

Que Rico Es!

Towards responsible food consumption in Carcelen, Quito



Master thesis by Lucille Kok

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Me helping at the ecological farmers market in Carcelen

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Summary

The globalizing, neoliberal food system, increasingly detaches urban consumers in Ecuador from their food sources. The geographical, social and economic distance between people and their primary source of energy, generates a dynamic of market exclusion of small scale farmers and an increase in non-communicable diseases. This goes hand in hand with an increasing consumption of ultra-processed foods, as symbol of status and progress. An increased demand for local, fresh and natural products can help to stimulate supply, working step by step towards food sovereignty. However, insight on how food consumption patterns are constructed in the Ecuadorian context is lacking.

This research, conducted in selected parts of Carcelen, a district in the North of Quito, has contributed to a better understanding of food consumption behavior, by answering the following research question: *'Under what circumstances do people adopt a (more) responsible food consumption practice, and what kind of support do citizens need to further strengthen this practice?'* The question was analyzed through the theoretical lens of practice theory, applying an explanatory practice framework, to understand the construction of food practices in Carcelen. A mixed methods approach was used to find an answer to this question, combining a survey (N = 199), with three short ethnographies with families in Carcelen, four expert interviews and a focus group discussion.

After analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data, this research has concluded that people are most likely to adopt a more responsible food consumption practice, when fresh, local and temporal options are made easily available, against an affordable price. When aiming to consume in a responsible way, people are mainly motivated by health. Hence, to further strengthen responsible practices in Carcelen, it would help to make responsible options more available, through the organization of farmers-markets. People can be attracted to these markets by branding them as healthy alternative for other local food outlets. From there responsible practices can further be strengthened by providing people with information about the origin of products and engaging them to interact with producers. Consuming modern foods from the supermarket as status symbol, has to be overcome by making the consumption of local, natural and temporal products more 'cool'. By contributing to the academic discussion on responsible consumption and inserting the findings in a local civil society campaign, this research has attempted to take a small step away from the neoliberal food system, towards food sovereignty in Ecuador.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the 1990's both academia and the policy arena are recognizing that current global consumption patterns are unsustainable (Durning 1992; United Nations, 1992; UNDP, 1998). The neoliberal model has generated a multi-dimensional crisis of the food system, concerning the biological, ecological, psychological and sociological aspects of production and consumption. In industrialized societies, the aesthetic value and convenience of food is increasing importance, at the expense of biodiversity and health, amongst others (Contreras 1995). Various of the UN's sustainable development goals are directed towards improving this situation worldwide, as represented by SDG 2 (food security, nutrition and sustainable agriculture) and SDG 12 (sustainable production and consumption) (UN, 2015). The current trend however, points in a different direction. In transition countries, the consumption of ultra-processed foods, as symbol of status and development is accelerating as income increases (Brownell 2004; Peter & George 1980).

For Ecuador, in the context of industrialization of the food system, combined with the urbanization of food practices, the food market is increasingly becoming concentrated. For example, in 2013 40,3% of the total sales value for food in Ecuador, was in the hands of the four leading grocery retailers (PAHO- WHO, 2015). This illustrates a rapid transition from a traditional food system, centered around small-scale local producers, towards a more modern and globalized agricultural industry and consumption pattern.

Since the past decades, industrial production and overconsumption of ultra-processed foods, is increasing the geographical, social and economic distance between people and their primary source of energy in Ecuador (Sherwood et al., 2016). This development is associated with a range of negative environmental and health impacts, such as environmental degradation, market exclusion of small scale farmers and a rise of non-communicable diseases, resulting from the unhealthy diet (Sherwood et al., 2014; Breilh & Munoz, 2009).

Previous studies on the Ecuadorian context have suggested that a more sustainable future for the country lies in the reformulating of social, environmental and health relationships within the current food system (McIntyre et al., 2009). To improve public health and reduce obesity, the Ecuadorian government introduced a labelling scheme for all processed products, using a traffic light label to indicate the quantities of sugar, fat and salt that the product contains (Freire 2017). Furthermore, the Ecuadorian government has responded to the international food crisis with new policies focusing on food sovereignty. This concept was coined in 1996, at the La Via Campesinas conference, and stands for food self-sufficiency through empowerment of local smallholder producers and strengthening solidarity between rural producers and urban consumers (Sneyd 2013). Whereas these ideas look nice on paper, it remains difficult to implement them on the large scale, because it requires large political and infrastructural reformations as well as a transformation in the dietary preference of the population (López García). One of the civil society initiatives working to meet this goal to transform urban consumption patterns, is the campaign of Que Rico Es. The aim of this campaign, which started in October 2014, is to reach a critical mass of 5% of the Ecuadorian population (250,000 families), to spend at least 50% of their available food budget on more sustainable food. The philosophy underlying the campaign is that, through food consumption and procurement, people can become active agents, creating both healthier lifestyles for themselves as well as societal change. The Campaign is thus stooled on the idea that linking people around common or complementary responsible food practices, creates the potential to mobilize consumer-citizens into a political force. Consumption then becomes a force to encourage sustainable, equitable

and regenerative forms of food consumption, circulation and production (Sherwood et al. 2013).

The construction of a responsible consumption patterns is a complex matter, and the links to environmental sustainability and health are not straightforward. Caution is needed not to make oversimplified assumptions. For example, organic food is often promoted as a sustainable and healthy alternative to conventional products. However, critics have argued that organic agriculture can have a comparatively negative environmental impact, due to a lower productive efficiency and more extensive land use for example (Rigby & Brown, 2003, Pimentel et al, 1983). At the same time, a locally sourced diet may be more sustainable in terms of social equity, but not necessarily healthier, due to the heavy reliance on carbohydrate rich foods which traditional local diets are based on (Leonard & Thomas, 1988). Furthermore, different factors play a role in adapting responsible consumption practices. Price and availability for instance, can be strong determinants of the capacity of consumers to adapt a responsible consumption practice. This is illustrated for instance by the dominance of small convenience stores in the neighborhoods where the research was conducted. In these places, healthy food tends to be more expensive and less available than processed unhealthy foods (Latham & Moffat, 2007). Also, the traffic-light labelling scheme, initiated by the Ecuadorian government, has received the necessary criticism. It has been argued for example, that labelling schemes, indicating organic, fair trade and locally grown products, as well as the traffic-light label, “rely on the neoliberal discourse of consumerism, personal responsibility and choice, thereby contributing to the normalization of neoliberalism” (Allen and Guthman (2006), in Sneyd, 2013 p. 19). Taking this into consideration, this research does not claim that responsible consumption forms a panacea for all food related environmental and health issues. Instead, it attempts to make a modest contribution to understanding how these concepts relate to each other.

Research aim

This research contributes to understanding how the practice of responsible food consumption is constructed and can further be enhanced, based on a case study in Carcelen district in the north of Quito. The research question this thesis aims to answer is: *‘Under what circumstances do people adopt a (more) responsible food consumption practice, and what kind of support do citizens need to further strengthen this practice?’* For this research, *responsible consumption* is defined as a force that encourages sustainable, equitable, regenerative and healthy forms of food consumption, circulation and production (Sherwood et al., 2013). This question is approached through Practice Theory, and operationalized through the application of the explanatory practice framework. The research for this thesis is part of the IDRC-Project, funded by the Canadian government. The project focusses on responsible food consumption and is currently being conducted by a team researchers from FLACSO university and the Quito based NGO EkoRural. Also, this thesis aims to contribute to the functioning of the campaign Que Rico Es. The in-debt local case study on how the practice of food-consumption is constructed in different layers of society will be translated in suggestions how the campaign could intervene to steer individuals towards a more sustainable consumption behavior. By looking into ways to understand and strengthen responsible consumption practices, this research aims to contribute to countering the neoliberal tendencies of the Ecuadorian food system and contributing to food sovereignty.

Scientific background and literature gap

In terms of previous research, whereas there is a growing body of literature on practice-based approaches to responsible consumption (Warde, 2005; Warde, 2014; Crivits & Paredis, 2013; Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014; Halkier & Jensen, 2011), literature on the topic of responsible consumption in the Ecuadorian context remains very thin. The most relevant studies that have been published in this field discuss counter movements against modern, processed and mass produced food (Sherwood et al., 2013); dietary quality in the highlands (Leonard et al., 1993); public health and consumption of salt (Sanchez et al., 2012); and the health and socio-economic impacts of local food baskets (Jaramillo & Kirwan, 2013). When analyzing the impact of food habits, oftentimes the focus goes either to the economic side or to the health aspects of diet, overlooking the circumstances of local small-scale producers and the environmental impacts of processing, packaging and transportation (Contreras 1995). So, what is lacking is a more holistic analysis of the different aspect constructing the practice of responsible consumption in the urban context of Ecuador.

Moreover, most academic publications, as well as civil action related to food and sustainability in Ecuador, are focused on production rather than consumption. Some topics that are frequently discussed in the literature on Ecuador, are sustainable agriculture and land use (De Koning et al., 1999; Dafermos & Vivero-Pol, 2015; Sherwood et al., 2016) and urban agriculture (Smit & Ratta, 1996; Zezza & Tasciotti, 2010; Mougeot, 2010). Focusing on the consumer side will make the picture more complete and at the same time lead to a better understanding of how the demand for responsible food can be enhanced.

Furthermore, in general terms of categorizing different segments of sustainable food consumers, Verein et al. (2012) suggest that more research is needed to gain insight in this field. In previous studies on different consumer segments, groups are often categorized along lines of socio-demographics (Verein et al., 2012). Research on relevant personality characteristics determining consumer choices however, in general remains thin (Nie and Zepeda, 2011). Hence further research is necessary to explore what personality characteristics are relevant to consider when analyzing how a consumption practice is constructed. It has also been suggested that future research is needed to distinguish between product-related and act-related behaviors (Verein et al., 2012). Furthermore, a better insight is needed in the relationship between respectively price and health and the way people construct their consumption pattern. Verein et al (2012) suggest that understanding the overlapping characteristics of sustainable and healthy consumer segments can be useful in developing effective promotional campaigns for stimulating sustainable and healthy lifestyles. This corresponds to the aim of this thesis.

Scientific contributions and societal relevance

This research contributes to a better understanding of the complete range of factors that construct the practice of responsible consumption, in the context of urban Ecuador. This is done by exploring how the explanatory practice framework can be applied in the specific context of this research. An adjusted version of this framework is applied, to analyze the practice of food consumption specifically. This allows to go beyond the understanding of the practices of isolated agents, as is common in studies on behavior and social practice (Maniates, 2001; Shove, 2010). Steps are taken towards being able to contextualize these practices in the wider social, physical and cultural structure

in which they are constructed. Also, since most research on (responsible) food consumption has been conducted in European countries and the US, this research contributes to extending the application of the explanatory practice framework, by exploring its relevance in the Ecuadorian context.

In terms of societal relevance, this research contributes to a more complete understanding of food consumption practice, illustrating that food is not just about nutrition and costs, but for example also about pleasure, community, care and hospitality, family, social status, health, spirituality, our relationship to the natural world and identity (Contreras 1995, p. 51). This opposes the current tendency to discuss food merely in terms of nutrients, overlooking the complex social, cultural and historic context of food consumption (Pollan, 2008).

By zooming in on the food practices in the Carcelen district in northern Quito, and combining qualitative and quantitative methods in a case study, this research contributes to gain a better understanding of socio-technical dynamics in the local network. This gives a renewed and more detailed insight in nutritionally, environmentally and socially promising regimes of practice situated in this specific area.

Thus, in terms of societal impact and societal relevance of the research, while it is difficult for the citizens of a small country like Ecuador, to change the activity of powerful transnational actors in the global food system, interventions can be made in the social dynamics of sectors of the population (Arce, 2015), as the campaign of Que Rico Es is currently invested with. This thesis contributes to understanding how examples of good practices can be used to strengthen the practices of other agents as well, through communication and citizen involvement. Based on the gained insights, advice is given on how the effectiveness of the activities of the 250,000 families campaign of Que Rico Es can be improved. Thus, through the scientific contributions to the campaign, this research supports concrete development impacts in the field of responsible consumption, at the family level of urban Ecuador. This benefits both public health and social and environmental sustainability, taking a small step away from the neoliberal modern food system, towards food sovereignty.

Outline

The research question this thesis aims to answer is: *'Under what circumstances do people adopt a (more) responsible food consumption practice, and what kind of support do citizens need to further strengthen this practice?'* In order to find an answer to this question the thesis is structured as follows. The chapters are divided in three sections, the first one to contextualize the research, the second one to present the findings and the third one to discuss and conclude. First, the theoretical framework for this research will be discussed, introducing Practice Theory (chapter 2). As well as how this theoretical model approaches the analysis of consumption behavior, by triangulating the influence of agency, the socio-cultural- and the material-functional structure, in order to understand consumption behavior in a comprehensive way. Also, the explanatory practice framework is introduced, as tool of analysis that will be applied throughout the research. Subsequently the literature gap and societal relevance of this research will be discussed. The following chapter (3) is dedicated to introducing the research context, starting with a general overview of some relevant statistics about health and consumption behavior in Ecuador, and then zooming in on Quito, and Carcelen, the neighborhood where the research was conducted. This chapter is followed by the methodology section (chapter 4), explaining and motivating the methods of data collection and analysis that were applied. The following section contains the empirical chapters. Chapter 5 discusses the material-functional structure in Carcelen. The spatial mapping that was conducted in

selected parts of Carcelen, is discussed, indicating what types of food outlets and products are most prevalent, as well as what are the origins of the products and the price differences between different types of food shops. Chapter 6 discusses the statistical analysis of how agency influences consumption behavior, as well as the influence of the socio-cultural structure in which agents find themselves. This chapter is based on the statistical analysis of the survey (N = 199) that was conducted in selected areas of Carcelen. Chapter 7 also discusses the influence of agency and socio-cultural structure on consumption patterns, but then seen from a qualitative perspective. This chapter is based on the analysis of three short ethnographies, that were conducted in different families in Carcelen, as well as the four expert interviews that were held. Chapter 8 discusses how the findings of this research can help to improve the campaign Que Rico Es, to further stimulate responsible consumption practices in Carcelen. The third and final section contains the discussion (chapter 9) and conclusion (chapter 10). In the discussion, the societal and theoretical relevance of the findings is analyzed, as well as the limitations and suggestions for future research. Finally, the conclusion gives the final answer to the main question of this research.

Section 1: Contextualizing the research



Photo: Local fruit and vegetable shop in Carcelen

Chapter 2: Theoretical frame

In this chapter, first the different aspects of responsible consumption will be introduced, including how this concept can be defined, what motivates people to consume more responsibly and what (policy) interventions can be applied to strengthen this practice. Then Practice Theory will be introduced, as well as the explanatory practice framework, that was used to operationalize this theoretical frame.

Understanding responsible consumption

In the academic literature, different definitions of responsible consumptions have been used. A returning characteristic is that responsible consumption has low environmental impacts and contributes to food security for future and present generations (Burlingame & Dernini 2012). A responsible diet should be based on 'green products' (locally produced, chemical free and not genetically modified) (Lockie et al., 2002) and a reduced consumption of meat (Pimentel & Pimentel 2003). However, since meat consumption is a key characteristic of the Ecuadorian diet and Latin American culture in general (Matos & Brandani 2002), cutting down on meat consumption may be a less favorable approach to start with. A reduction of food miles (Reisch et al., 2013) may be more feasible, since Ecuador has a rich agricultural resource base.

Food consumption behavior is likely to be influenced by health and convenience (Lockie et al., 2002). In addition, personal attitudes, social influences and perceived availability, also affect consumption behavior (Kearney 2010). More specifically, a Dutch study indicated, that the interest in buying organic products can best be predicted by level of education, body mass index, interest in vegetarianism and general health conditions (Schifferstein & Ophuis 1998). Responsible consumption can be enhanced by making people more aware of where they can find more sustainable alternatives (Kearny 2010). When trying to understand what motivates people to consume more responsibly however, it has to be considered that an intent-behavior gap is likely to occur. For the consumers that have a positive attitude to consuming organic/ecological products, for example, their behavior of actually buying these products can be enhanced by making these products more available (Vermeir & Verbeke 2006).

In terms of what can be done at the policy level, to support responsible food consumption, it has been argued that policies should integrate health and agricultural sectors, to create an inclusive approach that protects health and the environment at the same time (Kearny 2010). Since consumer practices are heterogeneous (ibid), approaches to influence consumption behavior have to integrate different measures, including direct regulations, market-based initiatives and 'nudges'(Reisch et al., 2013). Thus, incentivizing individuals should be combined with national regulations to ensure a food consumption pattern that is healthy for people and planet (Friel et al., 2014).

Practice Theory

This research is stooled on practice theory, a theoretical strand in sociology that has recently emerged in response to the dualistic approach of Social Theory. To contextualize Practice Theory, we will first zoom out, to get a brief overview of Social Theory and its recent developments. This will help to distinguish the particular characteristics of Practice Theory and to illustrate what is unique about this approach.

Social Theory and Structuration Theory, initiated by Anthony Giddens, developed as sociological discipline from the 1970's onwards. Giddens analyzes how individuals contribute to reproducing the social system, through rational individual agency (Giddens 1991). This theoretical current evolved around ontological and epistemological analysis. It has been argued that this approach has taken sociology away from empirical analysis and the reality of social life in favor of abstraction (King 2004). Social Theory takes a dualistic approach to society, analyzing structure and agency as two divisible elements.

The key sociological scholars whose thought lay at the roots of practice theory are Pierre Bourdieu and Theodore Schatzki. Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, explaining the continuous internalization of social order in the human body (Bourdieu 2000), is a central concept in Practice Theory. Whereas he developed his ideas in the frame of the dualistic Social Theory, he laid the foundation on which Practice Theory later developed. With his book, *Social Practices* (1996), Schatzki initiated the development of an alternative theory of practice. In his work, Schatzki defined practices as 'open-ended spatial-temporal manifolds of actions' (Cetina & Schatzki, 2005, p. 471). With his approach, Schatzki broke through the divide between structure and agency, By looking at how society is being transformed through the actions of social beings and their diverse motives and intentions. Thus, what distinguishes Practice Theory, is that it has introduced a more holistic understanding of everyday practices, including routinized activities. This contributes to a more dynamic understanding of how social practices are constructed (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014) and how human agency can be contextualized in a social-cultural and physical context (Crivits & Paredis, 2013). In the past decades, more scholars have contributed to the new domain of practice theories.

Currently theories of practice are a very heterogeneous domain (Schatzki et al., 2001). According to Schatzki, 'both social order and individuality result from practices' (1996: 13). Practices, in this context, consist of both doings and sayings. Individuals act as carriers of different practices, independent of each other. The practice in this context represents a pattern of multiple unique actions that together reproduce the practice. Thus, a practice is 'a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood' (Reckwitz, 2002: 250).

The way in which different agents perform social practices is not uniform. Instead, a lot of differentiation can be observed within a practice. This can partially be explained by the extent of commitment to it. Bourdieu (1984) ascribed the social differentiation of practices to classifications along lines of social class, in combination with the values people aspire. This differentiation is still being applied in current attempts to arrange agents in different clusters with shared behaviors (Verain et al., 2012), as will be discussed in more detail below.

The form that practices take, depends on the institutional arrangements of for example space, time and social context. Theories of practice analyze behavior in the context of processes like practical consciousness, routine, tacit knowledge, habituation, tradition, etc. Other factors that play a role in the construction of social practices are 'personal identity, family relationships, sociability and empowerment' (Sheller, 2004: 230). These characteristics are also included in the explanatory practice framework, as will be introduced below. Similar characteristics have also been applied to characterize different segments of social practices relative to each other (Verain et al., 2012). Performance in a familiar practice, is usually neither completely reflective nor conscious (Giddens 1984). Thus, practices are dynamic and subject to constant change, as people adapt, experiment and improvise according to the situation they find themselves in.

Practice approach to consumption

Until recently, consumption has been discussed mainly as the product of individual decision making (Maniates, 2001; Shove, 2010). However, consumption cannot be reduced to the technical concept of demand, but instead should be understood as integrated part of nearly all aspects of daily life (Halkier & Jensen, 2011). Rather than being a practice in itself, consumption can be seen as a moment in almost every practice. It is the sum of moments of consumption in the totality of practices of an individual, that defines the person's pattern of consumption. For, as every agent carries out a range of different social practices, 'the individual is the unique crossing point of practices, of bodily-mental routines' (Reckwitz, 2002: 256).

Consumption is steered by a combination of human wants and societal structure and can be seen as a form of communication of ones' identity (Warde, 2005). Hence, as has also been argued by Verain et al. (2012) in order to understand consumption behavior, insight is required in what sense of identity is being promoted by the sense of belonging to the various interest groups people are part of (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2013). The core characteristics of Practice theory and the practice approach to consumption, are summarized in table 1, below.

Key points of Practice Theory

- Practice Theory describes practice as a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood' (Reckwitz, 2002: 250).
- Each practice is unique and constructed through the institutional arrangements of for example space, time and social context.
- Practices evolve in the context of practical consciousness, routine, tacit knowledge, habituation, tradition, etc. Personal identity, family relationships, sociability and empowerment also play a central role.
- Practices are dynamic and subject to constant change, as people adapt, experiment and improvise according to the situation they find themselves in.
- Consumption can be seen as a moment in almost every practice, is steered by a combination of human wants and societal structure and can be seen as a form of communication of ones' identity.

Table 1: Key points of Practice Theory

Analyzing segments of sustainable food consumers

In order to contextualize the social practice of food consumption, and to be able to compare it to the practices of other agents, it can be useful to divide consumers in different segments. There have been various attempts to categorize consumers in different clusters of people with homogenous food lifestyles. Such attempts have been initiated for example by marketing efforts or public campaigns (Green *et al.*, 1976; Gil *et al.*, 2000; Grunert *et al.*, 2001; Wedel and Kamakura, 2002). Most of these studies however, still lack a specific focus on consumer segmentation along lines of responsible food choices (Verain et al., 2012).

In categorizing different consumer segments, different variables can be included. As Bourdieu (1984) also discussed in his analysis of how social practices are constructed, most studies

include socio-demographics (age, education, gender, social class, income, employment, family composition, residence, number of children, etc.). These should be complemented by a range of personality characteristics, food related lifestyles and behavioral patterns (ibid).

This thesis explores how afore-mentioned characteristics can be used to understand how the practice of food consumption is constructed. Whereas in this we look for central tendencies, the goal is not to create a strict division in different groups of consumers. For, this research departs from the idea that each consumption practice is unique and depends on the specific circumstances of the individual under study.

The explanatory practice framework; towards a practice-based analysis

In this research, food practices are approached by incorporating the actions and experiences involved in the constitution and reconstitution of food, involving the elements of continuous routines as well as the potential for creative action (Schatzki, 2010). In this sense, food practices can be seen as a type of self-organization, in which actors are capable of creatively negotiating their position in existing structures, for example by utilizing and translating public policy to advance their agenda (Chauca, 2010).

As discussed above, a practice consists of a combination between routinized behavior and an interconnected set of elements, based on pre-conscious knowledge, adherence to social norms and individual motivation (Crivits & Peredis, 2013). These personal factors are further contextualized in the social and material context an agent finds him/herself in. The figure below illustrates the dynamic process of how agency relates to the material-functional and socio-cultural structure, in constructing a social practice, like responsible food consumption in this case. This framework helps to understand how practices are constructed (Reckqitz, 2002). A social practice is not seen as a fixed entity, but as a system of action, in which relationships are constantly shifted and re-constituted (ibid). Contextualizing practices in a framework also helps to understand how consumers co-shape structures of food provision. Consumption should thus be understood in a co-evolutionary relationship between agency and structure (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1976).

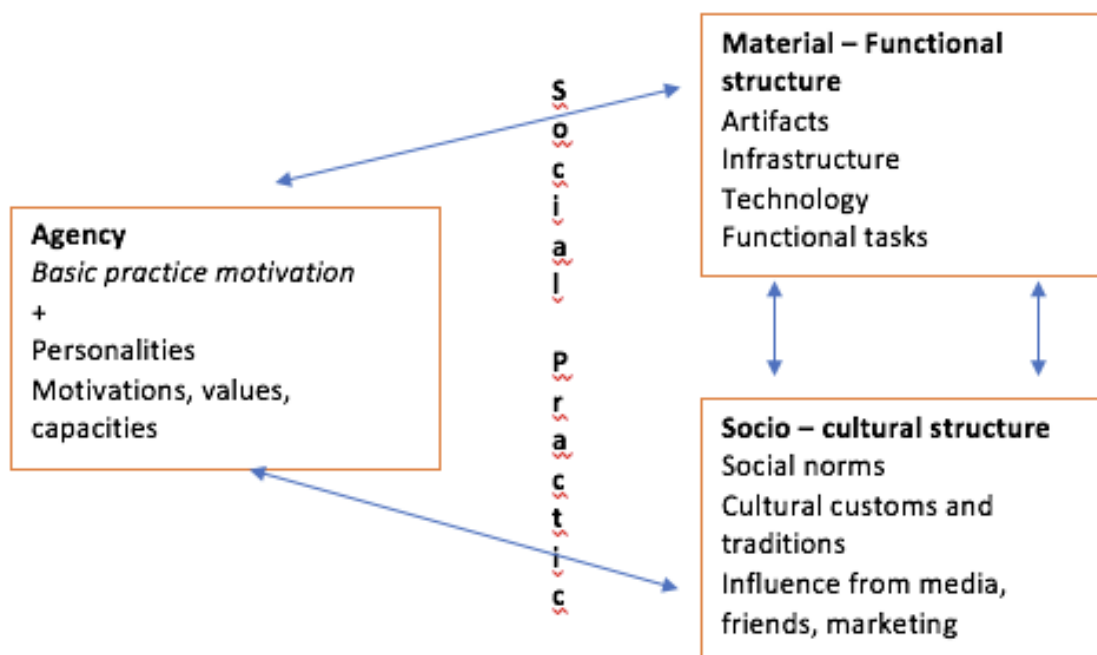


Figure 1: Three-tiered framework (Crivits & Paredis, 2013)

Research questions and operationalization

Following Crivits and Paredes (2013), I designed an adjusted version of the explanatory practice framework, geared specifically towards the analysis of food consumption practices in Carcelen. This framework served to structure my research. In addition to the main research question, I designed four sub-questions, of which the first three follow the pillars of the framework. As introduced before, the main research question is: *Under what circumstances do people adopt a (more) responsible food consumption practice, and what kind of support do citizens need to further strengthen this practice?* The four respective sub-questions are: 1) *What are the types of food-outlets and available food products in the Carcelen district in Quito?*; 2) *How does agency influence the food consumption behavior of the residents of the Carcelen district in Quito?*; 3) *What is the socio-cultural structure in which residents of the Carcelen district of Quito develop their food consumption behavior?*; 4) *How can the campaign of Que Rico Es enhance more responsible consumption behavior in the Carcelen district of Quito?* Figure 2 below, presents the adjusted version of the framework, illustrating how the first three sub-questions relate to each other and together contribute to gaining a comprehensive understanding of how food consumption practices are constructed in the context of Carcelen.

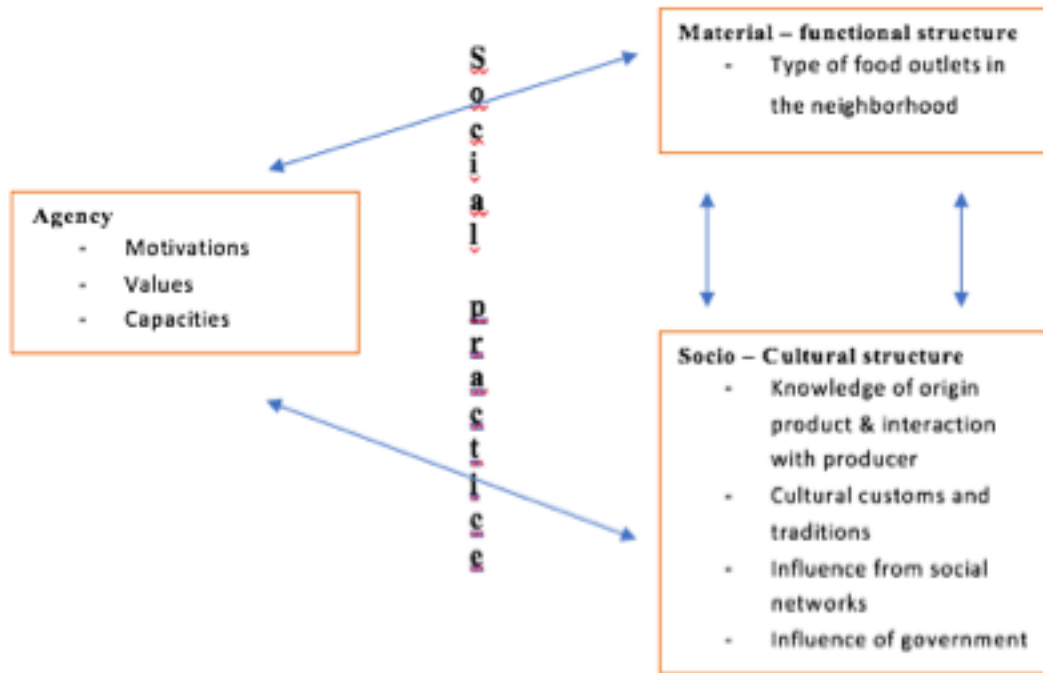


Figure 2: Three-tiered framework of responsible consumption (inspired on Crivits & Paredis, 2013)

Chapter 3: Research context

This chapter first discusses some statistics on current dietary and health circumstances, departing from the situation in Ecuador in general, and then zooming in further on the local context where the research was conducted. The necessary demographic information on Carcelen is discussed, based on the best available statistics, as presented on the website of the government of Quito. Unfortunately, these numbers are not very recent, the majority being from 2001. Therefore, where necessary information about the local context is complemented by statements from the expert interviews that were conducted as part of the research. In one of the specific neighborhoods in Carcelen, where a large part of the research was conducted, a weekly ecological market is organized. At the 'bioferia' in Carcelen local producers come to sell ecological (and thus not certified organic) products fresh from their lands. In this research, a distinction is made between organic and ecological products. Organic is defined as: *vegetable and animal products that are produced without the use of chemicals, are not genetically modified and are certified to prove this*. Ecological is defined: *as products that are produced in a way that protects natural resources, does not use chemicals and makes use of diversified production methods (combined crops), as well as respecting local knowledge and the circumstances of local farmers* (VECO Andino 2008). The bioferia has been used as central locus to analyze responsible consumption patterns, by investigating what motivates people to buy there and how they interact with the producers. Thus, the population buying at the feria, has been used as control group of responsible consumers, against which the rest of the population can be compared. A brief history of the feria, as well as the way in which it is currently organized, is discussed in the final section of this chapter. Furthermore, a map is presented of the specific locations where the research was conducted.

Public health and diet in Ecuador

In Ecuador, high rates of food insecurity and micronutrient deficiency co-exist with increasing rates of obesity (Quizhpe et al., 2003; Hamer et al., 2009; Lutter et al., 2008; Handal et al., 2007). As the national nutrition and health survey (ENSANUT) indicated, in 2012 six out of ten people in Ecuador was overweighted, regardless of social economic status, ethnicity or religion (Freire et al., 2014). In Quito, specifically, 22,3% of the children between 5 and 12 years old are overweighted and 7,5% obese, versus 42,1% of adults being overweighted and 21% obese (Ensanut 2012). Table 2 below, indicates obesity levels of the adult population, arranged by ethnicity and income level. Interestingly enough the table indicates that with a rising income level also the risk of overweight increases. Also, obesity occurs more frequently among higher income groups. The ethnic group that is most likely to get obese are Afro-Ecuadorians.

	n	Delgadez IMC <18.5		Rango normal IMC 18.5 - 24.9		Sobrepeso IMC 25.0 - 29.9		Obesidad IMC ≥30.0		Sobrepeso y obesidad IMC ≥25.0	
		%	IC _{95%}	%	IC _{95%}	%	IC _{95%}	%	IC _{95%}	%	IC _{95%}
Etnia											
Indígena	3067	0.4	0.2-0.7	47.5	44.2 - 50.9	41.3	38.6 - 44.1	10.8	8.8 - 13.1	52.1	48.7 - 55.4
Afroecuatoriana	1178	1.4	0.8-2.7	34.1	30.6 - 37.9	37.9	34.1 - 41.9	26.5	23.1 - 30.3	64.4	60.5 - 68.2
Montubia	1065	2.0	1.1-3.5	37.9	34 - 41.9	37.6	34.5 - 40.8	22.6	19.2 - 26.4	60.1	56.0 - 64.1
Mestiza, blanca u otras	24165	1.3	1.1-1.6	35.1	34.1 - 36	40.9	39.9 - 41.9	22.7	21.8 - 23.7	63.6	62.6 - 64.6
Quintil económico											
Q1 (Pobre)	7217	1.4	1.1-1.9	44.4	42.4 - 46.4	37.6	35.8 - 39.4	16.5	15 - 18.3	54.1	52.1 - 56.1
Q2	6657	1.1	0.8-1.6	38.5	36.7 - 40.3	38.8	37.1 - 40.6	21.6	20.0 - 23.3	60.4	58.5 - 62.2
Q3 (Intermedio)	5887	1.3	0.9-1.8	34.8	33.1 - 36.6	40.8	38.9 - 42.7	23.1	21.3 - 24.9	63.9	62.1 - 65.6
Q4	5228	1.2	0.8-1.7	29.5	27.6 - 31.4	42.3	40.2 - 44.4	27.1	25.0 - 29.2	69.4	67.4 - 71.3
Q5 (Rico)	4486	1.5	1.0-2.2	32.2	37.0 - 40.8	43.5	37.0 - 40.8	22.9	37.0 - 40.8	66.4	37.0 - 40.8
Nacional	29475	1.3	1.1-1.5	35.9	35 - 36.8	40.6	39.7 - 41.5	22.2	21.3 - 23.1	62.8	61.9 - 63.7

Table 2: Prevalence of thinness, overweight and obesity in the adult population (between 19 and 60 years old), by ethnicity and economic quintile (ENSANUT 2012)

Translation of key concepts: *delgadez* (thinness); *rango normal* (normal range); *sobrepeso* (overweight); *obesidad* (obesity).

One of the reasons for the high obesity risk, is the carbohydrate rich diet of the Ecuadorian population, combined with the high consumption of processed foods. The latter is an important characteristic of the transition to a modern consumption pattern. Figure 3 below, illustrates the percentage of Ecuadorians that consumed processed foods in the seven days previous to being asked that question. The table shows that consumption of soft drinks is highest, reaching up to 88,8% of the high-income section of the population, followed by snacks and fast food. The table also indicates that the consumption of processed foods increases with income level. This illustrates how consumption of processed foods is becoming a status symbol (Peter & George 1980).

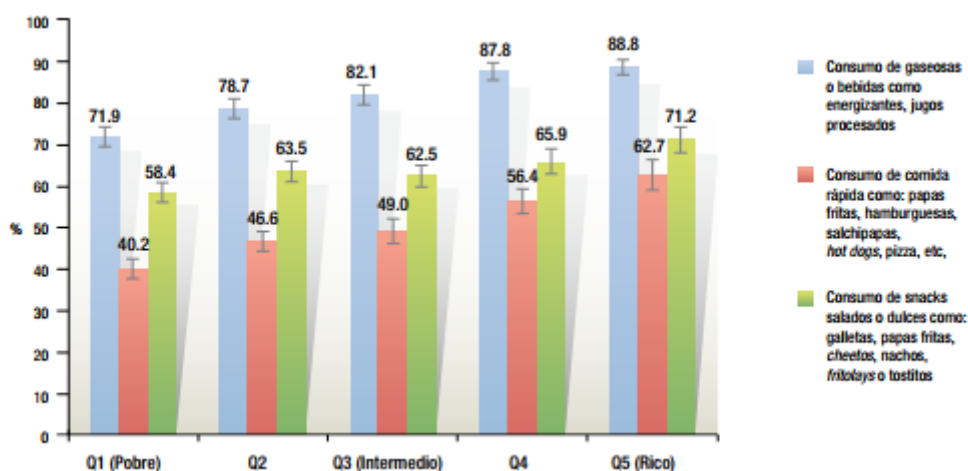


Figure 3: Consumption of processed foods and sugary drinks in the seven days previous to the survey, by economic quintile (ENSANUT 2012)

Translation of key concepts: *consumo de gaseosas o bebidas como energizantes, jugos procesados* (consumption of soft drinks, energy drinks or processed juices); *Consumo de comida rápida como: papas fritas, hamburguesas, salchipapas, hot dogs, pizza, etc* (consumption of fast food like: fries, hamburgers, fries with sausage, etc.); *Consumo de snacks salados o dulce como: galletas, papas fritas, cheetos, nachos, fritolays o tostitos* (consumption of salt or sweet snacks like: cookies, fries, crisps)

Figure 4 below, shows that for both women and men, carbohydrates account for more than half of the daily energy intake.

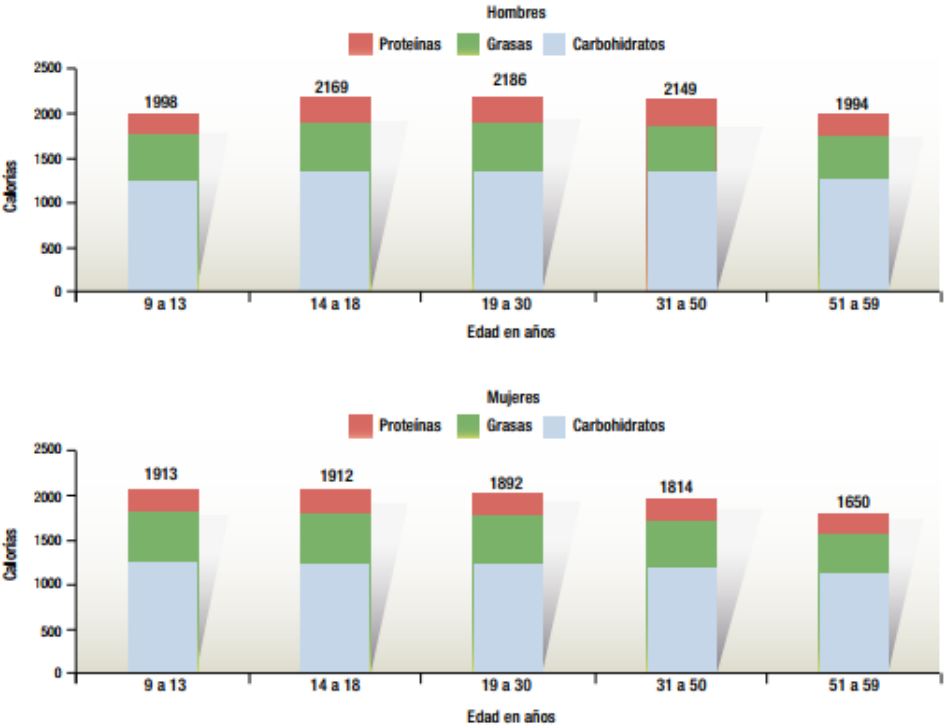


Figure 4: Habitual consumption of calories in population from 9 to 59 years old, by age groups and sex at national scale (ENSANUT 2012)

Translation of key concepts: *hombres (men); mujeres (women); proteinas (proteines); grasas (fat); carbohidratos (carbohydrates); edad en anos (age in years)*

Of the seven main causes of death in Ecuador, five are associated with the poor quality of the diet and with obesity (cerebrovascular diseases, hypertensive diseases, DM, ischemic heart disease and other hearth diseases) (Quizhpe et al., 2003; Hamer et al., 2009) With an annual average of 88 kg per capita, the sale of ultra-processed foods in Ecuador, lies well below the quantities consumed in other Latin American countries, averaging at 129,6 kg per capita. Nevertheless, the value for Ecuador increased by 19,8% in the period between 2000 and 2013 (FAO 2016). These numbers show, that in terms of public health, the current Ecuadorian food system leaves much room for improvement.

Introduction to research site

As mentioned before, the fieldwork for this research was conducted in Carcelen, an area in the north of Quito that is part of the district La Delicia. La Delicia has 15,2 % of Quito’s population, Carcelen has 2,5%. As the table below shows, the population density in la Delicia lies far below the average of Quito. Carcelen however, is one of the more densely populated parts of this district.

	hectare	inhabitants	Inhabitants per hectare
Quito Urban	20.253,8	1.609.418	79,5
La Delicia	61.606,6	341,125	49,1
Carcelen	961,4	54.938	69,9

Table 3: Population density in Quito, La Delicia, Carcelen (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

The figure below, indicates the age distribution of Quito’s population in 2001, showing that the majority of the urban population is between the age of 20 and 24, followed by the age group of 15 to 19. Carcelen shows a similar trend, with the segment between 20 and 24 accounting for 11,5% of the population and the group 15 to 19 for 10,8%. In Carcelen, people in the age group 60 years and over account for 6,4% of the total population.

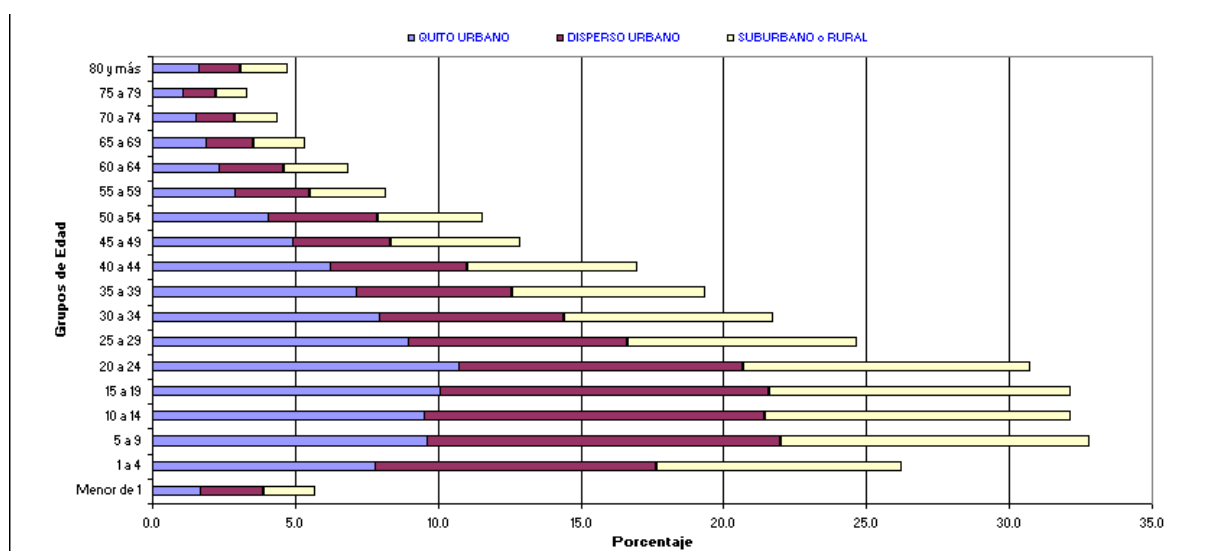


Figure 5: Distribution of age groups in Quito’s population (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

Translation of key concepts: *Quito Urbano* (urban Quito); *Disperso urbano* (scattered urban); *Suburbano o rural* (sub-urban or rural); *Grupos de edad* (age groups); *Porcentaje* (percentage).

Carcelen is a middle-income neighborhood. The fact that many immigrants from different parts of the country live together in this part of Quito, creates a culturally diverse and dynamic environment, with many young people. As Sayri, the president of one neighborhood in Carcelen indicates:

“People living in this area are often new to Quito. Parents are doing everything to facilitate the university studies of their children.” (Sayri)

The cultural diversity of Carcelen is indicated by table 4 below. Whereas a variety of ethnic groups is represented in the whole of Quito, Carcelen is home to a slightly higher percentage of the black population.

	Urban Quito	La Delicia	Carcelen
Indigenous	3%	2,6%	2,4%
Black	1,2%	2,4%	2,9%
Mestizo	79,9%	78,8%	79,9%
Mulatto	1,9%	2,3%	1,7%
White	13,7%	13,7%	12,9%
Other	0,2%	0,2%	0,2%

Table 4: Ethnicity in Quito, La Delicia, Carcelen (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

That the population of Carcelen is growing is illustrated by table 5 below, showing that the birth-rate lies above the average of Quito, whereas the mortality rate lies below the average. This table also indicates that analphabetism in Carcelen lies slightly below-, and employment rates lie around the Quito average.

	Mortality rate (par 1000 inhabitants)	Birth rate (par 1000 inhabitants)	Analphabetism (%)	Employment rate
Urban Quito	4,3	24,2	3,6%	Men: 69,6%
				Women: 42,2%
La Delicia	4,0	23,2	4%	Men: 70,7%
				Women: 41,7%
Carcelen	3,7	26,8	2,8%	Men: 68,4%
				Women: 41,9%

Table 5: Mortality rate, birth rate, analphabetism and employment rate (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

In terms of education levels, the table on the next page indicates that the largest part of Carcelen's population has at least finished high school. People with no education or with a post-graduate qualification are rare.

	Urban Quito	La Delicia	Carcelen
None	31.708	7.050	672
Primary school	374.637	75.102	9.444
High school	514.522	93.378	14.845
University	252.643	43.080	8.233
Post graduate	7.826	1.184	223

Table 6: Education levels Quito, La Delicia, Carcelen (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

Whereas Carcelen is officially not considered to be a poor neighborhood, there is still a part of the population that cannot fulfill their basic needs. However, as the table below indicates, the (extreme) poverty rates in Carcelen lay well below the average in la Delicia.

	La Delicia (% of households)	Carcelen (% of households)
Poverty	23,2%	16,6%
Extreme poverty	8,3%	3,7%

Table 7: Poverty rates Quito, La Delicia, Carcelen (Gobierno de Quito, 2001)

Bioferia

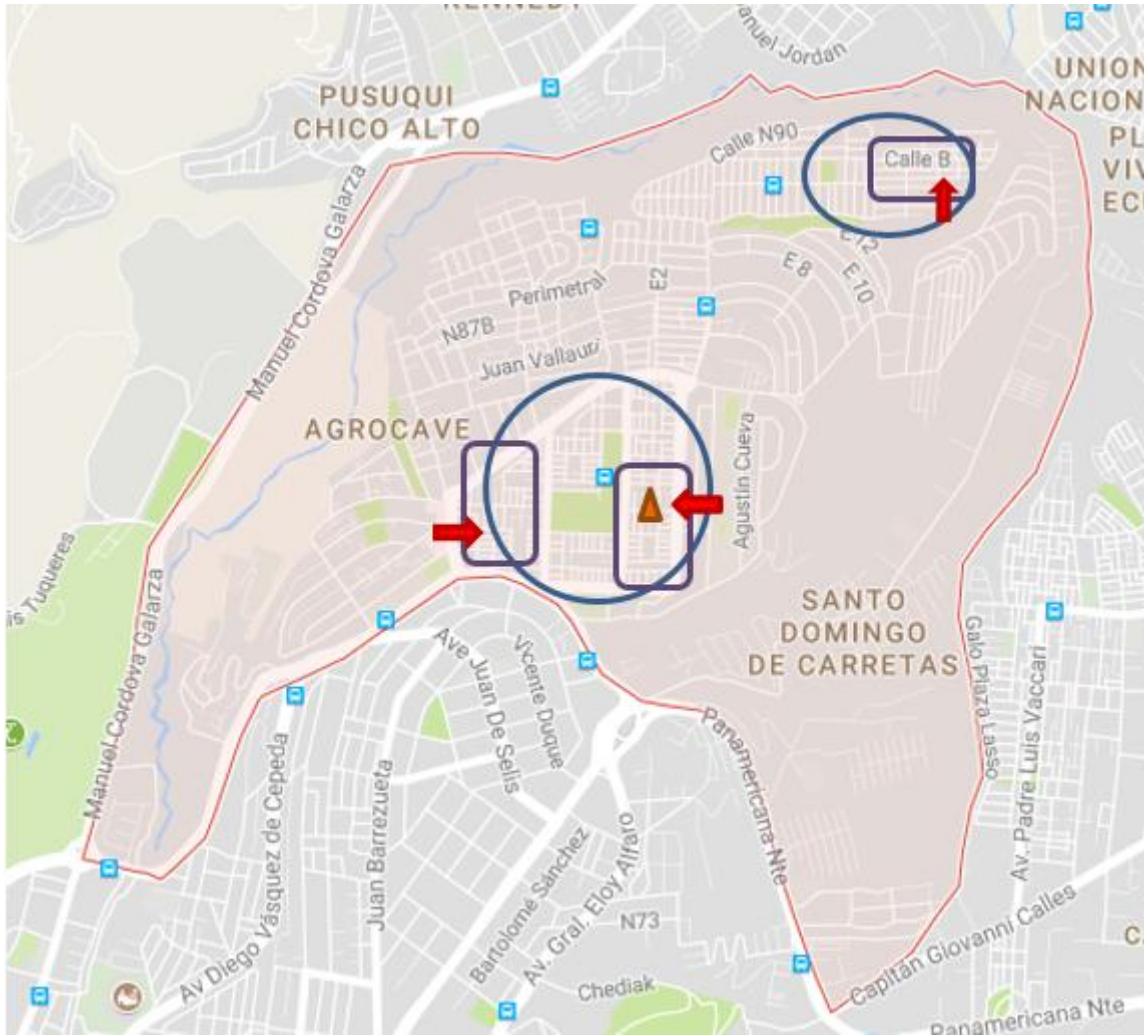
Carcelen was selected as location for the research, because of the farmers-market (bioferia) that is organized there every Friday morning. This made it an interesting location to study consumption dynamics. The bioferia is unique in Quito, because, according to Sayri, the president of Supermanzana C (a zone of one of Carcelens neighborhoods), it is the first self-organized market in the city. The feria started in 2014, when neighbors in Supermanzana C organized themselves, because they wanted access to more local and healthy products. Hence, they looked into ways to approach local producers to come and sell in their neighborhood. Until today, the market functions through self-organization and knowledge sharing, by involving different local experts in the field of ecological production and consumption.

Sayri explains that Supermanzana C has an internal organization and cooperation that is unique for Quito's standards. He argues that the population in most other neighborhoods has a more individualistic mentality. In Supermanzana C, the people know each other and hence have the confidence to work together. At first, the people wanted to organize the feria in the central park of Carcelen Alto, but the municipality complained, because there is already a market there and this would create competition. Also, the neighbors objected, because of racism. Some people hold the prejudice that indigenous farmers from the countryside are dirty and give a bad impression to the neighborhood. Therefore, a new location for the feria was found, at the parking lot of the community center of Supermanzana C, where the local government has no influence.



Photo: roasting of cuy (Guinea pig) at the bioferia

The map on the next page indicates the exact locations where the data for this thesis were collected. The blue circles show the areas where spatial mapping of the food outlets was carried out. The orange lines circle the parts where surveys were conducted. The orange triangle indicates the bioferia, and the arrows indicate the location of the families where the short ethnographies were conducted.







-  Area of spatial mapping food shops
-  Bioferia
-  Family where ethnography was conducted
-  Area where surveys were conducted

Figure 6: Map of research site

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the methodology used to answer the research questions of this thesis. First, an overview is given of the respective research questions, indicators and types of analysis. Then, the different applied methods are explained and some words are spent on the research ethics. As is illustrated by the table below, this research applies a mix between qualitative and quantitative methods. This mixed methods approach allows to provide a more extensive understanding of the research context and phenomena of interest, and to obtain greater confidence in the conclusions (V. Caracelli, in Johnson et al., 2007). In summary, the following methods were used:

- Spatial mapping of food outlets in Carcelen
- Expert interviews (4)
- Surveys (Total N = 199. Bioferia; N = 50, Supermanzana C; N = 79, Supermaxi area; N = 35, Carcelen Bajo; N = 35)
- Three surveys about food prices at different types of food outlets
- Participant observation and informal conversations
 - During meetings and events of the IDRC Project and the Agricultural collective MESSE
 - At the bioferia
 - During three homestays
- Mini ethnographies with three families applying responsible-, modern-, and regular consumption
- Focus group with experts to evaluate research findings and implications

The table below gives an overview of the sub-questions of the research, the indicators used to answer the sub-questions and the relevant methods that were applied, including the type of data analysis. Why these specific methods were selected and how they have been applied is discussed in more detail below.

Material – functional structure

1) *What are the types of food-outlets and available food products in the Carcelen district in Quito?*

Relevant indicators	Methods of data collection	Data analysis
Type of food outlets and products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Geographical mapping of food outlets - Survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Descriptive statistics of types of food outlets and products sold there
Food prices and available organic options	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey about food prices, at different types of food outlets in sampled area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comparison of surveys (manually, because of low number of surveys)

Agency

2) *How does agency influence the food consumption behavior of the residents of the Carcelen district in Quito?*

Relevant indicators	Methods of data collection	Data analysis
Main motivators for food choices (money, convenience, health, sustainability)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen - Ethnographic research during homestays - Expert interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Descriptive statistics - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments - Coding of transcribed interviews
Personality characteristics supporting responsible consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnographic research during homestays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments
Capacities that enable responsible consumption (income, availability, knowledge)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnographic research during homestays - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments - Descriptive statistics and simple linear regression

Socio – cultural structure

3) *What is the socio-cultural structure in which residents of the Carcelen district of Quito develop their food consumption behavior?*

Relevant indicators	Methods of data collection	Data analysis
Awareness of origin products and interaction with producers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen - Ethnographic research during homestays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simple linear regression in SPSS - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments

Cultural customs and traditions around food consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expert interviews - Ethnographic research during homestays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coding of transcribed interviews - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments
Influence on food practices by social network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen - Ethnographic research during homestays - Expert interview with president of supermanzana C. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simple linear regression in SPSS - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments - Coding of transcribed interviews
Influence on food practices by government measures for responsible consumption (traffic-light label)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen - Ethnographic research during homestays 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simple linear regression in SPSS - Coding of field notes and ethnographic instruments

4) How can the campaign of Que Rico Es enhance more responsible consumption behavior in the Carcelen district of Quito?

Relevant indicators	Methods of data collection	Data analysis
Assessing to what extent the campaign of Que Rico Es is active in Carcelen and what is done to support responsible consumption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observations and informal conversations with people involved in the campaign - Expert interview with president of Supermanzana C - Survey at bioferia and other neighborhoods in Carcelen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of field notes - Coding of transcribed interview - Descriptive statistics of survey
Suggested future strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus group discussion with people involved in campaign - Expert interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of transcribed focus group - Coding of transcribed interviews

Table 8: Research questions, indicators and operationalization

Spatial mapping

The first step in the data collection, was a spatial mapping, to quantify the different types of food outlets in sampled areas of Carcelen. The method of mapping food outlets was inspired on Aucoin and Fry's (2015) approach to map the market shed as a way to understand the dynamics in a local, urban food system. The mapping was executed in the specific sectors where the families that participated in the ethnography reside, and where also the surveys were conducted. In the selected areas, all streets were visited systematically. All food outlets were noted down, using codes to indicate different types of establishments (small/medium- shop/supermarket/restaurant/market), and the type of products they sell (fresh, processed, ultra-processed). All data was entered into SPSS, in order to analyze what sorts of food outlets and what types of food are most present in Carcelen. In addition, I made a listing of all available products and their prices, in a sample of three different food outlets: the bioferia, a neighborhood fruit store and Supermaxi.

Interviews

In terms of qualitative data, a total of 4 expert interviews was conducted with local specialists in the field of responsible consumption (see table 9 below). These interviews followed a semi-structured format, allowing to follow the interviewees knowledge and observe their interests (Johnson 2002). These interviews served to orient myself towards the field of research, and to gain insight in the basic components relevant to constructing a responsible consumption behavior, in terms of culture, socio-economic status, etc. Different questions were developed for these interviews, following the expertise of the respective interviewees. The respondents were reached through snowball sampling, by asking the 'experts' to connect me to other people from their network. All interviews were recorded, with the consent of the interviewee. Analysis of the interviews took place through coding of the transcribed recordings.

Name	Relevant expertise	goal interview
Michelle O'fried	Author of various cookbooks on traditional Ecuadorian cuisine	Gain insight on traditional Ecuadorian diet
Natalie Pinto	Project manager NGO VECO Andino	Understand cultural and political context of responsible consumption in Ecuador
Sayri	President Supermanzana C	Understand social organization in this part of Carcelen
Elias	Co-founder of different urban gardening projects, Activist	Understand cultural and political context of responsible consumption in Ecuador

Table 9: Interview participants

Surveys

The surveys for this research were conducted face to face, as structured interviews, fit for quantitative analysis (DiCicco=Bloom & Crabtree 2006). A total of 230 surveys was conducted at the bioferia (50) and in the neighborhoods where the families of the ethnographies reside (see map, figure 6). After two pilot studies of respectively 10 and 20 surveys, that were used to explore the best way of phrasing questions and approaching the research population, a total of 199 complete surveys was used for analysis. In order to minimize social desirability of answers (Podsakoff et al., 2012), the study was introduced to be about food consumption in general. Only the very last question asked about responsible consumption behavior. The survey served to quantify the motivations in the food choices of a wide audience of responsible-, as well as regular consumers, asking about what products they consume, how they obtain them, how much they spend on food, what factors they take into consideration as determinants of their food choices and to what extent they consider themselves to be responsible consumers. The survey questions were inspired on a combination of the consumer survey used by the IDRC-project, and a large scale national survey (N = 3285), on the consumption of organic and ecological products that was conducted in 2007, by NGO VECO Andino. Inspiring my survey on existing formats, adjusted to my research aim and supplemented with additional questions of my own design, served to increase credibility. The format of this survey is included in appendix 1. The survey was analyzed using SPSS, applying descriptive statistics, simple linear regression analysis, chi-square tests and Kruskal-Wallis H tests.

In regard of the sampling method, all surveys, except for the ones from the bioferia, were conducted on door to door basis, following the method of systematic sampling. Previous to going to the field, the households that would be approached to participate in the survey, were indicated on a map. In the designated area, every third house was included. When the family in that particular household would refuse to participate, or nobody was found at home after visiting the house twice, the first neighbor on the right was approached. This survey protocol was applied to increase the objectivity and reliability of the survey outcomes. In case of the surveys that were conducted at the bioferia, also a protocol was made to approach every third man/woman passing by the entrance of the market. However, since most of the time it was very quiet, the choice was made to approach everyone entering the space, this research population can thus be seen as a convenience sample, fit for exploratory research (Kothari 2004).

Ethnographic research

The main part of the qualitative data collection consisted of ethnographic fieldwork, which has been applied to enabled a more in depth understanding of how (responsible) consumption behavior is constructed. Ethnographic research is a relevant tool, because it allows to analyze the capacity of actors to systematize and organize their experiences, through studying how differences in social life are produced and reproduced (Angrosino, 2007). Furthermore, this method allows to identify the heterogeneity in social practices and the way these are executed and interpreted by social actors, in the way they shape their own daily life and that of others (ibid). Also, the ethnographic approach allows to analyze the relationships and interactions between the micro scale (families and individuals) and the macro scale of public policies and food markets, for example. Also, participant observation at different lectures and events about production and consumption in Ecuador, was used to get oriented towards the local context of the research topic.

Participant observation

In order to orient myself towards the research context and current academic and societal debate on food consumption, I participated in various meetings of IDRC project, farmers collective MESSE, and relevant seminars (see list in appendix 2). During these meetings, I took notes of the topics discussed and the informal conversations I had.

Furthermore, I conducted participant observation at the bioferia in Carcelen, where I also engaged in informal conversations with different producers and organizers. I focused on the observation of producer-consumer interactions. The photo below illustrates a group discussing the organization of the feria. All my observations and informal conversations were recorded in field notes.



Photo: Discussion group of organizers at bioferia

Mini-ethnographies with three families

A total of three ethnographic homestays was conducted, with families from different socio-economic backgrounds. I visited one low income family, practicing 'regular consumption', one middle income family, practicing 'responsible consumption' and one high income family, practicing 'modern consumption'.

The division into 'responsible', 'modern' and 'regular', was made in advance, in order to have a sample as diverse as possible. The division was based on some key questions asked to the family, such as where they do their shopping, whether they recycle, whether they use organic products, etc. Observing the practice of the families however, has indicated that the level of awareness and

'responsible behavior' varies among different aspects of food purchase and preparation and also among the different family members. Thus, in practice the dividing line between responsible vs modern vs regular consumption is not so black and white.

Each family received me for three days, in which I arrived in the morning and left in the evening, after observing and participating in the three main meals of the day. During these family visits, took part in all food shopping- and preparation related activities, making field notes of everything I observed. All families received a compensation of \$10 daily. The IDRC project made some of their budget available to pay this amount. To facilitate the comparison between the different families, a set of observation tools and an interview script were developed. This was done in cooperation with one fellow master student from FLACSO university, writing her thesis on a similar topic. An overview of the used instruments is presented below.

- **Calendar of foods:** Indicating the types of food that are consumed throughout the week, including at what time and how they are prepared.

- **Registration of social networks:** Indicating the relationships between family members and other people in their direct environment (neighborhood, work, school, friends, religious groups, etc.) All these groups can have an influence on the ideas people form about their consumption pattern.

- **Life-story interviews:** Short interviews to gain understanding of how and where each family member has learned about food and nutrition, and to understand what factors influence their consumption behavior, according to their own perception. These interviews (N = 13) used a semi-structured format. The same interview script was used for all participants, in order to gain insight towards specifically developed research questions and be able to compare answers between the different respondents (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006).

- **Observation of food purchasing:** Analysis of what products are bought, where and what conditions are considered in selecting the food products.

- **Observation of food preparation:** Analysis of what ingredients are used, how are they prepared, whether hygiene is considered, whether special food is prepared for certain family members, etc.

- **24 hours record:** List of foods that are consumed throughout 24 hours, including the exact ingredients, and where these come from.

- **Shopping list:** Listing what food is bought and where, also indicating if there are any foods that the family would like to access, but are not available in the neighborhood.

The field notes and ethnographic instruments were analyzed through coding, coloring segments of the text, with similar content, and arranging the data around the themes relevant to answering the respective sub-questions (Silverman 2001). An overview of the codes that were used can be found in appendix 4.

In regard of the sampling method, the participating families were selected in different ways. The family of 'responsible consumption' first participated in the survey. The final question of the survey allowed people to indicate their interest to participate in further research. This family

indicated to be willing to receive me. Based on the details of the survey, I selected this family as fitting with my criteria for responsible consumption. The family of regular consumption was recommended to me by a PhD student who I interviewed for my research. She connected me to the family of her domestic help. The ethnography with the family of ‘modern consumption’ was conducted by my colleague master student at FLACSO, who was also conducting her fieldwork in Carcelen. For her I conducted another ethnography with a rural family of producers, which I left out of consideration for my own research.

Focus group

To evaluate the findings of my research, and explore how this information can be applied to improve the campaign Que Rico Es, a focus group discussion was conducted with four representatives of the campaign (see table 10 below), after the presentation of my preliminary research findings. Analyzing the interactions between the different focus-group participants, has also shed light on the group dynamics between part of the team of people involved in running and coordinating the Que Rico Es campaign (Duggleby 2005).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Function in relation to Que Rico Es Campaign</i>
Myriam Paredes	Project leader and coordinator of research process, advisor of campaign activities
Marcello Bordello	Main staff of the campaign, communications officer
Alexandra Mantilla	Student assistant qualitative analysis, indirectly related to campaign; part of campaign workgroup
Laura Boada	Communications advisor for EkoRural, including the campaign

Table 10: focus group participants

Group dynamics during focus group

To better understand and contextualize the information discussed during a focus group, it is important to pay attention to group-dynamics (Morgan 1996). During the discussion, not all participants had an equal say. Some people were speaking more than others and sometimes small disagreements arose about what would be the best approach. The four participants also had different styles of contributing. One lady was talking a lot, but also repeating herself at times, or taking time to develop her ideas while talking. Another participant talked less, but seemed to think about her words more carefully. I attempted to include the opinion of all people present, by asking the more silent participants specifically for their say, and by continuing to the next discussion question when the participants started to repeat things they already mentioned before.

Ethics

In order to protect the privacy of the people who participated in this study, informed consent was obtained from each participant (Aldiabat 2011). In case of the surveys and interviews, this took places through an introduction sheet, prior to the questions of investigation. For the ethnographic research, informed consent forms were signed, in order to meet the criteria for the bioethics approval of the IDRC Project. Also, in this thesis all participants, except for the interviewed experts, are kept anonymous and no sensitive information has been released that can be traced back to the respective individual.

Section 2: Results



Photo: Local farmers selling their products on the streets of Carcelen

Chapter 5: Available food in Carcelen

How people construct their consumption behavior, depends on different personal and societal factors. The physical structure of the neighborhood is an important determinant of consumption, in the sense that the access to different types of food-outlets in a neighborhood, enables or limits the consumption of 'responsible' products (natural, local, temporal, etc.). This chapter aims to answer the following sub-question: *What are the types of food-outlets and available food products in the Carcelen district in Quito?* A spatial mapping was made of all food outlets in the main commercial district of Carcelen, as well as a selected part of Carcelen Bajo, a neighborhood ten minutes away from the main commercial area. The mapping registered types of food outlets and the products sold there. Also, an overview is given of the availability, origin and price of some common products at the supermarket, local neighborhood shop and the bioferia. Together, this creates a comprehensive understanding of the material-functional structure in which residents of Carcelen develop their consumption behavior.

Types of food outlets

As has been discussed in the research context, Carcelen is a middle-income neighborhood. The parts of Carcelen where I collected my data, are not seen as poor neighborhoods. However, according to my own observations, in Carcelen Bajo the standard of living is lower than in the main commercial area. In this part of the city, more houses are abandoned or run down and more delinquents and drunk people can be found on the streets, at all times of the day. Furthermore, this area is further away from the commercial center of the neighborhood, which limits access to the supermarket and market. In turn, the presence of the bioferia in Supermanzana C, a neighborhood that is part of the main commercial area, increases the availability of fresh and natural products there. This thus increases the likelihood for people to consume this type of products in higher quantities.

During the spatial mapping in Carcelen, five different types of food outlets were indicated: tiendas (small shop, with only a desk from where the vendor hands the products to the person who is coming to buy, also referred to as 'local neighborhood shops'), mini markets, supermarkets, specialty shops and restaurants. Restaurants were included, because 70,9% of Quito's adult population does eat out at times, as was indicated in the largest national health and nutrition survey in Ecuador (ENSANUT 2012). The same study indicated, that in Quito the percentage of people eating out is much higher than any other city in the country.

For Carcelen, the main commercial area is indeed dominated by restaurants. The 105 restaurants that were counted there, account for 47,5% of the total food outlets, followed by mini markets, accounting for 25,8%, tiendas (17,2%), specialty shops (8,6%) and only one supermarket. In Carcelen Bajo, mini markets account for the majority of food outlets, with 65,1%, followed by restaurants (22,9%), tiendas (10,8%), and specialty shops (1,2%). The people in Carcelen Bajo do not have direct access to a supermarket. The bar-charts below visualize the difference in food outlets between the main commercial area in Carcelen and Carcelen Bajo.

A chi-square test of independence was conducted to analyze whether the location where the survey was conducted and the available type of food outlets are independent of each other. It was found that there is a significant association between location and type of available food outlet $X^2(4) \geq 41,786, p < .001$.

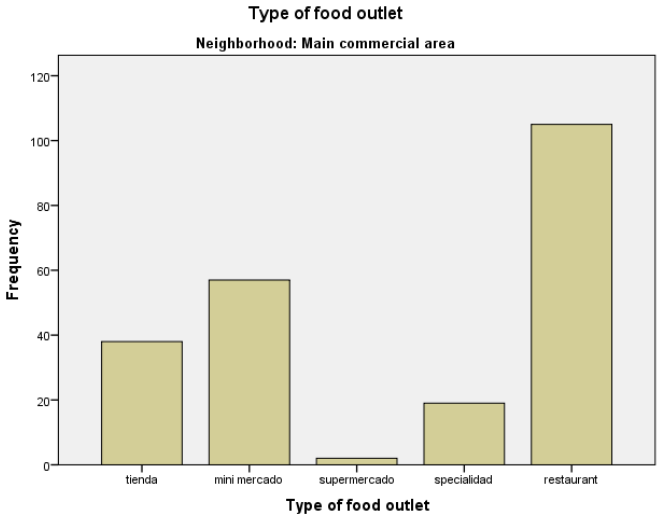


Figure 7: Food outlets main commercial area

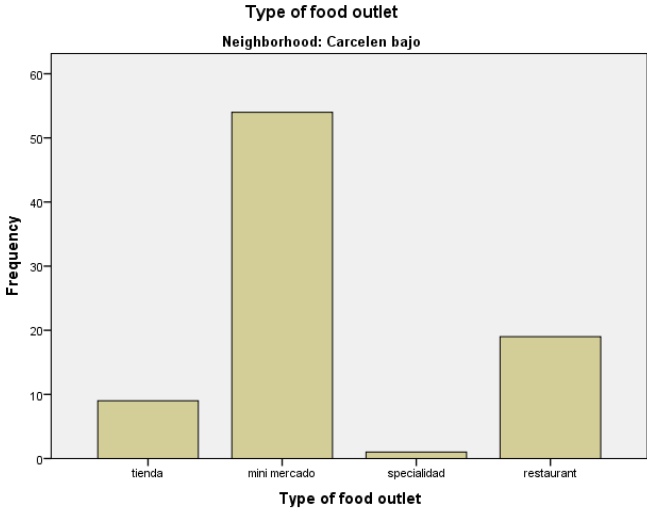


Figure 8: Food outlets Carcelen Bajo

Whereas the charts show a clear difference between the two respective neighborhoods, this does not tell much, without knowing what products are actually being sold in the different food outlets. Therefore, figure 9 below, indicates the frequency of shops that sell mainly fresh-, semi-processed-, semi-processed and ultra-processed-, or ultra-processed products for the entire sample. In the entire sampled area, semi-processed food accounts for 22,2% of the available types of food, followed by restaurants with traditional food, making up for 17,5% of the available food. Ultra-processed accounts for 17,1% of the available food, and fresh for 15.2%. Fresh products in this case, are defined as fruits, vegetables and all products that are found in their natural state. Semi-processed foods refer to all products that have had at least one transformation process, like freezing or packaging (meat, milk, cheese, yoghurt, etc.). Ultra-processed foods refer to products where the original ingredients can no longer be recognized (candy bars, sausages, soft-drinks, etc.). These categories are retrieved from a survey that is currently being developed by the team of the IDRC-project. Furthermore, the different types of restaurants are also specified in the categories traditional food, fast food, Italian food and Chinese food. These categories are created to illustrate the main influences on the local diet from different global food cultures.

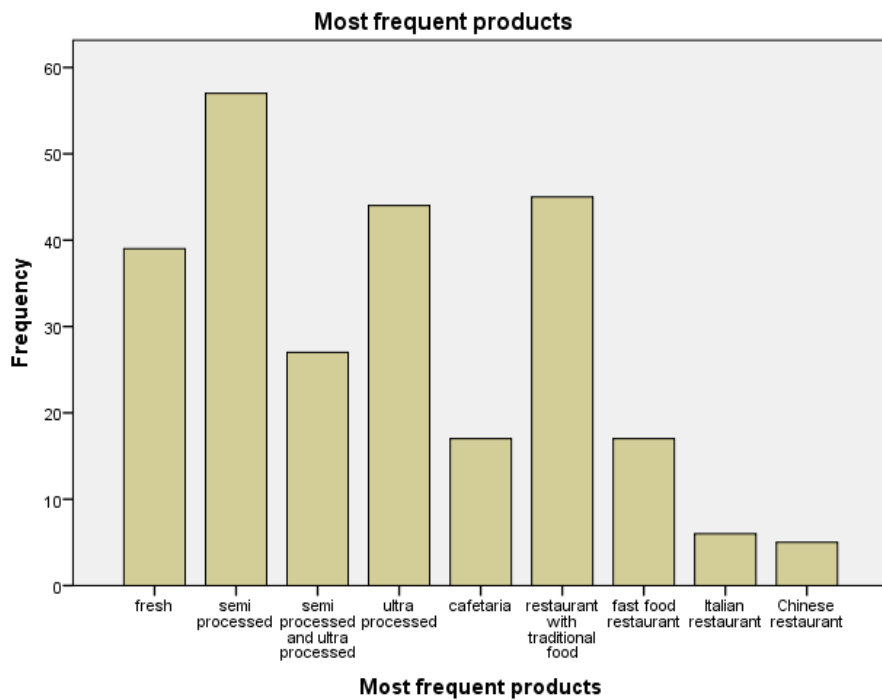


Figure 9: Most frequent products

When comparing the total sample to the results for the main commercial area and Carcelen Bajo respectively, as demonstrated in figure 10 and 11 below, we can see that in the main commercial area the most available products are restaurants with traditional food, accounting for 24,2% of all available food in the neighborhood, followed by semi-processed food at 18,8%. In Carcelen Bajo, ultra-processed foods are most dominant (28,7%). The difference in availability between both neighborhoods is likely to influence consumption patterns. To explore whether this is the case a statistical analysis was made from the survey (N = 199), to see where people actually buy their food and why. This will be discussed in the following chapter. Also, a chi-square test of independence was conducted to analyze whether the location where the mapping was executed, and the type of products that are found most frequently, are independent of each other. It was found that there is a significant difference between the neighborhoods, in terms of what type of products are most frequently available, $X^2(8) > 60,613, p < .001$.

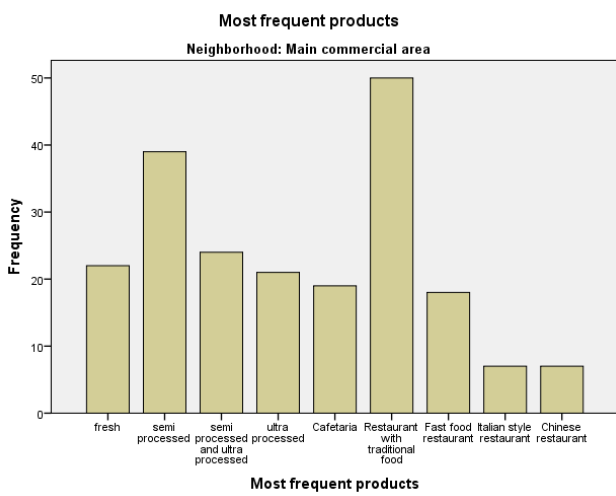


Figure 10: Most frequent products main commercial area

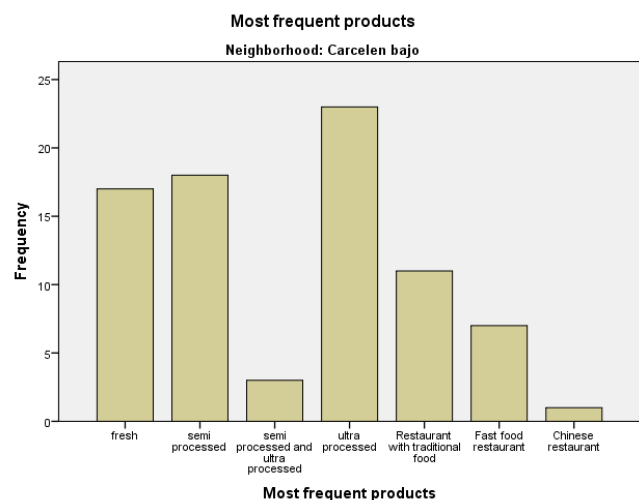


Figure 11: Most frequent products Carcelen Bajo

Availability and price at different food outlets

Table 11 below, indicates the availability and price of selected products that are frequently consumed in the Ecuadorian cuisine. The prices of the products at the feria are held at a set rate, and thus the same at all stalls. I approached various neighborhood shops with the questions if they could give me information about the availability of products and their prices. Only one store accepted to participate. At Supermaxi, the largest supermarket in the neighborhood, I went around the shop by myself, to note down the prices of all the products I could find. All prices are given in US\$, by kilo, by piece (1) or in the quantity of the available package.

As the table indicates, the feria is a bit cheaper, but has a limited availability, based on local and temporal products. The supermarket is more expensive over all, but has a higher availability. Also, in the supermarket products come in higher quantities. Thus, it is not always possible to buy by piece.

Type of product	Price neighborhood shop	Price bioferia	Price supermaxi
Rice	\$1	X	\$1,50
Quinoa	\$3	\$2	\$2,20
Potato	\$0,50	\$0,50	\$1
Milk	\$0,80	X	\$1,16
Yoghurt	\$3	X	\$1,60
Eggs	\$0,13 (1)	\$0,25 (1)	\$0,18 (1)
Chicken	X	X	\$6,10 (1)
Beef	X	X	\$3,55 (600 gr)
Beans	\$2	\$2	\$2,14
Chochos (lupine)	\$2	\$2	\$2,28 (360 gr)
Tomatoes	\$1	\$1	\$1,96
Lettuce	\$1 (1)	\$0,25 (1)	\$1,90 (1)
Brocoli	\$0,50 (1)	\$0,25 (1)	\$0,80 (1)
Onions	\$0,80	\$1,50	\$2,96
Papaya	\$2,50 (1)	\$1 (1)	\$1,61 (1)
Orange	\$0,60	X	\$0,98
Apple	\$1,20	X	\$2,65
Avocado	\$1	\$1	\$3,16
Vegetble oils	X	X	\$3,24
Peanuts	X	X	X
White sugar	X	X	\$1,07
Honey	X	X	\$4,40 (665 gr)
Soft drinks	X	X	\$2 (2l CocaCola)
Coffee	X	X	\$16,87
Bread	X	X	\$1,54 (500 gr)

Table 11: Food prices at market, supermarket and local neighborhood store

In regard of the origin of the products that are on offer, in the case of the neighborhood shop and the supermarket, this is hard to trace. In the neighborhood shop the lady who sells there, indicates that all products are grown by local producers, without the use of chemicals. However, there is no way to check if she is speaking the truth. In Supermaxi no information is given about the origin of fresh products. For the processed products, I looked for the items with the own brand of the supermarket. The labels of these products did not contain any information about their origin. Only a few certified organic vegetables can be found and no ecological products. In the bioferia, all products are promoted as ecological. Nevertheless, my frequent visits to the feria, and conversations with the organizers, revealed that at times when the producers do not have a certain product available on their own land, they buy these products at the regular market and sell them at the feria. An advantage of the feria however, is that people can interact directly with the producers and ask questions about for example the origin and health properties of the products. This enhances the possibility to build relationships of trust.

Summary

This chapter has aimed to answer the following sub-question: *What are the types of food-outlets and available food products in the Carcelen district in Quito?*

In this chapter, we have learned that:

- In the main commercial area of Carcelen there are mainly restaurants, followed by mini-markets. In Carcelen Bajo there are mainly mini-markets. There is a significant difference in available food outlets between the main commercial area and Carcelen Bajo.
- In the main commercial area, semi-processed products are most available, versus ultra-processed products in Carcelen Bajo. There is a significant difference in the availability of different types of products between the main commercial area and Carcelen Bajo.
- In terms of the origin of products, it is difficult to trace whether products are truly ecological. In the supermarket, there are no ecological products. The availability of organic products remains limited to a few types of vegetables.
- Prices are lowest at the bioferia, but this goes hand in hand with a limited availability. In the supermarket, a more complete range of products can be found, but these are often packaged in larger quantities.

Chapter 6: Quantifying consumption behavior in Carcelen

In this chapter, the second and third sub-question of this research are discussed, at the hand of the statistical analysis of the survey that was conducted at four locations in Carcelen (the bioferia, Supermanzana C, the Supermaxi area, and Carcelen Bajo). First the sample is introduced, by providing some descriptive statistics covering age, gender, profession, education, household size and number of children in the household of the participants of the survey. Then, it is explored how agency influences the food consumption behavior of the residents of the Carcelen district in Quito (sub-question two), by analyzing where people shop, what are the main motivations for their food choices and how the capacities of income, availability and knowledge influence consumption behavior. This is followed by an analysis of the socio-cultural structure in which residents of the Carcelen district of Quito develop their food consumption behavior (sub-questions three). This is done through investigating peoples' awareness of the origin of the products they consume and how they are influenced by their social network and the traffic light label on processed products. A final section discusses the extent to which people consider themselves to be responsible consumers and why. Part of the results are separated by neighborhood where the survey was conducted, in order to be able to connect the findings to the qualitative analysis of the three ethnographies, which will be discussed in the following chapter. The population surveyed at the bioferia, is used as control group of most responsible consumers. The findings from the survey may contain a certain bias, because of socially desirable answers. Also, because the survey was conducted face to face, which increases the likelihood for this phenomenon to occur (Nederhof 1985). Therefore, the ethnographic studies, aim to verify the findings from the survey, through a more in-depth approach.

A mix of statistical analyses was conducted, using SPSS. In this chapter, descriptive statistics are complemented by simple linear regression analyses, to identify what factors significantly predict responsible consumption behavior. Furthermore, chi-square tests of independence were conducted, to determine the association between certain categorical variables. Also, Kruskal-Wallis H tests were conducted to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between different parts of the sample.

Introducing the research population

From the entire sample that was surveyed, 36,4% was male and 63,6% female. This unequal distribution can be explained by the fact that during the day time, when I was conducting the surveys, more women (house wives) were found home than men. Also, at the feria, when I would approach a couple, the man would often refer to his wife to answer the questions, since she would know more about the topic. The age distribution of the sample is summarized in Figure 12, illustrating that the largest part of the sample was around the age of 60. More specific, the average age of the participants was 53.

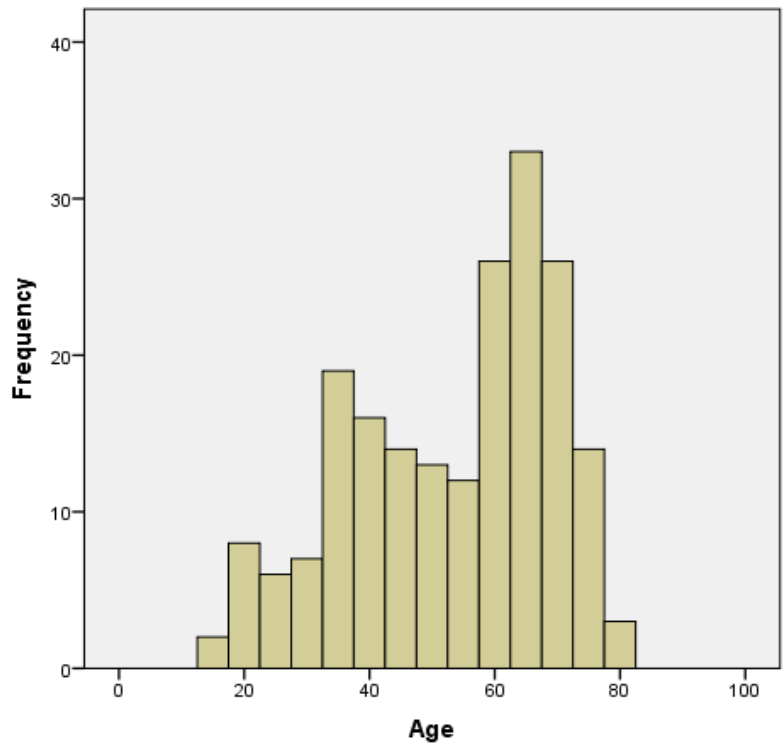


Figure 12: Age distribution of surveyed population

The professions of the respondents are summarized in figure 13. The large part of people working in a shop can be explained by the fact that many people have a shop in the same house where they live. As I conducted the surveys door to door, part of my sample was drawn from the shopping area.

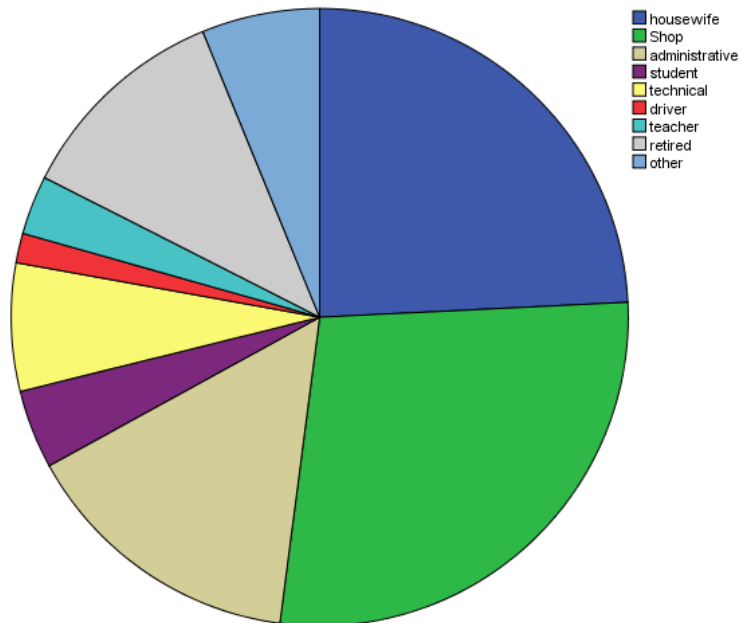


Figure 13: Professions of surveyed population

Figure 14 indicates the level of education of the sampled participants. The figure accounts for highest education followed, not finished.

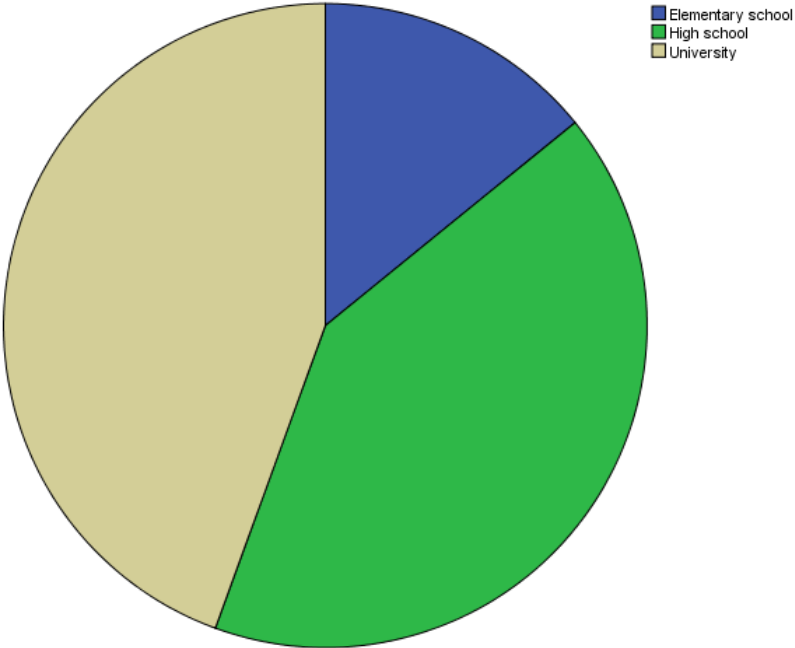


Figure 14: Education levels of surveyed population

In terms of household size, figure 15 and 16 illustrate respectively household size and the number of children in the household. Household size is counted as the number of persons the survey respondent lives with.

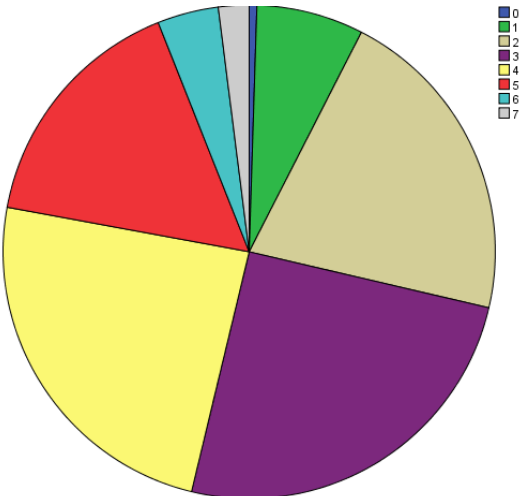


Figure 15: Number of people in household

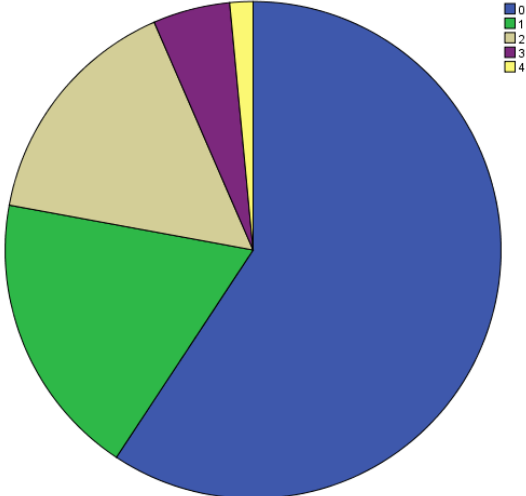


Figure 16: Number of children in household

Main motivators for food choices

In terms of what motivates people in their food choices, when looking at the total survey population, for most people, health forms the main motivation (67,3% found this very important). The next priority was nutritional value (59,3%) and whether the products they consume contain chemicals (50%). The consideration of all factors relevant to peoples' food choices, is summarized in table 12 below.

Motivation of food choice, Consideration of the following factors:	Not important	Slightly important	Fairly important	Important	Very important
<i>Chemicals in food</i>	11,1%	5,5%	19,6%	13,6%	50,3%
<i>Genetically modified ingredients</i>	22,4%	7,8%	14,6%	15,1%	39,6%
<i>Nutritional value</i>	4%	4%	12,6%	20,1%	59,3%
<i>Environmental impacts</i>	13,6%	11,6%	20,1%	18,1%	36,7%
<i>Health</i>	1,5%	1,5%	9%	20,6%	67,3%
<i>Price</i>	6%	5,5%	23,1%	18,1%	47,2%
<i>Appearance (color, size, etc.)</i>	6,5%	4,5%	21,1%	23,6%	44,2%
<i>Brand</i>	20,6%	11,6%	20,6%	20,6%	26,6%
<i>Production by local farmers</i>	20,6%	10,1%	18,1%	20,1%	31,2%
<i>Organic (certified)</i>	12,1%	9%	17,6%	21,1%	40,2%

Table 12: Motivations for food choices, factors considered

The ratings of the three most important determinants (health, nutritional value and chemicals), specified by location, are indicated in the figure below. The numbers indicate the percentage of people that finds the respective determinant very important. Here it becomes clear, that the sample population of the feria, attaches most importance to the consideration of health, nutritional value and chemicals, whereas the population of Carcelen Bajo shows the least concern.

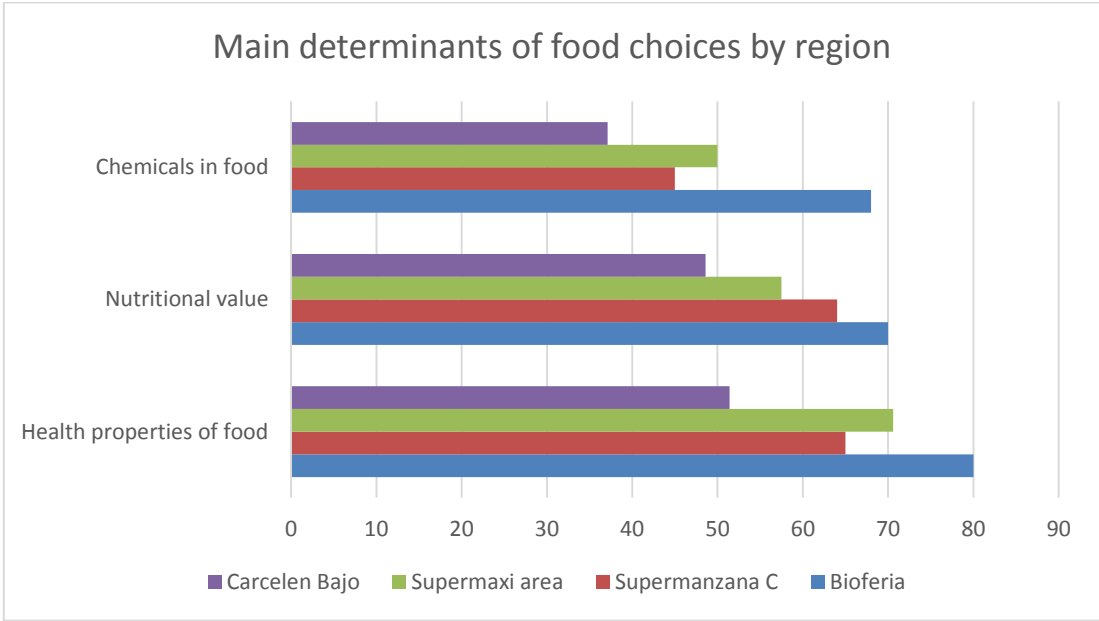


Figure 17: Main determinants of food choices, by region

A series of Kruskal-Wallis H tests was conducted to see if there is a significant difference in the consideration of the different criteria between the locations where the survey was conducted. The table below summarizes the outcome of this series of analyses, indicating that there is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of most factors, by location, except for nutritional value, price, physical appearance and brand.

Results of Kruskal-Wallis H tests

- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of chemicals in food between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 13,939$, $p = 0.003$.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of genetically modified ingredients between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 18,581$, $p = 0.000$.
- There is no statistically significant difference in the consideration of nutritional value between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 5,115$, $p = .164$.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of environmental impact of food production between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 14,001$, $p = 0.003$.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of health between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 8.849$, $p = 0.031$.
- There is no statistically significant difference in the consideration of food prices between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 7.448$, $p = 0.059$.
- There is no statistically significant difference in the consideration of physical appearance of food items between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 5.877$, $p = 0.118$.
- There is no statistically significant difference in the consideration of the brand of food products between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 6.587$, $p = 0.096$.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of production by local farmers-families between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 24.299$, $p = 0.000$.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the consideration of organic certification of food products between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 36.286$, $p = 0.000$.

Table 13: Results of Kruskal-Wallis H tests (1)

Where people do their shopping

This section indicates where the people from the different sampled areas do their shopping, as well as discussing the reasons why people choose to buy at these specific locations. In this analysis, only food shops are included. Restaurants are left out of consideration. To get a more exact insight in the influence of proximity on peoples’ food shopping behavior, the data are considered separately for the respective areas where the survey was conducted, as is indicated in table 14 below. The percentages indicate the part of the sampled population buying in the respective location once a week or more.

Location where shopping	Surveyed at Bioferia	Surveyed in Supermanzan C	Surveyed in Supermaxi area	Surveyed in Carcelen Bajo
<i>Supermarket</i>	26%	23,8%	32,4%	8,6%
<i>Market</i>	22%	17,6%	38,2%	34,3%
<i>Neighborhood shop</i>	58%	76,2%	55,9%	82,9%
<i>Bioferia</i>	68%	35%	5,9%	5,7%

Table 14: Where people do their shopping

The table indicates that where people buy mainly depends on proximity, this shows from the fact that people from Carcelen Bajo are buying much less frequently in the supermarket, market or bioferia than other people who are relatively closer to these venues. The percentage of people buying in local neighborhood shops is highest for the people in Carcelen Bajo, because they have less alternative options available. As indicated from the survey, people who live in the Supermaxi area, do not go to the bioferia. This is probably due to the fact that they are not aware of its existence.

In terms of motivations to buy in the supermarket, for the population surveyed at the feria, 41,2% indicates hygiene to be their main motivation and 29,4% indicates to shop there for the variety in products. From the population of Supermanzana C 33,3% also goes for the variety of products and 20% because of their membership card. From the people of the Supermaxi area 29,6% is motivated by convenience and an equal percentage by the good quality of the products. Also 22,2% names hygiene as main motivation to buy in the supermarket. In Carcelen Bajo, the main reason indicated to buy in the supermarket is the variety of products (33,3%).

If it comes to motives for buying in the market, the main reason for the people surveyed at the feria is because it is a habit (44,4%). In Supermanzana C, 40% buys at the market because it is cheap, the same accounts for the people in the Supermaxi area (47,1%) and Carcelen Bajo (52,4%).

The main reason to shop at the local neighborhood shop is to buy daily products, as indicated by 52,6% of the people surveyed at the feria, 52,7% of Supermanzana C, 68,8% of the people from the Supermaxi area and 55,6% of the people from Carcelen Bajo.

The most important reason for people to buy at the feria, is because the products are healthy and do not contain chemicals. This was given as main reason by 51,2% of the people surveyed in the feria, 48,4% of the people in Supermanzana C and 100% of the people in Supermaxi area and Carcelen Bajo (this question was only answered by people who also buy in the respective locations).

A series of Kruskal-Wallis H tests was conducted to see if there is a significant difference in the location where people do most of their shopping, between the locations where the survey was conducted. As is summarized in the table below, it was found that the place where people do most of their shopping is significantly different for the people sampled in Supermanzana C, the Supermaxi area, Carcelen Bajo and at the bioferia.

Results of Kruskal-Willis H tests

- There is a statistically significant difference in purchasing in the supermarket between the different locations, ($X^2(3) = 17.241, p = 0.001$).
- There is a statistically significant difference in purchasing at the market between the different locations, ($X^2(3) = 29.039, p = 0.000$).
- There is a statistically significant difference in purchasing at the local neighborhood shop between the different locations, ($X^2(3) = 9.367, p = 0.025$).
- There is a statistically significant difference in purchasing at the bioferia between the different locations, ($X^2(3) = 97,490, p = 0.000$).

Table 15: Results of Kruskal-Willis H tests (2)

Capacities enabling responsible consumption

A set of simple linear regression analyses was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on the availability of responsible products, income and knowledge. For these analyses the following hypotheses were used: 1) Buying at the feria has a positive influence on responsible consumption scores, because the feria increases access to ecological and local products; 2) Households that are investing more money in food, prioritize their diet more and hence also have a preference for responsible products (healthy, local, organic, etc.); 3) People with a higher level of education have more general knowledge about the food industry and hence choose to consume in a more responsible way.

Creating an indicator for responsible consumption

Before computing the linear regression analyses, first a new variable was created in SPSS, to indicate the level of responsible consumption of each survey respondent. The answers to survey question Q 9 (factors people take into consideration when making their food choices) and Q 12 (the extent to which people consider themselves responsible consumers), were combined (for survey, see appendix 1). From the 10 indicators used in question 9, the following 7 factors were inserted: Consideration of chemicals in food-, genetically modified organisms-, nutritional value-, environmental impacts-, health-, production by local farmers-, certified organic.

In order to create this new variable, first a reliability analysis was conducted, to see if the variables of question 9, combined with question 12 can be joined to create one variable. The seven items for food choice subscale and 1 item for responsible consumption made a total of 8 items with Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$. Hence, the responsible consumption inventory was found to be highly reliable.

Also, a correlation analysis was conducted, indicating that the 7 factors considered for food choices and the self-indicated level of responsible consumption were sufficiently correlated, with a moderate Pearson correlation ($0,3 < r < 0,5$) or a strong one ($r > 0,5$), $p < .05$. The table below shows the exact Pearson correlations for all factors.

		Consideration of chemicals in food	Consideration of Genetically Modified ingredients	Consideration of nutritional value	Consideration of environmental impacts	Consideration of health	Consideration of products produced by local farmers families	Consideration of certified organic products	Extent to which person considers him/herself to be a responsible consumer
Consideration of chemicals in food	Pearson Correlation	1	,608**	,594**	,441**	,591**	,480**	,606**	,439**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Consideration of Genetically Modified ingredients	Pearson Correlation	,608**	1	,494**	,381**	,444**	,412**	,520**	,387**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000		,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000
	N	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192
Consideration of nutritional value	Pearson Correlation	,594**	,494**	1	,483**	,771**	,442**	,461**	,420**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000		,000	,000	,000	,000	,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Consideration of environmental impacts	Pearson Correlation	,441**	,381**	,483**	1	,411**	,436**	,489**	,462**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000		,000	,000	,000	,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Consideration of health	Pearson Correlation	,591**	,444**	,771**	,411**	1	,435**	,480**	,426**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000		,000	,000	,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Consideration of products produced by local farmers families	Pearson Correlation	,480**	,412**	,442**	,436**	,435**	1	,686**	,341**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000		,000	,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Consideration of certified organic products	Pearson Correlation	,606**	,520**	,461**	,489**	,480**	,686**	1	,439**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000		,000
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199
Extent to which person considers him/herself to be a responsible consumer	Pearson Correlation	,439**	,387**	,420**	,462**	,426**	,341**	,439**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	,000	
	N	199	192	199	199	199	199	199	199

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

Table 16: Pearson's correlations

Availability

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior based on whether a person buys at the bioferia. This analysis was based on hypothesis number one. Buying at the feria significantly predicted responsible consumption scores $b = .323$, $t(192) = 40,6$, $p < 0.001$, with an R^2 of .104. These results show that 10% of the variance in responsible consumption behavior is predicted by buying at the feria.

Income

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on the weekly food budget of the household. This analysis was based on hypothesis number two. The amount of money spent on food did not significantly predict responsible consumption scores $b = .036$, $t(192) = 45,5$, $p = .641$, with an R^2 of .001. The insignificant result may be explained by the fact that the amount of money spent on food alone is not enough to predict responsible consumption. Instead a more elaborate independent variable would be needed, accounting for household size and the percentage of the total income spent on food as well.

Knowledge

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on the level of education. This analysis was based on hypothesis number three. The level of education significantly predicted responsible consumption scores $b = .239$, $t(192) = 13,4$, $p < .001$, with an R^2 of .057. These results show that 6% of variance of responsible consumption behavior is explained by the level of education.

Awareness of origin products and interaction with producers

This section explores whether people that have insight in the way food is produced, also show higher levels of responsible consumption. Two simple linear regression analyses were conducted to test the following hypotheses: 1) People that grow their own food have a more responsible consumption behavior, because their higher level of awareness of- and interest in the process of food production. 2) People who receive food from family members on the countryside, have more awareness of the process of food production and hence show more responsible consumption behavior.

Home growing of food

Following hypothesis number one, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on whether people grow their own food. Growing own food significantly predicted responsible consumption scores $b = -.237$, $t(192) = 18,1$, $p < .001$, with an R^2 of .056. These results indicate that 6% of variance in responsible consumption behavior is predicted by home growing of food.

Receiving food from relatives on the countryside

Following hypothesis number two, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on whether people receive food from family in the countryside. Receiving food from family in the countryside did not significantly predict responsible consumption scores $b = 1$, $t(192) = 45,2$, $p = .168$, with an R^2 of .010. This may be due to a lack of involvement in the production process of the respective food items, hence not resulting in more awareness.

Influences by social network

It is likely that people's food choices are influenced by their social network. To quantify this influence, two simple linear regression analyses were conducted, to see if responsible consumption can be predicted from age and gender. The analyses were based on the following hypotheses: 1) Older people have a more responsible consumption pattern than younger people, for example because of the increasing risk for food related health issues. 2) Since women are generally more involved in domestic activities of shopping and food preparation, they have a more responsible consumption pattern, due to more knowledge and concern about food consumption. Age and gender are relevant in the analysis of ones' social network, because they are seen as important determinants of the social groups people are likely to interact with.

Age and responsible consumption

Following hypothesis number one, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on age. Age significantly predicted responsible consumption scores $b = .161$, $t(192) = 14,4$, $p < .001$, with an R^2 of .026. The effect size is low, for only 3% of the variance in responsible consumption behavior is explained by age.

Gender and responsible consumption

Following hypothesis number two, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on gender. Gender did not significantly predicted responsible consumption $b = -.003$, $t(192) = 55,1$, $p = .971$, with an R^2 of $.000$. This may be due to the fact that usually families eat together. In most cases, men thus follow the same consumption pattern as their wife.

The traffic light label and responsible consumption

The Ecuadorian government has implemented different measures to stimulate more responsible consumption. Some examples are the stimulation of direct purchasing, promotion of the Andean diet and the application of a traffic light label on all processed products. This section focusses on the latter. The traffic light label indicates the amount of sugar, salt and fat in processed products. With a red label standing for high quantities of these substances, yellow for medium, and green for low. This section discusses to what extent people are influenced by this label (*semaforo nutricional*). We look at how many people are familiar with the label, whether they use it and why. Furthermore, a simple linear regression was conducted to test the hypothesis that people who indicate that they are highly influenced by the traffic light label have a more responsible consumption behavior.

Influence by the label

Of the total sample (N = 199), 98% of the respondents indicated to have seen the traffic light label on processed products. On the questions whether they use the label when making their food choices, 7,7% of the respondents answered that they never use the label, 16,4% rarely uses it, 18,5% uses it sometimes, 28,7% uses it very often and 28,7% uses it always. The main reasons why people do or do not use the label are summarized in figure 18 below.

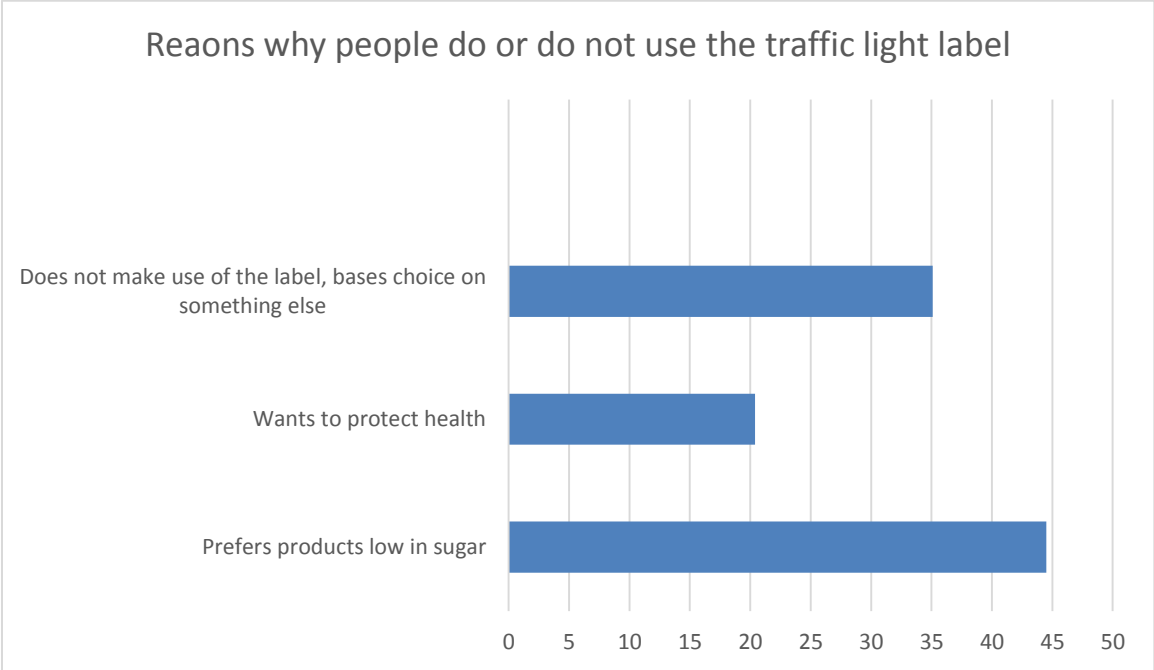


Figure 18: Reasons why people do or do not use the traffic light label

A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the extent of being influenced by the traffic light label, between the different neighborhoods where the survey was conducted, $X^2(3) = 11,923$, $p = 0.008$. Table 17 below, indicates how often the people in the different sampled areas use the label. The table illustrates that the label is considered mostl by the people surveyed at the feria, followed by people living in the Supermaxi area. The reason that people buying in Supermaxi use the label more, is possibly because they buy more processed products that have a label. The high use of the traffic light label by the population surveyed at the feria, may indicate that people who buy there are generally more conscious about their health and therefor pay more attention to the ingredients of the products they consume.

Use of traffic light label **bioferia** **Supermanzana C** **Supermaxi area** **Carcelen Bajo**

<i>Never</i>	0%	13%	3%	11,4%
<i>Rarely</i>	12%	16,9%	12,1%	25,7%
<i>Sometimes</i>	16%	24,7%	15,2%	11,4%
<i>Often</i>	30%	22,1%	45,5%	25,7%
<i>Always</i>	42%	23,4%	23,5%	25,7%

Table 17: Use of traffic light label

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to predict responsible consumption behavior, based on the extent to which people are influenced by the traffic light label. Influence by the traffic light label significantly predicted responsible consumption scores $b = .267$, $t(192) = 15,7$, $p < .001$, with an R^2 of $.071$. The effect size is small. Only 7% of the variance in responsible consumption behavior is explained by the influence of the traffic light label.

Are you responsible?

As a final question of the survey, it was asked how the respondent defines responsible consumption. Subsequently, each person was asked to indicate to what extent they consider themselves a responsible consumer, after a definition of responsible consumption was given¹. The answers to these questions are discussed in the section below, including also the reasons that were given as to why people consider themselves to be responsible consumers or not. Furthermore, two Kruskal-Wallis H tests were conducted. The first one to see whether there is a significant difference in the factors that are taken into consideration for making a food choice, between the different self-indicated levels of responsible consumption. The second one, to see if there is a significant difference in the extent to which people consider themselves to be a responsible consumer, between the samples of the four locations where the survey was conducted. Also, a chi-square test was conducted to see whether the location where the survey was conducted and the given reason to be a responsible consumer are independent of each other.

¹ Responsible consumption is defined as ‘a sustainable, equitable, regenerative and healthy form of consumption, circulation and production of food products’ (Sherwood et al., 2013).

Defining consumption patterns

Figure 20 below, indicates how the respondents of the survey defined responsible consumption, indicating the percentage of people fitting in each category. The most frequently mentioned definition was to eat in a healthy way, specifically to avoid and/or cure diseases (32,2%). The other aspects of responsible consumption, such as protecting the environment and eating products that are organic/without chemicals, were mentioned much less, with 10,1% and 5,5% respectively. Consumption of products without chemicals may be an important reason for more people, but they may have considered this as part of having a healthy diet, rather than mentioning it specifically.

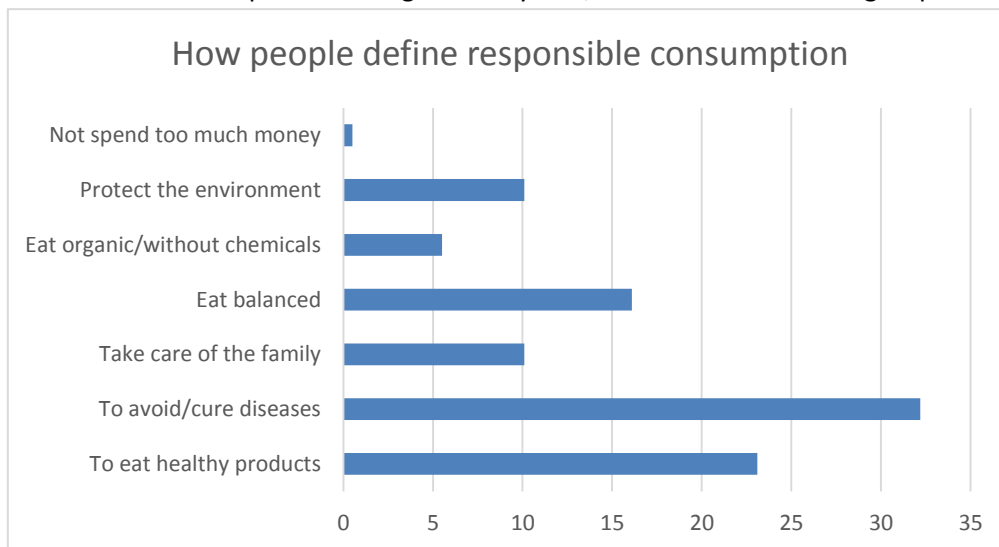


Figure 19: How people define responsible consumption

Defining responsible consumption

Table 18 below, indicates the extent to which people consider themselves to be responsible consumers, after having heard the definition of responsible consumption as used for this research [a sustainable, equitable, regenerative and healthy form of consumption, circulation and production of food products (Sherwood et al., 2013)]. From the people surveyed at the bioferia, 48% considers themselves to be extremely responsible, versus 38,2% in the Supermaxi area, 25% in Supermanzana C, and 17,1% in Carcelen Bajo. A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the extent to which people consider themselves to be a responsible consumer, between the different locations, $X^2(3) = 20,651$, $p = 0.000$.

Extent to which person considers him/herself to be a responsible consumer	Bioferia	Supermanzana C	Supermaxi area	Carcelen Bajo
Not at all	0%	2,5%	0%	8,6%
Slightly	2%	3,8%	0%	5,7%
Moderately	6%	21,3%	17,6%	31,4%
Very	44%	47,5%	44,1%	37,1%
Extremely	48%	25%	38,2%	17,1%

Table 18: Extent to which person considers him/herself to be a responsible consumer

If it comes to the reasons why people consider themselves responsible consumers, protecting ones' health turns out to be the main motivation. This relates to the fact that most people also used 'protection of health against diseases', as definition of responsible consumption. The figure below indicates peoples' main motivations to consume in a responsible way, specified by location, showing that the people in Carcelen Bajo are most concerned about their health and people in Supermanzana C and at the feria show most concern about the environment. A large amount of people also admits that they intend to consume responsibly, but they still see room for improvement. Overall, these numbers indicate that responsible food consumption is most associated with health and specifically the prevention of diseases.

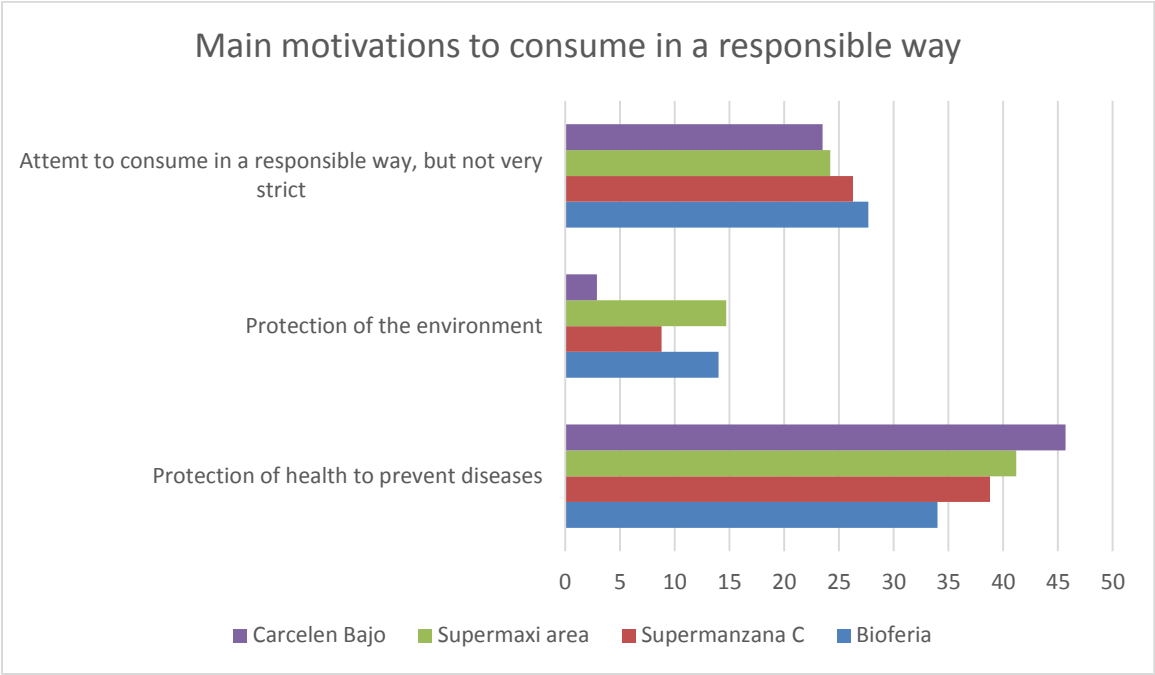


Figure 20: Main motivations to consume in a 'responsible way'

A Kruskal-Wallis H test showed that there was a statistically significant difference in the factors taken into consideration for making food choices, between the different self-indicated levels of responsible consumption, ($X^2(3) = 35,437, p = 0.000$). Thus, people that indicate themselves as very responsible, are motivated by different factors to construct their consumption behavior, then people who see themselves as less responsible.

A chi-square test of independence was conducted to analyze whether the location where the survey was conducted and the given reason to be a responsible consumer are independent of each other. No association was found between the location where the survey was conducted and what people give as reason to be a responsible consumer ($X^2(12) > 14,665. P = 0.260$). Thus, the reasons behind consumption patterns overlap between the different neighborhoods.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the quantitative analysis of the second and third sub-question of this research, analyzing how agency and the socio-cultural structure influence responsible consumption.

In this chapter, we have learned that:

- The location where people buy their food products is mainly based on proximity.
- The main motivation for people to buy at local neighborhood shops, is because this is convenient on a daily basis; to buy at the market because it is cheap; to buy at the supermarket because of the variety of good quality and hygienic products; and to buy at the bioferia because products are healthy and do not contain chemicals.
- In terms of main motivations for general food choices, people find it important that their food is healthy and has a good nutritional value. Environmental impacts and the wellbeing of producers are considered less.
- There is a significant difference between the different neighborhoods in the consideration of chemicals, genetically modified ingredients, environmental impact, health, production by local farmers and organic products, as determinants of food choices.
- Concerning the capacities enabling responsible consumption, no significant relation was found between money spend on food and responsible consumption. It was found however, that proximity to the bioferia and level of education positively influence responsible consumption. However, the effect sizes (R^2) of these statistical tests are low.
- In terms of knowledge of the origin/production process of food products, home growing of food has a significant influence on responsible food consumption, whereas receiving food from relatives on the countryside does not.
- An analysis of the influence of age and gender on consumption patterns, as indicators of the social network of the respondent, has indicated that age has a significant influence on responsible consumption, whereas gender does not.
- Consideration of the traffic light label on processed foods, is a significant predictor of responsible consumption.
- The main motivation to use the traffic light label, is to avoid overconsumption of sugar.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the extent to which people are influenced by the label, between the different neighborhoods.
- On the question whether people consider themselves to be responsible consumers, the people surveyed at the bioferia had the highest score, followed by the people from the Supermaxi area, Supermanzana C and lastly Carcelen Bajo. The main reason for people to consider themselves responsible consumers is because they intend to avoid-, or cure diseases

Chapter 7: Consumption at the family level

In this chapter, the second and third sub-question of this research are discussed, at the hand of the qualitative analysis of the three ethnographies that were conducted with families in different parts of Carcelen. These findings from the field notes are supplemented by some comments from the four expert interviews, with Michelle O’Fried (author of cook books), Activist Elias, VECO Andino project coordinator Nataly Pinto and Sayri, the president of Supermanzana C. The chapter is divided in three parts. First the three families are introduced, illustrating what a regular day in each respective family looks like, as well as what kind of food is consumed and who takes care of purchasing and preparation of the meals. Then, it is explored how agency influences the food consumption behavior in the three respective families (sub-question two), by analyzing the main motivations behind peoples’ food choices, what personal values and personality characteristics play a role, and how the capacities of income, availability and knowledge influence consumption behavior. This is followed by an analysis of the socio-cultural structure in which the three families develop their food consumption behavior (sub-questions three). This is discussed by analyzing peoples’ awareness of the origin of the products they consume and their interaction with producers; the cultural norms and traditions that influence their consumption behavior; influences by their social network and the influence by the traffic-light label.

Family profiles

This section is dedicated to introducing the three families where the ethnographies were conducted. The families are divided in three categories, following their consumption behavior and income level. Three consumer categories were made in advance, in order to represent different sectors of the population. Categories were created based on where people buy and whether they consume ecological/organic products, consider fair trade and recycle. These pre-set conditions however, also create the risk of over-simplifying and generalizing the differences between the consumption practices of the different families. Therefore, reading this chapter, it is important to keep in mind that the division between consumption patterns, is not black and white, but indicates the general tendency in the families. For example, all families show ‘responsible characteristics’, like paying attention to the health properties of their food, but the family of responsible consumption is most concerned with sustainability. The family of modern consumption mainly buys in the supermarket and hence has less knowledge of production methods and origin of the products they consume. The regular consumption family, buys and prepares products mainly based on convenience and local availability. What motivates these families to their specific consumption behavior will be discussed in more detail in this chapter. The photo’s presented respect the privacy preferences of the different family members. From the modern family, unfortunately the photo’s got lost.

Family responsible consumption

	<i>Location</i>	<i>Family members and age</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Education level</i>
<i>Family responsible consumption (Middle income)</i>	Supermanzana C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother (74) - Father (83) - First son (56) - Second son (54) - Daughter (46) - Granddaughter (15) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Doctor assistant - Mechanic - Call center, sales - Business administration - Tour operator - High school student 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary - Secondary - University - University - University - Secondary

Table 19: Characteristics family responsible consumption

In this family, all members were born and raised in Quito and lived in the same family house in Carcelen most of their life. If it comes to purchasing and preparing of food for the family, the mother is the head of the household. Next to her job on the school bus, where she receives the children and hands them over to their parents, every day she prepares the food for all family members. Before she leaves to work at 5:30 am, she makes a fresh juice and puts some breads and yoghurt on the table, so the other family members can take breakfast before going to work. Herself, she eats breakfast around 9:00 am, when she gets back from work. She spends her morning arranging the house, shopping for food and preparing lunch, which takes about 1,5 hours every day. The photos indicate how the mother searches for the products of her preference, in the local neighborhood shops or at food stalls on the street. The family eats traditional dishes, based around rice and pulses and a soup with every meal. The family follows a predominantly vegetarian diet, so meat is replaced by soy meat from the supermarket, or simply left out. The mother takes lunch together with her husband around midday, before going back to work from 1:00 pm to 4:00 pm. In the afternoon she receives her children with coffee or tea and food and spends the rest of the time arranging the house. At night, the family eats either bread or some leftovers from lunch. On weekends she goes to the church and sometimes she goes on trips with her hiking club.

The father of the family is retired and hence spends most of his time in the house, watching television and doing some cleaning or going for a walk. His meals he takes three times a day, together with his wife. About 30 years ago, he got an aggressive form of arthritis, bringing him a lot of pain and withholding him to walk. On doctors' advice he turned to a vegetarian diet, which successfully cured his arthritis. Ever since, all family members follow this diet, since the whole family eats together.

The first son does not live with the family, but stays in the house of some relatives in the same street. He takes breakfast there, but comes to the house of his mother to eat lunch, when he comes back from work, around 4:00 pm. He knows how to cook, but says not to do it much and not to like it either. Since about 25 years, he follows a yoga tradition which requires a strictly vegetarian diet. Every night he meditates for about two hours, and hence he does not eat dinner but takes his

evening bread around 5:00 pm. His younger brother does live with the family, but leaves to work around 7:00 am to work, and only comes back after 8:00 pm. Unfortunately I have not had the opportunity to meet him, due to his busy schedule.

The daughter of the family lives in a separate section of the house, together with her own daughter. They both leave the house around 7:30 am, to go to work and school, after taking a breakfast of oatmeal with yoghurt and juice. They both come home around 3:00 pm, when they eat together the lunch that was prepared for them. After that, they go back to work and study. At night they usually eat some bread or yoghurt. Together they are responsible for the shopping at the supermarket, where they get processed products like yoghurt, muesli, canned fish and soy meat. They know how to cook, but only when using a recipe. In terms of social activities, the girl is taking dance classes, multiple times a week. Her mother takes her there, but is not involved in any social activities herself.

On a typical day the family takes a breakfast of yoghurt or bread with coffee, hot chocolate or fruit juice. If a snack is eaten in the morning, this is usually in the shape of a fruit or bread. They lunch with a manestra, a dish of rice (the two sons of the family only eat brown rice, the rest eats white rice) and lentils, spiced up with spring onion, tomato, salt, some herbs like parsley and coriander and a home-made spice paste. The food is fried in sun flour margarine and accompanied by a soup of potatoes, onion, spinach, carrot and some spices and milk. The meal is accompanied with a homemade juice made from fresh fruit and added sugar. At night, they eat a bread with or without cheese and some coffee or tea with sugar. The photos below show some examples of typical meals eaten by the family.



Photo's: Typical dishes for lunch, left: Manestra; middle: potato soup; right: boiled potatoes, beans and soy meat.

Family modern consumption

	<i>Location</i>	<i>Family members and age</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Education level</i>
<i>Family modern consumption (High income)</i>	Supermaxi area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother - Father - Daughter - First son - Second son 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - House wife - Helicopter pilot - Unspecified (office) - University student - University student 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary - University - University - University - University

Table 20: Characteristics family modern consumption

This family, also originating from Quito, lives close to Supermaxi, a large and modern supermarket (see photos below), where they do all their shopping for food. In this household, the mother is responsible for providing the family members with food. However, whereas she takes care of the shopping, the domestic help is responsible for most of the cooking. Because the domestic help also takes care of the household, the mother does not have much to do, since she has no job either. She stays around the house most of the day, to make sure there is food available for her children when they come home. Because of her unstable health (diabetes and high blood pressure), she tries to minimize her consumption of fat and sugar. However, if the other family members want to consume something sweet, she does not withhold them.

The father of the family works in Peru, as helicopter pilot. He comes home only one week per month. When he is home, he takes great pleasure in eating traditional Ecuadorian dishes. For example, he likes to eat a soup with every meal. He also enjoys to take his wife to the market, for vegetable shopping. He knows how to cook and says he enjoys it but nevertheless he does not do it often.

The daughter of the family is working in an office. She takes breakfast at home with some yoghurt and juice. She prefers to take food from home to work, so she does not have to bother to buy lunch. In the time that I visited the family, she was not home much, because she will get married soon and is busy with the preparations for the wedding. Until recently, her diet was heavily influenced by her workout schedule in the gym, allowing her only a limited consumption of carbohydrates, no fat and a lot of proteins and fresh vegetables. Currently, she is no longer involved in any social or sports activities, but she does enjoy to invite friends in the weekend, to eat at the house or bring some food for a picnic. On those days, she likes to eat pizza or barbeque. She does not like to cook.

Both sons of the family are studying at the university. They take breakfast at home, and when possible lunch too, but if their schedules do not allow them, they eat something with their friends, in the small restaurants around the university. In addition to their normal meals, they like to eat sweet or salty snacks. Both young men are active at the gym and consider to eat a diet rich in proteins, but they are also happy to eat less healthy products that contain much fat or sugar, like cookies or processed juices. Both of them do not know how to cook.

On a typical day, the family eats a breakfast of bread with eggs, cheese, a cup of coffee and a juice. For lunch, they will take a main dish with rice, meat and salad, accompanied with a vegetable soup, fresh fruit juice and a desert of fresh fruits. The different family members have varying snacking preferences. The father likes to eat traditional bites like empanadas (fried dough, filled with cheese), the sons like sweeter snacks like cookies and the mother and daughter avoid to snack. At night, the family eats another warm meal of meat and salad, accompanied by a juice.



Photos: Interior and exterior of Supermaxi

Family regular consumption

	<i>Location</i>	<i>- Family members and age</i>	<i>- Profession</i>	<i>- Education level</i>
<i>Family regular consumption (Low income)</i>	Carcelen Bajo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother (46) - Son (22) - First daughter (25) - Second daughter (7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Domestic help - Unemployed - Domestic help - Primary school student 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary - University - University - Primary

Table 21: Characteristics family regular consumption

This family is originally from a small rural town in the north of the country, where they used to live and work at their family farm. They moved to Quito about 15 years ago, where they found a house in Carcelen Bajo. The mother runs her household and takes care of shopping, and much of the cooking when she is home. She works four days a week as domestic help, with a family in another part of the city. On those days, she has to leave the house at 7:00 am and hence does not have time to prepare or eat breakfast at home. Thus, she eats the first two meals of the day at the family where she works, together with the children from that family. At the end of the day she first prepares dinner for her employers, and when she gets home around 7:00 pm, she prepares another dinner for her own family. As the oldest of seven siblings, she has not finished her school, but instead stayed home with her parents to take care of her brothers and sisters. All the siblings moved to Quito, just like her, and the ones who live close, come to visit her every weekend. Due to her job, she has much routine in the preparation of food. She never got married to the father of her children. He lives on the other

side of the hill, as she points me out once, when we are standing at the rooftop. He sends her some financial support for clothing for their youngest daughter and for the rest they do not see each other much. The mother seems to be comfortable with this situation.



Photo: Mother doing grocery shopping in local neighborhood shop

The first daughter of the family, works as domestic help, just like her mother. Furthermore, she is finishing her studies at the university, to become a nurse. Her diet is very unbalanced. On work days, she does not eat anything, except for some sweet snacks like chocolate, until she gets home at night for dinner. About her diet she says that, whereas she does enjoy to cook, she does not always like to eat, because most of the day she does not feel hungry or does not have time. Next to her work, she is not taking part in any social activities.

“I define my eating behavior as very bad. I am fat for not eating. I only eat at night when I come back to the house. I do not eat breakfast because I don’t wake up hungry and I don’t have time to eat lunch, because of my work.” (eldest daughter regular family)

The son of the family is currently unemployed and spends most of the days in his room, watching television or videos on his phone. Sometimes he goes out to play football with the other youngsters of the neighborhood or to do some shopping for his mother, but generally he says to be comfortable at home. The most important meal for him is breakfast, when he prefers to eat eggs and rice. The rest of the day he eats little bits of the food that his mother prepares and brings him. On days that his mother is working, he prepares lunch for his younger sister, so he knows how to cook and does not dislike doing it.

“I have a bit of a sweet tooth. I also quite like fast food, because of the taste, fat and seasonings.” (son regular family)

The second, and youngest daughter of the family is still in primary school. She eats the warm meals of the day at home, prepared for her by her brother or mother. Furthermore, her mother makes her some food to take to school, like fried chicken legs. The girl likes a lot to eat meat and vegetables, but also soft drinks like Coca Cola. She does not help with the preparation of food, but often she does accompany her mother to the shop and asks for soft drinks or candy.

On a typical day, the family eats rice as main substance of all three meals. Meals are accompanied by coffee with sugar, instant juices, or soft drinks. On one Sunday when I stayed with the family, the mother prepared empanadas (made out of a dough of white flour, filled with cheese

and fried in palm oil, see photo) for breakfast. For lunch the family ate rice with potato and carrot, fried banana and chicken from the oven. The main dish was accompanied by an instant juice with pear flavor (see photo), and a soup made of green banana, green pepper, carrot, green herbs and milk, with Maggie stock to spice it up. In the afternoon, the family drank coffee with sugar and white buns and at nights they ate some leftovers from lunch.



Photo's: typical breakfast consumed by the family

Agency and food consumption

Agency, the condition of being in action, accounts for the personal motivations, values and capacities, being the driving forces behind every practice (Crivits & Paredis, 2013). This section looks into how agency influences food consumption behavior within the three families, complemented by additional comments from the interviewed experts. Together this information will contribute to answering the second sub-question of the research: *How does agency influence the food consumption behavior of the residents of the Carcelen district in Quito?*

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Main motivations behind food choices

This section discusses the main motivations behind food choices in the three families, analyzing how their food choices are influenced by money, convenience, health considerations and sustainability. The respective families are referred to by the labels '*responsible*', for the family living in Supermanzana C, '*modern*', for the family living close to Supermaxi, and '*regular*', for the family living in Carcelen Bajo.

Money

Money is an important determinant of the consumption pattern of the responsible and the regular family, whereas for the modern family money is not a limiting factor in their food choices. Due to the job of the father and the income from the scholarships of both sons, they can afford to buy all their groceries in the remarkably more expensive supermarket. For the families that have a lower income, their diet changes at the time of the month when there is less money. At these times, the families eat simple dishes, with beans and lentils and less fresh products. In both families, the mother, who is responsible for most of the shopping, frequently brings up the topic of money, while shopping and preparing the food. They also negotiate about the prices of products in the tiendas and market.

When there is more money, the buying behavior in the responsible and regular family changes. For the mother of the regular family, this is the time to do the monthly shopping at the

market. At this time, she buys more fresh fruits and vegetables, fresh coffee instead of instant and also more meat. She only goes to the market once a month. For the rest of the time she buys on a daily basis in the local neighborhood shops, where fresh products are often more expensive than processed foods. She also indicates that it is cheaper to buy instant juices or soft drinks, than to invest in a blender and make fresh fruit juices. For the same financial reason, rice is used as cheap main ingredient for most dishes, with some meat and vegetables on the side.



Photo: Fresh ground coffee, bought by regular family

Whereas the regular family is mainly driven by price, the mother of the responsible family, prefers to look for more sustainable and thus more expensive products, when she can afford it. A good example of this are the eggs that she buys directly from a farmers' lady who comes to Quito to sell her products on the street. She explains that she prefers these eggs, because they come from chickens that have a natural life, get natural food and therefore the eggs also have more flavor and a more orange color. The eggs are more expensive than in the tienda, but this investment is enabled by the fact that she is able to pay the eggs later, due to an established relationship of trust with the vendor.

Convenience

Convenience plays an important role in all three families. They all buy the majority of the products they consume in the food outlets closest to their house. The mother of the regular family mentions that, whereas the local neighborhood shops have everything, buying there limits her choice, because certain fresh products are too expensive there and if she would like to buy organic things or products with less chemicals, they are simply not available.

Both the responsible and regular family buy food on a daily basis. When the mothers start food preparation, they look in the fridge and decide what to cook. Any missing ingredients are picked up from local neighborhood shops or from local producers selling on the street or the bioferia, in the case of the responsible family. Shopping in the neighborhood also adds a social dimension to the activity. When going out to buy food, the women often meet neighbors and makes a short conversation with them or with the shop keeper. In case of the modern family, convenience also plays a central role, but is expressed in a different way, by buying in the supermarket, where all products are available at the same place. The mother also prioritizes the good presentation of available products and their hygiene. The only one in the family who also likes to buy products on the

market is the father, when he comes home from his job in Peru. Generally speaking, convenience thus plays a central role in the consumption pattern of all three families.

*“The most important thing is hygiene. I buy products mostly for the way they look.”
(father modern family)*

“I like to buy in Supermaxi, because there, products are more hygienic and have a nice presentation on the shelves. This gives me a confident feeling, mainly for meat products.” (mother modern family)

The local orientation of the shopping behavior in all three families, shows that their consumption patterns are highly reliant on the types of products available in the local food outlets. The physical structure of the neighborhood thus forms a strong determinant of the families’ diet. Sayri supports this, as well as the previously mentioned concern about price, by mentioning that people mainly come to buy at the feria because it is close to their house and because products are slightly cheaper and more fresh than in other local shops or the supermarket.

“Yes, people feel safe because the feria is in their own territory. There is a big Supermaxi close by, but people have to cross a big road to get there, that holds them back. So, the majority of the people going to the feria comes from this same neighborhood.” (Sayri)



Photo: mother of responsible family buying at neighborhood shop

Health

Health is taken into consideration in the consumption patterns of all three families. For the responsible and modern family, this is mainly to prevent and cure diseases. For the mother of the regular family, the main motivation is to lose weight. The adult children in the modern household are also motivated in their eating behavior by the ideal to stay slim and fit. Within the households not all the family members attach equal importance to their health.

The mothers of all three families intend to provide a varied daily menu to all family members. In the responsible household, almost all products consumed are natural and preferably ecological, and thus without chemicals. Seasonings are made by hand, by mixing fresh herbs and the consumption of processed foods remains limited.

“There is no fast food here, everything takes time to prepare.” (father responsible family)

This is different in the regular family. Whereas the mother intends to prepare healthy food, she is also using artificial taste enhancers with all the vegetables and salads she prepares, as well as when she is making soup. She explicitly mentions that this is not healthy for the body, but that she is used to it and does not like the taste of the food without. So, she is aware of the potential health damage of these products, but ignoring this for motive of taste. Furthermore, with every meal the family consumes either café with two tablespoons of white sugar, soda, or instant juice. The latter contains artificial sweeteners and no sugar. The mother realizes that this is not the healthiest option, but because she does not have a blender to make fresh juices, she sees the instant juice as a good alternative. According to her, sweeteners are a good alternative for sugar, but at the same time she is aware that the body can get used to the sweet flavor and want more of this.

“Yes I use Maggie seasonings, for the taste, it is not very healthy, but it is a habit.”
(mother regular family)

As the son of the family explains, traditionally, Afro-Ecuadorian people tend to eat a lot of rice, beans and meat as well as fried products. Fresh vegetables are not part of their traditional diet. The mother however, decided to include more fresh, unprocessed products and use less oil, for reasons of health. The diet she is following to lose weight, is supported by taking herbal medical food supplements, to help her metabolism to lose fat. Nevertheless, all the food, including soup and rice, are prepared with oil (palm oil). This may be a habitual way to prepare traditional recipes. The mother mentioned that she ‘uses no oil or fat in preparing the food’, but I observed her adding at least some oil to every dish she prepares. This shows a gap between her discourse and practice.

The responsible family is also not too strict in their objective to have a healthy eating behavior. Products like white sugar and white bread, are also frequently consumed in the household. The image below, for example illustrates a typical breakfast eaten in this family. This is very similar to what the regular family consumes. Thus, whereas all family members in this household, have knowledge about the health impacts of their consumption behavior and prefer to eat in a balanced way, they also consume less healthy products, for reasons like convenience or taste.



Photo: breakfast at the responsible family; hot chocolate with white bread

In the modern family, the mother in particular is struggling with her health, she has to take care of her cholesterol and blood sugar levels. She has frequent medical check-ups and tries to eat light meals, in order not to burden her metabolism. To protect her health, she also drinks herbal teas and refrains from eating sugar. However, at the same time, processed and light products are also frequently used in the family, as well as artificial flavorings, as an easy way to bring taste to the food.

"The seasonings of Maggie I use all my life, since my grandmother." (father regular family)

The concern about health of the different members of each family varies. In general, the younger generations tend to show less concern. Whereas all of them show a certain awareness of what would be the healthiest option to choose, they are more motivated by taste, also because they are not yet experiencing negative health effects as a result of their diet. The son from the regular family for example, mentions that he does not mind to eat fast food, since he feels fit anyway. His younger, seven-year-old sister also likes to drink a lot of soft drinks and eat a lot of meat. Her mother does not say much to hold her back. She only stops her from eating too much vegetables, to save some for the other family members. Also one of the sons in the modern family says to prefer to drink processed orange juice from a carton, over the fresh variety, just because he prefers the taste of that one.

"Yes I eat candy, to sweeten up my life a bit, I eat little, but yes I like it. Like chocolate, almost every." (eldest daughter regular family)

So, whereas the family members in all three families do show concern about their health, to some extent, they also base their diet on convenience and taste. My interviews with Michelle O'Fried and Sayri, point in the same direction as the homestays indicate, being that next to convenience and price, health is the main motivator in the way people construct their diet. Michelle mentions that many people are not very conscious about their diet, but this is slowly changing, because more and more people are dealing with food-related health issues.

Sustainability

The consideration of sustainability in eating and shopping behavior, is quite different between the three families. Whereas all the members of the responsible family pay attention to the environmental impacts of their diet, first of all through their choice to be vegetarians, but also in searching for organic or ecological products when possible, the other two families make no explicit mention of sustainability or related concepts.

For the modern family, whereas the father is critical towards the use of chemicals in the food industry, the mother does not take this into account for her shopping behavior.

"Nowadays also products have more chemicals and conservatives to give them their form, give shape to the food or make it get riper sooner. This is not a good thing." (father of modern family)

The mother indicates not to consider whether products contain chemicals, whether they were produced by local producers or what may have been the environmental impacts of the production, processing and transportation of the products. The same accounts for the members of the regular

family, none of the family members expressed any concern for the use of chemicals on the products they consume. Neither did they show concern about other environmental impacts of their diet, through transportation for instance.

In the responsible family, on the contrary, the mother takes various efforts to make her consumption pattern more sustainable. This she approaches for example through her preference to buy directly from producers, to support them, but also because this increases her confidence in the quality of the products. Neighborhood president Sayri, acknowledges that people buying at the bioferia, consider to support the producers selling at the market. He adds to this, that many people that live in Carcelen, originally came from the countryside themselves but are losing their cultural identity related to the production of food. This is why they like to support the farmers to preserve this traditional way of living. The responsible family does not have a direct rural background, but they do intend to preserve the local culture.

Another indicator of sustainability that I considered during my observations, was recycling behavior. The mother of the responsible family does show concern about limiting waste. Paper and plastic are recycled and food waste is collected separately, to feed the pigs of local farmers. The mother also brings her own plastic bags to the shop, to carry the groceries home. The eldest daughter mentions that when one consumes in a conscious way, being aware of the production process and the origin of products, one automatically becomes more careful not to waste food. In the other two families, no conscious efforts are made to recycle. Nevertheless, in the regular household hardly any food is wasted. Plates are always finished, and if not, leftovers are kept. Because there are often visiting family members, the food prepared for lunch is always eaten by someone. The modern family is producing much more waste, due to the package material of the products purchased in the supermarket. Over all, for those two families, food consumption showed to be mostly functionality driven, rather than consciously motivated by sustainability.

Personality characteristics supporting responsible consumption

This section discusses the main personality characteristics, determining the consumption patterns in the different families of the study. In all three families, the mother is responsible for food provision to the other family members. All women demonstrate a certain pride in taking good care of their family and also of me as guest, making sure that I do not have to feel hungry when I am visiting their family and often serving me a bigger portion than themselves or the other family members. Because the mothers are used to take care of the food preparation for all family members, the other adults in the household barely know how to cook and most of them also admit not to enjoy cooking. In this way, the knowledge of preparation of traditional dishes with fresh, natural ingredients, runs the risk to get lost.

The three families have different approaches to constructing a healthy diet. In the responsible family, health-related values are strongly based on ideas retrieved from consultations with natural doctors, promoting an alternative approach to healthcare. Whereas health concerns also are a strong motivator for the mother of the modern family, she bases herself on conventional medical advice. The mother of the regular family is following the middle way, by following a conventional diet of reduced carbs and fat and supporting this by taking herbal supplements.

That food consumption can also be a way to communicate social status, is illustrated best by the example that in the modern family. The mother of this family admits that she perceives buying at

the supermarket as status symbol, which is at the same time enhancing her perception of personal wellbeing. She explains for example, that she likes to put on nice clothes and make up when she is going to the supermarket, as if grocery shopping were a jaunt.

The diet of the children in the regular family, as well as the sons of the modern family, is maybe best described as approached with indifference. The son of the regular family for example, takes a rather careless attitude towards his diet and lifestyle. He says not to be too concerned about his diet, because he is in good health anyway, regardless of what he eats. The two sons of the responsible family in turn, find themselves on the complete opposite. For the whole family, they are the strictest in their choice to be vegetarians. They for example also refuse to use leather products, because they do not want to support the meat industry in any way. The yoga and meditation practices of the eldest son also influence his values regarding dietary preferences and his eating rhythm, stopping him from eating dinner at night, for instance. Thus, whereas the mother is at the core of food consumption behavior in all three families, personal motivations create differences in the way people personally approach their diet.

Capacities enabling responsible consumption

After understanding what are the main motivations and personality characteristics that drive people in the construction of their food consumption patterns, this section aims to discuss the capacities that enable responsible food consumption. The capacities that are taken into consideration are income, availability and knowledge.

Income

As discussed before, the family income of the responsible and regular family is not sufficient to always buy fresh products like vegetables, fruits and meat, in the case of the regular family. The money shortage also limits the capacity of both families to buy more organic products. However, the regular family does not express much interest in doing that any way. For the modern family, the income of the father is sufficient to buy whatever products are preferred. However, rather than investing in local and organic products, the family decides to buy all their groceries in the supermarket.

Availability

As we know, all three families base their food choices on convenience, buying mainly in the food outlets closest to their houses. The types of food available in these respective food outlets thus plays a key role in the construction of the diets of the family members.

In the supermarket, where the modern family does most of their shopping, a wide range of different products is available. Organic options however, are limited, and it is difficult to trace where the products come from exactly. The mother comments on the fruits from the supermarket that, whereas they look nice on the outside, they do not have a lot of taste and they expire soon. When bringing the family some ecological fruits and vegetables from the feria, the mother is positively surprised about the sweet flavor of the tomatoes she tries. Nevertheless, she does not show real interest in going to the feria herself, since she does not ask for the directions. This is different for the

responsible family, because they live close to the bioeria, they have easy access to a wide range of fresh ecological products. Buying other products from street vendors, does not guarantee that these products are ecological, but at least they are fresh from the land of local producers. For the regular family, their distance to the main commercial center of Carcelen, where the feria and also the supermarket are located (a 10 minute bus ride away), ties them to consuming in the local neighborhood shops.

Expert Michelle O'fried also adds some critical observations on the capacities that currently influence peoples' diets. She observes a trend where the quality of food people consume, is going down, because more and more people are working and spend a lot of time in transportation. Hence, the family based warm lunch is more and more becoming replaced by the food served in restaurants. For this food, it is difficult to trace the origin and quality, which is causing potential health risks. She explains that 40 years ago there were no traditional restaurants at all, only some food stalls on the streets. The availability of food is thus quickly adjusting to the modern, urban working lifestyle.

The observations at the three families nuance Michelle's point. In regard of consumption in restaurants for example, whereas these types of food outlets are widely available in the areas where the respective families live, none of the family members has the habit of eating out frequently. All family members say to prefer to eat at home or bring some home-prepared food to work. The preference to eat at home is mainly related to the fact that the food tastes better there, and in the case of the responsible and regular family, financial considerations also play a role. The children that are still in school or at the university, are an exception. They do frequently buy some meals or snacks in the area around their educational institute. They admit that things they consume there are often less healthy, due to high quantities of fat or sugar.

Knowledge

The knowledge about where the food they eat comes from, how it is produced and what are the environmental impacts of the production process, varies widely between the different families. This is due to their different backgrounds and education levels, but also different interests.

That the family background does not necessarily determine the consumption pattern, is illustrated by the fact that the responsible family shows much more concern about the whole value chain of the products they consume, as compared to the regular family. Nevertheless, the responsible family lived in the city their whole life, whereas the regular family lived on the countryside as farmers, until 15 years ago. The knowledge of the responsible family is thus learned through their own motivation. Their interest in sustainable consumption and production methods for example, is illustrated by the topics that frequently come up during discussions between the family members, like the importance of eating products without chemicals, the flaws of the meat industry and the worrisome changes in the seeds law in Ecuador, which now for the first time allows genetically modified organisms into the country. The fact that these topics are discussed without me asking about it, shows that the family has a real concern about this.



Photo: local farmer, selling on the street in Carcelen

In terms of educational background, the mother of the modern family, is the only family head with a university degree. In this family, higher education goes hand in hand with being part of a higher income segment, which enables them to consume the products from the supermarket, detaching them from their primary food sources. The mother of the regular family on the contrary, has barely followed any formal education. Instead she was kept at home to help with the family and working the land. She thus has a lot of life experience with production methods, including the use of chemicals and associated health effect. Nevertheless, she does not actively apply this knowledge in her consumption choices. The mother of the responsible family in turn, followed only basic education, but has learned a lot during the 15 years that she was working as assistant of a doctor specialized in natural medicine. Throughout the days that I stayed with this family, she never got tired of sharing her knowledge with me. For example, by explaining things about the products she was preparing. Life experience in combination with personal interest thus seems to have more influence than formal education.

“Meat, and products that contain chemicals cost the body more energy to digest and Maggie flavorings can cause cancer.” (mother of responsible family)

“Organic products are smaller than regular ones, because they don’t have chemicals. Chemicals are used to speed up production, this creates very big products, like potatoes that don’t even fit into my hand, like rocks.” (mother of responsible family)

Michelle O’fried acknowledges that approaches to healthy and/or sustainable food, are changing from being based on knowledge from own experience on the countryside, for elder generations, to information based on advertising and other media messages. She names the example of an anthropology student, previously working with her, who conducted a study where she asked people what they consider healthy food. People over 40 almost all had a connection to the land and mentioned products without chemicals and pesticides. All the younger people mentioned products that do not contain too much fat, etc. So, as Michelle points out, there is an intellectual divergence in

which people now base their opinion on research, but also on books rather than own experience. Hence, people are losing the connection with the land and the producers. This trend can be recognized in the behavior of the modern family. However, that this tendency is highly context specific, is illustrated for example by the fact that the mother of the responsible family, and all the family members with her, have the highest concern and most up to date knowledge about production processes, regardless of their urban background.

In regard of what would be good ways to enhance peoples' capacities to consume in a responsible way, according to Nathaly Pinto, there is a lack of access to information to create awareness, limiting peoples possibility to make an educated decision. She observes that whereas the availability of organic products has increased over the past decades, the demand has remained stable. She argues that by telling people the story behind products, they can be 'hooked into buying more organic'. This is exactly what is happening at the bioferia. As I recorded in my field notes, people do engage with the producers selling at the market, discussing the origin and health properties of the products. Also, according to Elias and Sairy, a further increase in the availability of organic or ecological products will enhance responsible consumption. Sayri argues that currently supermarkets and available restaurants oblige people to eat products with chemicals. He is proud of the feria in Supermanzana C, which offers an alternative, giving better access to temporal and chemical free products. As is illustrated by observing the responsible family, the feria has indeed enriched their knowledge and involvement with local producers.

Socio – cultural structure and food consumption

As we have seen, there are certain personal factors that motivate consumption behavior. However, each agent constructs his or her behavior through interactions with the surrounding societal context. Since, as Practice Theory recognizes, each practice is unique and constructed through the institutional arrangements of space, time and social context, for example (Verain et al., 2012). Practices thus are steered by a combination of human wants and societal structure (Sheller, 2004). This section aims to explore how the socio-cultural context influences the food practices of agents in Carcelen, looking at interactions between consumers and producers, as well as the influence of culture, social network and government policies. Taken together, this contributes to answering sub-question three: *What is the socio-cultural structure in which residents of the Carcelen district of Quito develop their food consumption behavior?*

Awareness of origin food products and interaction with producers

The extent to which the different families are aware of the origin of the products they consume and whether they interact with the producers, corresponds with the location where they buy their food. Awareness and interaction are highest in the responsible family, since the presence of the feria in the direct neighborhood makes it a lot easier for them to find and use responsible products. About the social dynamics at the feria, Sayri adds that the feria is a place to celebrate the rural identity, shared by the producers and consumers who moved to the city from the countryside themselves. According to him, the feria is a place for people to construct their identity through their consumption behavior, connecting their rural background with their current urban life style.

“Characteristics of people buying at the feria are that they believe in agriculture and family.” (Sayri)

In turn, whereas the regular family does have knowledge about the origin of products they consume, they do not seem to consider this in their food choices. The mother for example has knowledge of how, in the past decades, the use of agricultural chemicals has been increasing widely, also on their own family farm. Also, she knows that the vegetables she buys on the market come from the same area in the north of the country, where her family has their lands. Thus, awareness of how products are grown is there, but interaction with producers remains limited to a volatile contact with the market vendors and yearly visits to the own family.

“Yes, I heard about organic products, because I lived almost all my life on the country side. But here I don’t have access to this kind of products. Here I don’t really think about that.” (mother of regular family)

“Of the meat products, I don’t know where they come from. Fruits and vegetables come from producers in the region, but I have no idea how they grow they grow their products and what kind of chemicals they use.” (first daughter regular family)

The modern family is most detached from the origin of the food they consume. The majority of the products they buy in the supermarket cannot be traced back to their source. Even the fresh products do not contain traces of their natural origin, since the presentation in the supermarket is all about hygiene and perfection. Whereas the modern family does receive products from family members who live on the countryside, like strawberries, avocados and lemons, this does not seem to increase their interest in buying local products. For them, food is an industrial product, originating from the supermarket.

“Processed products come from very big companies like Pronac. Those are professional companies. For fruits and vegetables, we don’t know where they come from. But for processed products you can see it on the label.” (father modern family)

When I ask one day, where the papaya on the table of the modern family came from, the mother answers: *“From Supermaxi. They preserve the fruits and vegetables well and put something to them so they last longer”*. From the fruits and vegetables that were brought to the family from the feria, there are some products that the mother does not recognize. On my question whether they are aware where organic products can be purchased, the eldest son answers that there is a garden at the university, where products without chemicals are produced. However, he does not buy there, since he is not the one responsible for grocery shopping.

“In the supermarket I have never seen organic products. I also didn’t look for it. One time, in a vegan restaurant they had those products that come from an urban garden, for me that was the first time to try this kind of product.” (daughter modern family)

That certified organic products are not the most desirable option either, in terms of promoting knowledge about their origin, is argued by the daughter of the responsible family. She argues that this type of products is nice because they are produced in a natural way, but since they are only sold in specialty shops and supermarkets, a disconnection is created between producers and consumers. Her older brother adds to that, that in the city it is difficult in general, to guarantee that products are

completely natural. Even for the products sold in the feria, it is hard to trace under what exact conditions they were produced (products in the feria are natural, but not certified, since certification schemes are expensive).

In regard of how awareness of the origin of products and interaction with producers can be improved, Elias mentions urban gardening as a valuable method. He argues that this can help to increase peoples' insight in the effort it takes to produce food, and hence also make them more critical towards the products they buy. Direct purchasing from producers, like is happening in the feria in Supermanzana C, is also a way to increase awareness and at the same time support the farmers, because profit does not get stuck with intermediaries. About supermarket products he mentions that a clearer labelling scheme should be used to indicate the origin of products.

Cultural customs and traditions around food consumption

That consumption in Ecuador follows a strong cultural pattern, is illustrated by the fact that in all three families, the same basic ingredients are used for cooking. Warm meals usually consist of rice with meat (or soy meat, in the case of the responsible family) and some salad or vegetables. The main dish is accompanied by a soup and juice. However, the families are also aware that the traditional diet is changing. As Michelle O'fried observed, there is a trend in which the mass of society is increasingly becoming globalized in taste. Simply because it is cheaper to eat a hamburger on the street than to buy or prepare something more traditional. In this way, she warns, people are losing touch with their origin. Furthermore, she mentions that the increasing popularity of rice is degrading the diversity in the Ecuadorian cuisine. Furthermore, she argues that, whereas before people used to eat a lot of 'real foods', like potato, banana and corn, now processed foods like white bread are increasing importance. Whereas a couple of decades ago bread was not at all common to consume, right now there is a bakery on every street. The mother from the responsible family supports this argument. She explains that, whereas in her own family various typical dishes are consumed with local products from the highlands, like potato, corn and different types of beans, a fast, intergenerational change is occurring. As Michelle also mentions, she realizes that traditional dishes are becoming less popular, because people cook less at home and buy more in the supermarket. Nowadays, she explains, food choices are often motivated by time, and convenience since most people are working. In this way, many traditional dishes and foods are turning into memories.

"I like things like quinoa and chocho [lupine, typically grown and consumed in Ecuador], this fits well with my lifestyle. I don't eat meat, so I need other types of proteins." (eldest son responsible family)

"In my childhood I was used to eating very traditional food, I had my grandmother on my right hand. She would for example give me crude cow milk." (eldest son responsible family)

The diet of the regular family is most strongly influenced by traditional culture. As Afro-Ecuadorians they are used to consuming relatively more rice, meat and oily food. Due to the diet of the mother, nowadays the family consumes more vegetables and less oil. The dishes remain close to the cultural traditional food, but the proportions of meat versus carbs and vegetables has changed. When I stay

with the family on a Sunday, I observe them taking coffee with some bread around five o'clock. In this part of Ecuador this is a typical dinner, whereas usually taken a bit later on the day. In this family, however, after the bread, dinner is eaten too, a few hours later, with the leftovers from lunch. Afore mentioned examples show that overall, the diet of this family is relatively strongly influenced by a combination of typical local food habits and cultural traditions of the Afro-Ecuadorian population segment which they are part of.

"The way of eating in our childhood was for example with more carbs, less vegetables and always with chicken as meat. One of the typical dishes we grew up with, is rice with beans and sancocho [a soup of chicken, green banana, yuca and corn]." (aunt regular family)

"We, black people, have a different way of eating. For example, the breakfast is not a normal breakfast with coffee, bread and fruits for example. We don't eat breakfast like that, but with rice and soup, something warm." (first daughter regular family)

From all three households, the diet of the modern family shows most influence from other food cultures. The family members, for example, have a preference for products like pizza, hummus, etc. For the father, however, it is important to eat more traditional dishes when he comes home. At home, he always asks for soup with his lunch, preferably prepared his wife. He also asks her to prepare typical local dishes for him, that are usually only for festive days, like colada morada, a drink made out of corn flour and red fruits. Elias adds, that there are still a lot of traditional dishes that are common to consume on festive days, like fanesca, a soup made out of twelve different types of beans and grains, with potato, cheese, salted fish and tomatoes. Originally this was a dish to celebrate the diversity of the harvest and eaten in the holy week before eastern. However, as Elias explains, even this traditional dish is changing, due to the influence of the global market. For example, new ingredients have been added to the fanesca, that are not originally grown in Ecuador.

Influence on food practices by social network

It is difficult to get a complete overview of peoples' social networks in just three days, also because the majority of social activities take place outside the house, when I am not present. Nevertheless, I have attempted to capture the most information possible, by observing what I could and asking about the rest. However, since I was not present in all social activities, some links between the social network of the respective family members, and how this influences their consumption behavior are made following my best possible interpretation.

In all three households, the nuclear family is at the core of the consumption pattern of all family members, because in all three cases the mother prepares the food for the whole family and hence all family members eat more or less the same. Nevertheless, the individual family members do find influences on their diet through their personal social network. The most explicit examples are described below.

In general, a trend can be recognized in which the younger generations are more influenced by their social networks, since they eat outside the house more frequently, when going to school or the university. Michelle O'Fried, underlines the trend of increasing individualism in dietary choices. She mentions that, due to peoples work schedules, and ladies' interests in diets, to look better, the influences from social networks are becoming stronger and replacing the family based orientation of

food consumption.

The concern about physical appearance is well illustrated by the fact that the daughter and both sons from the modern family, used to go to the gym on a frequent basis. About this time the daughter mentions that it influenced her diet a lot, she was eating more proteins, no fat and more fruits, vegetables and oatmeal. She had to eat five small portions par day. Whereas this limited her flexibility, she explains that it was easier to keep this diet, because her brothers were doing the same. Also, she felt the social pressure from her friends, to show them that she was losing weight, as result from her sporty lifestyle. The granddaughter from the responsible family also shows concern about hear appearance. She indicates that she does buy snacks around her high school, but she is conscious about her diet and careful to protect her health and body weight. Hence she always looks for the healthiest options, in which she depends on what products are available around her school. Thus, she does not display to be too much influenced by other friends.

The influence of working schedules on consumption patterns, is further exemplified by the eldest son of the regular family. Currently he is not employed, so he consumes most of his meals at home, but when he has a job he orders lunch there. At these times, he consumes more fast food like fries and fried meat, which he says to like. He does not show much concern about his health, but he does admit that the food his mother cooks tastes best.

Influences from social networks, can also change the diet in the entire household, as is the case in the regular family. Here, food consumption patterns are strongly influenced by the job of the mother and the daughter. Because both of them are working as domestic help, they are used to prepare food for the families they are working for, in the ways preferred by their employers. These ways of preparing food, they also apply in their own household. Their ways of food preparation and consumption are thus influenced by the dietary preferences of the families they work for. The mother for example explains that she started using artificial taste enhancers in her own home, because she always used this at work. Hence she got used to the taste and now she no longer likes the flavor of food without these artificial additives.

In the case of this same regular family, I observed how dietary changes of one single person, can have a ripple effect, reaching out to the extended family. When the siblings of the mother are coming to visit in the weekend, together with their own families, eating is a social moment, when all present family members gather around the table. In this way, recipes are discussed and exchanged. Sometimes family members also bring food to the house. Usually this are products that are already commonly consumed by the family, like chicken with fries. But sometimes also more experimental dishes are introduced, like spaghetti with ham and cream sauce, prepared by one of the aunts. The family members also exchange candy for their children, as a way to bring them little surprises. In this way, the younger family members always have access to sweet snacks to fill their bellies with. Thus, whereas influences from social networks do have an influence on individual diets, at the same time this is often reflected in dietary changes of the entire family, since this remains the central locus of food consumption and the place where new recipes are shared.

Influence on food practices by the traffic light label

In both the responsible and regular family, the traffic light label is not being used by the mothers. They explain to buy products out of habit, without paying attention to the label. Furthermore, they buy mainly fresh products, that do not have a label at all. Moreover, the first time I asked the mother

in the responsible family if she uses the traffic light label, she did not even know what I meant. The mother of the modern family is more conscious about the traffic light label, also because in the supermarket more products are labelled. She explains that she has made it her habit to always check this label, before purchasing a product. She avoids products with a red label, because she associates these products with disease. While she associates a green label with health.

“Yes, I consider the traffic light, and other people in Supermaxi do too. I avoid to buy products with a red label. The red traffic light makes me alert: danger! The green traffic light relaxes me. This I associate with health. The traffic light label is a good way to raise awareness.” (mother regular family)

The granddaughter from the responsible family indicates that she does use it the traffic light to find the healthiest option, for example when she is buying cereals in the supermarket. Thus, in the case of this family, an intergenerational difference can be observed in the way the family members are being influenced by this label.

There also are some differences in terms of how the members of how the label is evaluated. The mothers of the responsible and modern family, see the traffic light as a useful tool to raise awareness that can be used as health indicator. Michelle O’fried agrees that there has been a positive impact of the semaforo label, making people aware that it is better to drink natural juices than soft drinks, for example. However, the daughter of the regular family has a more critical opinion towards the traffic light label, she finds it unspecific and misleading. She would prefer to have a more exact indication of what a product contains, not that it contains much sugar, but how much.

“I don’t use the traffic light label much. I would like it better to have more numbers to indicate. A red label does not tell me much. It is not very specific because you have no reference. It would be better to have something numerical but easy. For example, ‘this glass of Coca Cola contains 12 spoons of sugar.’” (daughter modern family)

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Michelle O’fried, Nataly Pinto and Sayri agree that the efforts of the government, to make people consume in a more conscious way, should not stop with the label. Michelle suggests that the government should design a food guide, in which products are not discussed merely in terms of nutrients, but as whole foods. Nataly Pinto is also in favor of taking the traffic light label a step further, by creating more transparency about the origin of products.

Sayri goes beyond the discussion on the label, by looking at the approach of the current government in general. He says about this that the government has an interesting perspective, *‘trying to create solidarity between the government and citizens, a joined approach in which ancestral traditions are central’*. He is optimistic about the supportive climate the government is creating, to preserve national food traditions and support the small farmers. At the same time, he recognizes that this new form of governance is still new, since five years, so there are no indicators yet to see how successful the new approach will be.

Synthesis

This final section summarizes the observations from the three ethnographies, giving a systematic overview of the main characteristics of the three families. A responsible consumption score is assigned to all families (RCI: Responsible Consumption Index). Those are subjective scores (--, -, +/-, +,

++), aiming to compare the extent of responsible consumption between the different families. Furthermore, the approach taken for the ethnographies is evaluated, concluding that trying to divide people in separate categories of consumption behavior, may lead to oversimplifications in terms of understanding their practice. This runs counter to the aim of the ethnographies to understand the practices of all the family members in all possible detail and uniqueness.

Agency

<i>Relevant indicators</i>	<i>Family responsible</i>	<i>Family regular</i>	<i>Family modern</i>
Main motivators for food choices (money, convenience, health, sustainability)	The mother can be seen as a strategic shopper, looking for products of the best possible quality, for the lowest possible price. She mainly buys in the close surrounding of the house, where she looks for the most natural products possible. She considers sustainability by avoiding chemicals, buying local products and recycling.	Money is the main determinant of the diet in this family, more important than taste or concern about health, because the family does not always have enough. Products are bought close to the house. Health is considered, to have enough energy to work, but convenience is more important. No mention of sustainability was made.	Money does not play an important role in this families eating behavior. Food is bought close to the house, in the supermarket, where all products are available in one place. Health is considered in the diet to cure diseases and stay slim, but consumption is also motivated by taste. No mention of sustainability was made.
	RCI: ++	RCI: -	RCI: -
Personality characteristics supporting responsible consumption	All family members attach importance to eating in a healthy and sustainable way. Most family members are vegetarians and always look for the most natural products.	The mother shows some concern about her health and has chosen natural herbal supplements to support her diet to lose weight. The other family members taken an indifferent attitude towards their consumption pattern.	What influences the consumption pattern of this family most, is the orientation towards health and hygiene. Shopping at the supermarket is by the mother perceived as a status symbol.
	RCI: ++	RCI: +	RCI: -

Capacities that enable responsible consumption (income, availability, knowledge)	Income is a determining factor for the diet of this family, but due to the feria where local natural products are available at low price, responsible/healthy consumption is enabled. Knowledge is learned from life experience and interacting with local producers	Income is a determining factor for the diet of this family. Food choices are restricted to what is available in the local neighborhood shops. Knowledge about the origin of products is present, but not actively used.	Income is not a determining factor of the diet of this family. All type of products, are available in the supermarket, but the origin of these products is hard to trace. The family members show a lack of interest to enhance knowledge on something else than health properties of the food they consume.
	RCI: ++	RCI: -	RCI: - -

Socio – cultural structure

Relevant indicators	Family responsible	Family regular	Family modern
Awareness of origin products and interaction with producers	The mother of the family has much knowledge about the origin of products, due to interacting with the producers that sell at the feria and in the neighborhood.	Awareness is there, due to own rural background, but not actively applied. Currently interaction is low, shopping is mainly done in neighborhood shops.	Limited awareness because of consumption in the supermarket. Interaction limited to family members who live on the country side.
	RCI: ++	RCI: +/-	RCI: -
Cultural customs and traditions around food consumption	Traditional dishes are dominating the diet of the family, modified towards their vegetarian diet.	The family eats according to the traditional Afro-Ecuadorian diet, modified because of the diet of the mother.	Whereas the father has a strong preference for traditional dishes when he comes home, the other family members are influenced by international food cultures.
	RCI: +	RCI: +	RCI: +/-

Influence on food practices by social network	The consumption pattern of the family is centered around the household. Eating at home seen as easier and healthier, also because of the families' vegetarian diet.	The family diet is influenced by the work of mother and daughter. Recipes are shared and discussed. Hence, dietary alterations have a ripple effect into the (extended) family.	The family home is the main locus of food consumption. The siblings support each other in their sporty lifestyle and diet. Sons are exposed to more snacks and fast food in their universities.
	RCI: +	RCI: +/-	RCI: +
Influence on food practices by traffic light label	The family finds little influence by the traffic light label, since almost all products are fresh.	No influence of label, because buying out of habit.	Mother considers traffic light for health reasons. Daughter criticizes label for being unspecific.
	RCI: +	RCI: -	RCI: +

Table 22: Synthesis family characteristics

When adding up the RCI scores, it shows that the responsible family generally scores highest and the modern family lowest. This illustrates that higher income levels do not necessarily align with more responsible consumption practices. The regular and modern family lay close to each other in their scores, whereas this indicates that their level of responsible consumption may be similar, this is not enough to assume that they would fit in the same consumer segment, because their socio-cultural and financial background are very different. In general, whereas it can help to visualize differences between the families, it remains difficult to assign quantitative scores to practices, since this creates a simplification of the rich ethnographic data.

Looking back, dividing the families in three different categories may have biased the outcomes of the analysis. This categorization initially aimed to make sure to sample different types of consumer segments. However, using the label 'responsible family' for example, may have unintendedly resulted in filtering out the observed behaviors that fit best with this pre-assigned status. The same accounts for the family of modern consumption. Giving them this label in advance may have steered towards finding prove to support this assigned status, perhaps leaving out other factors that may have sketched a more nuanced profile of this family.

Furthermore, as this chapter has shown, practices between the different families and family members overlap, and thus should not be seen as three separate segments. For example, sometimes practices are different between different members of the same family, but comparable between people of the same age group. Doing the research again, it would be useful to approach the families with a more open gaze, observing and analyzing their behavior first with a neutral perspective and then afterwards draw conclusions about which type of consumption behavior fits best with each respective family. This should be a general indicator and not a set category.

Summary

This Chapter has discussed the qualitative analysis of the second and third sub-question of this research, analyzing how agency and the socio-cultural structure influence responsible consumption, at the hand of three mini-ethnographies and notes from the expert interviews.

In this chapter, we have learned that:

- At the family level, the extent to which food choices are motivated by money, convenience, health and sustainability, differs for each case. Over all, all families are motivated by health and convenience. The consideration of sustainability is stronger in the “responsible family” and the concern about price is least in the family of “modern consumption”.
- In terms of personality characteristic supporting responsible consumption, we learned that in all families the mother takes the responsibility of providing the family with food. The responsible family focusses mostly on health and a balanced lifestyle, whereas as a central concern in the modern family is hygiene and status. The regular family is more motivated by taste and less concerned about the impact of their diet on health and environment.
- In the terms of capacities enabling consumption patterns, the responsible and regular families are the most motivated by income. Availability is mainly a limiting factor for the regular family, due to their residence in the far north of Carcelen. Knowledge of the origin and production of food is weakest in the modern family.
- The experts add to this that due to the increasing number of people that is working, more and more food is consumed in restaurants, where it is difficult to trace the origin of products. Furthermore, the urban population is increasingly becoming detached from food production and hence now have to base their knowledge about the food they consume on advertisements and literature.
- Levels of awareness about the origin of products and interaction with producers, diverge for the different families. The modern family scores the lowest, due their consumption in the supermarket. The regular family is aware of the origin of food products, because they used to live on the countryside, and hence are familiar with production methods. However, this knowledge is not considered much in their current consumption pattern. The responsible family has gained awareness through interaction with producers, at the feria and in the neighborhood.
- Sayri adds that the bioferia creates a valuable dynamic between producers and consumers, reinforcing the identity of urban consumers that have their roots on the countryside.
- In terms of cultural customs and traditions, the regular family is most strongly influenced by culture. As Afro-Ecuadorians they are used to consume food rich in carbohydrates, oil and a lots of meat. In the responsible family, traditional dishes are consumed, but meat is replaced by vegetarian alternatives. The modern family is more oriented towards international recipes.

- The experts add that, whereas traditional dishes are still common to consume on festive days, the ingredients are adjusting to the possibilities of the modern international food system.
- Speaking about the influence of social networks, in all three cases the nuclear family is at the core of the construction of the family diet. However, mainly the younger generation is increasingly eating outside the family home, due to work or studies. Nevertheless, overall they still prefer to take food from home rather than to buy in restaurants.
- Looking at the influence of the traffic light label, this indicator is not considered much, mainly because people buy out of routine. In the modern family, where more processed products are used, the label is considered when buying a product for the first time.
- The experts add that the label is a valuable tool to create awareness, but further steps have to be taken to also create insight in the origin of products for instance.

Chapter 8: Campaign planning to enhance more responsible consumption behavior in Carcelen

The aim of this chapter is to connect the findings of this research to the campaign of Que Rico Es, in order to increase the societal impact of the research. The sub-question this chapter is trying to answer is: *How can the campaign 'Que Rico Es' enhance more responsible consumption behavior in the Carcelen district of Quito?* After briefly explaining what activities the campaign is currently involved in, it will be assessed to what extent and in what way Que Rico Es is active in Carcelen. Subsequently, it will be discussed what the campaign could do to improve the situation in this particular part of Quito and how the findings of this research can serve that goal. The information in this chapter is based on a focus group discussion that was conducted with a group of experts, involved in the campaign. The analysis of the focus group is supplemented by some data from the survey that was conducted, field notes from observations and informal conversations at the bioferia and the expert interviews.

Que Rico Es: objectives and strategies

Figure 22 below, illustrates the main objectives and strategies which Que Rico Es is concerned with. The photo of this chart was taken during a planning session in April, and represents the most recent strategies taken by the responsible team. The main objective of the campaign is to reach and connect 250.000 families that eat 'rico, sano y de nuestra tierra' (tasty, healthy and local). In order to reach that goal, a number of strategies are being applied to strengthen the campaign, through focusing on visibility, connectedness and identity. Relevant activities of the campaign are the organization of workshops and forums and the creation of a guide of all the ferias in the country. Furthermore, they create an information platform about responsible consumption, promoted through a two-weekly newsletter. As was discussed during the planning session, frequent meetings with the involved team and other stakeholders supporting the same objectives, will guarantee a steady progress towards reaching these objectives.

However, whereas these goals seem clear and sound, some criticism on the functioning of the campaign has to be taken into consideration, in assessing its potential for future successes in Carcelen and in general. Four months of participant observation with the team behind this campaign, have indicated that whereas their ideas look nice on paper, in practice activities and their impact remain limited. For example, different people, including myself, failed to receive the newsletter, after signing up for it. The gap between ambition and impact of the campaign is largely due to the fact that only two people are working on it full time. Thus, whereas the campaign can provide access to valuable knowledge, room for improvement remains in bringing this information across.

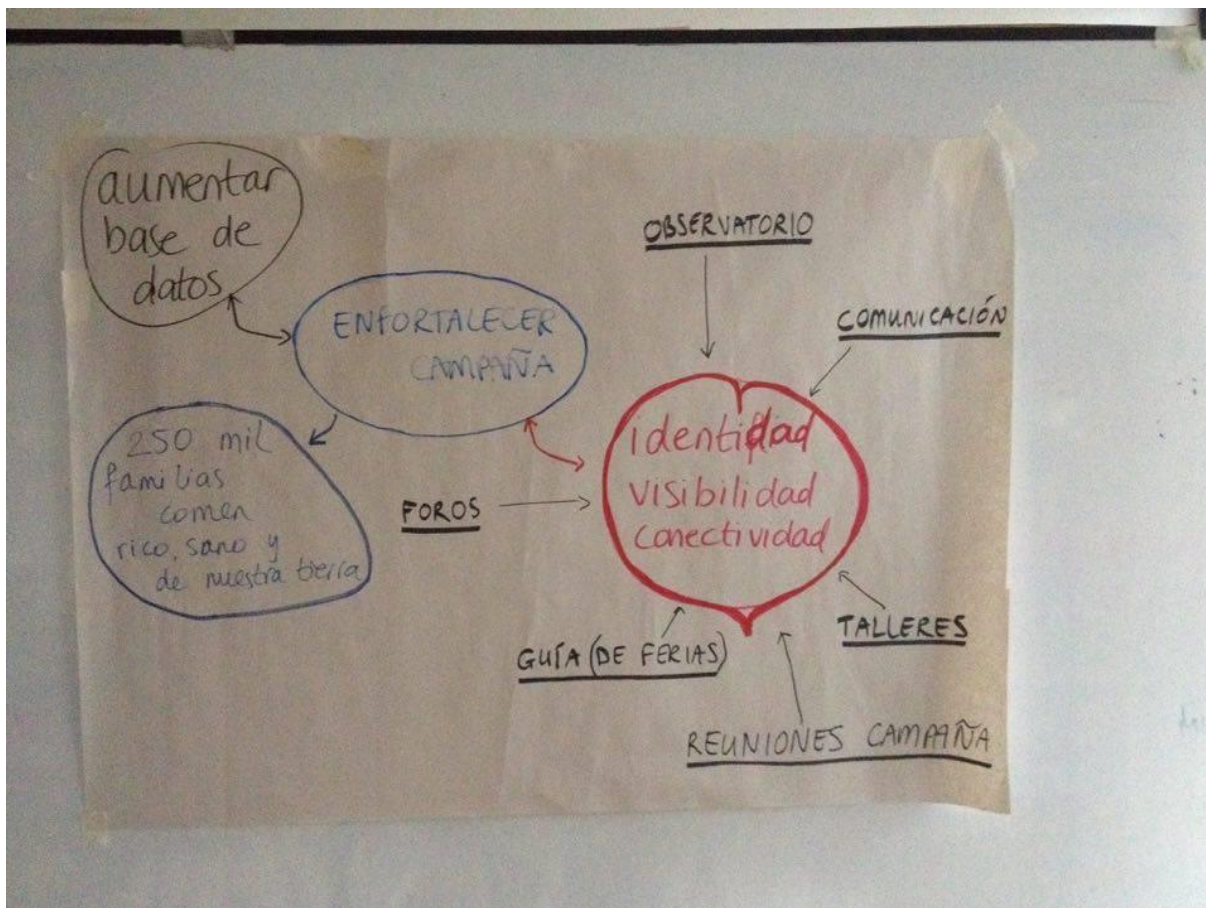


Figure 21: Objectives and strategies Que Rico Es

The campaigns activities in Carcelen

This section aims to assess to what extent the campaign is active in the part of Carcelen where the research was conducted, and what is done to support responsible consumption there in general. First of all, it is important to note that from the total of 199 survey respondents, only two indicated to be familiar with Que Rico Es. So far, the campaign has also not yet been very active in Carcelen. At the bioferia, some posters have been spread to make people aware of the campaign. Also, some interviews have been held with the producers that sell at the feria, in order to indicate what products are sold there. This information will be presented in the new guide of ferias and organic food stores that is currently being developed by the team of Que Rico Es.

There have been some activities at the feria, to raise awareness about a more responsible consumption behavior and connect producers and consumers. For example, there have been some workshops for cooking and on how to make natural cosmetics. Furthermore, there have been organized farm visits, so consumers can see how the products sold in the feria are produced. And, during the feria there is an information tent where consumers can ask their questions about the products sold at the market etc. Those activities however, were independently organized, without the support of Que Rico Es. Further cooperation could help to structure certain activities better in the future. The next section discusses how Que Rico Es, and the people responsible for the feria, could work together to give responsible consumption in Carcelen an extra push.

Suggested future strategies for Que Rico Es

During the discussion how the approach of Que Rico Es can be strengthened, first of all, one of the specialists of the focus group, mentions that the campaign was never developed for publicity purposes only. Instead, their goal is to connect people that are already practicing responsible consumption, in order to create a strong network. So, the Campaign was not necessarily designed for people to 'recognize the logo'. The goal of the campaign is not to raise awareness, because if people want information about healthy or sustainable food, this is easily available on the internet. Nevertheless, the group of experts agrees that it would be useful to develop strategies to reach more people. Nataly Pinto from VECO Andino, also argues for the importance of good communication through straightforward messages and invitations to events, for example.

"Most important is information. Often people are willing to change their practice, but dont know where to go, so we need to communicate to people where they can find organic products etc. We need to make information more available." (Nataly Pinto)

The discussion continues towards exploring how better communication can be operationalized in the context of the bioferia and the larger Carcelen. In order to set up a well-functioning communication network in Carcelen, the average age of the population has to be kept in mind. From the respondents of the survey, 48,2% were over 60. Since the surveys were conducted during the daytime and thus younger residents may have been at work, this does not necessarily indicate that the majority of the residents of the neighborhood consists of seniors. Nevertheless, it is mainly the senior women that are responsible for food purchasing and preparation for the whole family, as has been observed during the home stays. Therefore, it is crucial to communicate the information of the campaign to this age group specifically.

During the focus group discussion, a range of methods were suggested to widen the reach of the campaign and improve information channels in Carcelen in general. First of all, the idea was brought to create 'ambassadors'; find representatives in the community, to present themselves as examples of responsible consumers and/or supporters of the campaign, and inspire other people with their stories. More concrete, these 'ambassadors' could start organizing responsible consumption related activities, such as cooking or gardening workshops. This could also be a good way to bring renewed attention to traditional, local food products, by demonstrating how to prepare them, and at the same time making people aware that they can purchase the products in the feria. Also, it was suggested to stimulate people to record their personal stories and experience about the feria, or other responsible consumption related aspects, and share these in a local news magazine or vlog on the neighborhood website. Michelle O'fried is supportive to this idea. During the interview, she argued for creating a dialogue between producers and consumers, but also between different generations. This could be achieved through farm visits, but also by sharing stories recorded in videos.

"It would be good to create a dialogue, make people dialogue again, also about memories of how grandparents used to prepare food." (Michelle O'fried)

That the feria is a good locus from where to create a network of responsible consumers, is supported by Sayri, as he explains the social dynamics at the bioferia. He describes the feria as a social meeting place, where neighbors that did not meet before, now are coming together. The photo below illustrates people coming together, talking to each other and to the vendors. There has been a community center and theatre in the neighborhood since 2010, but not everyone has an interest in that, so not many people go there. However, since everybody has to eat, the feria is a more universal

meeting space, to socialize, but also to spread ideas about responsible consumption possibilities. Sayri mentions that the feria also creates an intergenerational dynamic, because children and grandchildren will ask why the grandparents prepare these specific products. The grandparents can then make them aware that the products are sourced from the feria, in the same neighborhood, and from producers from the same province. The feria, thus is a central connection point for the neighborhood, since *'eating is at the core of being human. It is a universal connecting mechanism'*.



Photo: social dynamics at the bioferia in Carcelen

A way to reach out to even more people is by communicating through whatsapp. One of the specialists argues during the focus group that also retired people are increasingly using this medium to communicate. Whatsapp could be used for example to communicate farm visits that are organized at the bioferia, but also recipes, etc. Sayri, the president of Supermanzana C, supports this idea:

“Seniors are getting more connected through technology. Many have received smartphones from their children and now are constantly connected and more critical because they have more access to information and possibilities to share this information through social media.” (Sayri)

Furthermore, a local newsletter could be created, for the whole Supermanzana C and not just the feria, to communicate about neighborhood activities, and at the same time include information on responsible consumption, provided by Que Rico Es. It was proposed that the team from the campaign can also help to create a workshop on how to make these new magazines or videos. This can be a trade-off in which both the campaign and the bioferia benefit by having more publicity. This

would be beneficial for the bioferia, since it is a local initiative that is not receiving the same financial support as the state-organized ferias. Sayri supports the importance of a good communication, incentivized the campaign, but also in Supermanzana C in general.

“Help with communication is key. If a campaign is well organized and communicating well, it becomes also more likely to get support from citizens as well as government.”

(Sayri)

The panelists of the focus group argue that it is not just the responsibility of the campaign to raise awareness and support a more responsible consumption practice. This responsibility also lays within the neighborhood itself and the way the neighborhood is organized. It is suggested that since the campaign is relatively small - only two people are formally working for Que Rico Es - they should share their information with neighborhood representatives, who can then further pass this on to the local residents. In the case of Supermanzana C, Sayri, as neighborhood president, could be the link between the team of the campaign and the local residents. He could share information from the campaign, and at the same time mobilize people to become actively involved.

To efficiently spread the campaign and involve more people in the network, a good understanding is needed of (social)media networks that are functioning well locally, in order to apply mechanisms of communication that have proved to be successful in this context. Nataly Pinto proposes an approach that integrates the dialogue between bottom-up activism and top-down policy support. She argues that, when coordinated well, local governments and policy makers can help to upscale citizen initiatives and help them for example with their available communication channels. Sayri is more skeptical about government interference. He wants to avoid financial support, because this can ‘distort local, personal dynamics’.

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“We don’t need police offices or churches, we need community centers where people can arrange things they are truly concerned with.” (Sayri)

However, Sayri does support the idea of working with local governments for technical support, for example to take care of the market stall and on themes like setting up a communication network, so that *‘the communication channels of the government can help to serve more citizens’*.

When thinking about how to extend the influence of Que Rico Es beyond Supermanzana C, it is important to realize that not all neighborhoods are organized in the same way. The strong organization of Supermanzana C, around the feria and community center, is unique in Quito, according to Sayri. Thus, other parts of Carcelen, do not have the same established network of communication and cooperation. This is where more support from local governments can help to communicate the message of responsible consumption to a wider audience.

In summary, what Que Rico Es can do to stimulate responsible consumption in Carcelen, is to create a fruitful cooperation in which the campaign shares expertise. This expertise will be spread through the local community, using existing and functioning communication networks and the support of local representatives, to inspire citizens towards a more responsible consumption pattern. This fits with the objective of the campaign to connect people and include them in an information and inspiration network and to empower them to take actions in their own interests. The bioferia serves as a suitable locus from where to operate, since the majority of the people that goes there is already interested in consuming in a responsible way. As has become clear throughout this research, peoples food consumption is strongly motivated by convenience, price and health. By communicating to more people about the possibility to buy cheap and healthy products, close to

where they live, more people can be attracted to the feria. This gives the local, ecological farmers the possibility to make more profit and the urban population to learn about the origin of the food they consume.

Summary

This chapter has aimed to answer the following sub-question: *How can the campaign 'Que Rico Es' enhance more responsible consumption behavior in the Carcelen district of Quito?*

In this chapter, we have learned that:

- The campaign Que Rico Es aims to connect families in their practice of eating tasty, healthy and local products. This is approached through giving workshops and creating a digital news platform.
- Whereas the campaign does give access to complete information about how to achieve a responsible consumption pattern, this information is not being transmitted to the population in Carcelen, since nobody there is familiar with the campaign.
- New communication methods should be developed to reach more people, with information about Que Rico Es and also about the bioferia. This information can be spread through whatsapp, or by creating a local newsletter or vlog.
- Prominent people in the neighborhood could position themselves as ambassadors of Que Rico Es and take an example function in the community, inspiring other people to consume in more responsible ways.
- The team of Que Rico Es, is not big enough to be held accountable for the organization of all these activities and information networks, therefore they propose to share their expertise with local neighborhood representatives, so they can further spread this knowledge into the community.
- A fruitful cooperation with local governments can help to strengthen the practices of the campaign and the feria. Not through financial support, but by sharing local information channels.

Section 3: Conclusion and Discussion



Photo: Ecological strawberries, ready to be taken to the feria in Carcelen

Chapter 9: Discussion

The aim of this chapter is to link the main observations to the theoretical framework. The main findings from the qualitative and quantitative analysis are discussed in the context of the explanatory practice framework (Crivits and Paredis, 2013). This discussion will take place, following the four sub-questions of the research, discussing the material-functional structure, personal agency, and the socio-cultural structure, as well as how the findings of this research can help to improve the campaign of Que Rico Es. Furthermore, some limitations of the research will be discussed as well as the theoretical and policy implications and suggestions for future research.

Material – functional structure

It was found that the main commercial area of Carcelen is dominated by restaurants, followed by mini markets (also referred to as neighborhood shops or tiendas). Semi-processed products are most available. In Carcelen Bajo, the most available food outlets are mini markets, where the majority of available products is ultra-processed. The difference in food outlets and type of available products between the two neighborhoods is statistically significant. The high availability of restaurants fits with the trend that, due to their work-schedules, an increasing number of people eats at least one meal per day outside the house (ENSANUT, 2012). Consumption in restaurants can be threatening to public health, because of the high availability and low price of fast food (Ameda et al., 2014) and the limited access to information about the origin and quality of food products.

Food prices are lowest at the bioferia, which is held weekly in Supermanzana C. The availability of products there however, is limited to fresh products that are temporal and local. Prices in the local neighborhood shop fluctuate around the same range as the feria. In the supermarket, a more complete assortment of products can be found, but these are often packaged in larger quantities and also more expensive. The availability of organic products is limited. The supermarket offers a small range of organic, in the bioferia the majority of products is ecological and the origin of the products in the local neighborhood shop is hard to trace. The limited availability of organic products, sold in the supermarket at a higher price, results in only few people knowing about them. A study in 2008 indicated that only 7% of the population is familiar with organic products and only 4,8% says to consume them. Only 2,3% consumes ecological products, also due to the lacking availability (VECO ANDINO 2008).

Agency

In terms of where people do their shopping, most products are bought in local neighborhood shops. The motivation behind this shopping behavior is based on proximity, making it convenient to buy products on a daily basis. Previous research has indicated that the Ecuadorian population prefers to buy in supermarkets (46,6%), followed by markets or ferias (41,7%) and only 10,4% prefers to buy in local neighborhood shops (VECO Andino, 2008). This difference in outcomes for the population in Carcelen, may have to do with the distance to the supermarket, being situated at the other side of a large road, and, for the people in Carcelen Bajo, a 15 minute bus ride away. Also, in my study I asked about the place where people buy most products, not the place where they prefer to buy. Most people indicated that they do some daily shopping for forgotten products in the local neighborhood

shops and do the large shopping once or twice a month in the supermarket or at the market. People like to buy in the supermarket because of the high variety of good quality and hygienic products. The motivation to buy at markets is because of the cheaper price. The bioferia is chosen because of the healthy products without chemicals. This aligns with the findings of the study by VECO ANDINO (2008), stating that the main motivation for people to eat organic or ecological is for health reasons.

In terms of the main motivations behind peoples' food choices, people find it important that the food they consume is healthy and has a good nutritional value, this came forth from both the statistical analysis and the ethnographies with the families. This is in line with the study of VECO Andino (2008), where also the majority of people indicated to have health as first priority in their food choice. Another strong motivation at the family level was convenience. The orientation towards convenience and also price, may have a negative influence on peoples' diet, since fast food and processed foods are often cheaper and more easily available than fresh products (Almeida et al., 2014). The statistical analysis indicated that environmental impacts and the wellbeing of producers are considered less. Whether this is in line with the Ecuadorian trend is hard to say, since literature on sustainability considerations in food choices is lacking in Ecuador (Linders 2013). At the family level the responsible family showed most concern about this. Food prices were considered least by the modern family, who is fitting in the highest income segment. Previous research has indicated that, from the people who consume organic and ecological products, 51,9% belongs to the high-income sector, 35,3% to middle income and 12,8% to low income (VECO Andino, 2008). The higher income family in this study however, does not consume organic products, due to lack of awareness and availability in the supermarket. There is a statistically significant difference between the different neighborhoods in the consideration of chemicals, genetically modified ingredients, environmental impact, health, production by local farmers and organic products, as determinants of food choices. These differences can be explained along lines of income and availability. Proximity to the feria in turn, is likely to create more consciousness about food properties, due to more direct interaction with producers (Sneyd 2013).

In terms of influential personality characteristics, in all families, food consumption is centered around the sense of responsibility of the mother, to providing the family with food. This aligns with the universal role of the mother as caretaker of the family, in Ecuadorian culture (Stansbury et al., 2000) and in general (Criado 2004). The responsible family focusses mostly on health and a balanced lifestyle. The regular family is mostly motivated by taste and less concerned about the impact of their diet on health and environment. In the modern family, a central concern is hygiene and status. Of all families, they are most influenced by the cultural hybridization of eating habits in Ecuador (Almeida Vera et al., 2014), moving towards a more internationally oriented food culture in terms of products consumed, and the increasing consumption in the supermarket. The behavior in this family is typical for higher income segments in transition countries, where the consumption of (ultra)processed foods is accelerating as income increases (Brownell & Horgen 2004; Peter & George 1980). Thus, a higher income does not only enable more responsible choices, but also an increased consumption of processed products. The difference may lay in access to information. Due to the increasing 'supermarketization' in Ecuador, people increasingly base their food choices on TV commercials and advertising, which are often funded or created by big multinational companies, wanting to promote their products (Almeida Vera et al., 2014). Mainly small children are vulnerable to be influenced by tv commercials for instance, because their emotional, and brain development is not yet completed and thus they are more sensitive to misleading external influences (Harrison & Marske 2005). A Spanish study in 1986, found that

children see an average of 22000 TV commercials yearly, including 50% about food, of which the majority is of low nutritional value (Logue, 1986). The modern family in my research does not have young children, but the regular family has a seven year old daughter, and indeed, her consumption of ultra-processed products is much higher than the rest of the family.

The capacities enabling responsible consumption, that were analyzed in this study, are income, availability and knowledge. In the statistical analysis, no significant relation was found between the money spend on food and responsible consumption. This does not align with the findings that people with a higher income are more likely to know about- and consume organic or ecological products (VECO Andino, 2008). This can be explained by the fact that in my survey insufficient information was collected to analyzed the link between income and consumption behavior. The amount of money spent par month, which was now used as indicator for the families food budget, should control for household size and the percentage of income that is spend on food. It was found that proximity to the bioferia and level of education have a significant positive influence on responsible consumption. The effect sizes (R^2) of these statistical tests however are low, explaining respectively 10% and 6% of the variance in responsible consumption behavior. This is logical, because there are many different personal, social and structural factors that together construct the consumption practice of an individual, as is the point of departure of practice theory (Contreras 1995). As the study by VECO Andino (2008) indicates, people with a higher income and higher educational level are more likely to consume organic or ecological products. However, my observations from the ethnographies indicate that practical knowledge, based on life experience and exposure to interaction with producers, as characterizes the responsible family, is perhaps more important than merely looking at academic and economic background.

In designing their consumption pattern, the responsible and regular family were constrained by income. Furthermore, availability was mainly a limiting factor for the regular family, living in the far north of the city. Since in Carcelen Bajo ultra-processed foods are most available, as indicated before, the regular family is most likely to fall in the trap of the current modern food system, as initiated by the US, that makes fast food and ultra-processed foods constantly available, at a cheap price. These products are heavily promoted (Contreras 1995), and designed by food technologists in such a way that they taste really good and make people want to come back for more. These products form a threat to health, since they contain high quantities of fat and sugar, as well as cheap taste maker and empty calories, without nutritional value (Brownell & Horgen 2004). Research has also shown that carbohydrate consumption is higher in the poor section of the population, mainly due to the excessive consumption of white rice, as cheap base of every meal. The poor segment is also relying more on cheap sources of cooking oil, such as palm oil, which contains high amounts of satirized fat, with the associated health risks (ENSANUT, 2012). Indeed, the regular family uses white rice and palm oil in almost every meal, more than has been observed in the other two families.

Socio-cultural structure

First, we looked at peoples' awareness of the origin of products and the interaction with producers. An analysis of the survey indicated that there is a statistically significant positive influence of home growing of food products, on responsible consumption behavior ($R^2 = .056$). Receiving products from family on the country side did not significantly influence responsible consumption. At the family level, the modern family has least knowledge about the origin of the products they consume, due to

consumption in the supermarket, as has been discussed before. This aligns with the argument that the 'supermarketization' of the supply chain, is generating an increasing disconnection between Ecuador's urban population and their primary food sources (Reardon et al., 2005). The regular family does show awareness, due to their rural background, but do not consider this much in their current food choices. The responsible family gained awareness through buying at the feria and interacting with local farmers, selling their products on the streets. Sayri adds that the bioferia creates a valuable dynamic between producers and consumers, providing people with knowledge, but also reinforcing the identity of urban consumers with a rural background. This argument is supported by literature, arguing that ferias create a dynamic that stimulate more responsible consumption practices, due to interaction with producers and fair prices and production circumstances (Linders 2013). The increased level of interaction between producers and consumers helps to reinforce local identities and create a stronger association of local consumption with a good quality of life (Canclini 2012). The dynamic of consumption from local producers, as generated through the feria, also contributes towards Ecuador's food sovereignty, by creating renewed relationships between producers and consumers, respecting the rights of producers and attaching a renewed meaning to traditional foods (Sneyd 2013).

In the section on cultural customs and traditions around food consumption, it was discussed that the influence of culture is strongest in the regular family. As afro-Ecuadorians, they are used to consume food rich in carbs, oil and meat. The family members explain, that Afro-Ecuadorians have a distinctive position in Ecuador, in terms of diet. This illustrates the symbolic value of food, as mechanism of social interaction, to connect and celebrate cultural identity (Contreras 1995). In the responsible family, also traditional dishes are consumed, but the meat is replaced by vegetarian alternatives. The modern family is more oriented towards international recipes. The practice of the modern family, but also the choice for a vegetarian diet by the responsible family, aligns with the idea that food consumption can be understood as way to express a distinctive position in society, as additional aspect to the mere satisfaction of needs (Canclini 2012). The experts add that, whereas traditional dishes are still common to consume on festive days, the ingredients are adjusting to the possibilities of the modern international food system. This is part of a process in which urban identities are becoming ahistorical, the symbolic value of local products disappears, and the consciousness of what is 'lo propio' (our own), gets lost and is replaced by the consumption of products from international brands (ibid).

In terms of influences on food practices by social networks, in all three households, the nuclear family is at the core of the construction of the family diet. Most meals are consumed at home. Whereas the younger generations are not always able to eat at home, due to their schedules of work and study, most of the time they consume food that is prepared at home and then brought to work or school. This aligns with previous research, indicating that people tend to follow family traditions in the way they eat, with those habits not always being flexible to change (Contreras 1995). However, the fact that all family members prefer to eat the family food, rather than consume in restaurants, does not fit with the trend that at least 50 % of the urban population in Ecuador eats at least one meal per day outside the house (ENSANUT 2012). Observations in the families indicate that whereas people do not eat at home, they do eat the food from their homes at work. Thus, the consumption of food outside the house is not always directly related to consumption in restaurants.

The younger generation is at a higher risk of the consumption of unhealthy and unsustainable products, due to the high availability of fast food outlets that tend to cluster around universities and schools (Cedeño Plaza 2014). This high availability of unhealthy foods, combined with

the social influence among groups of children and students, is likely to create negative eating habits among this group (Almeida Vera et al., 2014). This is in line with the observations at the three families. Most of the younger members of all three families, with the seven years old daughter of the regular family as an exception, are aware that it is better not to eat the snacks and fast food offered at their educational institutions. Regardless, they admit that they do buy certain products, when they go to eat something with friends for instance. Also, the statistical analysis has illustrated that age has a small, but significant influence on responsible consumption ($R^2 = .026$), whereas gender does not. More than social influence, the more responsible consumption behavior at higher ages, has to do with health considerations (Martinez Fuentes 2008). With the risk on food related disease increasing with the years, for both sexes (ENSANTU 2012).

To evaluate effectiveness of the government measures to improve consumption patterns, we assessed the influence of the traffic light label. Consideration of the label turned out to be a significant predictor of responsible consumption. This is in line with some previous studies, underlining the positive impact of the traffic light label on healthy consumption choices (Freire et al., 2017). However, a more critical noise can also be heard, arguing that the over-simplification of the information on the label is misleading (Vaqué 2014), and reinforces the neoliberal discourse of consumerism, personal responsibility and choice (Sneyd 2013). This contribution to the normalization of neoliberalism, goes beyond the intended positive health effect of the label. The survey indicated that people mainly use the label to avoid the consumption of sugar. There is a statistically significant difference in the extent to which people are influenced by the label, between the different neighborhoods, with consideration of the label being lowest in Carcelen Bajo. This points towards a difference in concern about ones' consumption pattern and dietary preferences, between the different neighborhoods. At the family level, the label is not considered much in the regular and responsible family, because they buy out of routine. In the modern family, the mother does use the label, mainly when she is buying a product for the first time. A Spanish study indicated that people over 65 and people with a lower level of education are more likely to make use of certain labels, because these social groups have less access to alternative information sources (Leóm-Flández et al., 2015). The observations in the families in Carcelen, point in the opposite direction. This can mainly be explained by the fact that people act out of habit. As well as by the limited access to healthy alternatives in Carcelen Bajo, combined with the financial aspect that ultra-processed products are often cheaper than fresh products. Furthermore, the mothers in both the responsible and regular family indicated to buy mainly fresh, and few processed products in general. The interviewed experts comment about the label that it is a good way to create awareness, but further steps have to be taken to create also insight in the origin of products for example. This same suggestion is made by the NGO Consumers International (2013) (Linders 2013).

On the question whether people consider themselves to be responsible consumers, the people surveyed at the bioferia had the highest score, followed by the people from the Supermaxi area, Supermanzana C and lastly Carcelen Bajo. The lower scores for the population in Carcelen Bajo can be explained by the same lack of availability, awareness and financial capacity that has been discussed previously. The main reason for people to consider themselves responsible consumers is because they intend to avoid or cure diseases. This is logical, because the increasing prevalence of health-related diseases and obesity is the first aspect of the unsustainable modern food system that becomes visible (Quizhpe et al., 2003; Hamer et al., 2009; Lutter et al., 2008; Handal et al., 2007).

In general, it is worth reflecting whether 'responsible consumption' is a useful term at all. As came forth from the survey, most people mainly associate the term with protecting ones' health or

taking care of the family. The term however, is meant to incorporate equitable, regenerative and healthy forms of food production, circulation and consumption (Sherwood et al., 2013). All those aspects are relevant to consider in the construction of sustainable consumption and production patterns. However, when people structurally interpret the term in a different way, it may be useful to rethink this label. Due to its frequent use, in different situations, the term is being devaluated and its meaning prone to personal interpretation and the context in which it is being used (Giesler & Varesiu 2014). Thus, in order to communicate intended messages more clearly, it may be useful to divide the concept of responsible consumption in separate, more explicit components. Distinguishing between the discussion on healthy, local and organic consumption, for example. Thus, disentangling the meanings of the term, could lead to a more effective application and operationalization (Bock 2012).

Campaign planning, managerial and policy implications

Whereas the campaign of Que Rico Es does give access to complete information about how to achieve a responsible consumption pattern, this information is not being transmitted to the population in Carcelen. The final chapter of this thesis was dedicated to exploring how the campaign can be improved and what are the relevant insights from this research that can support this process.

The managerial and policy implications of this research are discussed by indicating how the campaign of Que Rico Es can further strengthen of responsible consumption practices in Carcelen, as well as what additional government support would be needed in the local context of Carcelen and Ecuador in general.

The main strategy suggested to make the campaign mores effective, was to set up a better communication network, to reach more people in Carcelen with information about Que Rico Es and the bioferia. Proposed communication methods are a news network using whatsapp, a local neighborhood newsletter and a vlog about responsible consumption, presented on the website of the neighborhood community center. In this vlog, prominent people from the neighborhood can present themselves as ambassadors of the feria and the campaign, by sharing personal stories and tips. The team of Que Rico Es is not big enough to be held accountable for the organization of all these activities and information networks, therefore they propose to share their expertise with local neighborhood representatives, so they can further spread this knowledge into the community. A study with 250 participants in Madrid, indicated that being part of a responsible consumer network, like Que Rico Es, resulted in changes in the consumption patterns of the involved people. The participants in the study indicated to focus more on eating temporal products (84%), reduce meat consumption (60%) and participate more in neighborhood activities (59%) (Simón Rojo 2017). This indicates that not only consumption patterns are positively affected, but also social dynamics in the neighborhood. Mobilizing citizens in responsible consumption networks, as the campaign is invested with, creates the potential for a stronger counter movement against the modern, industrialized food system, towards agrarian citizenship. Agrarian citizenship requires consumers that prioritize the optimization of environmental and social capital over economic capital (Sneyd 2013). This requires a stronger rural-urban dialogue, to generate solidarity (ibid), and to work towards alternative physical and social logistics (López García 2015). Also, in addition to increasing consumer involvement, ethical and sustainable food consumption can be stimulated by increasing the perceived availability (Vermeir & Verbeke 2006).

Some key strategies to make responsible consumer networks successful, is to create a community space where people can meet, and to have clear communication about relevant activities. Furthermore, it is important to make people aware of the positive impact and importance of local production, on supporting local employment, health and cultural heritage. Those consumer networks can be strengthened by making local people feel included, important and responsible (Sneyd 2013). This is exactly where Que Rico Es can help to empower local people in Carcelen, by guiding the process of organizing themselves. For, as Chauca (2010) pointed out, food practices can be a powerful type of self-organization, in which actors are capable of creatively negotiating their position in existing structures.

However, self-organization is not enough. The interviewed experts and participants in the focus group, discussed that a fruitful cooperation with local governments can help to strengthen the practices of the campaign and the feria. Not through financial support, but by sharing material through local information channels. The use of local media channels to communicate to a wider audience, is also proposed as strategy by ENSANUT (2012). Furthermore, it has been argued that politics can help to reinforce cultural identity through consumption, for example by strengthening local neighborhood activities, like in this case the organization of the bioferia, in order to renew the association of the consumption of locally grown and temporal products, with a good quality of life (Canclini 2012).

In more general terms, the literature on potential governance strategies to strengthen responsible consumption in the Ecuadorian context, suggests to regulate the sales of processed foods and drinks, close to universities and schools and in general (ENSANUT 2012). Furthermore, the Ecuadorian government is exploring the option to create a tax on processed foods. However, this potential policy is still in the research phase (Ordóñez Salazar 2016). It has also been suggested that the government should implement a more inclusive labelling scheme, including information about the origin of products (Linders 2013). Furthermore, the government could make information about responsible consumption available to a larger audience, through television, educational packages for schools, or through more creative channels like art and literature, as ways to reformulate citizen's identities and enforce the appreciation of local, fresh and fair food products (Canclini 2012).

Limitations

This section first discusses the main limitations for the research in general and then continues by indicating a few specific points of criticism for the different research methods used.

For all forms of qualitative data collection, including interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, it has to be considered that respondents are likely to give socially desirable answers (Paulhus, 2002). Respondents are put in a situation in which, on the one hand they will try to produce a self-image that is coherent with their self-identity, in order to avoid cognitive dissonance (Varul, 2004). On the other hand, they will engage in 'impression management' towards the researcher (Goffman, 1959). This also applies to the survey I conducted, since this was carried out face to face. Furthermore, answers to the survey may also have been biased, because of the intent-behavior gap of respondents. Meaning that they answer according to what they like to do and not what they actually do (Vermeir & Verbeke 2006). To minimize the impact of social desirability, I applied a mixed methods approach (Podsakoff et al., 2012). The ethnographies allowed me to get a deeper insight in people's practices. Also, I was able to observe the difference between what people say and what they do in reality.

Furthermore, my perspective as researcher may also have influenced the interpretation of my observations. For, in qualitative research, the interaction between the research population and the researcher is likely to bias the researchers' interpretation of the findings. The researcher thus has to be aware of 'intersubjectivity'; the idea that ones' interpretation of data depends on previous experience and cultural context (Duranti 2010). I minimized this bias by taking sufficient time to prepare the research. In the first months of my stay in Ecuador, I visited different events related to ecological production and consumption, to gain knowledge about the national context. Also, I spend many hours at the feria, observing the interactions between producers and consumers. This preparation has helped me to interpret my findings according to the local context, as much as possible. Furthermore, the interviews I conducted with local experts in the field of responsible consumption and production, have helped both to prepare my questions, as well as to contextualize my findings.

Since all the data were collected in Spanish, of which my level of understanding and speaking is intermediate, the language barrier may have influenced my data collection. I may have missed some details in conversations and if my level of spoken Spanish would have been better, I would have been able to ask more detailed questions.

Also, since responsible consumption is a subjective concept, some differentiation may have occurred in how research participants interpreted this concept. In general, moral complexity is high in daily life, since each individual embraces different, potentially conflicting ideas of 'the good' (Andersen, 2011). To avoid confusion, the survey used a definition of responsible consumption, but it is difficult to evaluate if this definition was understood in the same way by all the respondents.

Whereas some bias is hard to avoid in qualitative but also quantitative research, continuous self-reflection and discussions about the methods of data collection and preliminary findings, with the members of the IDRC research group, has minimized above mentioned limitations as much as possible. In general, findings serve only as a local case study. Due to the limited scope of the research, the results should not be generalized.

Survey

For the survey, two rounds of pilot studies were conducted to develop the right format, but it turned out difficult to make a design suitable for all respondents, especially for a neighborhood like Carcelen where people with different cultures and levels of education live together. Hence, some concepts may have been better understood than others. The survey for example talks about genetically modified ingredients. Some people were asking what this means. Also, the interpretation of certified organic products may have differed per person. Almost everyone indicated to prefer to buy organic products. The availability of these products however, is very limited, since even in the feria products are not certified. This made me realize, that concepts or constructs that are common for me to use, are not always as self-evident for the diverse research population of the study.

On a different note, surveys were only conducted during the day, due to safety considerations. In the day-time however, there turned out to be a higher likelihood to find retired people or housewives at home. However, this are also the people that are most likely to be involved in food shopping and preparation.

If I were to do the study again, I would consider to do an on-line study, to minimize social-desirability of answers and reach a more diverse sample of the population (Nederhof 1985). However, in the case of Carcelen, no database was available with this contact information and in

general many older people have no access to a computer with internet.

Ethnography

The ethnographic instruments that were used for note taking during the fieldwork and to enable comparison afterwards, may have overlooked some aspects, since they were designed prior to the fieldwork. In order to cover for data gaps, also general field notes were taken from all observations and conversations during the homestays. Previous to the ethnographies that I used to answer my own research question, I conducted another mini-ethnography with a rural farmer's family. The data I collected were shared and discussed with my fellow researcher from FLACSO, working on the same topic. So, this first homestay was used as a practice round to verify the tools and further familiarize myself with the method of carrying out ethnography.

The three families that participated in the ethnographies, were labelled as 'responsible', 'regular', and 'modern' consumers. These pre-set conditions were intended to ensure a diverse sample. However, this may have led to oversimplifications and bias in the analysis, by unintentionally looking for characteristics that fit the pre-assigned status of each family. If I were to do the research again, I would go into the field with a more open gaze, without determining categories in advance.

Spatial mapping

For the mapping, a definition has to be chosen, to distinguish between the different types of food-outlets and available products. There are many different definitions available to indicate fresh versus processed foods. For this research, fresh was defined as 'products in their natural state' (fruits, vegetables, etc.) semi-processed as 'products that underwent a process of transformation' (packed, frozen, etc.) and ultra-processed as 'products in which the original ingredients cannot easily be recognized' (candy, soft drinks, etc.). For these categories, I followed the definitions used previously by the IDRC research project. However, if other definitions would have been used, this may have resulted in slightly different outcomes.

Theoretical implications

This research made use of an adjusted version of the explanatory practice framework, as initially developed by Crivits and Paredis (2013). The framework has helped to understand how structure and agency each fulfill their respective role in the way consumption practices are constructed. Furthermore, the practice framework has allowed to incorporate a wide range of factors that are relevant points of analysis in the application of practice theory. This thesis has illustrated that the adjusted version of the explanatory practice framework, that was applied in this research, forms a suitable and accurate tool for the analysis of food practices.

The adjusted version of the explanatory practice framework, thus forms a valuable contribution as tool to operationalize practice theory, making this sometimes abstract and complex theoretical discourse accessible to a wider audience. This also increases the potential to take practice theory beyond the domain of academics. The developed analysis framework is so clear that it can also be applied to communicate the analysis of a certain practice, to a wider, non-academic audience, like was done in the part of this research that focused on applying the findings to the planning of campaign Que Rico Es.

It has also been suggested that more insight in relevant personality characteristics, determining consumer choices (Nie and Zepeda, 2011), is necessary to make an accurate classification of consumer segments (Verein et al. 2012). The application of practice theory in this research however, has led to the insight that it is not always possible to classify people in separate categories. Practice theory argues that the way in which different agents perform social practices is not uniform. Instead, a lot of differentiation can be observed within a practice (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2014). The personal, social and structural context in which a practice develops, is unique for each individual (Reckwitz, 2002). Thus, a social practice is not seen as a fixed entity, but as a system of action, in which relationships are constantly shifted and re-constituted (Reckwitz, 2002). Hence, seen through the lens of practice theory, a categorization of consumer segments is not always desirable. It is more realistic to understand consumption in all its complexity rather than aim for an (over)simplified categorization.

Suggestions for future research

The practice approach that was used in this research, allows to go beyond the understanding of the practices of isolated agents, as is common in studies on behavior and social practice (Maniates, 2001; Shove, 2010), towards being able to contextualize these practices in the wider social, physical and cultural structure in which they are constructed. This method of analysis is relatively new and no records have been found that it was applied in the Ecuadorian context before. Therefore, I suggest a more large scale application of this approach, in order to compare consumption practices in different cities and regions of the country. My thesis research has made a small contribution to the knowledge gap on what motivates responsible consumption behavior in Ecuador. However, more case studies and larger samples are necessary, to be able to generalize results. As argued before, the adjusted version of the explanatory practice framework, as was developed for this thesis research, would be a useful tool to apply.

In terms of practical applications of this research, it has been argued that, while it is difficult for the citizens of a small country like Ecuador, to change the activity of powerful transnational actors in the global food system, interventions can be made in the social dynamics of sectors of the population (Arce, 2015). To explore how responsible consumers can be mobilized into a political force, to strengthen the movement towards food sovereignty, more research is needed on the following points:

- Future research is needed on how to upscale demand for sustainable products in the Ecuadorian context, going against the tendency of the modernizing food system, in which consumption of processed foods and buying in the supermarket are seen as status symbol. The question that remains unanswered is how to reach the mass of society, going beyond a niche of people that are already interested in improving (the environmental impacts of) their diet.
- Verein et al (2012) suggest that understanding the overlapping characteristics of sustainable and healthy consumer segments can be useful in developing effective promotional campaigns for stimulating sustainable and healthy lifestyles. This thesis research has contributed some insights, like that many people are mainly motivated by convenience and thus rely on the products available in their close proximity. The organization of more bioferias could help to make a higher number of people consume in a responsible way. More research is needed on how to implement this, for, just

starting a feria is not enough to ensure that people will come and buy there. Therefore, insight in local needs and citizen involvement is key.

- A better insight is needed in how to take concrete steps towards creating more demand for healthy, and local products. One of the interviewed experts has indicated that the supply of organic and ecological products is increasing, but the demand has remained stable over the past ten years. Better information and communication networks can support this cause, but how to operationalize this, has to be learned from practice and further academic analysis of this very practice.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

The central research question this thesis has tried to answer is '*Under what circumstances do people adopt a (more) responsible food consumption practice, and what kind of support do citizens need to further strengthen this practice?*' This question has been approached through the following four sub-questions: 1) What are the types of food-outlets and available food products in the Carcelen district in Quito? 2) How does agency influence the food consumption behavior of the residents of the Carcelen district in Quito? 3) What is the socio-cultural structure in which residents of the Carcelen district of Quito develop their food consumption behavior? 4) How can the campaign of Que Rico Es enhance more responsible consumption behavior in the Carcelen district of Quito? The first three sub-questions were based on the explanatory practice framework, which was developed after the model Crivits and Paredis (2013). The fourth sub-question was created to increase the societal relevance of the research project, by suggesting how the academic findings can be used to improve the civil society campaign of Que Rico Es.

A mixed methods approach was applied, in which qualitative and quantitative data analysis were combined, to find comprehensive answers to the above-mentioned research questions. In terms of quantitative analysis, a total of 199 surveys was conducted at four locations in Carcelen; the bioferia, the area around Supermaxi, Supermanzana C and Carcelen Bajo. Furthermore, a spatial mapping was carried out, noting down all the available food outlets and food products in the main commercial area of Carcelen and a sample of Carcelen bajo. These data were analyzed in SPSS, applying descriptive statistics, simple linear regression analysis, chi-square tests for independence and Kruskal-Wallis H tests to determine statistically significant differences between different parts of the sample. In terms of qualitative data, three short ethnographies were carried out, with families from different consumer segments, one low income family with regular consumption in Carcelen Bajo, one middle income family with responsible consumption in Supermanzana C and one high income family of modern consumption in the area close to Supermaxi. The ethnographies were complemented by four expert interviews, field notes of observations, and informal conversations at the bioferia and during campaign related meetings and a focus group discussion with four experts involved in the campaign Que Rico Es. The qualitative data were analyzed through a coding scheme, following the themes relevant to the four respective sub-questions.

A careful analysis and discussion of both the qualitative and quantitative results, has led to the conclusion that people are most likely to adopt a (more) responsible food practice when fresh, local and temporal options are easily available, against an affordable price. For, most people are motivated by convenience and prefer to do grocery shopping in the direct surroundings of their house. The bioferia, that is organized every week in Supermanzana C, creates this dynamic of more responsible consumption. This is achieved by bringing local products directly to the urban consumers, at a price that is affordable for consumers, yet fair for the producers, due to the short supply chain.

Furthermore, peoples diet is heavily based around the nuclear family, since, in most households the mother is responsible for the food provision for the entire family. It has been observed that as people get older, risk for diet related diseases increase. Once people get aware of this, this often results in a more health oriented diet. As the mother of a family adapts certain health oriented dietary alterations, this is reflected in the consumption pattern of the whole family, because she cooks and does the shopping. In general health is the most important factor considered by people when adapting a more responsible food pattern.

In order to further strengthen responsible consumption patterns, it is key to make responsible options more available and affordable. For, currently ultra-processed and semi-processed products are most present in respectively Carcelen bajo and the main commercial area. Possible ways to change this, are to create more places like the bioferia, where responsible products are available and interaction with the local producers is possible. Furthermore, it would help to offer a wider range of organic/ecological products at the feria. People now choose to buy at the supermarket because of the high availability of products at that place. By increasing availability at feria, people are more likely to do their big shopping there. Since people are strongly motivated by health, places like the feria can be branded as gateways to a healthier consumption pattern.

The health properties of the products, can thus be used to attract people to the feria, also if they would normally prefer to shop in other environments. Once people are triggered to come and experience the feria for a first time, they can familiarize themselves with the wider context of responsible consumption, including awareness about the origin of products and interaction with the producers for example.

Also, eating behavior is a powerful mechanism to express identity, for example to demonstrate belonging to a certain cultural group, or on the contrary, adapt a more modern identity devoid of local cultural characteristics. A new status has to be attached to the consumption of fresh, locally sourced products, to make this more desirable and 'cool'.

At the same time, it is necessary to create more awareness and transparency about the origin of processed products and products served in restaurants. Since a growing part of the population is working away from home, the orientation towards convenience foods and consumption in restaurants is increasing. Making healthy options more available and fast food more expensive, through a government tax for instance, people can be stimulated to make a more responsible choice.

In general, better information and communication systems are needed, to spread ideas about responsible consumption. On the neighborhood level this can be done through whatsapp, which is widely used by the elder generation of women, who are often responsible for food preparation in the family. On a larger scale, the stimulation of home growing of food, or engagement in urban gardening projects can help to increase awareness of the process of food production and create a higher appreciation for natural and fresh products.

So, this research found that food choices are mainly motivated by proximity, convenience and health. In improving responsible consumption practices in Carcelen specifically, the local information networks in Carcelen can be applied to promote the feria as a location where fresh and natural products can be bought, with associated positive health effects. The function of Que Rico Es, in communicating this message, then lays in sharing their expertise on the relation between organic/ecological food and health, as well as inspiring people with stories about the background of traditional local products and recipes. Furthermore, they could give trainings to a local neighborhood team on how to make effective information videos, to share their personal testimonies about the feria. Thus, to further stimulate responsible consumption practices, an integrated approach is needed, combining bottom-up civil society initiatives with the necessary formal support from the government. Creating a vibrant network of information and participation, can help to upgrade the image of the feria, making healthy and local consumption the new trend.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Survey format

Encuesta de Consumidores

El objetivo de esta encuesta es obtener un entendimiento de los factores que determinan el comportamiento de consumo de alimentos en este hogar. La encuesta debe llevarse a cabo con la persona responsable de la mayoría de las actividades alimentarias.

Toda información personal será confidencial. Su participación es totalmente voluntaria. Si no está cómodo con alguna pregunta puede dejarla y continuar con la siguiente.

Antecedentes

Edad _____

Género M F

Profesión _____

Nivel de educación _____

Número de personas con quien vive _____

Número de niños _____

1. Qué alimentos come más Usted?

Categoría de alimento	Poca	Moderada	Mucha
Pan, arroz, fideos, gachas de avena u otros alimentos hechos de granos, tales como machica, pasteles			
Calabaza, zanahorias, ñames o patatas dulces que son de color amarillo o naranja en el interior, o cualquier otro vegetal con carne amarilla o naranja?			
Patatas blancas, ñame blanco, mandioca, yuca, o cualquier otro alimento hecho de raíces?			
Aguacate			
Verduras de hoja verde oscura, como las espinacas			
Otros tipos de verduras			
Mangos o papayas			
Otros tipos de frutas			
Hígado, riñón, corazón u otras carnes de órganos			
Carne, como de res, cerdo, cordero, cabra, pollo o pato			
Pescado fresco, seco o mariscos			
huevos			
Frijoles, tofu, guisantes, chocho o lentejas			
Frutos secos o semillas			
Leche líquida, yogur sin endulzar, o queso, o cualquier otro lacteo			
Alimentos azucarados como galletas o dulces			
Alimentos que contengan aceite, grasa o mantequilla			

2. Generalmente dónde hace las compras, cuántas veces por mes y por qué allí?

Lugar	Todos los días	3 días de semana	Una vez de semana	Una vez cada dos semanas	Una vez al mes o menos	Por que
Supermercado						
Mercado						
Tienda de barrio						
Bioferia						
Canasta						
Otro:....						

3. Dónde compra la mayoría de sus productos frescos (frutas y vegetales) y porqué?

.....

[3.1 De dónde vienes a esta feria?

4. Siembra algún tipo de alimento o hierba en su propia casa?

- 1) Si 2) No

4.1 Que alimento siembra usted y por qué?

Tipo de producto	cantidad	por qué

5. Recibe algún(os) producto alimentario de familiares que tienen tierra en el campo y viven ahí?

- 1) Si 2) No

5.1 Qué tipos de productos recibes y cuántas veces al mes?

<i>Tipo de producto</i>	<i>una vez por semana</i>	<i>Unas pocas veces al mes</i>	<i>Una vez al mes o menos</i>

6. En su hogar, en promedio, cuánto gasta en comida semanalmente?

.....

7. Generalmente, qué porcentaje de los ingresos familiares gastan en alimentación?

_____ 1-25% _____ 26-50% _____ 51-75% _____ 76-100%

8. Cuáles son los factores más importantes que están tomando en consideración al decidir qué productos alimenticios comprar?

.....

9. Qué elementos toma en cuenta para decidirse por un producto? (Marcar si toma en cuenta o no toma en cuenta y marque del 1 al 3 el orden de importancia siendo el 1 el mas importante)

Característica	No toma en cuenta 1	2	3	4	Toma en cuenta mucho 5	Orden de importancia
Presencia de químicos						
Presencia de ingredientes genéticamente modificados						
Valor nutricional						
Efectos en el medio ambiente						
Saludable						
Precio						
Apariencia (color, tamaño, etc.)						
Marca						
Producido por familias campesinas						

Orgánicos (certificado)						
Otros:...						

10. Ha visto la etiqueta semaforo en los productos?

- 1) Si 2) No

10.1 Cuánto le influye esto al momento de comprar un producto?

<i>De ningún modo</i> 1	2	3	4	<i>mucho</i> 5
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10.2 Por qué:

.....

11. Qué significa para usted el “consumo responsable”?

.....

.....

12. Te consideras un “consumidor responsable” [Consumo responsable se define como ‘una forma sostenible, equitativa, regenerativa y sana de consumo, circulación y producción de alimentos’]?

<i>De ningún modo</i> 1	2	3	4	<i>mucho</i> 5
----------------------------	---	---	---	-------------------

12.1 Por qué:

.....

.....

13. Has oído hablar de la campaña agroecologica de Que Rico Es?

- 1) Si 2) No

13.1 Qué sabes sobre esta campaña y cómo has estado involucrado?

.....

14. En caso de que usted esté interesado en participar en un estudio de seguimiento, para entender las opciones de los consumidores con más detalle, ¿puedo anotar su dirección de correo electrónico / número de teléfono?

Muchas gracias!

Appendix 2: List of observations

Type of observation	Date and Place	Explanation
EkoRural workshop	23-02-2017, Otavalo	Intermediary planning and reflection meeting to assess progress IDRC project and plan future activities. Duration: one full day
Presentation ethnographic instruments	13-03-2017, Quito	Presentation by research team member, followed by discussion on improvement ethnographic instruments. Duration: 3 hours
Visit to la Floresta market	16-03-2017, Quito	Orienteing field visit to organic market, to get familiar with producers and gain understanding of the interaction between producers and consumers. Duration: 2 hours
Meeting Collectivo Agriecologico (MESSE)	21-03-2017, Ibarra	Meeting to introduce all organizations working on responsible production and consumption. Round-table to discuss progress Que Rico Es campaign. Duration: one full day
Presentation foodshed research protocol	04-04-2017, Quito	Presentation by research team member, followed by discussion on how to integrate food shed research and mapping in the IDRC project. Duration: 1,5 hours
Meeting farmer collective of bioferia	02-05-2017, Otavalo	Bi-monthly meeting of collective of farmers selling at the feria. The goal of this meeting was to discuss how to expand the offer of available products. Duration: 4 hours
Ethnography with rural family	02-05-2017 till 05-05-2017, Otavalo	Home stay, learning about- and participate in ecological agriculture. Including participant observation at bioferia in Ibarra. Goal: validate ethnographic observation tools. Duration: three full days
Ethnography with regular family	09-06-2017 till 11-06-2017, Quito	Home stay with Afro-Ecuadorian family in Carcelen

		Bajo. Goal: observe and participate in all food practices. Duration: three full days
Ethnography with responsible family	13-06-2017 till 15-06-2017, Quito	Home stay with family in Supermanzana C, close to the bioferia. Goal: observe and participate in all food practices. Duration: three full days
Plenary session IDRC Project	22-06-2017, Quito	Round table with involved experts, to evaluate progress and discuss following steps, including the relevance to-, and incorporation of Que Rico Es. Duration: 2 hours

Observations bioferia

<i>Type of activities</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Introducing the research-team	17-03-2017	Visit to the market with research team FLACSO to get familiar with the market coordinators and research population of producers and consumers. Duration: 3 hours
Observation	31-03-2017	Observations of market activities, informal conversations with consumers and producers. Duration: 2 hours
Observation and survey	07-04-2017	Observations of consumer behavior and producer-consumer interaction. From peak-hours of market (7 to 8 am) until end, around noon. Survey among producers. Duration: 5 hours
Observation and consumer survey	21-04-2017	Duration: 4 hours
Observation and consumer survey	28-04-2017	Duration: 4 hours
Participant observation vendors feria	05-05-2017	Helping family of homestay building up their stand and selling the products Duration: 7 hours

Observation and consumer survey	12-05-2017	Duration: 4 hours
Observation and consumer survey	02-06-2017	Duration: 4 hours
Observation and consumer survey	09-06-2017	Duration: 4 hours
Observation and consumer survey	16-06-2017	Duration: 4 hours

Appendix 3: Coding scheme qualitative data

Concept to be measured	Instruments	Indicators
Main motivators for food choices (money, convenience, health, sustainability)	Survey Check all instruments Check field notes Expert interviews	Money Convenience Health sustainability
Personality characteristics supporting responsible consumption	Field notes Classification of food Observation food purchase Observation food preparation Expert interviews	Values/personality characteristics
Capacities that enable responsible consumption (income, availability, knowledge)	Survey Field Notes Observation food purchase Calendario de comidas Expert interviews	Income Availability Knowledge
Awareness of origin products and interaction with producers	Survey Field notes & other instruments ethnography Observations feria Expert interviews	Awareness origin Interaction consumers
Cultural customs and traditions around food consumption	Ethnographic field notes Expert interviews	Cultural customs/traditions
Influence on food practices by social network	Fieldnotes ethnography Interview Sayri	Social network
Influence on food practices by government measures for responsible consumption (traffic-light label, direct purchasing, promotion Andean diet)	Survey Observation guides ethnography Expert interviews	Traffic light label Direct purchasing Andean diet