitus contributes to a broader understanding of consumption by illustrating the power of social relationships and culture. His approach has been taken up by many scholars (e.g. Jackson and Holbrook (1994); Veenstra (2005); Warde (1997: 2005); Tampubolon (2008); Tomlinson (2003); Robbins (2005)). For instance, Jackson and Holbrook (1994) utilize Bourdieu's (1984) habitus analysis of

consumption to study the relationships between consumption and wider social paradigms of gender, family, age, ethnicity, place, and nation. Their study found that among consumers in North London, consumption practices are dominated by domestic and familial contexts in terms of a persistence of tradition, even in a limited fiscal environment. Their study also refutes the view of consumption as a leisure laissez-faire practice. Using a habitus-oriented analysis moves beyond an economic view of consumption and elaborates upon the significance of social factors in shaping consumer patterns. However, in order to better understand habitus and its link to consumption, Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and doxa should be mentioned.

2.2.1 Field Theory

Bourdieu (1984) argues that fields must be conceived as a "snapshot" of social reality. A field is an "invisible reality that cannot be shown but which organizes agents' practices and representations" (Bourdieu, 1998; p.10). Fields are composed of individuals and groups with different resources that perpetuate the on-going struggles within the field (Bourdieu, 1998). Field theory is a new way of looking at the social world and its social dynamics in that it considers the symbolic dimensions of the social world. Bourdieu (1984) argues that consumption is a field to express social differences as relationships of distinction are inscribed within it. Products to be consumed are developed based on the competitive struggles of the outcome of social, cultural, and economic fields.

2.2.2 Capital

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of capital is important to understanding habitus and the social dynamics within a field. There are three types of capital available; economic,

social, and cultural capital. Economic capital refers to the financial resources available to individuals. Social capital includes the social relationships and networks available to the actor as well as the strength of the relationship or membership. Cultural capital consists of a distinct set of skills, knowledge, and abilities, and is central to the development and display of taste (Bourdieu, 1984). For instance, traditional food recipes cultivate different values and food practices among individuals, and express different tastes or preferences. Cultural capital is conceptualized on three different and interrelated states, including embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1984). Embodied cultural capital refers to the knowledge generated by a specific culture. The embodied state is external wealth converted into habitus (Bourdieu, 1986). It is linked to hereditary transmission and is always heavily disguised where the knowledge attained seems commonsensical to the agent (Bourdieu, 1986). In order to acquire this form of cultural capital an extensive amount of time is needed however once it is acquired it contributes to agent's ability to successfully perform their practices. Objectified and institutionalized forms stem from the embodied form of cultural capital. Objectified cultural capital refers to the material objects and is transmittable in its materiality. It exists as a symbolic and materialistic act. Institutionalized cultural capital consists of formalized versions of the embodied capital such as; formal education credentials, that serves to formally recognize cultural capital. For instance, receiving educational credentials from a culinary arts school represents cultural capital in its institutionalized state.

Overall, cultural capital relates to a "mental sphere" rather than a "physical sphere", takes time to accumulate, and is not equally distributed (Bourdieu, 1986; Kim & Kim, 2009). The importance of cultural capital in terms of tastes is further articulated in

Holts' (2010) explanation of cultural frameworks as a part of the mental sphere. He states that tastes "are contextual subjective structures – they are constructed overtime through interpersonal and mediated interaction in a particular socio-historical setting" (p. 62). His explanation illustrates the fluidity of cultural capital and its relation to time and place. This form of capital is subjective and not easily attained or transferable. Cultural capital enables agents to interact in society and guides their interaction. The structure of the distribution of cultural capital at a particular time signifies the immanent structure of the social world in that it influences the chances of success of practices (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.2.3 Doxa

Bourdieu's concept of doxa explains the consistency of habitus. It highlights why social differentiation persists throughout time. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, and capital allow for an understanding of the unifying features of social behaviours, whereas, doxa allows for an understanding of why there is still a connection to social structure. Doxa is field-specific set of beliefs that inform the shared habitus of those operating in a particular field (Bourdieu, 1984). It is the sense of boundaries and the social order of the social structure that enable dispositions of habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). People fundamentally inhabited in fields that they perceive to have the most meaning or feel most at home (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; p. 127). They are drawn to what they know most, which induces feelings of belonging. Therefore, people conform to the imposed social structure because they are convinced of the legitimacy of the structure, which reaffirms the social structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

2.3 Warde: Cultural Consumption

Taking a socio-cultural approach to food consumption practices provides a deeper understanding of how these practices are essentially a social endeavour that supersedes biological, economical, and nutritional reasoning. Expanding Bourdieu's theory, consumer culture theory (CCT) further explores the dynamics of consumerism and how symbolic meanings of material goods manifest identity and lifestyles (Arnould & Thompson, 2010). Materials, like food, are chosen based on a variety of factors but are also used as symbols of culture; objectified cultural capital. Culture shapes practices by influencing what people value and desire (Swindler, 1986). Culture propels action that is dependent upon habits, sensibilities, and perspectives, however, culture is also fluid and subject to change. It involves a reciprocal relational link to time and place; the meaning applied to food is socially taught and meaning varies by culture (Warde, 1997; Swindler, 1986; Bourdieu, 1984).

CCT presents consumption as a historically molded set of socio-cultural practices that are performed in the marketplace (Arnould & Thompson, 2010). This perspective contributes to an understanding of consumption behaviour by incorporating socio-cultural processes and a range of social structures such as class, community, and gender (Arnould & Thompson, 2010). CCT also reflects a relational stance to consumption behaviour as encouraged by Bourdieu (1984) in that it reconnects the individual to these wider social and cultural systems. When applying CCT, consumers are seen as multi-layered social entities with multiple social roles and positions (Arnould & Thompson, 2010). Wardes' (2010) approach to consumption is exemplary of CCT. Overall, his view of consumption is anti-individualistic and recognizes the constant connectedness of consumption

behaviour to social collective culture by incorporating an analysis of social and cultural values, patterns of consumption practices, and other cultural factors influencing consumption.

2.3.1 Use-value, Exchange-value, and Identity-value: Consumption Guides

Warde (2010) argues there are three sets of values that guide consumption: use-values, exchange-values, and identity-values. He argues that all three values are imperative to understanding modern consumption. All may be satisfied at once within a single purchase such as the case of food. Use-value is a rational choice based value in that the product must satisfy the consumer's need. Almost every product has use-value. Exchange-value is concerned with price of goods and financial feasibility of the consumer. Many products have no exchange-value, such as domestic services. Warde recognizes that economics play a role in consumption practices in terms of exchanging an object for something else. However, Warde does not overstate its influence instead he views exchange-value as one value that guides consumption but to a lesser degree than identity-values. Identity-value is embedded in Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption and Bourdieu's notion of distinction (Warde, 2010). Identity-value involves the symbolic value attached to goods. Warde (1997) argues that identity-value replaces exchange and use values as the central factor to consumption decisions in contemporary consumer culture, which is characterized by an emphasis on aestheticization (Lury, 1996). Aestheticization is the connection between objects, a meaning-making endeavour in relation to goods that perpetuates social lives for individuals (Lury, 1996). The identity-value of objects supersedes other values because of its relationship to the social world. Identity-values represent social relationships, in that objects are used as symbols

to provide a narrative of the self in relation to other social groups (Jackson, 2010). Warde argues that materials are coveted for their social-symbolic value. Consumption practices go beyond the practice of leisure and instead reflect a process of reinforcing and cultivating social relationships by way of identity. Therefore, the importance of identity-value lies within the social realm, making it one of the most influential factors in consumption.

Warde (2010) identifies three general ways in which identity-value is exercised. First, it is a way to distinguish consumers' orientation towards a social structure; as a form of impressing others or of obtaining, distinction. Second, it operates to differentiate oneself from others and reaffirm membership to a group without being concerned with hierarchy. Lastly, identity-value is exercised for narcissistic purposes where the reference group is the self. However, Warde (2010) argues that in order to recognize the systematic relational structure of consumer behaviour all three of these modalities should be examined.

Warde (1997) recognizes Bourdieu's (1984) theory as a sophisticated exponent of consumption theory, offering a coherent set of propositions about taste and its social uses. However, Warde (1997) points out Bourdieu's rigidness regarding the role of choice as amor fati and criticizes his narrow focus on class. Warde's approach extends Bourdieu's (1984) analysis to include internal differentiations such as gender, age, and division of household. Moreover, Warde (1997) suggests that there has been a shift of identities, highlighting how regional and local identities have become more influential than once perceived. Thus, Warde's (1997) analysis reinforces Bourdieu's theory of habitus and distinction, but recognizes a more complex division of class by accounting

for gender divisions and division of household responsibilities, as well as the significance of local identities. Warde's (2010) concept of identity value in consumption supports the recognition of genre influences such as gender and division of household responsibilities (DOH).

Warde's work on consumption has especially focused on the consumption of food. He argues that food is intricately connected to many other central processes of social life and is a significant means of cultural expression. How food is selected, purchased, and consumed can illustrate how micro relationships interact with macro systems, showing how social relationships enter into and exist in consumer culture (Warde, 1997; 2010).

In one of his studies, Warde (1997) tested claims that tastes have diversified and are more individualistic in contemporary society. Such claims surround omnivorous practices of consumption and are based on the idea that the growing diversity of foodstuffs available in today's globalized market have contributed to expanded tastes. Focusing on British society, Warde's analysis of magazines and statistical data compared trends from the 1960's to the 1980's showed that class, income, gender, life-course stage, and household composition all continue to influence food choice and alter slightly throughout time. Therefore, his findings illustrated that tastes remain predominantly grouped, and are initiated from the primary social agent: the family. As Warde (1997) states, "the practical experience and emotional significance of family cooking remains a preponderant force behind most people's tastes for food" (p.184). Therefore, British food consumption appears to remain conservative and is not as diverse and individualistic as supposed. The increasing diversity of food does not indicate a decline in social

differentiation. His study also found that working class diets still remain distinct in their food preferences from middle class. This in turn shows solidarity of taste and not an individualistic diet. Warde's (1997) analysis of food consumption practices is further explained in his concept of "communification."

2.3.2 Communification

Communification is the quest for social re-embedding, a search to find people in similar circumstances to share common standards and aspirations (Warde 1997). The communification approach to consumption is more relaxed than that of stylization. With stylization, the individual adheres to strict rules for membership in a certain "style group". Communification, however, reflects an individual's groups, or neighbourhood's nostalgic attempt to maintain and restore tradition. Warde's (1997) concept of communification furthers Bourdieu's (1984) notion of habitus; food choice is exhibited through the appeals of regional cuisines and tradition. This argument is supported by studies of the persistence of regional cuisines, tradition and cultural identity. For instance, Beoku-Betts' (1995) study of Gullah women living in Gullah communities in the Sea Island of Georgia and South Carolina, showed that while these women cooked 'American dishes', they would revert to traditional food practices as 'better' and refer to traditional food as a 'proper' meal (Beoku-Betts, 1995). The reference to tradition and local food as better quality is a social act of communification.

Social classes also appear to be communified, since communification reflects the different levels of traditional practices maintain by each social class. Warde's (1997) analysis illustrates that in Britain, working-class menus remains culturally distinct, however, the middle class is more differentiated. Warde (1997) argues that while there

are various degrees of communification in regards to social class, the family unit is at the base of communal unity in that the emotional significance of family cooking is the most influential factor of most people's tastes for food.

<u>2.3.3 Gender</u>

Warde also argues that gender plays an important role in shaping consumption practices. Indeed, many studies show that gender is an important component in understanding consumer behaviour (e.g. Tomlinson, 2003; Warde, 1997; De Agostini, 2005; Prattlala, Grinberga, Helasoja, Kasmel, & Petkeviciene, 2006; Little, Ilbery & Watts, 2009; Mennell, Mirrecotta, & Van Otterloo, 1992). Women's "consumption roles" (McIntosh & Zey, 1998) need to be recognized in studies of consumption, particularly, food consumption. Women are often credited with control over all aspects of food, purchasing, storing, cooking, and serving, and play a significant role regarding the food habits of family members (McIntosh & Zey, 1998; Little et al., 2009; Warde, 1997; Prattala et al., 2006; De Agostini, 2005). Little et al. (2009) argue that incorporating a gender analysis of food consumption is important for understanding the motivations for and implications of decisions to consume local food. Women tend to be more conscious of their role as providers of food, and whilst making decisions based on preferences of others in the household, they are overtly aware of maintaining their household health (Little et al., 2009; Warde, 1997, Prattalla et al., 2006). Health concerns influence women's choice of food which is then projected onto the household. This difference reflects social norms and cultural beliefs about gender. To not include gender in a consumption analysis is to neglect the prominent gender divisions of consumption and the effects it has on food practices.

Additionally, women's dietary patterns can influence what the household consumes. Studies have shown that women generally avoid meat significantly more so than men (e.g. Tomlinson, 2003; Mennell et al., 1992; De Agostini, 2005; Prattala et al., 2006; Bennett, Savage, Silva, Warde, Gayo-Cal, & Wright, 2009). Prattala et al.'s (2006) study illustrates that women consume vegetables more often than men regardless of class. Their study also finds that the gender divisions in terms of the consumption of meat, and fruit and vegetables, were not significantly influenced by other social factors like educational level, age, marital status, or place of residence. This difference reflects social norms and cultural beliefs about gender and its role as a factor on food practices. Indeed, women are viewed as the gatekeepers of food because of their traditional gender role of controlling the food entering into the household (McIntosh & Zey, 2004). D'Sylva and Beagan's (2011) study of Goan women in Toronto, reaffirms the gatekeeper status assigned to women. They show how Goan Canadian women view food as not only part of their gender identity but as a form of power. Goan women are keepers of family recipes. Food skills are seen as a form of currency; a form of cultural capital. Thus, Goan woman view food as a vehicle to distinguish Goan culture from Canadian and other South Asian culture (D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011). Furthermore, Beoku-Betts (1995) study of women in Gullah communities also reiterates the role of women as gate-keepers of food. Her study shows that women are the primary social actors in the resistance of western dominant culture and in efforts to strengthen cultural identity via traditional food practices.

2.3.4 Division of Household Responsibilities (DOH)

The division of household responsibilities (DOH) highlights how each member within a household interacts with food consumption practices. DOH has been linked to

gender divisions (Warde, 1997; Little et al., 2008; Bennett et al., 2009). Using this approach, Aarseth and Olsen's (2008) study of Norwegian and Danish dual-career couples found various forms of division in household food responsibilities, however, they also noted that women maintained primary responsibility. Thus, men took part in food practices for 'practical reasons', and approached food in a reality-oriented strategy of meeting the children's immediate needs. However, women's identity with food was still linked to obligation, tradition, and responsibility, whereas men viewed food preparation as casual and pleasant. This shows that in the dominant division of household responsibilities, food provisioning is still a female role. Given that women are still largely responsible for providing food to the household, the gender and DOH relationship is imperative to furthering an understanding of the influences of gender divisions on food practices.

In addition to layering economic, social, and cultural aspects of food consumption, it is important to incorporate geography and the relationship of individuals to place. This is necessary in order to illustrate the relational dynamic between social and physical environments that cultivate culture and taste (Mansvelt, 2009). Miele and Murdoch (2010) argue that food culture and the environment in addition to economical aspects are interconnected as "the quality of food drives from human skill and knowledge, the character of the surrounding ecosystem and cultural appreciations of the inter-linkages between these components" (p. 394). Geography is infused with meaning and is intricately connected to lifestyle (Mansvelt, 2009). Where one resides and grows up impacts one's identity which then interacts with lifestyle and further articulates one's habitus. National, regional, and local identities can further divide consumption behaviour

as identification of food with geography can be a measurement of quality and an indicator of value (Miller, 2001; Warde 1997). Investigating the relationship between geography and food purchasing behaviour would further contextualize consumption practices.

Nonetheless, most sociological studies use geography as a back-drop and avoid utilizing geography to further explain behaviour. Exploring the role of geography in terms of 'place' better illuminates the role of place in influencing consumer behaviour and illustrates how taste goes beyond individual identity and enters into a construction of cultural identity (Ashley et al., 2004).

3.   *Geographical Approaches*

3.1 Place Identity

What is place? Place can be constructed and represented in various ways. Place includes buildings, streets, symbolic objects, and open spaces arranged in a specific location and the social inhabitants' meanings, values, knowledge, and identifications (Gieryn, 2000). There are three features of place: location, material form, and social components (Gieryn, 2000). Place is not just a backdrop as everything is emplaced. Everything has context; it happens in a location, involves material stuff, and cannot be separated from context (Gieryn, 2000). It serves as a representation of shared experiences and aspirations of people within a specific area (Butz & Eyles, 1997; Escobar, 2001). This intricate interweaving of social relationships and place depicts a relational, reciprocal existence between people and physical place. Massy (2004) argues that in order to understand place identity in today's society a relational construction of the identity of place is required. Escobar (2001) articulates this in reference to Tilley (1994), stating that "place is an irreducible part of human experience, a person is 'in place' as

much as she or he is 'in culture" (p.150). Place identity stems from experiences; we infuse place with the meaning from experiences. Gieryn (2000) argues that attachment to place grows over the length of time people live in a place.

People identify with place just as they identify with different social classes; "[P]lace is an important context in which we come to make sense of ourselves" (Gombay, 2005, p. 47). Place identities assist in the categorizing of the social world, which reflects the particulars of social relationships, values, and knowledge. In a global society asking where someone is 'from' is a common reference that assists in passively classifying people. Place identity exists on various scales and influences the organization of group identities (Massey, 2004; Gombay, 2005). Place also reflects difference. It is shaped differently in various areas, at different times, by different groups of people (Aase, 1994). This element of place and its specific identity suggests the importance of applying place within the analysis of social phenomena.

Place influences taste, lifestyle, and judgement, and therefore influences consumption practices (Warde, 1997; Miller, 2001). Its role is paramount in food consumption practices. It is involved in the kind of food system that people engage in (Damas, 1972; Massey, 2004; Escubar, 2001) and influences what kind of food is purchased, produced, harvested, how food is consumed, and people's perspective of food (Warde, 1997; Miller, 2001; Jackson et al, 2008). Incorporating place into the analysis of food consumption behaviour will logically extend Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus and further articulate Warde's (1997) notion of communification.

Place identity can be challenged by mobility. Mobility can disrupt people's relationships with place. It can instill feelings of homesickness, feelings of alienation, and

experiences of lower social capital (Cicognani, Menezes, & Nata, 2011). The reasons for moving to a region affect the degree to which place identity transforms. For instance, Cicognani, Menezes, and Nata's (2011) study shows that university students who moved to a new location for academic reasons reported lower place identity and sense of community in relation to their hometowns over time, whereas; those who were forced to relocate maintained a higher level of identification with their hometown. Additionally, those students that did not have to move to attend university had higher rates of hometown place-based identity. Cicognai et al (2011) suggest it is important to consider the connection of place of residence and childhood. Where one grows up infuses a specific place with emotional significance. This emotional attachment facilitates a sense of identity (Cicognani et al, 2011). Badea et al.'s (2011) study further supports this notion. Their study found that the degree of willingness of Romanian and Moroccan immigrants living in France to identity with French culture is directly affected by rejection by their country of origin or by their host country. Degree of rejection from their country of origin influenced the degree to which immigrants maintained their cultural heritage and embraced new cultural practices (Badea et al, 2011). However, Badea et al. (2011) also found different patterns between Romanian and Moroccan immigrants. Historical cultural ties between Romania and France positively influenced Romanians' place identity with France since Romania is a member of the French Commonwealth. Therefore, identifying with French culture was less of a stretch than immigrants from Morocco.

Mobility is most often related to employment. Over the last few decades Canada's neo-liberal policy reforms have encouraged labour mobility since it is viewed as an

essential method to promote growth and prosperity (Newhook et al., 2011). Intra-national employment related mobility is also increasing with more workers commuting between municipalities or provinces (Newhook et al., 2011). As shown in Newhook and colleagues' (2011) analysis of Canadian 2006 census data, 32% of Canadians work outside of their census subdivision and 1.4% worked in a different province or country. However, these rates vary throughout the provinces and industrial sector, for instance, 2.7% of Newfoundlanders were working out of province or out of country (Newhook et al., 2011). Employment mobility promotes interaction between different populations. When people move, it is not just their individual physical bodies that are transported, but their place identities, which are acted through cultural practices specific to their place of origins. This practice is fuelled by the attachment to and embodiment of place. Knez (2005) articulates this dynamic quoting Proshansky, Fabian, and Kaminoff's (1983) statement that place identity is the ''physical world socialisation of the self'… the development of self-identity is not restricted to making distinctions between oneself and significant others, but extends with no less importance to objects and things and the very spaces and places in which they are founded'' (Knez, 2005 p. 208). The statements of 'I'm Canadian', 'I'm a northerner', or I'm a 'Newfie' are well beyond a reference to geography. Attachment to places of origin can be symbolized through food consumption practices. Certain geographic environments cultivate certain food consumption practices. When one moves for occupational reasons these food practices can be disrupted and more effort is needed to maintain a place identity that conflicts with a new physical environment. For example, moving from urban to rural settings or vice versa and moving to a different province, challenges how place identity can be practiced.

The layering of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, and Warde's more complex cultural theory of consumption together with theories of place identity further develops an understanding of consumption and the socio-cultural factors that influence consumption practices. The layering of different theories will help map how relationships of culture, habitus, and place shape food consumption practices and tastes. Applying this multi-layered theoretical paradigm to food consumption practices, I aim to illustrate how food remains embedded in culture and to show the limitations of focusing solely on economic and nutritional aspects of food consumption in a northern setting. This theoretical framework will enable me to explore the questions of: How do social and place identity interact through food consumption? What roles do gender, occupational culture, and place identity play in shaping and articulating food consumption practices? How does the environment influence food consumption practices? How do residents of Thompson mediate food consumption in a northern food environment?

Chapter Three: Case Study of Thompson

In this chapter I introduce my research methods, which centre on a case study of Thompson, Manitoba. Descriptive facts of Thompson are provided as well as an in-depth ecological description of Thompson in terms of a food desert analysis in order to provide the context of participants' food practices. I provide a detailed explanation of my methodology, specifically the quantitative and qualitative data methods employed, and the chronological steps taken to apply a multi-layered theoretical framework in my study. I explain each measuring tool utilized in the study, and the significance of using these types of research tools. I outline the operationalization of various concepts, how each concept is measured, and the organization of my survey data results. The limitations of my research are also presented in this chapter. Lastly, I provide a demographic narrative of participants from both data collection phases.

1. *Case Study: Thompson, Manitoba*

A case study approach is the most suitable form of study to further the understanding of food consumption in a northern setting as it offers a historically and geographically sensitive understanding of the socio-cultural dimensions of food practices. In order to examine how socio-cultural factors enter into and influence consumption, my study focused on the dynamics of food consumption practices and their relationship with occupational culture, gender, and place identity. Studies of food consumption in Canada have generally focused on southern and or urban communities and regions. As such, there is a gap in the examination of socio-cultural factors in food consumption practices within the specific context of northern urban communities. Economically, communities in the north have different food access issues. These included more extreme winter weather,

shorter growing seasons, and remoteness from other communities. The 2003 Northern Food Prices Report found that in northern Manitoba the most significant barrier to healthy food was the price of food, where some items cost several times more than in southern regions (Manitoba MFC Provincial Food Policy Report, 2008). Transport costs are high given that northern communities are far from large centres, which can also compromise the quality of fruit and vegetables (Manitoba MFC Provincial Food Policy Report, 2008). Though the findings in these reports are informative they are embedded in economic and medical approaches to food consumption. In this section, I will describe Thompson geographically and then provide more explicit descriptors in terms of its food environment.

The city of Thompson is a northern urban centre located 739 km north of Winnipeg, Manitoba (see image 1.0). Thompson is located on the Precambrian Shield, has latitude of 55 degrees and is surrounded by the boreal forest (Thompson Unlimited, 2011). The average temperature is -24.9C in January and wind-chill temperatures can reach -38C (Environment Canada, 2011). The average number of frost-free days in Thompson is 125 days per year (Thompson Community Profile, 2011). Thompson has been established as the winter weather testing capital of the world a testament to the extreme winter weather environment in the region. The average annual snowfall is 186cm and 348mm for rainfall (Thompson Community Profile, 2011).
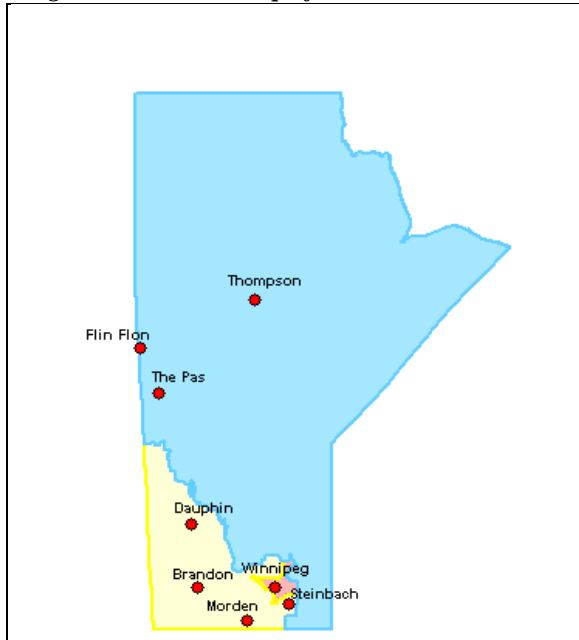
(www.hrsdc.gc.ca, 2011)

Thompson is nicknamed the "Hub of the North" as it is a service centre for surrounding northern communities that span beyond provincial borders to include Rankin Inlet, Nunavut and other northern communities (www.thompson.ca). In all, Thompson services approximately 65,000 people. According to the 2011 Census, Thompson has a population of 12,829 and has a relatively young population. The median age of Thompson's population is 30.6 years and residents 65 years or older make up 4.6% of the population. Over half of the population is male (statistics Canada, 2011). Thirty-seven percent (n=4,915) of Thompson's population identify as Aboriginal. Six percent (n=775) of Thompson's population are immigrants (Thompson Unlimited, 2011). The median income is $68,416, which is 14% higher than the median national income of $58,800 (Thompson Unlimited, 2011). However, there is a relatively high percentage of lower income households in Thompson with 15% of Thompson's population earns less than $20,000 annually (Statistics Canada, 2006). Thompson has the highest employment rate

in Manitoba, which is 7% higher than the provincial average (Thompson Unlimited, 2011).

Image 2: Thompson, Manitoba Photo

(www.members.shaw.ca/pscoquet/Alan/, 2012).

On February 27, 1956 a major nickel ore discovery was made by Dr. John F. Thompson (Vale, 2012). This discovery led to the development of Inco Limited, a Canadian owned company, and the creation of Thompson as a mining town (see Image 2.0). In 2009 Inco Limited was taken over by Vale, a Brazilian mining company and was renamed Vale. Vale employs approximately 1600 people in Thompson (Thompson, Unlimited, 2011). Thompson's economy attracts labourers nationally and internationally. Vale, in an effort to obtain labourers, has been responsible for attracting many newcomers to Canada to live and work in Thompson (www.thompson.ca). However,

Burntwood Regional Health Authority also attracts foreign trained physicians, contributing to the multi-cultural character of Thompson's population. Vale provides annual grants to Thompson Unlimited, a community development corporation created in 2003, in order to diversify the local economy. Thompson's major industries are: transportation, education, mining, healthcare, government, and hydroelectric industries. Recently, its economy has seen a boom with the development of a jet engine test facility that focuses on jet engines icing certification (Thompson Unlimited, 2011).

With regards to Thompson's food environment there are some challenges. Communities in the north have different access issues than southern communities. Northern urban centres, like Thompson, serve as a hub for various types of supplies, in addition to food, for surrounding remote communities. It is imperative to examine food environments in northern urban centres because of their role in supplying surrounding communities. In 2011, Thompson had two major grocery stores, however as of June, 2012, Extra Foods closed leaving only one major food supplier, Canada Safeway Limited, and one minor food supplier, Giant Tiger (▢). Canada Safeway limited (▮) is the largest grocery store in Thompson. Though Giant Tiger is similar in many ways to Wal-Mart, it supplies fresh produce and meats, whereas Thompson's Wal-Mart does not carry fresh produce. As Wal-Mart does not carry fresh produce it does not fit the criteria to be considered a grocery outlet.

In 2011, I conducted a food desert analysis of Thompson's food environment that served as an ecological base for my current research study. At the time of my food deserts study there were three grocery stores operating in Thompson, mainly located downtown (see Image 3.0). A food desert is defined as a populated area with deficient

access to well-stocked outlets, large stores, or supermarkets that provide abundant, good quality, low price food choices (Hubley, 2011). Focusing on food outlets and grocery stores is necessary as 80% of food purchases for home consumption are made at a supermarket (Smoyer-Tomic, Spence & Amrhein, 2006). Food desert research examines food outlets within a specific geographic environment. Food deserts are an important factor to consider when researching food consumption behaviour as people tend to make food choices based on the food outlets available in their neighbourhood (Walker, Keane & Burke, 2010). Using Smoyer-Tomic et al.'s (2006) coverage method to count the number of stores within a 1 km radius of each neighbourhood in Thompson, each neighbourhood was given a scale of "desert" (2 kms or greater to the nearest grocery store,) "low access" (1.1 to 1.9km) , or "reasonable distance" (1.0 km and less).

Image 3: Neighbourhood and food outlet map: Thompson, Manitoba
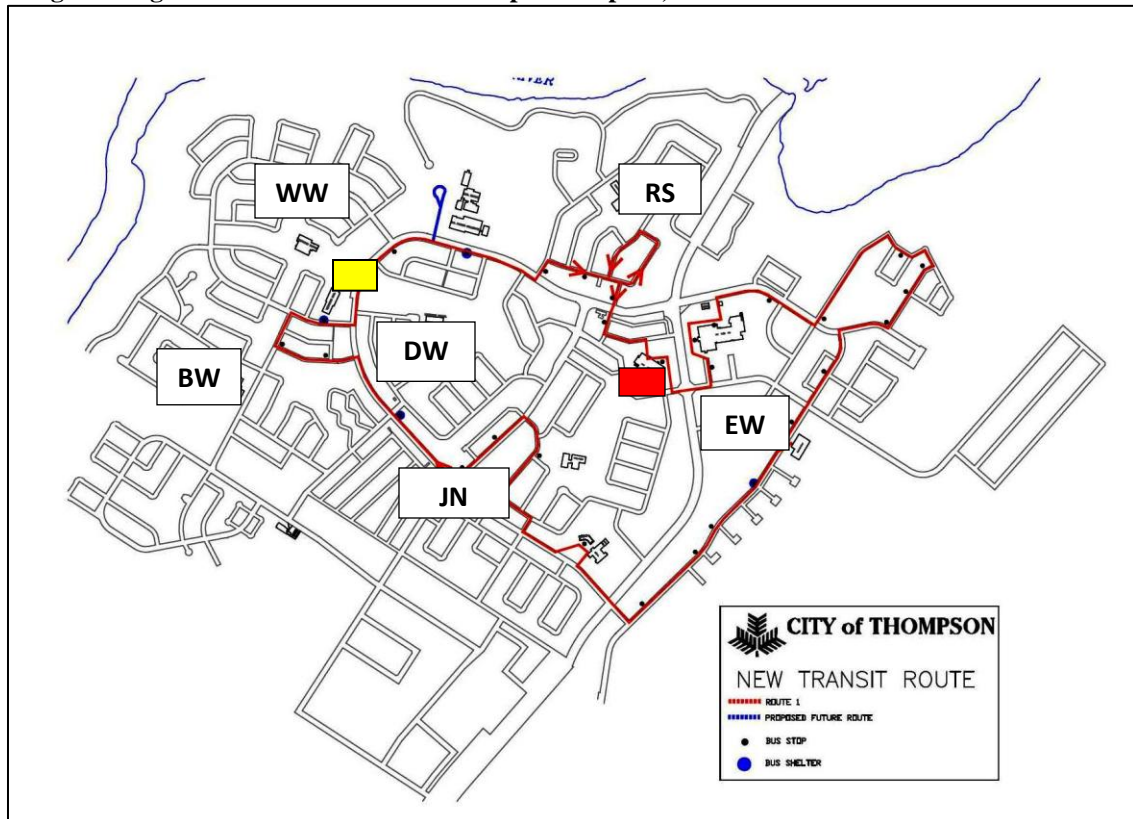
(Printed with permission of the City of Thompson, June 2013; www.thompson.ca)

Of all six neighbourhoods, including Burntwood (BW), Westwood (WW), Juniper (JN), Deerwood (DW), Eastwood (EW), and Riverside (RS), three had reasonable access to at least one grocery store (Riverside, Deerwood, Juniper). Out of these three, none had reasonable access to the largest grocery store, Canada Safeway Limited. Although Thompson had three supermarkets at the time, the amount of healthy food supplied was nonetheless inadequate. Upon examining the produce displayed at the three supermarkets on several visits there was a clear lack of consistent supply of fresh produce, milk, and bread. Compiling this information about Thompson's food system, it is evident that Thompson residents have low access to healthy food. Geographically, two of the neighbourhoods in Thompson experience food deserts, with travel distances well beyond 2 km. However, all neighbourhoods have low access to at least one grocery store. Although the grocery stores were able to supply a variety of fresh produce, dairy, grains, and meat products there was a lack of consistency in each grocery store. Upon any given visit, there was uncertainty as to whether certain products would be available to purchase.

As discovered from my food desert analysis of Thompson's food environment, it is different from that of southern urban centres where items, like milk and bread are readily available. Regardless of developed food systems in Canada, food environments in Canada do not parallel each other. This research project builds upon my food desert analysis and explores, in more depth, the tastes and food practices of those who live in Thompson. It considers the ways in which food preferences and routines are shaped by factors such as occupation, gender, and place, and in doing so constructs a food consumption map of Thompson. The central question of my investigation is: How does occupation, gender and place identity interact through, and influence food consumption

in the northern community of Thompson? Further how do individuals negotiate their food preferences and habits in this limited food environment? Exploring the experiences of those living in Thompson contextualizes the different ways people engage with food purchasing and preparation to articulate a more complex understanding of the dynamics of food consumption. This in turn, can assist in the development of more effective health policies in northern urban communities.

2.   *Mixed Methods*

I incorporated a mixed methods approach to my investigation of Thompson, Manitoba. Using this type of approach allows for the application of a pluralistic view of the social phenomena being studied (Creswell, 2003). Implementing a mixed methods approach provides great insight into social phenomena as it neutralizes the inherent biases in any single method (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, using both quantitative and qualitative methods assists in illustrating both wider and intricate patterns of food consumption. Using survey data allows for the development of a broad consumption map of participants' engagement with food in Thompson. The broad consumption map generated from my survey data incorporates a greater sample of Thompson's population, which was then used to inform the second phase of data collection; semi-structured interviews. Referring to patterns from my survey data findings assisted with the development of questions for my semi-structured interviews. Using both types of data collection in this order allowed me to uncover different layers of food consumption phenomena in Thompson, starting from broad patterns to more nuanced types of patterns and processes of negotiation.

My initial method involved self-administered on-line surveys followed by randomly selected interviews from a list of participants who agreed to be interviewed. To recruit participants for the on-line survey, posters were distributed to community boards at all three malls, local fitness and recreation centres, a public library, University College of the North, and the steel workers union locale in Thompson. Posters were placed in the break rooms of various large workplaces (with 100 or more employees) including Vale Inc., Burntwood Regional Health, Mystery Lake School District, and Canada Post. Advertisements were also placed in the local paper, the Thompson Citizen, in order to increase the number of respondents.

The self-administered surveys were hosted by Fluidsurveys Application. Self-administered surveys are the least expensive in comparison to print surveys, and usually have a faster response rate. Posters and newspaper advertisements directed interested respondents to go to a web link to complete the survey. A Quick Response (QR) code created on Fluidsurveys website was also included in both the posters and newspaper ads. This allowed interested respondents to scan the QR code with their mobile phone using the QR application that then brought them directly to my survey. I found this application to be very helpful with the number of response rates since certain mobile phones could "bump" the address to another mobile phone of the same make. This encouraged a snowball effect in the recruitment of respondents.

The survey consisted of 29 questions and contained seven open-ended questions (see Appendix 3). Any contingent questions in the survey were easily managed using pre-set regulations. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked if they would agree to

be contacted for a follow up semi-structured interview. Those who agreed provided a contact number in order to set up a time and location for the interview.

The second phase of data collection involved semi-structured interviews, which consisted of 15 guiding questions. These questions reflected patterns illustrated from survey data findings in order to further explore these patterns. The guiding questions covered themes such as:

- types of food consumed daily and why
- experiences grocery shopping in Thompson
- recipes used
- food preferences
- length of time residing in Thompson
- reasons for living in Thompson
- division of household responsibilities

Reflective questions regarding experiences as a child with food practices were also explored focusing on topics such as family and meal times. These types of questions allowed for a more in-depth understanding of what propels the respondents to purchase certain foods and how they view certain foods.

The data collection procedure entailed using convenience sampling, and was applied to the quantitative proportion of the study. Given that my case study focused on food consumption of the residents in Thompson, the target population consisted of residents who were 18 years or older and who resided in Thompson for at least 4 months. In regards to the qualitative portion, a random sampling technique was used to select respondents from those who agreed to be interviewed by checking 'yes' to this request on the initial survey. The respondents were randomly selected by survey number.

Data analysis was conducted using Fluidsurvey and SPSS applications for the surveys and NVIVO applications for the interviews. The main concepts and themes that my survey and semi-structured interviews explored were taste, occupational culture, gender, and identity-value in terms of place identity, with use and exchange-value incorporated to a lesser degree.

3.   *Operationalization & Measures*

For the study, I operationalized several key concepts. Here I outline how the concepts were operationalized and measurements for the survey and interview components of the research. In the survey, all dependent variables such as, food preference availability (FPA) diet change, and the food item list were organized as ordinal units of measurement.

Taste in terms of food preference was measured in the survey component of data collection using an item list similar to the one used by Bourdieu's in his study of distinction in France (Bourdieu, 1984), with the addition of foods like lamb and goat. This food item list assists in illustrating participants eating habits. To measure taste regarding certain foods, participants were asked to respond to a 5 point likert scale (0 = never, 1 = rarely, 2 = seldom, 3 = often, 4 = always) to the following question, 'In an average month how often do you buy the following when you grocery shop?' (see Appendix 3). Northern regional food tastes were also measured by regional forms of food provisions (hunting, fishing, berry picking, gardening). Additional questions measuring taste included; 'Where is your 1st choice to go grocery shopping', 'if you had an extra $50 to spend on groceries what would you buy', and 'If you had $50 less to spend on

groceries what would you buy?' Food preference availability questions and questions about changes in food tastes were also included in order to measure taste. Food preference availability was measured by the question 'Thompson provides all the foods I prefer; Most of the time, some of the time, undecided, rarely, never.' Scale ranges were: 0 = Rarely, 1= Never, 2 = Undecided, 3 = Some of the time, 4 = Most of the time. Taste was further explored as a theme in semi-structured interviews through questions regarding definitions of quality, recipe recommendations, as well as food preferences and dislikes, or changes in food consumption practices.

Occupational culture was measured in the survey component of data collection by level of education, income, work schedule, average hours worked per week, and occupational title. The cultural component refers to the lifestyle that is shaped by occupational demands. Occupational Culture was measured through seven occupation characteristics. Questions used to illustrate occupation characteristics, including;

1. Type of Employment: 'What best describes your type of employment? Full-time employee (35 or more hours a week),Part-time employee (under 35 hours a week), Seasonal, Self-Employed, Unemployed/ on leave / retired';

2. NOC: 'What is your job/occupation title?'

3. Hours per Day: 'In a "typical" day how many hours do you work (i.e. how long is your work day)? '

4. Work Schedule: 'What type of schedule best describes your work? Shift work, Standard work week (Monday through Friday),Weekends, Other'

5. Monthly Overtime: 'In an average month how many hours of overtime do you work?'

6. Education: 'What is your highest Level of Education completed? Less than high school (did not graduate), high school /GED (graduated), Some college, college certificate/diploma/ apprenticeship, Undergraduate Degree, Graduate/Post-graduate degree.'

7. Income: 'What is your total annual household income? Less than $10,000,$10,000 to $19,999,$20,000 to $29,999,$30,000 to $39,999,$40,000 to $49,999,$50,000 to $59,999,$60,000 to $69,999,$70,000 to $79,999,$80,000 to $89,999,$90,000 to $99,999,$100,000 to $149,999,More than $150,000.'

Occupations were categorized using the Human Resources and Skills Development Canada's National Occupational Categories (NOC). NOC provides a standardized language for describing the work performed by Canadians in the labour market (HRSDC, 2011). The NOC consists of 10 occupational classification structures in Canada (HRSDC, 2011). I grouped each occupation using the first NOC number which designates the general category of the occupation. The NOC groupings include:

NOC 0   Management Occupations
NOC 1   Business, Finance, and Administration Occupations
NOC 2   Natural and Applied Sciences and Related Occupations
NOC 3   Health Occupations
NOC 4   Occupations in Education, Law and Social, Community and Government
          Services
NOC 5   Occupations in Art, Culture, Recreation and Sport
NOC 6   Sales and Service Occupations
NOC 7   Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators and Related Occupations
NOC 8   Natural Resources, Agriculture and Related Production Occupations
NOC 9   Occupations in Manufacturing and Utilities

(HRSDC, 2011)

Place identity definitions vary, especially in terms of how it should be measured. I used Proshansky's (1978) (as cited in Droleltis and Vignoles, 2010, p. 23) definition of place identity as a 'complex and multi-dimensional construct comprising dimensions of the self in relation to the physical environment based on conscious and unconscious

ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills'.

Place identity value was measured quantitatively by using a seven statement index similar to Droseltis et al.'s (2010) and Pretty et al's (2003) place identity index. Additional factors measured with place identity included the number of years living in Thompson and birth place origins in order to illustrate the influences of environment on place identity. Place identity was also explored in the interviews by asking questions about previous food experiences in places elsewhere, and paying attention to any differentiating statements made towards Thompson.

Place Identity Index survey questions include:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) I feel Thompson is a part of who I am	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Thompson reflects my personal values.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) I consider Thompson my hometown	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Thompson is not the place for me.(R)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) I find Thompson beautiful.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) I would rather live in a different town. (R)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) I feel an emotional bond to Thompson	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Cronbach's Alpha test was used to measure the internal reliability of the place identity index. Interpretation of reliability is based on De Vaus (2007) measure of an alpha result, which has to measure at least 0.7 in order to be considered reliable. Place identity was based on 7 items rated on a 5-point likert scale where 0=strongly disagree and 4=strongly agree. Items were summed with higher scores indicating a higher level of place identity with a range of possibility of 0 to 28. Items in the seven with an (R) denote reverse

coding. Similar to Pretty et al's (2003) study these items were transformed into different levels of place identity; absent level (0 through 8 scores), low level (9 through 13 scores), indifferent (14 through 15 scores), moderate level (16 through 20 scores), high level (21 through 28 scores).

Diet change was measured by the question 'In general, to what degree has your diet changed since you have lived in Thompson? Completely changed, changed a lot, changed somewhat, changed a little, or has not changed.' Ranges included: 0 = completely changed, 1 = changed a lot, 2 = changed somewhat, 3 = changed a little, 4 = has not changed.

Gender as a dimension of food consumption was measured by two questions in the survey: the gender the participant identifies with and the gender of the person who normally does the grocery shopping for the household. Gender was further explored in the semi-structured interviews by asking questions about food preparation, shopping, and division of household labour. Gender was measured by the survey question 'Are you male or female?' Male = 0, Female = 1.

Food Consumption Practice focuses on the actual purchasing, cooking, and serving behaviour of residents in Thompson. There is no widespread acceptance of the definition of consumption as it encompasses a diverse range of activities (Warde, 2010). My definition is similar to that of Warde's (2005) broad definition of consumption as 'a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive, or contemplative purposes of goods…which the agent has some discretion' (p. 137). Food Consumption Practice was measured in the survey by asking the frequency of shopping in a month. Ranges included; daily, 2-6 times a week, once a week, bi-

monthly (once every 2 weeks), monthly, in addition to an open ended other category. Preferred choice of grocery venue was also measured in the survey by asking where is the participants' first choice of grocery shop. Categories included: Safeway, Extra Foods, M & M meats, Giant Tiger, as well as an open ended other category. Food Consumption Practice was further explored in the semi-structured interviews by inquiring about decision making process for meal preparation, how meals were organized, what they consider to be a meal and why.

Identity-value focuses on the symbolic value attached to food, and how it is used as a means to exercise and shape participants' identity through acts of differentiation and distinction from others, and to reaffirm their membership with a group. Questions used to illustrate identity value are opinion-based questions explored in interviews regarding perceptions of food, and why certain foods are chosen for consumption.

Exchange-value was measured through interview questions regarding monies and budgeting portion of grocery shopping.

Relationships between independent variables and dependent variables were examined using correlation coefficients and cross-tabulations. The correlation coefficient used for nominal variables was Goodman and Kruskal's tau (T)[1], except for the gender variable where Gamma was used instead[2]. Tests for non-linearity were carried out using Goodman and Kruskal tau (T) and Gamma (G)[3]. The correlation coefficient used for ordinal variables was Spearman's rho (r_s), the most suitable for a smaller sample size (De Vaus, 2007). A correlation matrix for occupational culture was used to examine any spurious relationships within occupational culture. Any highly correlated associations

between occupational culture measures were further explored through cross-tabulations. Finally, findings with a level of significance of p<=.05* will be reported.

Themes examined in qualitative data surround the mapping of food preferences and tastes through the influence of gender, occupation, and place identity. Subthemes included Division of Household responsibilities (DOH) structures, gatekeeper influences, exchange and identity values, as well as the significance of habitus. These themes cultivated an intricate analysis of the participants' engagement with food in Thompson. Exploring DOH structures and gatekeeper influences further elucidated the role gender plays on food consumption practices and provided insight into how such roles provide a form of structure in participants' practices. In addition, exploring work scheduling assisted in understanding how occupational culture influences the structure of food practices. Habitus and identity value themes helped to provide an understanding of participants' practices as a social act of connecting or reaffirming group membership. This further illustrated influences of place identity and how it was incorporated as part of participants' habitus. Exploring the reasoning and meaning behind food practices allowed for an examination of the connection between habitus, identity values, and taste. The semi-structured format of the interviews allowed for the discovery of any unexpected themes and subthemes that further articulated a socio-cultural analysis of participants' food consumption practices.

4. *Limitations*

There are various limitations to this study. First, it is limited in terms of sample size. Given the relatively small number of survey responses (N=118) my quantitative analysis is limited to a better articulation of descriptive statistics. A relatively small

sample size can produce a large amount of results that are not statistically significant. However, as argued by De Vaus (2007), to focus solely on statistical significance as an element of importance can overlook important factors. A map can still be illustrated from these findings. Secondly, there were technical difficulties with the regional forms of food provisions (hunting, fishing, berry picking, gardening) question in that some participants indicated that they could not select a response, others stated that the question would select all provisions by default. Therefore, this question was omitted from the analysis due to reliability concerns with the data. Additionally, due to the small sample size and the exploratory approach of my study, statistical findings are predominately used to further elaborate descriptive factors and are used as a broad illustration of food consumption practices in Thompson, followed by a more intricate portrayal with my qualitative findings. Together they provide a detailed map of food consumption practices in Thompson.

Chapter Four: Survey Data, Descriptive Statistics and Research Participant Demographics

In this chapter I explain the organization of survey data in terms of how I address the skewness of variables and results of the reliability tests for the place identity index and Occupational Culture Matrix. The univariate analysis provided in this chapter predominantly focuses on survey data but is followed by descriptive statistics of interviewed participants. This chapter focuses on the descriptive stage of the research findings, which in turn portrays the demographic characteristics of participants and a brief analysis of their responses.

1.   *Organization of Survey Data*

My survey had a completion rate of 87% and a total of N=118 responses. The type of employment categories, seasonal and self-employed, were cross referenced with the hours worked per day and were then recoded into either part-time or full-time categories of work. Seasonally employed respondents (n=2) worked full-time hours, but not throughout the year. Therefore, seasonally employed respondents were categorized as part-time. Self-employed respondents ranged from working 5 to 14 hour days and worked throughout the year, therefore were categorized as full-time. FPA responses (N=11) showed a highly skewed result with rarely and never categories containing a very small number of cases in each. Therefore 'rarely' and 'never' categories were amalgamated bringing the case number to 13. Undecided FPA responses (n=8) were categorized as missing when conducting bivariate analyses in order to focus on respondents who indicated a degree of food preference. Income categories showed a highly skewed result in that majority of participants' (n= 59) annual household income was $100,000 or more.

Therefore income categories were amalgamated into 5 categories: $39,999 and below; $40,000 to $69,999; $70,000 to $99,999; $100,000 to $149,999; and $150,000 or more. Work schedule categories were amalgamated into three categories; shift, standard work week (Mon to Fri), weekends/other/on-call. The cronbach alpha test showed that the place identity index rendered a α = .851 which illustrates a good quality level of reliability (see table 4.1 appendix 4). When conducting bivariate analyses with place identity those who were indifferent to place identity were filtered out (n=10).

The Occupational Culture Matrix depicted some variables to be associated to other variables (see table 1.1). Average monthly overtime had a minor correlation with type of employment (r_s = .258*) and income (r_s=.235).

Table 1.1 Occupational Culture Matrix

Correlations							
Spearman's Rho	Type of Employment	NOC	Work Schedule	Average Mth OT	Education	Income	Hours worked/day
Type of Employment	1.000	0.177	0.243*	0.258*	0.214	0.188	0.445**
NOC	0.177	1.000	0.124	0.213	0.026	0.084	0.116
Work Schedule	0.243*	0.124	1.000	0.049	0.071	0.172	0.575**
Average Mth OT	0.258*	0.213	0.049	1.000	0.028	0.235	0.211
Education	0.214	0.026	0.071	0.028	1.000	0.228	0.131
Income	0.188	0.084	0.172	0.235	0.228	1.000	0.207
Hours worked/day	0.445**	0.116	0.575**	0.211	0.207	0.207	1.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
Negative Values

These correlations make theoretical sense in that the more overtime one works the more one would get paid, and some types of employment engage with overtime hours. Therefore, both remained in the matrix. Hours worked per day was moderately correlated with type of employment (r_s=-.445**) and with work schedule (r_s=-.575**), but this also makes theoretical sense as the amount of hours worked would articulate aspects of

the type of employment (full-time, part-time, seasonal) and work schedule (shift, Monday to Friday etc). Therefore, all remained in the matrix.

2. *Research Participants: Demographics*

Overall, the majority of survey respondents were female (81%). Half of the respondents were under the age of 40, 34.6% were between the ages of 41 and 51. The average age of respondents was 36.2 years. The majority of respondents were married/common-law (66%). More than half did not have any children currently living in their household. Most respondents (62.6%) stated that their main reason for living in Thompson was work. There was a stark divide between the two most common lengths of time respondents had lived in Thompson in that 30% had lived in Thompson for 25 years or more, on the one hand, while 19% had lived in Thompson for only 1 to 6 years. Interestingly, the majority of respondents did not grow up in Thompson (60%). The top three areas/communities where respondents had grown up were rural Manitoba (27%), urban Ontario (16%), and urban Manitoba (12%).

Respondents were from a diverse range of households in terms of annual income; 29.7% earned between $100,000 and $149,999, followed by 23.4% that stated they earned $150,000 or more. In addition, 19.8% of respondents earned between $70,000 and $99,999, 11.7% stated that they earned $40,000 to $69,999, and 10.8% had a total household annual income of $39,999 or below. The relatively high household annual income amongst respondents reflects Thompson's higher median income patterns as mentioned in the previous chapter. The majority of respondents (86.5%) were employed full time. Further, most of respondents reported that they had post secondary education (67.5%), of which 31% had an undergraduate degree, 25% had a college certificate,

diploma or apprenticeship, and 17% had completed a graduate/ post-graduate degree. In terms of occupation, the top four NOC groupings that corresponded to respondents' work included NOC 3 Health Occupations (30.6%), NOC 1 Business, Finance and Administrative Occupations (17.6%); NOC 0 Management Occupations (15.7%) and NOC 4 Occupations in Education, Law, Social, Community and Government Services (16.7%) (see Figure 1). The most common work hours were 31 to 40 hours per week (65%), 5 to 9 hours a day (68.5%), and the standard work week (Monday through Friday) (74.8%). However, 14.6% stated that they worked shift schedules. Of those who worked shift work, 93% worked days, and 47% worked nights/graveyards. Twenty-three percent of respondents stated they worked over 13 hours of overtime on a monthly basis.

Figure 1: NOC distribution of respondents
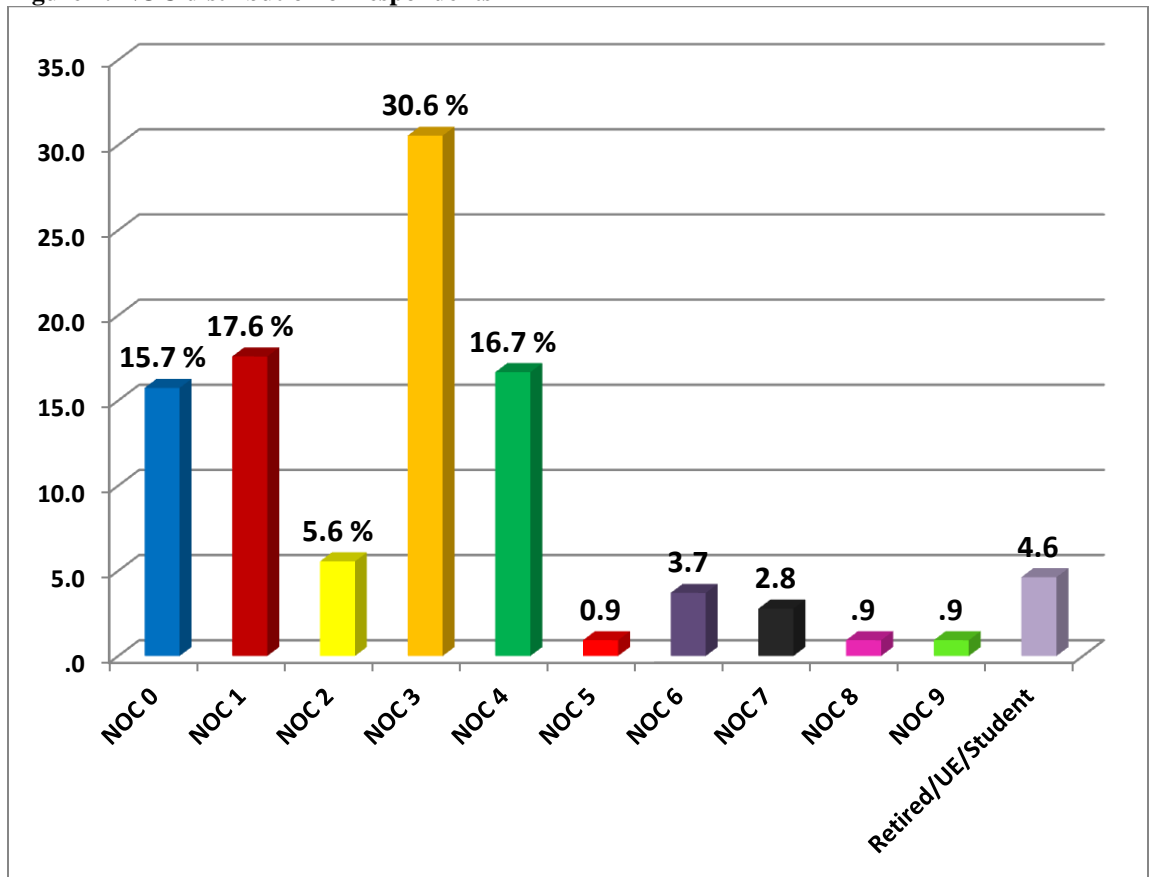
The survey results also illustrate a gender division pattern regarding food responsibilities. The survey results indicated that for 53% of respondents, the dominant grocery shopper in the household is female. This supports previous studies findings in that within the dominant division of household responsibilities, women are often credited with control over food provisioning (McIntosh & Zey, 1998; Little et al., 2009; Warde, 1997; Prattala et al., 2006; De Agostini, 2005).

In terms of place identity results, most of the respondents had a positive place identity in relation to Thompson; 28% had a moderate positive place identity, and 25% had a high place identity (see table 1.2).

1.2 Place Identity Univariate Analysis

Place Identity Index			
	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Perecent
Absent	12	13.2%	13.2%
Low	31	34.1%	47.3%
Moderate	25	27.5%	74.7%
High	23	25.3%	100%
Total	91	100%	

The breakdown of each question, however, illustrates different types of connections to Thompson. Thirty-four percent of respondents agreed with the statement "I feel Thompson is a part of who I am". However 37.8 % of respondents disagreed with the statement "Thompson reflects my personal values". The majority of respondents considered Thompson to be their hometown; 23% strongly agreed, and 38% agreed with this statement. However a total of 31% did not feel Thompson is the place for them. A total of 42% of respondents stated they find Thompson beautiful whereas a total of 31% responded negatively to that statement. Interestingly, regardless of the positive responses

to other place identity questions, more than half of the respondents, 55%, indicated that they would rather live in a different town. Half of the respondents felt they had an emotional bond with Thompson, and 35% stated they did not have an emotional bond to Thompson.

Twelve respondents for the one hour semi-structured interviews were selected from the group of survey respondents who agreed to be contacted for an interview (N=36). Two of the interviewees were male; and 10 were female, 75% were married, and half had at least one child currently living in their household. The other half had no children currently living in their household. However, of these, two of the respondents mentioned that they sometimes take care of grandkids. For half of participants interviewed from two adult households (N=9), the dominant grocery shopper in the household is female and 33% equally split grocery shopping responsibilities. However in the cases where the dominant grocery shopper in the household is female 40% had partners/spouses that engaged in hunting and fishing in the region. Of the twelve participants interviewed, 42% had lived in Thompson for 19 years or more, and 17% had lived in Thompson for one year or less.

Bivariate analyses of survey results are presented and discussed in conjunction with the relevant qualitative analysis in the following chapter. Each thematic pattern is based on survey and interview findings. Survey results illustrate broad patterns which are then embellished upon using interview data. Collectively this analysis provides a food consumption practices map of those living in Thompson.

Chapter Five: Food Consumption Practices Map of Thompson, Manitoba: Mapping a Northern Narrative

In this chapter I illustrate food consumption practices in Thompson through the mapping of broad and intricate patterns. Broad patterns are defined through survey results which are then embellished upon using interview data. Intricate patterns of food consumption are mapped predominately using interview data. Collectively this analysis provides a food consumption practices map of those living in Thompson. The findings also illustrate how a diverse population interacts with a limited food environment. My research traces how place identity, gender, and occupation shape the way food is selected, purchased and consumed in Thompson, Manitoba. My findings are organized and presented according to dominant themes and subthemes, however, it is imperative to understand the overlapping nature of these themes. Each is related to, and influenced by the others. Thus, one connection reveals how gender influenced DOH responsibilities in terms of who was primarily responsible for food consumption practices, the continuum of traditional recipes, as well as the gendering of certain food items. Occupational culture overlaps with gender roles, which also overlap with DOH, in terms of the demands, structure, and culture of various occupations; specifically health care occupations. The degree to which one identifies with certain socio-cultural groups also plays a role in food consumption practices. The connection of past with the present is illustrated through participants' historical experiences regarding food and how their experiences are transmitted over time into present practices. Yet another connection reveals the effect place has on identity, perception, and cultural capital and how these influence food consumption practices within a particular environment. My findings show that

consumption practices are embedded in a struggle to articulate identities, lifestyles, and values. Of Wardes' (2010) values of consumption, identity and exchange values are strongly represented in participants' food consumption practices. Interconnected, they provide an intricate socio-cultural map of food consumption practices. The diverse yet patterned food consumption practices outlined here provide a deeper understanding of Thompson's northern food environment, and how residents negotiate food values and engage in practices of shopping, selection and preparation in this environment.

1.   *Exchange-Value Influences*

According to the interview data, exchange-value appears to be more important for participants in guiding their consumption than suggested by Warde (2010). However, it is important to note the timing of the interviews and shifts in Thompson food environment, as these factors may have inflated participants' focus on exchange-value. The announcement of the closure of Extra Foods induced anxiety for residents (Barker, 2012). The majority of participants interviewed speculated or made mention of Safeway's monopoly status in Thompson. The degree of importance placed on exchange-value varied; however, regardless of income level, participants judged the value of certain food items in relation to price. Notions of 'well priced', 'on sale', 'reasonable prices', and 'expensive' illustrate participants' measurement of exchange-value. Food items that were always purchased illustrate which foods evade exchange-values. In an average month the top five items always purchased by respondents included milk products (93.4%), fresh fruit (94.3%), fresh vegetables (92.4%), eggs (90.5%), and bread (87.6%). However, the prominence of taste is illustrated by participants' responses to financial changes and the effects on their food consumption. An increase in the monies available to put toward food

consumption showed a consistency in foods they regularly purchased. When participants were asked what they would buy if they had extra monies to spend on groceries, 32% stated that they would buy more of the same/stock up, or that it would make no difference.

Of particular note, exchange-values infiltrated aspects of food practices in terms of 'treating' oneself and what is 'worth' spending money on. When items that have been absent in Thompson's grocery stores are made available, participants viewed them as a luxury. The view that some items are a luxury relaxed exchange-value influence on participants' food consumption practices in that luxury foods are perceived as a treat and thus worth the monies paid. This dynamic of availability and exchange-value was evident in the interviews conducted. For example, Sherri[4], who was employed full-time with children living at home, articulated how exchange-values are attributed to each food item. Both exchange-values and rarity of the food item inform her food consumption practices:

> Depending on the season too, some fruits are luxury. For example a few weeks ago, maybe three weeks ago, while I was doing my smaller grocery shop to buy fresh produce they had just gotten in for the first time was cherries. But they were $8.99 a kilo so. That was a luxury…. Well they get asparagus too sometimes. When it's on sale it'll be on sale for $3.99 but when they aren't its $5.99 and I will not pay $5.99 for that. And my family loves asparagus.

In another case, Margaret's prioritizing of cost greatly influenced her decision regarding what food items continue to be in her diet and when it is time for her to compromise on certain food items. As she stated:

> One other thing, I like Wonder whole wheat burger buns, the Wonder brand. They're my favorite burger bun if you're having a burger and we eat lots of them in the summer. We'd have them with chicken burgers too. They're $4 at Safeway and I don't know if I've ever paid $3. I usually get them for $2.50 at Extra Foods. So I'm not going to be

able to get them anymore. Safeway carries them. I'm not willing to pay
$4.99 at Safeway. I'm not!

Participants engaged in weighing availability and exchange-values when purchasing food. This allows them to set parameters for their decision making process and gives structure to their food consumption practices. The exchange-value of items influences participants' decisions regarding where to purchase certain food items. Some participants overlook physical convenience to attain certain products at what they perceive to be preferable prices. For example the following excerpt shows how Tara, who works full-time and does not have access to a vehicle, will go to grocery stores out of her walking range in order to mediate her food preference and her desire to maximize exchange-value in terms obtaining "cheaper" prices.

Tara: Yeah I do go around. Downtown area because I don't drive. A
lot of walking, carrying those bags.
Interviewer: Given that Giant Tiger is in the Westwood area do you
ever frequent that store?
Tara: Probably once a month.
Interviewer: Why is that?
Tara: I can get a lot of my packaged baking stuff there, like my cookie
mixes, my muffin mixes. They're really cheap there. Sometimes my
crackers and cookies.

In addition, several participants considered grocery shopping in Winnipeg in order to ensure that their exchange-value priorities were met. For example, Jay, who works full-time, stated:

It's going to depend on what the prices at Safeway are going to be like.
Which I think they're going to go up and if it comes to a point that it's
unreasonable and since I travel to Winnipeg all the time. Then if I can
save money by going to Winnipeg then that's going to be a lot better.

Given the distance of Winnipeg from Thompson (eight hours travelling time by car), grocery shopping becomes an exaggerated task. Participants were willing to overlook convenience, however, for their exchange-value preferences. Though exchange-value was influential on participants' food consumption practices further analyses illustrate the prominent role habitus plays.

2. *Habitus Influences*

The way habitus shapes food consumption practices was evident in my interviews as well as in the survey data. The vast majority of participants interviewed referred to their upbringing when explaining their practices and perceptions of food. Participants' practices could be traced back to traditional family experiences, which relate to their habitus. As discussed in the previous chapter, habitus is linked to principles of judgement and how food is classified; it infuses food and consumption practices with meaning. The significance of participants' upbringing in shaping food tastes illustrates the social reproduction of habitus in action through food consumption practices. It relates to the value participants placed on economical meals, Sunday dinner practices, and/or the consumption of specific food brands. Family and personal experiences influence how participants' purchased food, their eating habits, how they cook and conceptualize meals, as well as what recipes they used. For example, Margaret, who grew up in a large family with one adult in the workforce, explained how she engages with food purchasing, and how it reflects her familial experiences:

> There were lots of us. They were simple economical meals which is probably why I'm so thrifty now. I'm getting better. It's no doubt because of my upbringing in that respect. We watched every penny because of the size. There was seven of us. Sometimes more. Minimum

seven so that's a lot of mouths to feed. That very much did shape
having to be thrifty. I'm sure. I did all the grocery shopping with my
dad. So it's just in me and I can't get rid of it.

Growing up, Margaret's family had to "watch every penny" in order to feed everyone, and this thriftiness is now a part of her present food consumption practice. Traditional food practices are also exercised by Tara. In the following excerpt, she explained how her family practices have influenced the way she engages with food at home during certain times of the week:

> Tara: But on the weekends it's a lot of whatever is in the cupboard or in
> the fridge.
> Interviewer: Why just the weekends?
> Tara: Um, I don't know. I think it's almost traditionally Saturday and
> Sunday has been a clean up the fridge day. You use up everything in the
> fridge or it gets chucked and I don't like wasting food.
> Interviewer: So traditionally for you is that something that your family
> started or did you start that on your own?
> Tara: No that's the way it was growing up.

The routine practice of Saturday and Sunday as "clean up the fridge day(s)" informs Tara's actions. She relies on familiar practices to guide her present food consumption. Similarly for Frank, who moved from Newfoundland to Thompson over 20 years ago, decisions regarding which meals are dedicated towards the whole family and when, are determined by a traditional pattern established in his upbringing. As Frank indicates:

> We try for Sunday dinner, Sunday dinner is family dinner. Everybody
> needs to be home for Sunday dinner. That was the way we were
> brought up. It was Sunday was the family dinner day. Very rarely did
> you eat alone as a family on Sundays.

Sunday dinners as a symbol of family are a part of Franks' habitus in relation to food. He refers to his upbringing as the rationale for his Sunday dinner practices, which illustrates

the role habitus plays on his food consumption practices. These examples depict habitus in action. The way most participants purchased food, when they purchased food, and the categorization of certain days of the week as assigned to certain types of food practices are based on their upbringing. Historical experiences established participants understanding and organization of food consumption.

2.1 Doxa: Conceptualization Continuance

Bourdieu's concept of doxa explains the consistency of habitus, as it highlights why social differentiation such as class distinctions still persist over time. Bourdieu argued that people are fundamentally inhabited in fields that they perceive to have the most meaning or feel most at home (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; p. 127). They are drawn to what they know most, what induces feelings of belonging. These nostalgic feelings reinforce food consumption practices for participants. Participants' conceptions of a meal and how to engage with food is socially taught. Exploring participants' perspectives regarding what constitutes a meal, it is evident that these understandings are connected to the way they were taught to engage with food. Participants reverted to their family's practices as reasoning for their conceptualization of a meal. Thus, for Rhonda, who grew up in Montreal, food practices are clearly linked to her upbringing. Her habitus influences how she conceives of a meal, and what it should consist of as a continuum of her grandmothers' practice. She stated:

> I've always loved food period. It's always something like, my grandmother. When I think back, I think going to my grandmother and there being a table full of food like for a party of twenty coming for a feast. When there were only six of us. You'd have all these options of what you'd like to have, all these dishes. So you could go ahead and pick what you want and put on your plate. So I try to take a lot of options so people can pick what they want and then what's left over I

take for lunch. I try not to over feed, but even if I'm working they can still eat a good supper throughout the week. So I think always putting out four or five things they can pick for dinner.

In addition, Marianne's perception of what a meal consists of is a replica of the meals she experienced growing up. Her habitus reinforces a particular notion of which foods are essential in a meal and which are optional. This is illustrated in the following excerpt:

Interviewer: What do you consider to be a meal?

Marianne: Probably it would be meat potatoes vegetables would be a must. Salad and a dessert would be optional.

Interviewer: Why those three, why must those be incorporated?

Marianne: It's how we grew up.

Furthermore, Margaret's perception of a successful recipe is linked to her experience with her mothers' recipes. Her familiarity with the meal promotes a positive evaluation of the recipe. As she stated:

We ate, I mean my dad or my mom would make a lot of macaroni and cheese. She'd make a lot of casseroles kind of things. She'd make a hamburger, macaroni, tomato kind of thing. We still really like them but I wouldn't make it tons. I mean I do make it I make macaroni with tomato but I don't put the hamburger in it for the kids. They like anything with macaroni in it. It's sort of based off of her. I still make macaroni and cheese the same way my mom did because it's the best way to do it. I guess if it's successful you don't change it.

These quotes illustrate the persistence of habitus through the reference of participants' upbringing in their reasoning for their current food practices. The explanations given by participants support Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) claim that people inhabit fields that feel the most familiar to them. While the strength of influence habitus has on food consumption practices did vary, the majority of participants interviewed, 67%, referred to historical family practices as a guiding principle of their current practices.

2.2 Recipes Practiced

True pastiche was most evident in the kinds of recipes participants engaged with. Half of the participants interviewed referred to replicating recipes they learned as a child, predominantly from the female head of their childhood home. Recipes were often linked to family members or labelled 'family recipes'. Participants reinforced their habitus by cooking recipes that had been taught to them. Following a family recipe is a true pastiche of family values; a mode of social reproduction. True pastiche, a copying of values, represents the reproduction of habitus through the regurgitation of the original discourse of one's habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Recipes were a mode for participants to express habitus through the imitation of a particular style. For instance, Joan's recipe book symbolized her habitus and marked a significant change in her life. The recipe book is a symbol of tradition and is transferred during a symbolic life stage; especially marriage. As Joan explained:

> Some[recipes] are hand me downs from my mom or relatives. For my
> wedding my mother sort of pulled from her recipes she knew I liked
> and reached out to other friends and relatives to sort of compile and
> give as a gift.

In another case, Beth's true patische was reserved for a particular recipe, chicken curry. When asked whose recipe she would use, her family's recipe is recognized as ideal. The recipe represents a long history, a family tradition, but also reflects some flexibility as a common practice. Her attempt at replicating her family's recipes reflects a copying of values, tastes, and a particular style. Beth's family recipe is a point of reference she can use when assessing her attempt at making 'curry chicken'. As the following excerpt illustrates:

Beth: Yeah my moms' or my sisters' chicken curry I like. That's the only time I'll eat it, or my dad's. I would go to my family's recipe. I've been taught it a couple times but I just haven't really. I tried it and it just never turns out. It's a really hard recipe.

Interviewer: Who taught you?

Beth: My mom.

Interviewer: Is it a recipe she perfected herself?

Beth: She was taught and then she changed it around a bit.

Interviewer: Who was she taught by?

Beth: Her mom. My sister does too. She'll add stuff or change it around. My mom changed it to suit our family. Like spices. That's what they would do. She would make it not as spicy.

Jay, whose favorite recipe is chicken cacciatore, indicated that the recipe he uses was passed down to him from dominant female figures in his family. Their influence is represented not only in the type of recipes Jay uses but in the frequency of his diet. The following excerpt shows this dynamic:

Interviewer: Ok. So who taught in regards to all the recipes that you discussed, who taught you those recipes?

Jay: A good number of them my mother and my grandmother.

Interviewer: What are the recipes that your mother and grandmother taught you?

Jay: Well a lot of the Italian ones that I know. My meatballs, cabbage rolls, chicken cacciatore for sure. The couple of cake recipes that I know.

Similarly, Susan, who has lived in Thompson for six years, indicated how the recipes she was exposed to as a child set a pattern that she has copied and reproduced with her own family:

My mother had a very set routine. She had five kids. Every Monday we'd have spaghetti. Every Tuesday we'd have you know pork chops or

> something. Every Wednesday we had something else, Thursday was left over day. Friday she didn't cook. Saturday she didn't cook. Sunday she'd make a big meal like a roast or something. We always knew what we were eating every day of the week… .So I learned how to cook the foods she went by. So you know spaghetti, she made these meat balls which I still make and really like in a caper sauce.

The continuance of recipes reinforces participants' habitus. Recipes are passed down during symbolic life stage moments or gradually throughout participants' lifetimes. By attaining the knowledge of certain recipes, in the form of food consumption practices, the habitus is reaffirmed. Furthermore, family recipes can be used as a base for participants to assess other recipes outside of their habitus. Recipes are used as a means of distinction in relation to other recipes, as well as a reference when trying to explore with a family recipe and incorporate some different ingredients. This allows participants to engage in small acts of differentiation within their own habitus.

3.   *Gender Role Influences*

My research shows gender is still a primary factor in food consumption practices in terms of food preferences, gatekeeper status, and DOH structure. Survey results showing gender division trends was confirmed in the interviews, as just over half of those interviewed, who live with other adults stated the dominant grocery shopper in their household is female. In some instances, this trend was based on traditional gender roles wherein women are assigned to take care of food consumption. This is also bound up with habitus since many participants were taught gender role divisions early in life, hence shaping their attitudes and ideas regarding of food responsibilities in the home. Some participants' recognized their role in food preparation and shopping as a gendered role, describing it as almost commonsensical. Others explained how they were socialized into traditional gender roles later in life. This was the case for Marianne, who grew up on a

farm and did not engage with a traditional female roles regarding food in her early years. She articulated how she was expected to take up a specific gender role in food consumption with her transference to female head of household:

> It was after I got married I tell ya. I didn't do any inside work growing up. I was outside all the time. There was a lot of meals when we first got married that got thrown out because they weren't edible. I'm not kidding. I'll tell you this story and it's a true story! They were having a bridal shower for somebody in the community not long after we got married. They had asked me to bring egg salad sandwiches. I said ok sure no problem. When I was making these sandwiches a neighbour came over she said oh! Well that's different. I said well what? She said I've never heard of anybody frying eggs and putting making them with them, in with them. And I said well, how the hell do you make egg salad sandwiches? She said well you boil the eggs and then you smash them up. I didn't know that! I did not know that! I was frying them and then adding them. I kind of mashed them up a bit. I didn't know you boiled them. I never worked inside at home because we had animals outside and hay and all the rest of it. I never worked inside the home.

Food preparation and provisioning is expressed as an extension of women's traditional nurturing role, as one who cooks for the family. With this responsibility a gatekeeper status develops. However, traditional gender roles in food consumption practices are also challenged by diverse economic situations. Today's households are experiencing shifting gender roles. Indeed, thirty-one percent of survey participants' stated there was an equal split in their household regarding grocery shopping responsibilities. Work scheduling and occupational shifts in particular change the allocation of food responsibilities within a family. Women's responsibilities for food practices were often delegated when occupational shifts occurred in households.

3.1 Food Preference

Findings regarding gender and FPA were contradictory. While survey results illustrate that FPA has an almost non-existent association to gender (G=.094, p=.683), interview data illustrated a very minor association of gender and FPA. My findings show that gender is linked to participants' understanding of food. Some participants discussed their food preferences as being gendered. For example, Marianne, who has lived in Thompson for over 25 years, articulated how gender and FPA are associated in her food preferences:

> They say a lot of women prefer white meat over red and I guess I just
> fall into that category. I like them both but if you say do you want a
> steak or a pork chop, I'd take a pork chop.

Marianne's statement reflects some of my finding with survey data and the food item list. The food item list showed that the majority of food items have weak associations with gender though these were not statistically significant. Food items that had the strongest relationship with gender and were statistically significant included cake/donuts (G=.557, p=.017), chocolate (G=.361, p=.057) and frozen entrees (G=.452, p=.046). Men were less likely to purchase cake/donuts than women; the majority of men (83%) rarely/never purchased cake/donuts versus just over half of women (56%). Men were also less likely to purchase chocolate than women; 44% of men rarely/never purchased chocolate compared to 33% of women, 37% of women often/always purchased chocolate compared to just 11% of men. Women also purchased frozen entrees more often than men as 20% of women often/always purchased frozen entrees versus only 6% of men. Thus, this pattern within the food item list shows there is a difference between male and female food consumption. These differences may reflect the stereotyping of foods based on

gender in that some foods, such as chocolate, are viewed and often marketed as feminine. The stereotyping of foods assists in establishing food as a fundamental means of expressing difference. Therefore, engaging with certain types of foods may be a form of expressing one's gender.

3.2 Women as Gatekeepers

Overall, the research indicated that women were the primary agents in deciding which foods entered the household, as well as in the transference of traditional recipes. Women use their role as gatekeepers to decide which foods were purchased. This role was evidenced in survey results, which indicated that women were mainly responsible for grocery shopping for the household. Furthermore, the majority of female participants interviewed, referenced health as a factor determining their selection of food for consumption, however, each participant varied in the degree to which they adhered to this practice. Health was depicted as a symbol of care and as part of the gatekeeper status. Participants recognized this role and practiced their gatekeeper status by adhering to health-oriented values and their relation to food whilst incorporating preference for variety as well. For example, Susan, who has a family history of cancer, unwaveringly exercised the value she placed on health through her food consumption choices. Her prominent focus on health is directly connected to her role as a gatekeeper and her role as a mother. As she explained:

> I mean, ever since the kids were really young, my approach to food was I only had things in the house that were healthy. So the children could never make a wrong choice. All there was to choose from was good for them. There's no candies, no chips, no soft drinks, it was all good for you. I'll give them the healthiest stuff I could possibly give them and then they can make their own choices as they've started to now. And

whatever I've done everything that I could. I think if I wouldn't have had children I wouldn't have cared as much if it was just me.

In addition, Carole, a new mother, has begun to practice her role as a gatekeeper with a focus on health associated foods. Her role as a mother influenced her decision to eat more 'tofu', a food item she associates with healthy eating, and to introduce tofu to her child. As she stated:

> Just lately with the baby I've been trying to eat more tofu and kind of reach back to kind of the way I used to cook a little bit. It's kind of like I have a reason to. Whereas it seemed kind of silly to put the time and effort into something that only I would really appreciate. Now at least I kind of say you know for my baby.

Furthermore, Rhonda, a mother and foster mother, also exercised her role as a gatekeeper and mother in order to engage with her value of healthy eating. Her role as a gatekeeper gives her the ability to guide her families' food consumption practices by promoting a "more adventurous" approach to the foods she deemed healthy. She indicated:

> As much as I read the food guide, it's really hard to incorporate to include all the food groups. I try my best to bring in some greens for the family. I know the kids don't really eat it as much so I have to hide it in the food. Like the lasagna I'll shove in some spinach. I try to get the family to be a bit more adventurous with healthy foods.

Margaret, like Rhonda, utilizes her gatekeeper status via her role as a primary cook to assert control over what her family eats and to gage her family's eating practices. She explained:

> It's probably all of us. I'll be the first to admit that we eat too much meat but we do like it. I will, when I make chili, I'll put an extra can of beans and less meat and nobody notices.

Though gender and gatekeeper status are correlated factors in terms of how food consumption practices were exercised, the most influential factor on a families' actual food consumption is the

designated primary cook. Therefore, DOH structure has a greater influence on family's food consumption practices.

3.3 Division of Household Responsibilities (DOH) Structure

Participants' gender role and DOH structure overlap. Female heads of households who were the primary cooks maintained a more prominent gatekeeper status than those who shared the responsibility with a spouse or partner. A power structure develops wherein the primary cook decides what the household is eating. Of the participants' interviewed, the majority of primary cooks were female. These women play a dominant role regarding food consumption practices. They continue to be gatekeepers of the recipes used and types of food the family ate, which reflects what they want to achieve for their family. This role then in turn promotes a certain DOH structure. This was the case for Sherri, who is employed full-time and has children living in her household. She depicted her DOH structure as an extension of her gender role. She reinforces this role and structure by involving her daughter in household food consumption practices. As Sherri elaborated:

> I'm the female head of household. I do most of the cooking. So I do most of the shopping… . She [daughter] helps me prepare things. Stir the beef as its cooking so it takes a little longer. I can't just throw it all together at the speed that I normally would. I don't' mind because I want her to learn how to cook and how to make things from scratch. It might just be just throwing the cheese on the pizza that we made. But still she thinks she's cooking. I don't know if it's a girl thing if all girls like cooking or if mommy enjoys it and so she wants to learn. I don't want her to be 20 years old and not know how to make mashed potatoes.

Another participant, Dawn, who is married with no children, also associated her DOH structure with gender roles and gatekeeper status in terms of how grocery shopping and

cooking responsibilities are divided between herself and her husband. The following excerpt illustrates this dynamic:

> Interviewer: In your household who usually goes grocery shopping?
>
> Dawn: Both me and my husband.
>
> Interviewer: Do you two shop together?
>
> Dawn: No not often.
>
> Interviewer: How does it break up?
>
> Dawn: I guess I probably go slightly more than my husband.
>
> Interviewer: Why is that?
>
> Dawn: Probably because I'm the woman, and I do most of the cooking
> and decide what we're going to eat.

Additionally, men's role in food provisioning in the home was assigned to certain food items. Men's primary role regarding food was to provide meat, whether through hunting or cooking. Men and the procurement of meat were dominant themes in the interviews. My findings show that for the majority of participants, DOH structures limit men's engagement with food to various degrees. In doing so, women's role as gatekeepers of food practices is reinforced. For example, Marianne's DOH structure illustrates a particular role for men in her household. She is the primary agent for purchasing food in Thompson, however the men in her family play a prominent role regarding the supply of meat. The following excerpt shows the assigning of men to hunting and meat provisioning:

> Interviewer: What do you consider food essentials?
>
> Marianne: The fruits and vegetables, milk, eggs, fruit, vegetables. And then of course meat but my husband and sons go hunting so. They'll go goose hunting in October in southern Manitoba. My son usually comes across and then they'll go goose hunting. Then my other son he will go deer hunting in southern Manitoba. And then they did have, my husband and son, got caribou tags for this past January but then my son

was busy and they had to go up to, I'm not sure, if it was Lac Brochet,
north of Lynn Lake is where they go. Actually, Caribou is quite nice
meat too.

For another participant, Joan, DOH structure is a continuum of her habitus. Men were assigned to a typical form of cooking, BBQ-ing, in her childhood household; a practice she reinforces in her current family:

Joan: If it's the BBQ season I'm certainly not out there on the BBQ.
Interviewer: Why is that?
Joan: I don't know. I just never had to.
Interviewer: So before you were with your partner who BBQs?
Joan: My father.

Similarly, Frank's DOH structure illustrates his prominent role as the one primarily responsible for BBQ-ing and spicing steak for the family. He explained:

Anything that we do on the BBQ is always spiced one way in particular
and if I don't spice it that way everybody gets upset… . If I don't put
that on our steak everybody is unhappy. You didn't make it right.

Assigning men with a highly specific DOH role is a result of narrowing their practices to a certain food item: meat. This may be a factor of gendering food into the dichotomous categorization of male and female type of foods.

Delegating food consumption practices in some cases was done reluctantly by women. Delegating food consumption practices invoked anxiety for some participants. Values surrounding health, use of time, as well as exchange-values are seen to be in jeopardy when delegating food responsibilities. For instance, Carole, the primary food purchaser and cook in her household, had established routine consumption practices that were interrupted when she included her spouse. A new form of shared food consumption practice developed. She explained:

> I find when I go by myself I usually have a plan. I've written down some recipes. I've planned it out more. Often when I go with him it's a rush to go out of the house, somehow, I mean he enjoys shopping, but it seems we're often we're going and grabbing what we're going to get that evening. He doesn't really enjoy making a plan. I'm usually the one who comes up with the plan. So if I kind of leave it up to the last minute, oh what are we going to have for supper? And we go together then there's no plan. I'm pushing him to come up with a decision when we're in the store. Well what, you have to tell me what you want. Once we walk into the store, I force my husband to 'what are we going to have'. He then articulates something. So then I'm like, ok I know we need things this and this.

For Rhonda, who is sometimes required to work overtime, the value she places on health is challenged when she is required to delegate her primary role as cook to her spouse. Her spouse's involvement in food preparation in their household is seen as a 'vacation' from the routine practices maintained by Rhonda. As she explained:

> I mean I guess also I'm definitely the cooker at home. So if I know I'm working till 8 pm, my husband I know isn't going to make a big healthy meal. I know a lot of time there is a lot of time quick easy things being bought for the kids when they come home for lunch. Whereas when I'm home I like to make them sandwiches or soups for lunch. Depending on when I'm working so then I'll definitely buy according to what I know he will cook. The other day the kids said do you work today, I said ya. They said yay that means we get pizza. I was like what! You cook food!

Similarly, Margaret's food consumption practices change and her exchange-values challenged when her spouse is included in the process. As a result, conflicting food consumption practices are mediated throughout their grocery shopping endeavour. As she indicated:

> I don't mind grocery shopping. My husband doesn't mind he actually enjoys coming along but he actually likes to buy different things than me. Which is not really a good idea. We spend more money when he goes. He's not as consciousness as I am. If he wanted it he would, it wouldn't matter if a little tiny package of raspberries were $4.99 he'd buy them. Whereas I wouldn't.

Conflicting food practices are managed by participants. Predominately, participants' food practices were under the control by the female head of household. Even in cases where there was a greater degree of sharing food responsibilities within a household with two adults, most women still maintained primary responsibility for the family's food choices. According to my findings, the designated primary cook had the most influence on the family's food consumption, and the majority of those who filled this role were women.

4.   *Occupational Culture Influences*

Occupational factors also greatly influence how food consumption practices are exercised. Occupational culture influenced decisions regarding who purchases food, meal times, and which recipes are served. With regards to the breakdown of DOH, occupation scheduling contributed to greater participation by men and greater sharing of food responsibilities between family members. The mediation of food consumption responsibilities with family members' work schedules allowed participants to ensure their preferred food practices continued by overcoming occupational factors to the best of their ability.

4.1 Food Items and FPA

In the survey data, the variables measured under occupational culture showed a slight association with FPA or diet change. However hours worked per day showed a minor association with both FPA and diet change but these were not statistically significant (r_s = .150, p = .135; r_s = .144, p = .142). The survey data indicated minor associations between food items and some occupational culture variables. For example,

type of employment showed minor associations with food items, DOH, and FPA but none were statistically significant. Income showed minor negative associations with some food items however theses were not statistically significant. Interestingly, average monthly overtime and hours worked per day were associated with food item purchasing. Average monthly overtime and fish showed a negative minor association (n= 100) (r_s= -.257, p = .014), meaning that as average monthly overtime decreases fish purchasing increases. Twenty-four percent of respondents who do not work any overtime always purchase fish, compared to 9.5% of those who work thirteen or more hours of overtime. This may relate to fishing practices, which are a popular activity in the region. Those who work overtime may have less time to engage in this type of food provisioning. It may also indicate a preference for fresh fish and a lack of supply in grocery stores. Further articulation for this association is hindered by survey problems experienced with the regional forms of food provisions (hunting, fishing, berry picking, gardening) as stated earlier. Of those interviewed, some participants stated they engaged in fishing activities and of these, one participant was retired and another participant worked in an occupation that did not require over-time.

Additionally, occupation categories showed a minor association to specific differences in food item purchases, as depicted in the cross-tabulations between NOC codes and frequency of food item purchases though these were not statistically significant (see table 4.2 to 4.8 appendix 4). There was an interesting dispersion within each NOC code, with stark differences between often/always categories of each NOC code. According to survey results those in NOC 1 occupations (Business, Finance, and Administration personnel) often/always purchase coffee (57.9%) rather than tea (31.6%),

whereas, those in NOC 2 occupations (Natural and Applied Sciences occupations) often/always purchase tea (66.7%) rather than coffee (33.3%). Those in NOC 0 occupations (Management) indicated the least purchases of poultry and deli meats, in that only 27% often/always purchased these types of food items. NOC 0 also had the greatest frequency of often/always purchasing potato chips (53.3%). NOC 4 occupations (Education, Law, Social, Community and Government) had the least purchases of chocolate often/always (20%). Of those who most frequently purchased seafood were people in NOC 7 occupations (Trades, Transport and Equipment Operators) (66.6%), as well as, NOC 0, (40%). These findings illustrate certain trends within each occupation category and across categories. The food item list illustrates a pattern of differences in food consumption practices among people in different occupations. These differences support Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of food practices in that different occupational groups eat different food items, which are evident of different types of education and levels of cultural capital. My findings further support his argument that the main boundary established by differences in food consumption is between those in manual work (NOC 7) and clerical occupations (NOC 0, NOC 1). However, these differences may also reflect ideologies embedded in occupations such as health related occupations, as well as the logistics of occupations in terms of work scheduling.

Occupation scheduling was a prominent theme throughout both survey and interview data. Survey data showed that hours worked in a day had a low association with bread (r_s = .182, p = .070) (see table 4.9 appendix 4). The biggest difference of food item purchases was between those who worked 0 to 4 hours a day and those who worked 10 to 14 hours a day, particularly with fresh items. Survey data indicated that 84.2% of

those who worked 10 to 14 hours a day always purchased bread compared to 55.6% of those who worked 0 to 4 hours a day. However, the implications of hours worked in a day for food consumption practices was better articulated in the interview data. The impact of work hours on food item purchasing was especially discussed in the interviews, in which participants elaborated on how they ate while at work. Some participants ate out during their work hours. For example, Beth, a single woman employed full-time had established a pattern of frequenting the work cafeteria. Her work schedule influenced her engagement with the food at the cafeteria located in her work place. This affects her food consumption practices by incorporating the foods the cafeteria has to offer to a prominent degree (three days a week). She stated:

> See I usually eat at work at the cafeteria so I usually get food from work. [I work] 40 hours. Its 8:30 to 4:30. I go to the cafeteria a lot. But about 3 days out of the week I'll eat there. Sometimes it's actually good… . Like their chicken wings are actually amazing. It's surprising. They make these really good chicken wings.

Rhonda, who has school aged children at home, also organizes her food consumption practices around her work schedule. She works shift work at the hospital and during some months she picks up over-time shifts. She described her typical work day:

> If I have to go to work I have to be there at 6:45……I have my breakfast during my breakfast break at work so that's what I'll usually have. My shift is usually 12 hours. If I'm at work depending on what's going on at work I might not be able to take off. Eating at work can be scattered.

Rhonda's food consumption practices reflect her attempts to negotiate her role as a mother and her occupational responsibilities. In order to do so, she eats more often at work.

Occupation not only provides a certain structure of what kinds of foods are consumed but also effects DOH structure in terms of grocery shopping, recipes practiced, and how meals are consumed. For example, Carole, who just returned from maternity leave and was working part-time, discussed how her occupation and DOH role impact on her food consumption practices:

> My husband and I do a lot of things together so when we go, like if it's the weekend and we're not working we almost always go together and we bring our baby with us. It's usually the whole family. But if it's I work shorter days than my husband he works 7:30 am to 5:00pm everyday plus often overtime. So I work 8:30am to 4:30pm and I have a longer lunch hours. So quite often it's me running to the store on my lunch hour or after work. Coming home and getting supper started. I work three days a week though too. Because I recently went back to work part-time. So I'm also home two days a week and so I'll usually take the baby and go.

Work schedules affect Carole's grocery shopping practices. Grocery shopping is a family endeavour only when work schedules permit. For Joan and her husband, who are both employed full-time and have no children, work scheduling influences the degree to which each partakes in their food shopping and preparation, as the following excerpt shows:

> Interviewer: In your household who usually does the grocery shopping?
> Joan: Sometimes its 50/50 sometimes it's more him.
> Interviewer: What determines if it's 50/50 or more him?
> Joan: He typically makes the meals and he gets off work first so if it's
> what are we having tonight he usually goes and gets it.

Joan's husband's work schedule allows for time to engage in food purchasing and making meals. Therefore, he plays a more prominent role in household food preparation and provisioning.

4.2 Recipes Practiced

The types of recipes served also reflect occupational scheduling. Recipes that took greater time and care were avoided during the work week. This then affected participants' experiences with certain recipes. For example, Rhonda's newly reduce work schedule was seen as having a positive influence on the kinds of recipes she could make for her family. As Rhonda indicated:

> Now that I have more time off. Not picking up as much overtime. I'm trying to make more chicken pot pies, more really good homemade food.

In another case, Frank's exploration of recipes with his spouse, a practice he enjoys, has been negatively impacted by his wife's return to the workforce. As Frank explained:

> On occasion I'll buy extra of something and I'll toy with some recipes. So I'll just do it up and do little batches so you're not wasting the whole thing. Since my wife starting working we haven't had play time with that sort of thing.

For some, Sunday dinner was an important weekend event, with more time devoted to food preparation and more complex, yet traditional recipes. Sunday dinners were characterized by a large homemade meal. Some participants viewed Sunday as a distinct day free from the imposed structure of the work days. It was viewed as a day that allowed for participants to engage with their food consumption practices to the extent they preferred. For example, Sherri articulated the significance of Sunday dinners, which symbolized a positive reaffirmation of traditional DOH structure where care is affiliated with more time and her mothers' presence:

> I remember my mom making homemade stew. Usually on every Sunday. Like I said she was a single mom so meals during the week were made usually by me, leftovers or something quick because my mom worked until 6 o'clock. But on the weekends she'd always like to make a roast or stew or some sort of good home cooked meal on Sundays. I always remember growing up there's always the smell of

> something cooking. She's baked bread from scratch on Sunday. A roast or a chicken or something… .It was mostly a time factor with meals. There's just not enough time. Because of work and I mean I just took it upon myself. The chore wasn't' given to me. I just took it to sort of help out and y'know so my mom wasn't' rushed when she came home she could sit down and relax for a few minutes.

Sherri's explanation illustrates how the factor of time (limited or extensive) affects the types of meals cooked, and the care that is taken in meal preparation. As she indicates, Sunday was distinct not only in terms of the recipes used, but also the "smell" of cooking from baking bread from scratch. Similarly, Jay referred to Sunday dinners, which symbolized a reaffirmation of a traditional DOH structure. It was a day distinctive from others in terms of his family's food consumption practices. He explained:

> Well, on Sundays it would either be a Roast Beef or say a Roast Chicken or Pork chops or trout. Something like that. Because that was the day that my mother had available all day to cook. It was her day off. Sometimes Mondays and Tuesdays if she had those days off. During the weekdays our meals would be a lot more simpler. Sometimes my sister would cook and it would be real adventure to what we'd actually be eating. She didn't make too bad of things… .My sister would cook for us when my mother was working.

These examples illustrate participants' attempts to engage with their food consumption practices to the extent they would prefer by way of food recipes. Sunday dinners is an example of an event assigned to focus on food and incorporate more time and care towards the meals prepared.

4.3 Breakfast, Lunch, and Dinner Practices

As illustrated above, the number of hours worked depending on occupation caused certain meals to be rushed for some participants. Of the three standard meals (breakfast, lunch, and dinner) dinner is predominately the meal that is less rushed. The dinner meal is an aspect of eating that is shared as a collective experience. More time and

care is taken when constructing dinner meals by the majority of participants. In contrast, when the dinner meal could not be practiced as a collective experience, care of the meal was overlooked. For Rhonda, who works shift work, practices related to the three daily meals are strongly influenced by her occupational culture:

> Rhonda: A nine to five would be so much easier so to eat with the family but in the morning it's pretty much just getting the kids ready. I have my breakfast during my breakfast break at work so that's what I'll usually have. My shift is usually 12 hours.
> Interviewer: For lunch that's also erratic?
> Rhonda: If I get one. Me if I'm work, if I'm off I love having three, four meals a day. I make sure the kids have something. If I'm at work depending on what's going on at work I might not be able to take off. Eating at work can be scattered.

Similarly, Sherri's occupational demands influence her meal practices whilst mediating her role as a mother,

> In the mornings obviously things are a little bit more rushed with. I just eat breakfast at work to be honest. I have cereal. I keep bowls, oatmeal there. Breakfast tends to be faster meal. Lunch nobody's home for lunch. But when I pack my daughters lunch I include something from all the food groups. I make sure I have something represented in her lunch.

Furthermore, for Frank, whose school-aged children have part-time jobs, food consumption practices are strongly influenced by the number of family members present to share the meal with. The number of family members present is subject to his family's occupational scheduling:

> I usually get home from work at three but today I didn't finish work today until after five. If my wife had have been working this evening, I would've been at home alone so I would've probably just had a tuna fish sandwich and moved right along.

Work scheduling influence on participants' food consumption was paramount. It influenced their practice in terms of recipes, meal scheduling, DOH structure, and whether meal consumption was a social endeavour or an isolated one.

4.4 Occupational Culture Doxa, and Food

For participants who are employed in the health sector, NOC 3, it was evident that their food consumption practices were influenced to a certain extent by their profession. Of those interviewed who referred to health when describing food consumption practices, (83%), many were employed in the health sector (40%). This was the case for Rhonda, who was employed full-time in the health sector, and maintains a focus on health in relation to food. Rhonda looks to dieticians to inform her recipe choices when serving food to her family. This illustrates her values, which reflect the medicalization of food. Seeking recipes from dieticians is a further extension of her occupation. As she stated:

> I pick up a lot of stuff [recipes] up at the dieticians at the hospital
> because that's where I work.

In addition, Carole recognized the role her occupation plays on her perception of what kinds of food to purchase. Her occupation focuses on the medicalization of food. This ideology is then socialized into her food consumption practices:

> So how do I actually pick? If it's a brand like if I'm trying to decide
> which kind of diced tomatoes for example I try to make healthier
> choices. I'm a dietician by trade. So I'm interested in that. At some
> point when I went to university and became a dietician and became
> more aware of food and more interested in food. I started making
> different choices.

Approaching food as a health concept provides boundaries and a scheme to engage with when carrying out food consumption practices. Bourdieu argued that people

are fundamentally inhabited in fields that they perceive to have the most meaning in that they are drawn to familiarity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Participants with health related occupations exercise their food consumption practices through the medicalization of food because they are most familiar with that form of food ideology. Their professions shaped their conceptualization of food which translates into health focused food consumption practices.

In another case, Tara's historical occupation experiences influenced the types of food she ate by introducing foods outside of her habitus, having worked in restaurants since she was ten. Tara's experiences in the restaurant sector cultivated her knowledge of other types of foods, their preparation, and recipes. She explained:

> I think working in the restaurants taught me that there are other foods either than roast, potatoes, and root vegetables. That's where I picked up my passion for shrimp. That's one of my favorites, is shrimp. Salmon. Whether it's canned, fillet, or whatever, planked or whatever. And you know seeing the different kinds of foods. Working in a Chinese restaurant I got to see the Bok Choy and stuff like that. The different nuts and other things that go along with that.

Tara's experience illustrates the connection between occupation and habitus development. Her work experiences have broadened her knowledge of food and contributed to the cultivation of an omnivorous approach to food, seen in the fact that she now engages with foods other than 'roast, potatoes, and root vegetables'.

5.   *Identity-Value Influences*

Identity value has a significant influence on participants' food consumption practices. Identity in the form of place identity is expressed through specific identities as urban versus rural, as well as northern versus southern. These contrasting identities play out in Thompson's food environment, which may lack in food supply in comparison to

larger urban centres but may be plentiful in comparison to small rural communities. The role place identity plays in food consumption illustrates a social dynamic of conflict. Those who identify with large southern metropolitan centers had difficulty exercising their identity in Thompson by way of using food to display this identity. Struggles of exercising place identity through food are depicted by participants' whose food consumption practices were cultivated in an urban metropolitan food environment. However, the data also indicates that over time FPA and diet changes occur. Participants' perceptions of food and its quality is based on their life experience in certain geographic contexts; communification in practice.

Survey data illustrates the role place identity plays on food preference availability (T_s = .284, p = .008) (see table 4.10 appendix 4). Sixty-seven percent of those with high place identity indicated that they can find food they prefer most of the time in Thompson, while, 44% of those with moderate place identity responded some of the time. Half of those with absent place identity stated they rarely or never find food they prefer in Thompson. Further, there is a minor association between place identity and diet change, however, this finding was not linear (T_s = .157, p = .137) (see table 4.11 appendix 4). Half of those with high place identity stated that their diet had not changed since living in Thompson, compared to 0% of those with absent place identity. Moreover, the majority (67%) of those with absent place identity stated their diet had changed somewhat followed by those with moderate place identity (44%) and low place identity (29%), compared to 13% of those with high place identity.

With regard to food item purchasing frequencies and place identity the majority of associations were not statistically significant and indicated weak to low associations.

However the pattern between fish purchasing and place identity illustrates that the majority of those who always purchased fish had moderate (24%) or high (24%) place identity always purchased fish compared to 7% of those with low and 8 % of those with absent place identity. The landscape surrounding Thompson is full of fresh water sources with an abundance of pickerel and other fresh fish. This finding may illustrate the likelihood of adapting fish as a common staple. Furthermore, of the participants interviewed, 42% mentioned incorporating fish into their diet and/or fishing as part of their food consumption practices, of which the majority had lived in Thompson for over 20 years.

Length of time spent in Thompson also influences food preference and diet. When length of time living in Thompson increases so does food preference availability (see figure 2). Of those who stated that Thompson rarely/never provides foods they prefer, 50% had been living in Thompson for under 1 year compared to 3.0% of those who lived in Thompson for 25 years or more, however, this finding is not linear.

Some frequently purchased food items are also associated with the length of time spent living in Thompson. Frozen fruit showed a minor association (r_s=.207, p=.038). Forty-two percent of those who had lived in Thompson for over 25 years always bought frozen fruit compared to 3% of those who had lived in Thompson for under a year. This purchasing behaviour may reflect the adaptation process of residents. Those living in Thompson for longer periods of time may develop a taste for frozen fruit. This may be due to supply issues in Thompson or quality of produce available. Jay, who has lived in Thompson for just over a year, explained his view of produce:

It's been my experience that since coming to northern Manitoba that there is not the knowledge and awareness of what to get for fresh foods. It seems that people seem to think up here, oh yeah we can get canned this and canned that, and cooked from a tin can and that's going to be alright, I beg to defer. I say I'm going out to get the freshest stuff I can get.

Jay differentiates from Thompson residents by way of engaging with fresh produce. Jay's food consumption practices were cultivated in a large urban centre where fresh produces is widely available, allowing him to engage with fresh produce to the degree he prefers.

Figure 2 Food Preference Availability & Length of Time in Thompson
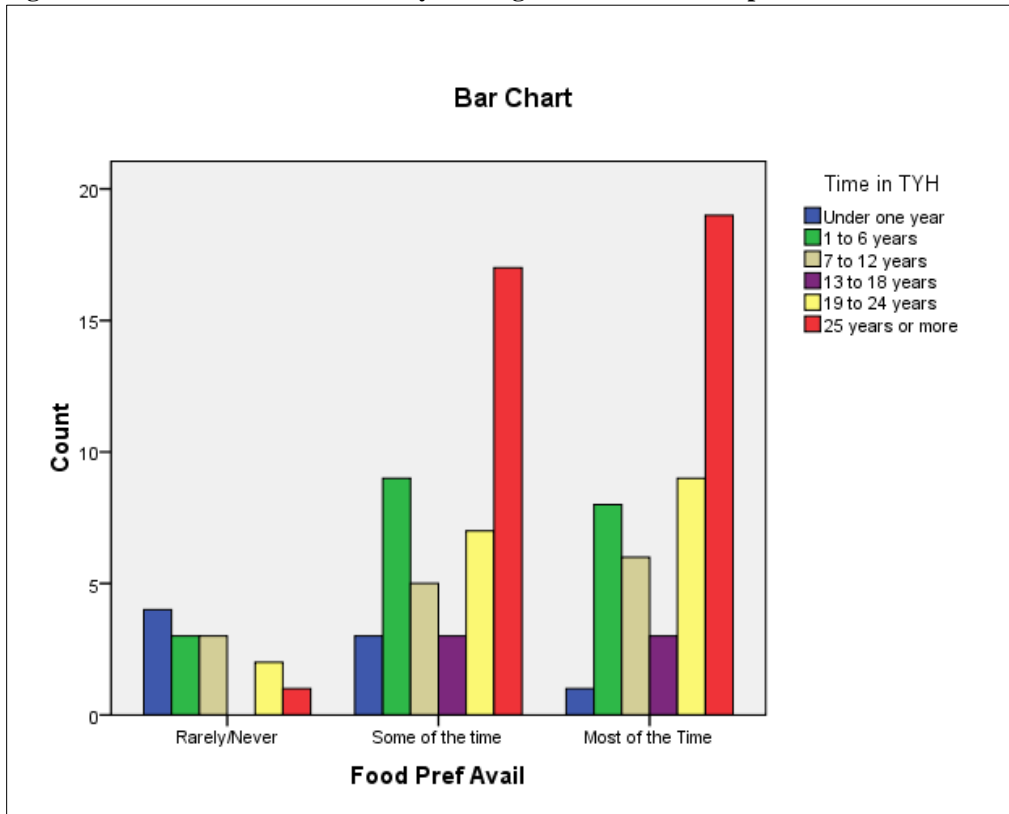
(T_s = .241, p=.0014)

There were a wide range of experiences with diet and length of time spent in Thompson. Diet change and time spent in Thompson are connected by a minor positive relationship (T_s= .194 p=.044); as time spent in Thompson increases so does the degree of change in participants' diet (see table 4.12 appendix 4). The majority (88%) of those

who had been living in Thompson for under a year stated their diet had changed somewhat. Just under half of participants who had been living in Thompson for over 25 years stated their diet had not changed, followed by 33% who had been living in Thompson for 19 years to 24 years. This pattern was further illustrated when participants were interviewed. Those who had not lived in Thompson for a long period of time felt that their diet changed since moving there. Jay who moved to Thompson just over a year ago from a large urban centre for employment reasons found his diet has changed as the availability of foods he engaged with in the larger urban centre were not readily available. His food consumption practices were cultivated in an environment that allowed for a more informed and socially connected dynamic of food consumption. Jay had developed a rapport with specialty stores and their employees such as butchers and bakers. However in Thompson, the value Jay places on first-hand interaction with food suppliers was interrupted. Thompson does not provide the opportunity for Jay to develop a close relationship with small, independent grocers. Therefore, he has a negative view of its food environment as it does not enable him to express his identity values. He explained:

> Well having different ethnic foods, and different ethnic fruits and vegetables and a consistent stock even the things because the grocery stores here or even if the truck doesn't come in there's shortages. There's always shortages and different types of other goods that you expect to find in a grocery store… .When I came here there's only three places where a person can go grocery shopping and they're all big supermarket grocery chain here to make a big profit off the backs of people here. It's definitely changed because I can't have a relationship with a bakery the same way I do with Safeway.

Jay's interaction with food environment are based on more traditional forms of food consumption in terms of smaller stores and more personal service. His explanation illustrates how social relations are often expressed through the medium of material culture, in this case food, and the value of these social relationships.

5.1 Urban Lifestyle: Variety Oasis

In general, for many participants large urban centres and southern communities are associated with positive attributes regarding food in terms of freshness, lower prices and ethical food options. Whereas food supplied in Thompson is associated with rigidity, limited selection, and lower quality. However for other participants, especially those who did not solely depend on Thompson's grocery stores due to hunting and fishing practices for example, Thompson's food environment was plentiful. The most prominent criteria used when evaluating the environment by the majority of participants was variety. Participants' requirement of variety depicts omnivorous food consumption practices. Many participants prefer to engage with a variety of food and recipes. Warde's (1997) analysis of omnivorous food practices sheds light on the meaning associated with the term 'variety', which he defines as, "Variety is the key to contemporary consumption. It has become mandatory to appreciate variety. The desirability of variety for its own sake has become a central ideological percept" (Warde, 1997, p.193). I found an emphasis on omnivorous food practices to be a repetitive theme in both my survey and interview data. However, the meaning of variety for participants is further related to notions of place and place identity. More specifically, participants' reference to variety is predominately associated with an urban lifestyle. Therefore, participants view omnivorous food practices as symbolic of an urban identity.

When survey respondents were asked if they had extra monies to buy groceries what would they purchase, 19% stated they would buy more specialty/ethnic/more variety. Equally, when asked if they had less monies to spend on groceries what would they purchase, 21% responded less specialty/variety. Throughout my research, variety was seen by participants as a luxury: as an ideal. Of the participants interviewed most referred to an urban food lifestyle, characterized by variety, in a positive manner, as something that was desirable. Urban food environments outside of Thompson that offered more variety were envied. For example, Joan, who visits the Atlantic coast often, referred to the food environment there as ideal in comparison to Thompson. Her reference to the variety of 'cheeses' illustrates her association of urban versus rural as plentiful over limited. She explained:

> It was neat shopping out East just in sort of their diary section it was three times the size of what I'm used to. The variety of the cheeses you could purchase you could droll over it.

Furthermore, Dawn, who lived in Ottawa for an extended amount of time, identified its food environment in a positive manner. She associated 'bigger cities' with variety and diversity in terms of the range of places available to purchase food items such as 'markets'. Dawn explained:

> Just not having quite the selection that we had. Now if I compared it to Ottawa it might be very different because you have markets and you have more selection I guess. Bigger city then you have more selection.

Reflecting on Thompson, another participant, Susan indicated that she had a negative view of the food environment because of the degree of importance she places on 'selection'. She associated Thompson with limitation in terms of the supply of organic food she prefers. As she stated:

> So how has Thompson influenced my diet and what I purchase, I think some of selection is limited. But I think that's also a perception. I was on the east coast for six months and I found the selection in the grocery stores there were (whistles) than it was here especially in terms of organics.

In comparison to Thompson, Sherri who has lived in Thompson for nine years, associated Winnipeg with freshness and availability. Her preference for fresh seafood is a reference point used to measure Thompson's food environment. Sherri's statement illustrates her preference for variety:

> I notice from the produce and meat selection actually in Winnipeg is obviously a lot better. Especially when you're looking for fresh seafood or seafood items. It's almost impossible to find anything fresh up here that hasn't been previously frozen. You can't get shrimp, lobster, scallops, mussel, those items. Produce is a lot different as well. You don't have it as readily available. In the winter I don't feel there is as much variety in my diet. It tends to be the same small group of vegetables or lots of apples lots of oranges. You can't find peaches or watermelons. Sometimes strawberries are there but they're really expensive. Corn on the cob no.

These examples illustrate the value placed on variety by participants and their identification of variety with an urban lifestyle, coveted by most participants. Urbanity in terms of food consumption is viewed as an oasis of food where anything you prefer can be attained; an environment where omnivorous could be practiced.

The value placed on variety is also illustrated in participants' diet. Participants exercised their preference for variety by creating different meals throughout the week. This form of omnivorousness is popular with most participants. This was the case for Joan, who travels a few times a year throughout Canada and the United States, and who demonstrates her preference for variety through the recipes she engages with. She uses her recipe books as a point of reference to assist in her ability to engage with variety. She explained:

I'm a recipe girl. So it would have been pulling out a recipe. I don't know if it's a usual as I usually flip through the books and see what we haven't had. So usually it's a casserole, a roast in a slow cooker, make our own soups so we'll slow cook our own soups. Other times I'm making fruit salad or pasta salad. Egg salad. If there's leftover chicken or turkey I make a curry chicken or turkey salad.

Moreover, Jay had a wide variety of recipes he preferred. His engagement with a variety of recipes allows him to continue the omnivorous food consumption practices he developed growing up and living in a large urban centre. He explained:

Well, some of the things that I make for dinner, I already mention chicken cacciatore that's one of my favorite recipes trouble is it takes quite a while to make. Another recipe that I enjoy is this shrimp and Asian vegetable. It's kind of a chow mien. It's a noodle mix. Another one that I really enjoy is whenever I'm making let's say poultry and potato onion pie that I'll make with it.

Interestingly, twenty-five percent of interview participants discussed variety in terms of the meat they use within their meals. A variety of meals throughout the week is planned based on the use of meat. It is seen as the primary focus when constructing a meal. Dawn reflected this focus on meat as the main staple that should be varied when explaining her recipe choices:

Yeah, and usually we choose which meat we're going to make depending on what we ate last. Did we have red meat already this week, sort of thing.

Like Dawn, Frank, who also grocery shops with his spouse, focuses on meat as the item that should be more varied throughout the week. Their food consumption practices surround a preference for variety of meat. He explained:

Typically we just, we try not to have the same meal in a row. So we won't follow beef with beef or pork with pork. We'll have beef, chicken, fish, pork. You know what I mean. We try to keep it mixed up.

The recipes used by participants allowed for their preference of attaining food consumption practices associated with variety; a form of urban lifestyle. Engaging with this type of food consumption assists participants to eat beyond the borders of Thompson's food environment. Of the participants interviewed that preferred variety the majority of them had no or limited engagement with northern types of foods familiar to Thompsons' environment i.e. wild meat, local fish.

5.2 Communification Attachments

Regionalism or 'communification' of food was depicted through participants' view of food as an aspect of place identity. Positive emotional connections with certain regions showed favorable views of food associated with that region. For instance, Jay illustrates a stark divide in his view of two different food environments: urban versus rural. Having moved from a large urban centre he compares Thompson's food environment to that of his hometown. He identifies more as a metropolitan than a northern resident. His place identity is echoed in his evaluation of Thompson. As he stated:

> Well when I lived there, there were all these different shops. There was a cheese shop, produce shop, bakeries and stuff. I knew what they were selling in their stores and I knew what to go for. Buying produce was never a problem… .Our Safeway is too small. They don't carry a lot of selection and to think that's the only grocery store that's suppose to serve all of Northern Manitoba.

In his description of Thompson's food environment, Jay illustrated the barriers he experienced in his quest for social re-embedding in terms of food preference. In addition, Rhonda, who identifies more with Montreal than Thompson, presented a nostalgic view of Montreal food, reflecting her experiences growing up in Montreal. Her view of

Thompson's food environment is less positive and is reflected in her description of her and her husbands' trip to Montreal. She explained:

> I guess I could say I'm from here but deep down I still feel I'm from Montreal… .He [My husband] was craving fried chicken but we couldn't find it. It's all roasterie there. It's different. It's all cooked with flavour opposed to fast and easy which I find more in Thompson. We walked streets and malls and couldn't find it. It was delicious. It might take a certain instrument but the flavour was so much better. They weren't frying it or coding it in salted batter. It was the actual food. I think Thompson is good for quick and easy.

Rhonda's husband's desire for 'fried chicken', a common food in Thompson, was in conflict with commonly offered foods in Montreal, such as 'roasterie chicken'. Because she identified more with Montreal than Thompson, her evaluation of that experience was positive in terms of the taste of the food in Montreal. Another example of how place identity is exercised in the evaluation of food environments is offered by Tara, who spent an extended amount of time in The Pas, Manitoba, a rural town. Her nostalgic view of The Pas is used as a reference tool for evaluating Thompson's food environment:

> At IGA I used to shop there quite often, they have in store bakery. Stuff is fresh. It comes in daily to The Pas. Maybe daily now… .Things like you know chips and chocolate bars pop and stuff like that it's so easy to get here. Sometimes I work nights when we have our break you know MacDonald's is closed or something so we'll pop over to Petro and we'll get processed subs, the sandwiches and lots of different kinds of chips. It's the only thing that's open.

These examples illustrate how place identity is exercised through participants' food consumption practices. Participants' attitudes and ideas reflect their habitus, which is informed by a doxa; their set of beliefs. Place identity influences participants' habitus in relation to their attitudes and ideas about what a food environment should look like. As some participants indicated, fast food types of food items are common in Thompson, and

its grocery store is limited in terms of selection. These evaluations highlight a misalignment of Thompson's food environment with its population. Food insecurity goes beyond the amount of food available, instead it refers to the type of food that is offered in a food milieu and its degree of compatibility with consumers food preferences based on their habitus and identity-values.

6.   *Seasons Influences: The Unexpected Theme*

An unexpected theme of seasonality of food was also depicted throughout participants` descriptions of how they go about choosing which foods to serve. Half of those interviewed associated certain recipes with particular seasons, reflecting a winter versus summer divide. Of these, most referred to BBQ-ing food practices, and some referred to more local fish incorporated into their summer diets. Overall, participants' take seasons under consideration and associate certain types of food and recipes/dishes with certain seasons. This theme was not exhibited in Warde (1997) or Bourdieu's (1984) exploration of food practices. Given the extremities of Canadian seasons particularly in Thompson, associating certain foods with certain seasons may be a Canadian phenomena. The significance of seasons in shaping food consumption practices is illustrated by Dawn. Summer is associated with certain forms of food preparation such as, BBQ-ing, and it also influences her engagement with recipes. Her reference to being inside more often during winter months shows how she engages with the change of season, which then transcends into a certain food consumption practice. Dawn stated:

> In the summer time we are BBQ-ing more because we're eating more hamburgers, more steak. Whereas in the winter time I might cook a roast beef instead. But chicken, pork, potatoes, rice, couscous.I find going through recipes is more of a winter thing too. Because in the

summer time you're doing more BBQ-ing and less cooking inside. Sort of winter its cold and you're inside a lot and it seems that's what happens a lot.

Other participants, including Marianne, Joan, and Margaret also associate different types of food with specific seasons, which also influences how food is cooked. Marianne's lack of use of her oven is a symbol of seasonal change and reflects changes in her food practices. As Marianne stated:

Yes, well, ya, especially in the summer, like my oven doesn't get turn on very often in the summer. Because I don't cook roast in the summer time so we go through more pork chops, hamburger, stuff I can cook on the stove or the BBQ. Whereas in the winter you use the oven, you cook the chicken, turkey, beef roast, pork roast.

As further elaborated by Joan in terms of categorizing different foods with seasons:

I like to have BBQ ribs; it's never a winter time meal. Corn on the cob it's never a winter time thing it's a summer time thing. Homemade hamburgers is again more of a BBQ thing so it's something we don't have in the winter. So in the winter I find we have more of a curry dish. Mexican dishes… . I just don't think to make hamburgers in the house, you associate a hamburger with a summer theme. Sometimes we'll have roast, again that's usually a winter time thing, usually done in the slow cooker. Making homemade soups is a winter time thing. The BBQ is nice when it's hot outside you don't want to turn on the oven inside. Keeps the temperature down in the house.

And as Margaret indicated in her explanation of her food consumption practices in connection to seasons:

In the summer we eat a lot of BBQ stuff. Such as I mean burgers, we'll have steak. We'll BBQ ribs, pork chops. Probably BBQ anything you could BBQ. I don't know if, so maybe in that sense we eat a little bit different. In the summer I don't tend to cook a roast. We'd never have steak in the winter because I won't cook it inside. So that's only a summer time thing. Right now we can eat fish because we can catch it. We don't cook fish in the winter because we would eat that fresh more than anything.

Participants' connection with their environment thus guides their consumption practices. A change in season is accompanied by a change in the types of food participants' ate, such as local fish, or hamburgers, or ribs. There is a seasonal pattern of food provisioning and preparation. The distinction is the BBQ as the essential cooking tool during the summer months. The transition between winter season and summer season in Thompson may be symbolized through food consumption practices via cooking methods. Perhaps the popularity of the BBQ is a further extension of Thompsons' environment as the winter season is quite long given that temperatures can dip past the freezing mark in May and June (Environment Canada, 2011).

Chapter Six: Negotiating Food Practices in Thompson: An Arena of

Cultural, Social, and Economic Struggles

In this chapter I explain the dynamic interplay between Thompson's food environment and participants' tastes. I provide a detailed description of the conflicting nature of individuals' food practices in terms of exchange-values, food preferences and identity values, and how these find expression in Thompson's specific food milieu. This will illustrate the intimate connection between food environments and the cultivation and performance of food practices and tastes. However, the chapter will also examine how consumers negotiate these environments using various forms of capital in order to sustain preferred food habits and consumption practices. Thompson's food environment generates conflict with participants' food consumption practices. Yet, the findings from my research show that participants adapt and negotiate Thompson's food environment by utilizing their cultural and social capital in order to obtain the foods they prefer and maintain practices that are central to their values and identities. Interview data in particular illustrates the struggle various participants experience to buy foods they prefer, and the strategies they employ to address theses struggles in Thompson's food environment.

Though economic capital plays a role in participants' ability to practice their exchange-values, its influence is limited because of food supply issues in Thompson's grocery stores in terms of 'empty shelves'. However, supply issues varied based on participants tastes, and identity-values. Additionally, the research data indicates that participants' levels and kinds of social and cultural capital impacted their experience with

Thompson's food environment. Some experienced more conflict than others. More specifically, newcomers, unfamiliar with either/both rural and Thompson's food environment had the most difficulty maintaining their preferred consumption practices, in contrast to long-term residents who were attuned to Thompson's food environment. The transition in cultural capital from newcomer to long-term resident can be traced through the experiences of participants' who have lived in Thompson for some time. This transition is evident in long-term residents' greater reliance on their social capital and in their ability to be flexible with their food tastes. Thompson's food environment supplies specific kinds of food that reflect a particular identity. In turn, this produces conflict to various degrees with participants' tastes and their food habits.

1.   *Exchange-Value Conflict*

Thompson's food environment often conflicts with participants' ability to integrate exchange-values into their food consumption practices. The lack of competing food companies in Thompson paralyzes participants' ability to manage the economic feasibility of their food consumption. The majority of participants expressed concern over the restrictions they experienced in exercising their exchange-value. It is important to note the shift in Thompson's food environment in 2012 from two major grocery stores to one, as this may have amplified participants' focus on the exchange-value of food products. The announcement that Extra Foods was closing (Barker, 2012) contributed to perceptions of food selection as limited, promoting an arena of conflict within Thompsons' food environment.

Participants from a wide range of household income brackets expressed their experiences with this type of conflict. Dawn, who lives in a dual income household,

referred to the recent food environment shift in Thompson and the foreseen challenges of exercising her exchange-values purchasing. She explained:

> You don't have the choice to buy cheaper products. And I guess it hasn't really affected as of yet because it's [Extra Foods] only been closed for a week. I wonder what will happen in the winter with the quality of produce and these people shopping in one spot and what will be available. For the most part I guess the complaints about the grocery shopping here would be selection because now we only have one grocery store so now you don't have the option to cross shop or check prices.

In this quote, Dawn illustrates the overpowering effect that Thompsons' food environment has on her consumption practices. The ability to 'cross shop' is an avenue that allows her to exercise her exchange-value by comparing prices. However this is limited with only one main grocer. Another participant, Sherri, also foresees future challenges of exercising her exchange-values based on her past experiences of shopping for food in Thompson:

> Now Extra Foods is closing and how is it going to affect the availability of food, the crowds, the pricing. Running out of things on the shelves is a common thing, very common. I'll go to Safeway on Sunday and they'll be out of Bananas or all the produce will be gone. And that's at Safeway. A lot of people's first choice isn't Safeway because of the price but you know.

Sherri's description reflects how her food consumption practices are restricted since the only grocery store offers food prices that do not match her exchange-values. Her description of 'crowds' and 'running out of things' portrays a corralling of consumers to one grocery store because of lack of choice. Furthermore, Frank articulated a conflict between his food preferences and his ability to mediate exchange-values in Thompson. As a strategy, he used all forms of food outlet venues in order to exercise his exchange-values. He stated:

> I would have to say poorly stocked shelves is an issue in this town.
> Depending upon the time of day for example. Wal-mart doesn't, well it
> has a half decent grocery section but half the shelves are empty every
> time we go there. When juice boxes and lunch items were a bigger
> thing, juice boxes were difficult. The difference in price we tried to get
> them at Wal-Mart whenever possible but to find them on the shelves
> was next to impossible.

The frequent issue of poorly stocked shelves at lower cost food venues described by participants illustrates the frustration participants experience trying to achieve their exchange-values. Reference to a lack of selection may influence participants to engage with higher priced items that conflict with their exchange-value practices, however the restrictiveness of selection by way of 'empty' shelves still hinders participants' ability to buy the foods they prefer even at higher prices. Therefore, the lack of selection or availability surpasses exchange-values as participants' from different income brackets were made at one point to do without foods they preferred.

2.   *Food Preference Conflict*

Thompson hosts a diverse population that encompasses a variety of food traditions and routines. Those whose traditional food consumption practices matched up with Thompsons' food environment were less conflicted in meeting their food needs. In particular, participants who engaged in hunting and fishing practices prior to living in Thompson indicated that their diet had not change as a result of living in Thompson. Those who had grown up in Thompson also stated they were more satisfied regarding their food preference availability. A high degree of conflict, however, was experienced by participants whose food consumption practices were cultivated in an environment starkly different from Thompsons such as large southern urban centres. This, therefore, affects their FPA.

Conflicting food tastes force many participants to 'make do' or seek other ways to ensure that the foods and recipes they preferred are acquired. The degree of modification to their grocery list or diet was dependent upon the degree of conflict with Thompson's food environment. For example, Carole, who grew up in a large southern urban centre, discussed how her food preferences conflicted with Thompson's food environment as necessary ingredients for her favourite recipes were not supplied. Carole described the role that the food environment had in shaping her food consumption practices and the frustration that ensued when her environment and practices were at odds with one another. This conflict compromised her family's taste for recipes they usually enjoy. As she explained:

> Also we are talking about Thompson. There are some recipes with ingredients I can't get here so. Sometimes it's just, I'm not, I don't cook quite the variety of stuff. I'm not as creative. I would strive to be a bit more creative and try some newer things but I know it's not available here or I'm 99 percent sure it's not available here. So it's just easier oh I'm not going to cut that recipe out even though it would be so cool and I'd love to make it. I'm not going to because I probably can't. I don't really have time to go searching out to see if there is any bugler, there's probably no bugler. I either continue to make what I'm making and I substitute. We don't like it as much but whatever. But sometimes though if it was something specific if it was fennel or kale sometimes I would substitute. I started using swiss chard instead of kale but there really is no substitute for fennel that I can find. So I just couldn't make that meal which really ticked me off.

In this quote, it is evident that Carole viewed Thompsons' food environment as an encumbering factor, limiting her creativity with food recipes, a practice she had cultivated prior to living in Thompson. What she views as a lack of variety in Thompson, has lead to a learning curve regarding what foods are available. This transference in cultural capital influenced her to change her recipes by way of looking for substitutes.

Dawn also illustrates the connection between her environment and FPA as she too has had to moderately change her food consumption practices to adapt to living in Thompson. Through her experience of cooking in southern urban centres, she has cultivated food practices that are at odds with Thompsons' food environment. This mismatch influenced her to either substitute or abandon her preferences. She explained:

> In Brandon we were starting to cook with bison a little bit more. It's not available, I guess you could get it if you search for it but it's not readily available. But herbs, like basil for example. I've need basil for a recipe and couldn't get it… .I either didn't make that recipe or I just left it out or I just used dried basil. Or the produce selection isn't good so I just, say oranges; I won't buy them if they weren't good, or grapes maybe. I just wouldn't buy those… .Yeah I'd get another fruit or some time I would sometimes I wouldn't. If there were no oranges you'd get apples.

Nonetheless, substitutions may not be possible for some recipes. For example, Beth, whose sister also lives in Thompson, articulated the high degree of conflict she and her family experience when trying to practice a traditional food recipe. This conflict exists as the required ingredients are not common to Thompsons' food environment. Beth's food tastes are in greater conflict with Thompsons' food environment than with her previous food environment; a large southern urban centre where 'ethnic' foods are commonly available. Therefore, this forces a reactive or opportunist form of food consumption practice. She explained the conflict between her taste and Thompson's food environment via the example of preparing a mango chutney recipe:

> Cilantro. One month, my sister really really needed it, and she couldn't get it for a whole month. It was during the winter. I don't know if it was cold or what but we'd go back and nothing. It tastes really good on top of food. She was trying to make mango chutney and just we couldn't get it. So she couldn't make the mango chutney because it wouldn't taste as good. So she just ended up leaving it. It was frozen mangos but then she waited. And then one day she was like finally I got cilantro! So it took a while.

Conflict in meeting food preferences also exists for popular items. Some participants expressed that flexibility was required with food items that were commonly referred to as household staples. Food preferences in high demand do not escape flexibility impositions due to 'empty' shelves scenarios. Overall, participants' relationships with Thompsons' food environment show the prominent influence of environment over participants' food preferences, yet the degree varied based on participants' level of mismatch between their tastes and Thompsons' food environment. The greater the mismatch of food tastes and practices in terms of recipes and food items with Thompson's food environment the higher degree of conflict participants experienced. Though participants' often engaged in some flexibility with regard to their tastes, it was expressed as a form of conformity and necessary compromise.

The struggle to obtain food propels participants to engage in food consumption practices in an amor fati manner; a forced choice produced by one's social positioning, however, it is not social positioning that propels amor fati, in this case, but the environment. Margaret, who had lived in Thompson for 20 years and grew up in a farming community, adequately expressed this sentiment:

> I mean ideally you could live on a farm and grow everything yourself
> but that's not going to happen in Thompson, Manitoba and this is where
> we live. I don't even think that way because it's not an option.

Margaret's statement illustrates the degree of conformity, not only through practices, but through her perception of food consumption. Furthermore, Joan who grew up in Thompson, also articulates a kind of amor fati through taste of necessity. As Bourdieu states, 'Choice of the necessary' imposes a 'taste for necessity' (Bourdieu, 1984). Her following statement reflects this dynamic:

We do get some nice variety, you don't realize what you're missing if this is just what you have.

Joan's statement illustrates how tastes are linked to environment by way of cultural capital, of 'knowing' what variety is; the meaning attached to variety is derived from her habitus. Her experiences growing up in Thompson have shaped what she considers to be variety. Moreover, the substitutive nature of participants' food consumption practices was commonly attributed to Thompson's food environment. The inconsistency of food products cultivated a reactive form of consumption practices, which I argue is an amor fati aspect of Thompsons' environment. For example, Sherri's compromises reflect a reactive form of consumption practices, wherein her compromised food practices were a result of environmental factors. Foods that were essential to her family were compromised, and the number of times she was required to compromise became "a common reality" that her family learned to accept. She explained:

I went grocery shopping and they were out of two percent milk so I had to buy one percent. I had to make a compromise. My family didn't say anything. I think you know it's just a common reality. Well they didn't have that kind you either get a different kind or none at all. It's not like you can't, you cannot have milk. Milk, bread, lots of the different produce, you'll go and there's nothing to pick from. There might be some apples left.

Amor fati or forced choice in food consumption is evident in participants' way of engaging and articulating their tastes. Regular supply issues with foods they preferred resulted in abandonment or compromise of these foods or certain recipes as a strategy to avoid continuous conflict with Thompsons' food environment. At the same time, many participants were not simply resigned to the limitations imposed by Thompson's environment and instead incorporated their social capital as a means to overcome conflicts.

3. *Social Capital: Struggles and Successes*

Some participants are better equipped than others to manoeuvre past Thompsons' food environment and reaffirm their tastes by using their social capital. Participants' social relationships influenced their level of knowledge of Thompsons' food environment and the foods they had access to. Many participants relied on people within their social circle to assist in meeting their food preference availability. Some of these relationships went beyond Thompson and allowed them to obtain the foods they preferred by keeping in contact with people in Winnipeg or in other food environments more familiar to them. Some participants' occupations involved regular travel to Winnipeg. Those with fewer opportunities to travel in their occupations relied more heavily on social connections in their efforts to procure the foods they preferred. However those with limited social capital were less able to manoeuvre past their immediate environment.

Drawing on his access to social capital, Frank, whose spouse worked in food retail, was able to more successfully gage Thompson's food environment. He stated:

> If you wanted a fresh steak she's probably the one you're dealing with.
> She's one of the butchers. So we know what's coming before it gets
> there and all that kind of stuff.

In this case, Frank's social capital translated into cultural capital in terms of knowing Thompson's food supply. This puts him and his family in a more beneficial position to exercise their preferred food consumption practices than others. Other participants utilized their social capital with people residing in areas with greater food variety in order to diffuse conflicts they were experiencing in Thompson. For example, Beth, whose family made routine trips to Thompson from Winnipeg, relied on her family's visiting practices to ensure her food tastes were met. She explained:

> There's a lot of things in there that I can't get here. When somebody goes down to Winnipeg I make sure somebody brings it. I can get it. Usually there is somebody going from my family. We go a lot so or somebody's coming here.

As this quote indicates, Beth's food consumption practices go beyond Thompsons' borders. She incorporates her social capital to meet her FPA which becomes a communal effort. In contrast, Margaret's attempts to meet her food needs were not as successful. Margaret, who has tried to negotiate her FPA in the past, described how her attempts have been dwindled by transport issues. She explained:

> When we go to Winnipeg, I love to go to a bake shop and buy something maybe because its different I don't know. Or go to the farmers market and buy farm chickens. We've actually ordered them and brought them up here. We've done that with beef too. But it's a hassle getting here. You have to either know somebody to get it from down south or wherever then you have to figure out your transportation. Because I mean it's a long ways from somewhere you have to have the ability to keep it frozen… .We've done it a few times, I wish we could do it all the time but I can't rely on somebody to bring it up for me and I can't always do it myself.

Social capital is also bound up in the way participants categorize certain types of foods as a treat, and their ability to indulge in such food consumption. For instance, Tara's categorization of certain foods as a 'treat' reflected her challenge of engaging with certain foods to the degree she would prefer. Foods she considered to be traditional such as moose meat, bannock, and fish were unattainable because she did not have the necessary social capital to continue eating traditional foods. Instead she had to wait for National Aboriginal day to enjoy these foods. As she explained:

> Tara: I don't know I think anything I can mostly want I can get here or I can get in Manitoba. Unless its fresh lobster. That would be one of my ultimates is fresh. Fresh lobster.
> Interviewer: Ultimate favorites or ultimate treat?

Tara: Treat. I like having traditional foods as well like Moose meat, bannock, fish.

Interviewer: How often do you find you have traditional foods?

Tara: Few times a year. Yeah that's it. National Aboriginal day. It's hard to get. If you're not the hunter or fisher yourself it's hard to get.

In contrast, Susan, who travels to Winnipeg routinely for work, can continue her preferred food consumption practices through both her occupational routine as well as her social capital. Her spouse's skills regarding food provisioning include hunting, which contributes to the family's ability to engage with food they prefer. Susan stated:

> Its only because I'm there [Winnipeg] anyway I wouldn't make special trips just to do that [shop]. But because I'm going there anyways I can easily pick up what I need… .My husband gets a moose every year and a caribou so we don't buy meat. Chicken, occasionally I'll buy a chicken but not very often. So I'm not concerned about you know I know that the meats good.

For some participants, they were able to draw on their social capital to assist with meeting their FPA and overcome the limitations imposed by Thompson's food milieu. This in turn allowed them to meet and express their tastes, and maintain their food consumption preferences and traditions. For newer residents, the manner in which they attained their FPA had changed. As they began to understand Thompsons' food environment they evaluated their food consumption practices. In doing so newer residents could decipher how to incorporate their social capital in order to meet their efforts of attaining their food needs.

4. *Environmental Knowledge: Cultural Capital Practiced*

Certain populations experience Thompson's food environment as more confining than others. As discussed in the previous chapter, the length of time spent in Thompson

influences participants degree of diet change and their food preference availability. Upon further analysis, a knowledge barrier in terms of how to manage one's food preferences in Thompson is evident. Thompson's food environment promotes a form of food consumption practice that must be flexible yet meticulously planned. Some participants were more aware of population surges due to surrounding communities coming to Thompson to grocery shop, what days there would be 'no food left' on the shelves, and when the shipping trucks would arrive. Of those who were aware of these factors, all had lived in Thompson for over 10 years. For instance, Frank, who has lived in Thompson for 22 years, showed a keen awareness of its food environment. He was able to obtain his preferred foods by incorporating fishing from regional water sources and maximizing each retail resource. As he explained:

> Tuesday night is not a night to go shopping at Safeway. They have no produce they have no fresh meat or chicken left on the shelf….Every Tuesday like clockwork yeah. If we know we have to shop on a Tuesday for whatever the schedule is we'll make sure we'd head there I'd say immediately after work kind of thing. If you wait until 7 o'clock you might not get everything that you want. We have a bit of circuit so we'll go to Wal-mart then Giant Tiger the same night. And then the following night we'll go to Safeway and finish everything off there. We know what's cheapest where.

In addition, Joan, who grew up in Thompson, engaged in food consumption practices that her family had practiced. These practices included stocking up on particular items considered to be essential, but that had supply issues in the past.

> Large means checking for sale items, ensuring instead of buying one loaf of bread you buy two and freeze the other so it's there when you need it. Buying a few jugs of milk again I freeze my milk. Being able to pull out of freezer instead of running to the store. Providing I can find the skim milk

Joan's shopping practices of stocking up are linked to her knowledge of supply issues in Thompson for items such as milk and bread. Joan meticulously planned larger grocery

shops more as a safeguard than for convenience motives. Additionally, Tara, who had lived in Thompson for over 20 years, described her knowledge of where to buy certain products and how she used different food venues to fulfill her food consumption needs. Her knowledge of Thompson's food environment enabled her to utilize different retail stores and activities such as community gardening, in order to assist with her food priorities. She explained:

> Tara: There was actually where the boys and girls club is now there was a Mennonite church there and a community garden behind there so I was given a plot for a couple of years. However I lived in Eastwood area with little kids so walking was an issue. I've learned to grow a lot of plants in containers… .Yeah I've grown radishes and carrots and things like that. I did it until I got the plot at the community garden last year. I also shop for groceries at Shoppers. They got a nice little food section in there now.
>
> Interviewer: What types of food do you usually buy there?
>
> Tara: I usually buy some cereals, whatever's on sale that I can eat. Eggs. They usually have eggs like 18 for 2 something. It's a good buy. But other people have discovered it so it's really hard to get some of the stuff in there already. They just can't keep it stocked.

Sherri, who had only lived in Thompson for nine years, had nonetheless developed a certain level of cultural capital, based on her experiences of grocery shopping in Thompson and knowledge about supply trucks. Over time, she became more aware of the patterns of supply issues and population influxes in Thompson, which were now described as commonsensical. Her initiative to stock up on items parallels that of people who had lived in Thompson for longer periods of time. As she reflected:

> You can't buy it. I have to wait and go again a few days later. So you know just from common sense I'd think Tuesdays and Thursdays. After the weekend or just before a weekend. So I'd go on a Wednesday and stock up then and make do with what I have. When you, weekends, usually in Thompson, especially certain weekends of the month tend to be a bit busier because people tend to come in from outlying

communities. A lot of the times you'd go shopping, like I said I like to
go on Sundays, the shelves, they run out of things.

This kind of cultural capital enhances participants' ability to continue their preferred food routines. By developing an awareness of the shopping patterns throughout the week participants acquire the skills to overcome conflict and satisfy their tastes. The interview data thus further articulates survey data findings regarding the influence of FPA, suggesting that it is a matter of gaining cultural capital in Thompson's food environment.

5.   *Identity-Value Conflict*

The struggle experienced in Thompson's food environment by participants is further strained by those using food as a way to reaffirm membership to a group; to express their cultural identity. Certain populations struggle more than others to maintain membership in terms of food consumption. Certain groups are marginalized in Thompson's food environment, specifically various 'ethnic' populations. This marginalization is exacerbated with the closing of Extra Foods in Thompson; a grocery store that was known to participants as being more inclusive of diverse cultural food items.

Beth expressed the challenges facing people in the East Indian population as they tried to engage with their traditional food consumption practices. The following excerpt illustrates the degree of conflict that East Indian people living in Thompson experience with its food environment:

Beth: There's basmati rice, like our family, Safeway might have it. But
I know Extra Foods is closing and they were kind of worried they might
not be able to find it… .Oh that's another thing, if you make roti you

need a special flour. They only have it at Extra Foods so now you can't get it. I think it's called Golden, I just know the East Indian name.

Interviewer: Would you say it's an essential ingredient?

Beth: For East Indian people, that's super essential. You have to have it in your house. You use it for roti which you eat with every meal almost. Anything fried its usually put in that batter. And bratai's usually use that too. My sister is going to have start getting it in Winnipeg, unless she can get it here.

Beth's explanation shows the inequities of food consumption in Thompson, as they are made to travel further distances in order to procure traditional food ingredients. Thompson's food environment does not support certain populations. The foods available in Thompson suit a particular food culture, but not all of the food cultures that exist within its population. This, therefore, creates inequities in its food environment by neglecting Thompson's cultural diversity.

Identity-based practices that conflicted with Thompsons' food environment were expressed by those participants' who identified as ethical consumers. Ethical consumption includes environmental and political forms of food consumption, such as buying local products, organic food items, or fair trade products. Of the participants interviewed, nearly half supported ethical consumption through supporting a local economy and environmental sustainability. Participants with these types of food consumption practices faced significant barriers, however, in expressing them. For example, Jay, whose food consumption practices include supporting a local economy in both selection of food and choice of food retailers, was extremely limited in his ability to express his food politics in Thompson's environment. The type of relationship he was

accustomed to developing with food retailers was in discord with his current environment. He stated:

> When I lived there I would go to those supermarkets as little as possible. I can't have the same type of relationship let say with a produce store as I do in Safeway it's all this big store type of stuff and I don't think they are of any concern building local economy helping local people out because the decisions and the profits are all going to some distant head office. It goes against what I believe how a business should operate… .But those are the only two grocery stores that are here. I mean yes there's Wal-Mart but I refuse to go to Wal-Mart unless it's absolutely essential that I be there. Simply because I am deeply opposed to the item of corporate globalization and the exploitation of workers. And so I reflect that in where my shopping preferences are.

Jay's values of fair trade and adequate wages for workers strongly influence his food consumption practices, and limits where he would grocery shop as some venues did not reflect these values. Similar to Jay, Susan experienced challenges in Thompson because of her preference for local produce. She stated:

> I try to choose foods in season. I try to avoid foods that come from half way around the world. I won't buy things from South Africa. I avoid things from Chile. I've tried to, if I can stick to local, that's my first preference, then national, and then within North America. Because I don't like to support a global economy that is unsustainable.

Her values of sustainability and preference for locally produced food were difficult to practice. Thompsons' food environment did not permit this form of consumption practice. Identifying with a form of food consumption starkly different from what was available in Thompsons' food environment promoted conflict and resulted in these participants either compromising or abandoning their values and practices. In sum, of the participants interviewed the majority experienced some form of conflict, which depicts a food environment disconnected from the population whom it serves.

Chapter Seven: Socio-Cultural Map of Food Consumption Practices in Thompson: Implications

In this chapter I summarize my findings and discuss the dynamics between participants' food consumption practices and the food environment in Thompson. Secondly, I discuss how my research can be utilized to address the conflicts and inequities that emerge in the context of Thompson's food milieu. Lastly, I provide some suggestions for further research.

1.   Summary of Findings

My findings illustrate that habitus plays a prominent role in shaping participants' food consumption practices. Habitus was a predominant theme that influenced all aspects of food consumption practices, including what kinds of foods participants engaged with, how they were prepared, and the way in which they were consumed as part of a meal. When participants were asked to provide an explanation as to why they engaged in certain food practices, most referenced their upbringing. Traditional food practices were of utmost value and influenced participants' perception of foods as well as their implementation of certain routines, to the extent that social and cultural capital were utilized to overcome any conflicts that hindered participants' ability to continue these food practices.

The research also illustrated how participants negotiated their food environment to overcome barriers and ensure their food practices continued. They did this by drawing on various social connections and cultural knowledge or skills, which were often cultivated over time. The length of time living in Thompson positively affected

participants' ability to exercise their preferred food consumption practices. The longer participants lived in Thompson, the more cultural capital they attained about Thompson's food milieu. This included knowledge of food truck arrival times, different stores with preferred pricing, when to shop to avoid crowds, and when outlying communities would arrive. This knowledge, combined with occupation scheduling, promoted a highly choreographed food consumption practice. However, due to supply issues participants had to also be flexible with food items and modify food recipes. If participants' food items were seen as essential, they utilized their social capital. However their ability to deploy social capital varied, depending on the degree of social capital participants had available to access. Those with significant social capital were able to overcome their food barriers. Some participants relied on their social connections with people in Winnipeg to provide them with food they preferred. Others had occupations that involved frequent travelling to Winnipeg, which they would use to mediate their food consumption practices as well.

Factors in the occupational culture matrix were less significant in terms of their impact on food practices, except for work scheduling and occupational doxa. Work scheduling in dual income households had significant influence on division of household responsibilities regarding who shopped and cooked for the household. However, in the majority of these households women were the gatekeepers for the types of foods and recipes the household engaged with. Occupational culture influenced some participants' perceptions of food. Those participants that worked in health related field engaged in the medicalization of food more than other participants who worked in other occupational fields.

Exchange-values were prevalent amongst participants. Some participants incorporated many food outlets in order to meet their price preferences for food items, going beyond conveniently located food outlets. However, as previously mentioned the closure of one of the two major food stores may have induced anxiety and thus inflated participant's emphasis on exchange-values. Supply issues were a prominent theme throughout participants' description of their food routines. Upon further examination, this was in fact in part related to the value participants place on variety.

The emphasis on food variety is actually an issue of place identity. Large urban centres were commonly referenced in a favorable way by participants. Variety of food items was viewed as ideal, especially for those who wanted to engage in omnivorous food practices or for those whose food consumption practices were cultivated in large urban centres. However, Thompson's food environment does not support omnivorous food practices. Furthermore, beyond omnivorous food practices, my findings show Thompson's food environment is not reflective of its population in terms of food traditions. Certain ethnic populations' food practices are not provided for. My findings show that food items commonly used to engage with traditional cultural food practices were limited or not offered in Thompson. Participants' attempted to overcome this environmental barrier and ensure their food practices could continue by deploying social and cultural capital to obtain certain foods. Furthermore, interview data showed that participants who engaged in hunting, gardening, or fishing practices in the area viewed Thompson's food environment as more favourable that those who did not.

Moreover, ethical food consumption practices, in terms of consuming local and organic food items, were greatly challenged in Thompson. Speciality local stores such as

bakeries or butcher shops are not available in Thompson, hindering some participants' preferences for avoiding food chains and engaging with locally owned stores. Local or organic food item selection was also limited or non-existent in Thompson. Therefore, this forced participants to compromises their preferences and ethical values, or to abandon this type of food morally-driven practice.

Overall, the socio-cultural analysis of food consumption practices I have provided in this thesis demonstrates the importance and influence of socio-cultural factors on food consumption. Health references to food were superseded by traditional, cultural, and identity-values that were expressed through the types of food purchased, recipes used, and how participants' engaged with food. The findings of my research show that Thompson's food milieu is mismatched with its diverse population and induces an arena of conflict. Nonetheless, my analysis highlighted the extent to which participants would go to ensure their preferred food consumption practices were met; many went beyond Thompson's food environment by using social connections or acquiring knowledge of the food supply dynamics in Thompson. The prominence of modification of food consumption practices and use of social and cultural capital illustrates how residents negotiate Thompson's food environment in various ways, using a range of strategies.

2. *Implications*

This research can be used to address conflicts within Thompson's food environment. The thesis maps in detail the experiences of participants' food consumption practices in Thompson. The in-depth analysis provided can be used to further understand the complex, dynamic relationship between food consumption in Thompson and

Thompson's food environment. It promotes a grass-roots approach to addressing food needs by mapping the socio-cultural dimensions of food consumption. The findings of this research can be taken into consideration by political representatives as they evaluate and develop future plans for Thompson's food environment. More specifically, this research can be used to inform such plans and ensure that Thompson develops a more inclusive food environment that makes culturally appropriate foods available to its diverse residents. In this way, the mismatch that is currently evident and the food inequities experienced by some populations living in Thompson could be addressed.

There is a need for further research on food consumption in northern communities. In particular, future research could examine food policies that currently exist at all levels of government. The role all levels of government play in helping to address constituents' food needs is imperative to mediating the conflicts experienced by residents of Thompson. From there, an examination of how local food policies are developed could be undertaken with a view to ensure that Thompson's diverse population food needs are met. Finally, alternative food approaches could also be explored such as co-op grocery stores, community greenhouses, or organic food store. An evaluation of alternative food approaches and their relevance to Thompson's food environment could be conducted to see if these approaches can meet the needs of Thompson's food consumers and its residents.

Appendix 1: Survey Consent Form

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Food consumption practices in Thompson, Manitoba: A northern narrative examines the relationship between occupation, gender roles, place and food consumption of those living and working in Thompson, Manitoba. The questions in this survey include social-demographic questions, occupation description questions and opinion based questions.

Confidentiality:
All information collected in this survey is confidential. Identifying information (email, mailing address) is voluntary and will be kept strictly confidential. Your IP address will not be traced. You will <u>not</u> be named or identified in my thesis or any reports produced that include the data from this survey.

Time Requirement:
This survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. I want to stress that there are no right or wrong answers, so please feel free to provide your honest responses.

Participation in this project is voluntary and you may decline to answer any questions or withdraw from the study without negative consequences.

Distribution:
Results from this research will be written up as a Master's thesis that will be publicly presented at the University of Manitoba and stored in the University library. Results will also be written up potentially as journal articles. A summary of the findings will also be provided to Thompson City Council and your MLA representative. All information collected in this study will be destroyed approximately April 2013. Although my research is primarily directed towards a graduate level thesis project, I hope that it will provide a greater understanding of how geography, occupation, and culture influence food choices for those living in Thompson.

Risks and Benefits:
There are no anticipated risks beyond everyday occurrences from participating in this- survey. There may be an indirect benefit to you in terms of having an opportunity to voice your personal experiences. In the long-term, you may benefit as the findings of this research can be potentially used to assist local government in their approach to Thompson's food environment. If you have any questions I can be contacted at

████████████████████████████

This research has been approved by the Psychology/ Sociology Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at ████████████████████████████████.

Please click on your participation choice. By agreeing you are consenting to participate and that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this research project. After which you will be directed to the survey. Not agreeing will prompt you to exit this website. <u>Please print this form for your records</u>

☐ Yes, I agree to participate   ☐ No, I do not agree to participate

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Department of Sociology

Informed Consent Form

Study Title: Food consumption practices in Thompson, Manitoba: A
                      northern narrative.

Principal Investigator: Zoë St. Aubin, Master's Student

                            Dr. Bookman, Research Supervisor

                            University of Manitoba
                            Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

Project Description:

Food consumption practices in Thompson, Manitoba: A northern narrative
examines the relationship between occupation, gender roles, place identity, and food
consumption of those living and working in Thompson, Manitoba. At this stage of my
research I am interviewing participants who have completed the survey and wish to
participate further in order to elaborate on their experiences with food consumption and
the factors that influences their food consumption behavior. In this interview I will ask
you questions regarding your experiences with grocery stores in Thompson, your choice
of food recipes, food preferences, and how you go about choosing food.

Although my research is primarily directed towards a graduate level thesis project, I hope
that it will also provide practical suggestions for interested community members seeking
to further understand the food experiences of their fellow Thompson residents.

Time Requirement:

Participation will require approximately one hour of your time. With your permission, the
interview will be digitally record our conversation so to ensure that I can transcribe your
story in more complete detail. However, if you choose not to be recorded that will not
affect your participation in this research project.

Participation in this project is voluntary and you may decline to answer any questions or withdraw from the study without negative consequences.

> ➢ Please initial here if you agree to your interview being digitally recorded _____

> ➢ Please initial here if you would like to receive a brief summary of the results based on this research. Summary can be expected approximately by April 2013. _____

Confidentiality:

I will keep any information gathered in this research study strictly confidential. All participants will be identified only by identification number and kept in a locked filing cabinet at my home office. The faculty of Graduate studies at the University of Manitoba, my research supervisor Dr. Bookman, and I will have access to the data I collect. You will <u>not</u> be named or identified in my thesis or any reports produced that include the data from this interview. Any statement you make during this interview will be attributed to an anonymous source. Information containing personal identifiers (e.g. this consent form) will be destroyed approximately April 2013. Interview transcripts will be deleted and/ or destroyed by shredding once the project reaches its conclusion.

Distribution:

Results from this research will be written up as a Master's thesis that will be publicly presented at the University of Manitoba and stored in the University library. Results will also be written up potentially as journal articles. A summary of the findings will also be provided to Thompson City Council and your MLA representative.

Risks and Benefits:

There are no anticipated risks beyond everyday occurrences from participating in this research. There may be an indirect benefit to you in terms of having an opportunity to voice your personal experiences. In the long-term, you may benefit if the findings of this research help persuade policy makers to incorporate these findings in a positive manner regarding food consumption in Thompson.

Consent:

Your signature on this form shows that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researcher or involved institutions form their legal and professional responsibilities. Please feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board and a representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management/ Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes.

This research has been approved by the Psychology/ Sociology Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at ██████████ or email ██████████████████████. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   Date

☐ Yes, I would like a summary of the findings from this research study.

☐ No, I do not want a summary of the findings from this research study.

Email or surface mail address to which summary should be sent:

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 3: On-line Survey

| **On-line Survey**

Please click on your interest in receiving a summary of the research results.

☐ Yes I would like to receive a summary of research results.*

☐ No I do not want to receive reports based on this research.

*If Yes, Please provide email and/or mail address to which summary of findings and written reports should be sent:

_____

_____

1. What best describes your type of employment:

☐ Full-time employee (35 or more hours a week)

☐ Part-time employee (under 35 hours a week)

☐ Seasonal

☐ Self-Employed

☐ Unemployed/ on leave / retired/ ***** (goes to Question 7)

2. What is your job/occupation title? _____

3. How many hours do you work in a 'typical' Week? _____

4. How many hours do you work in a 'typical' Day? _____

5. What type of schedule best describes your work?

☐ Shift work * (goes to question 6).

☐ Standard work week (Monday through Friday)

☐ Weekends

☐ Other (Specify) _____

6. If your schedule involves shift work, what shifts do you normally work?

☐ Days

☐ Afternoons

☐ Evenings

☐ Nights/graveyards

7. In an average month how many hours of overtime do you work? _____

8. What is your highest Level of Education completed?

☐ Less than high school (did not graduate)

☐ High school /GED (graduated)

☐ Some college

☐ College certificate/diploma / apprenticeship

☐ Undergraduate degree

☐ Graduate/Post-Graduate

9. What is your total annual household income?

☐ less than $19,999

☐ $20,000 to $29,999

☐ $30,000 to $39,999

☐ $40,000 to $49,999

☐ $50,000 to $59,999

☐ $60,000 to $69,999

☐ $70,000 to $79,999

☐ $80,000 to $89,999

☐ $90,000 to $99,999

☐ $100,000 to $149,999

☐ $150,000 or more

10. How many years have you lived in Thompson, Manitoba?

☐ Under one year

☐ 1 – 6 years

☐ 7-12 years

☐ 13- 18 years

☐ 19-24 years

☐ 25 years or more

11. What is your main reason for living in Thompson?

☐ Work

☐ Family

☐ Scenery

☐ Other (specify) _____

12. Did you grow up in Thompson, Manitoba?

☐ Yes

☐ No*

13. If no, where did you grow up? (town/city, province/state, country). _____

14. Please indicate to what degree you agree with the following statements and then select the appropriate box for each.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
h) I feel Thompson is a part of who I am	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) Thompson reflects my personal values.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) I consider Thompson my hometown	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
k) Thompson is not the place for me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
l) I find Thompson beautiful.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
m) I would rather live in a different town	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
n) I feel an emotional bond to Thompson	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Most of the Time	Some of the Time	Undecided	Rarely	Never
15. Thompson provides all the foods I prefer	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Completely Changed	Changed A Lot	Changed Somewhat	Changed A Little	Has Not Changed
16. In general, to what degree would you say your diet has changed since you have lived in Thompson	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. In an average month, how often do you buy the following when you grocery shop ?

	Always	Often	Seldom	Rarely	Never
Coffee	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tea	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Deli Meats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wild Meat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Poultry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fish	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sea Food	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bacon	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Canned Meat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Beef	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lamb	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Goat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Milk Products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cereal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bread	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cake/donuts	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Chocolate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fresh Vegetables	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frozen Vegetables	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fresh Fruit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frozen Fruit	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fruit Juice	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Frozen Entrees	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Potato Chips	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Eggs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. In addition to grocery shopping, do you do any of the following (please check all that apply)?

☐ hunting,

☐ fishing

☐ gardening

☐ berry picking

☐ canning

☐ jam making

☐ bread making

☐ wine making

☐ beer making

☐ Other (specify) _____

19. If you had an extra $50 to spend on groceries what would you buy?

_____

20. If you had $50 less to spend on groceries what would you buy?

_____

21. How often do you or someone in your household go grocery shopping in a month?

☐ Daily

☐ 2 – 6 times a week

☐ Once a week

☐ Bi-monthly (once every 2 weeks)

☐ Monthly

☐ Other (specify) _____

22. Where is your 1st choice to go grocery shopping?

☐ Safeway

☐ Extra Foods

☐ M & M meats

☐ Giant Tiger

☐ Other (specify) _____

23. Is the person who <u>normally</u> does the grocery shopping for your household:

☐ Male

☐ Female

☐ It is an equal split

24. Are you male or female?

☐ Female

☐ Male

25. In what year were you born? List provided.

26. What is your current marital status?

☐ Single, never married

☐ Married /Common-law

☐ Separated

☐ Divorced

☐ Widowed

27. What is your Postal Code in Thompson? _____

28. Number of children (under 18) currently living in household:

☐ 0

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4

☐ 5

☐ More than 5

29. Number of adults currently living in household:

☐ 1

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4

☐ 5

☐ more than 5

If you would like to participate further, I am interested in conducting face-to-face one hour interviews in Thompson this June in order to further understand residents' experiences with food consumption and the factors that influence their food consumption practices. The interview questions will be regarding your experiences with grocery stores in Thompson, your choice of food recipes, and how you go about choosing food. Agreeing to be interviewed will allow you the opportunity to further explain your experiences with food consumption in Thompson. **Please click on your interest in participating in the interview section of this study.**

☐ Yes, I agree to be contacted for an interview*

☐ No, I do not want to be interviewed.

*If Yes, Please provide phone number that you can be contacted at for an interview _____

Appendix 4: Statistical Data

Table 4.1 Cronbach's Alpha test for Place Identity Index

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.851	7

Table 4.2 Coffee & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy coffee			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	12.5%	12.5%	8.3%	41.7%	8.3%	.0%	4.2%	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	18.8%	15.8%	33.3%	32.3%	11.8%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	60.0%	23.3%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%	.0%	12.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	6.3%	5.3%	16.7%	3.2%	17.6%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.8%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	16.7%	22.2%	5.6%	33.3%	16.7%	.0%	.0%	5.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	18.8%	21.1%	16.7%	19.4%	17.6%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	17.5%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	18.2%	22.7%	.0%	27.3%	13.6%	.0%	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	25.0%	26.3%	.0%	19.4%	17.6%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%	100.0%	.0%	21.4%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	16.1%	19.4%	6.5%	25.8%	19.4%	3.2%	.0%	3.2%	.0%	.0%	6.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	31.3%	31.6%	33.3%	25.8%	35.3%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	30.1%
Total		Count	16	19	6	31	17	1	3	3	1	1	5	103
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy coffee	15.5%	18.4%	5.8%	30.1%	16.5%	1.0%	2.9%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	4.9%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.073, p=.884)

Table 4.3 Tea & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy tea			NOC										Retired/ UE/Stud ent	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	21.1%	15.8%	.0%	42.1%	15.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	5.3%	100.0%
		% within NOC	25.0%	15.8%	.0%	25.8%	18.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	18.8%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	8.0%	32.0%	.0%	32.0%	12.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	4.0%	8.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	12.5%	42.1%	.0%	25.8%	18.8%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	40.0%	24.8%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	30.0%	20.0%	5.0%	15.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	12.5%	10.5%	33.3%	19.4%	25.0%	33.3%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	19.8%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	15.4%	15.4%	11.5%	26.9%	19.2%	3.8%	.0%	3.8%	.0%	3.8%	100.0%
		% within NOC	25.0%	21.1%	50.0%	22.6%	31.3%	33.3%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	20.0%	25.7%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	36.4%	18.2%	9.1%	18.2%	9.1%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	9.1%	100.0%
		% within NOC	25.0%	10.5%	16.7%	6.5%	6.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	10.9%
Total		Count	16	19	6	31	16	3	3	1	1	5	101
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy tea	15.8%	18.8%	5.9%	30.7%	15.8%	3.0%	3.0%	1.0%	1.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.094, p=.393)

Table 4.4 Deli Meats & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	10.0%	.0%	.0%	10.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	6.7%	10.5%	.0%	3.2%	11.8%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	40.0%	9.8%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats	24.0%	20.0%	.0%	28.0%	12.0%	.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	40.0%	26.3%	.0%	22.6%	17.6%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	24.5%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats	14.3%	17.9%	10.7%	35.7%	17.9%	.0%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	26.7%	26.3%	50.0%	32.3%	29.4%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	27.5%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats	17.4%	17.4%	4.3%	30.4%	21.7%	.0%	.0%	4.3%	4.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	26.7%	21.1%	16.7%	22.6%	29.4%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	22.5%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats	.0%	18.8%	12.5%	37.5%	12.5%	6.3%	.0%	6.3%	.0%	.0%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within NOC	.0%	15.8%	33.3%	19.4%	11.8%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	15.7%
Total		Count	15	19	6	31	17	1	3	3	1	1	5	102
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy deli meats	14.7%	18.6%	5.9%	30.4%	16.7%	1.0%	2.9%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	4.9%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.087, p=.687)

Table 4.5 Poultry & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy poultry			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	10.0%	20.0%	.0%	10.0%	.0%	.0%	10.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	6.7%	10.5%	.0%	3.2%	11.8%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	40.0%	9.8%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy poultry	24.0%	20.0%	.0%	28.0%	12.0%	.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	40.0%	26.3%	.0%	22.6%	17.6%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	24.5%
	Seldom	% within NOC	26.7%	26.3%	50.0%	32.3%	29.4%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	27.5%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy poultry	17.4%	17.4%	4.3%	30.4%	21.7%	.0%	.0%	4.3%	4.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	26.7%	21.1%	16.7%	22.6%	29.4%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	22.5%
	Always													
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy poultry	.0%	18.8%	12.5%	37.5%	12.5%	6.3%	.0%	6.3%	.0%	.0%	6.3%	100.0%
		% within NOC	.0%	15.8%	33.3%	19.4%	11.8%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	15.7%
Total		Count	15	19	6	31	17	1	3	3	1	1	5	102
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy poultry	14.7%	18.6%	5.9%	30.4%	16.7%	1.0%	2.9%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	4.9%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.087, p=.687)

Table 4.6 Potato Chips & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month	.0%	15.4%	7.7%	23.1%	38.5%	.0%	7.7%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.7%	100.0%
		% within NOC	.0%	10.5%	16.7%	9.7%	29.4%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	12.7%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips	18.2%	13.6%	9.1%	50.0%	4.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	26.7%	15.8%	33.3%	35.5%	5.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.0%	21.6%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips	11.1%	22.2%	7.4%	22.2%	18.5%	.0%	7.4%	.0%	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%	100.0%
		% within NOC	20.0%	31.6%	33.3%	19.4%	29.4%	.0%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	20.0%	26.5%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips	21.4%	21.4%	3.6%	21.4%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	10.7%	.0%	.0%	7.1%	100.0%
		% within NOC	40.0%	31.6%	16.7%	19.4%	23.5%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	27.5%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips	16.7%	16.7%	.0%	41.7%	16.7%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	13.3%	10.5%	.0%	16.1%	11.8%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	11.8%
Total		Count	15	19	6	31	17	1	3	3	1	1	5	102
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy potato chips	14.7%	18.6%	5.9%	30.4%	16.7%	1.0%	2.9%	2.9%	1.0%	1.0%	4.9%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.108, p=.313)

Table 4.7 Chocolate & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	6.7%	5.3%	16.7%	6.7%	6.7%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	7.1%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate	17.9%	14.3%	3.6%	35.7%	21.4%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.6%	3.6%	100.0%
		% within NOC	33.3%	21.1%	16.7%	33.3%	40.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	20.0%	28.3%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate	9.4%	28.1%	6.3%	18.8%	15.6%	.0%	3.1%	3.1%	3.1%	.0%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	20.0%	47.4%	33.3%	20.0%	33.3%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%	.0%	80.0%	32.3%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate	10.0%	25.0%	10.0%	40.0%	5.0%	.0%	5.0%	5.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	13.3%	26.3%	33.3%	26.7%	6.7%	.0%	33.3%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	20.2%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate	33.3%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	16.7%	8.3%	.0%	8.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	26.7%	.0%	.0%	13.3%	13.3%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.1%
Total		Count	15	19	6	30	15	1	3	3	1	1	5	99
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy chocolate	15.2%	19.2%	6.1%	30.3%	15.2%	1.0%	3.0%	3.0%	1.0%	1.0%	5.1%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.104, p=.441)

Table 4.8 Seafood & NOC

In an avg month how often do you buy sea food			NOC										Retired/UE /Student	Total
			NOC 0	NOC 1	NOC 2	NOC 3	NOC 4	NOC 5	NOC 6	NOC 7	NOC 8	NOC 9		
	Never	% within In an avg month	27.3%	18.2%	4.5%	36.4%	9.1%	.0%	.0%	4.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	40.0%	22.2%	16.7%	25.8%	11.8%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	21.8%
	Rarely	% within In an avg month how often do you buy sea food	.0%	20.0%	.0%	45.0%	20.0%	.0%	5.0%	.0%	.0%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	.0%	22.2%	.0%	29.0%	23.5%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	20.0%	19.8%
	Seldom	% within In an avg month how often do you buy sea food	9.7%	12.9%	9.7%	25.8%	25.8%	.0%	6.5%	.0%	3.2%	.0%	6.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	20.0%	22.2%	50.0%	25.8%	47.1%	.0%	66.7%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	40.0%	30.7%
	Often	% within In an avg month how often do you buy sea food	23.8%	19.0%	9.5%	23.8%	9.5%	.0%	.0%	4.8%	.0%	.0%	9.5%	100.0%
		% within NOC	33.3%	22.2%	33.3%	16.1%	11.8%	.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	40.0%	20.8%
	Always	% within In an avg month how often do you buy sea food	14.3%	28.6%	.0%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	.0%	14.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	6.7%	11.1%	.0%	3.2%	5.9%	100.0%	.0%	33.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	6.9%
Total		Count	15	18	6	31	17	1	3	3	1	1	5	101
		% within In an avg month how often do you buy sea food	14.9%	17.8%	5.9%	30.7%	16.8%	1.0%	3.0%	3.0%	1.0%	1.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		% within NOC	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T=.103, p=.421)

Table 4.9 Food Item (Bread) and Hours worked per day

In an avg month how often do you buy bread		Hrs/day			
		0 to 4	5 to 9	10 to 14	Total
	Rarely				
	% within In an avg month how often do you buy bread	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	% within Hrs/day	11.1%	1.4%	5.3%	3.0%
	Seldom				
	% within In an avg month how often do you buy bread	22.2%	77.8%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Hrs/day	22.2%	9.7%	.0%	9.0%
	Often				
	% within In an avg month how often do you buy bread	5.6%	83.3%	11.1%	100.0%
	% within Hrs/day	11.1%	20.8%	10.5%	18.0%
	Always				
	% within In an avg month how often do you buy bread	7.1%	70.0%	22.9%	100.0%
	% within Hrs/day	55.6%	68.1%	84.2%	70.0%
Total	Count	9	72	19	100
	% within In an avg month how often do you buy bread	9.0%	72.0%	19.0%	100.0%
	% within Hrs/day	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

(T_s=.182 p=.070)

Table 4.10 FPA and Place Identity Crosstab

Food Preference Availability (FPA)		Place Identity Index				
		Absent	Low	Moderate	High	Total
	Rarely/ Never					
	% within FPA	45.5%	18.2%	27.3%	9.1%	100%
	% within Place Identity	50%	6.7%	12.0%	4.8%	12.8%
	Some of the time					
	% within FPA	8.6%	42.9%	31.4%	17.1%	100%
	% within Place Identity	30%	50%	44.0%	28.6%	40.7%
	Most of the time					
	% within FPA	5.0%	32.5%	27.5%	35%	100%
	% within Place Identity	20%	43.3%	44%	66.7%	46.5%
Total						
	Count	10	30	25	21	86
	% within FPA	11.6%	34.9%	29.1%	24.4%	100%
	% within Place Identity	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(r_s = .284, p=.008)

Table 4.11 Diet Change and Place Identity Crosstab

Diet		Place Identity Index				
Change		Absent	Low	Moderate	High	Total
	Completely Changed					
	% within Diet Change	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%
	% within Place identity	8.3%	3.2%	0%	0%	2.2%
	Changed A Lot					
	% within Diet Change	10.5%	26.3%	26.3%	36.8%	100%
	% within Place Identity	16.7%	16.1%	20%	30.4%	20.9%
	Changed Somewhat					
	% within Diet Change	25.8%	29.0%	35.5%	9.7%	100%
	% within Place Identity	66.7%	29.0%	44.0%	13%	34.0%
	Changed A Little					
	% within Diet Change	10%	60%	20%	10%	100%
	% within Place Identity	8.3%	19.4%	8.0%	4.3%	11.0%
	Has Not Changed					
	% within Diet Change	0%	34.5%	24.1%	41.4%	100%
	% within Place identity	0%	32.3%	28.0%	52.2%	31.9%
Total	**Count**	12	31	25	23	91
	% within Diet Change	13.2%	34.1%	27.5%	25.3%	100%
	% within Place Identity	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(T_s = .157, p = .137)

Table 4.12 Diet Change and Time in Thompson Crosstab

Diet Change		Time in Thompson						
		Under one year	1 to 6 years	7 to 12 years	13 to 18 years	19 to 24 years	25 years or more	Total
	Completely Changed							
	% within Diet Change	0%	75.0%	0%	25.0%	0%	0%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	0%	13.6%	0%	14.3%	0%	0%	3.7%
	% of Total							
	Changed A Lot							
	% within Diet Change	0%	14.3%	14.3%	4.8%	19.0%	47.6%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	0%	13.6%	20.0%	14.3%	22.2%	26.3%	19.4%
	% of Total							
	Changed Somewhat							
	% within Diet Change	17.5%	25.0%	20.0%	7.5%	10.0%	20.0%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	87.5%	45.5%	53.3%	42.9%	22.2%	21.1%	37%
	% of Total							
	Changed A Little							
	% within Diet Change	0%	18.2%	27.3%	0%	36.4%	18.2%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	0%	9.1%	20.0%	0%	22.2%	5.3%	10.2%
	% of Total							
	Has Not Changed							
	% within Diet Change	3.1%	12.5%	3.1%	6.3%	18.8%	56.3%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	12.5%	18.2%	6.7%	28.6%	33.3%	47.4%	29.6%
	% of Total							
Total	**Count**	8	22	15	7	18	38	108
	% within Diet Change	7.4%	20.4%	13.9%	6.5%	16.7%	35.2%	100%
	% within Time in TYH	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

$(r_s = .194, p=.044)$

Endnotes

1. Goodman and Kruskal Tau is most suitable for any size table and detects non-linear relationships (De Vaus, 2007).

2. Dichotomous nominal level variables can be treated as ordinal when testing for correlation with ordinal level variables (De Vaus, 2007 p. 261).

3. If Goodman and Kruskal is higher than Gamma this further indicates a non-linear relationship which warrants a closer look at the cross-tabulation (De Vaus, 2007).

4. All names in the paper are pseudonyms.

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