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Queen City Culture:
Immigration, Food, Culture and Burlington's Local Food System

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A senior thesis
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Abstract

Burlington Vermont, and the greater Burlington area has a rich history of immigration which often gets undermined within the discussions of the local food system and locavore movements (Bose, 2014). The locavore movement itself, is often viewed as being associated with privilege, leaving certain populations excluded from participating (Chou, 2018; Morland, 2009). The locavore movement, though often thought of as a trendy and innovative concept, has really been around throughout Burlington's history in respect to people simply participating in the local food system. Though this participation in the local food system has taken different shapes throughout history, the localized food system is not actually a new concept. Historically, Immigrant populations have had a notable level influence on, and participation within the local food system in Burlington (McCullum, 2014). This research is aimed at bringing to light, the scale of influence that Burlington's immigrant history has had on the local food system which we see today. Through a series of interviews, I have developed a podcast *Queen City Culture*, available at www.anchor.fm/queencityculture, and on most podcast streaming sites, for people to access and listen to. These interviews involve people with different affiliations and perspectives on the local food system and immigration in a historic context and as it stands today. This series helps to depict immigration in Burlington, and ways in which immigrant communities contribute a local food system, different from the conventional. This project brought to light important aspects of the new American community and ways in which they interact with the food system. This research is important for anyone participating within the Burlington food system to acknowledge and be aware of, because to be unaware of these communities and their contribution would be a disadvantage to the cohesivity and overall progress of our community. By providing this information to the general public, I hope that local consumers build an awareness, and that the support for the new American producers may grow, and that their stories are more widely heard.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all participants in my podcast series, who offered their time in order to help me synthesize a clear understanding of Burlington's local food system and its historic immigrant influence. I would also like to thank my advisors, Karen Nordstrom and Teresa Mares, who supported and helped to guide me through this process.

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Introduction

The Queen City and the greater Burlington area have long been a destination for re-location of many individuals and families, both looking to, and forced to immigrate to the United States (AALV, 2017; Bose, 2014). This influx of individuals has made a significant impact on the Burlington demographic, as the state itself remains nearly 95% Caucasian composition (Bureau, 2017). Immigrants and refugees, regardless of location, experience an enormous amount of impact among the resettlement within new countries and cultures (Moffat, Mohammed, & Newbold, 2017). One of the major challenges facing new immigrant peoples after entering a new host country is related to the loss of food products and food consumption patterns (Dweba, Oguttu, & Mbajiorgu, 2018; MinkoffZern, 2014)

Amidst the influx of new Americans, Burlington and the greater Burlington area is also going through a food system transition with a greater emphasis on the locavore movement. The locavore movement emphasizes consumption of local goods and produce for reasons of environmental consciousness, health, promotion of local economy, and support of one's neighbors (DeLind, 2010). While there are benefits and perceived moral associations with the locavore movement, there are also many obstacles which keep people out of reach of participating in the movement. Many of these obstacles relate to socioeconomic status and knowledge of food preparation and local produce (Macias, 2008; Schipanski et al., 2016). There is an undeniable intersection between the local food system and the Burlington immigrant population; this intersection involves culturally appropriate food, acculturation, labor and different levels of participation within the food system (AALV, 2017; McCullum, 2014). When exploring Burlington's Food system and its connection to immigrant populations, it is not only important to examine how it exists today, but to also compare it within a historic frame. Burlington has historically seen waves of immigrants and has gone through many demographic transitions; these changes in cultural composition and influence have provided many shifts to the local food system.

To understand this intersection of food and culture, I have developed a podcast, Queen City Culture: Immigration, Food, Culture and a Local Food System. This podcast provided an opportunity for individuals, with different affiliations to our local food system, to share their

stories in hopes to show how immigrant populations throughout Burlington's history have played a significant role in the local food system. By interviewing different individuals with varying degrees of expertise and experience with these overarching themes of local food system and immigration, I was able to develop a collection of stories, histories and more current accounts, to allow listeners to see reoccurring patterns, significant events and shifts in respect to Burlington's immigrant history and the local food system.

Literature Review

Immigration, Perceptions & Realities

The United States, as we know it today was built on centuries of immigration, the movement of peoples from one country to another, and continues to this day. Our founding fathers migrated to the United States, during the fifteenth century, and have since encouraged the migration of other peoples, through means of force and with pull factors. The discovery of the *New World*, stimulated a steady stream of migrants, both voluntary and involuntary, which has only increased throughout history (Chiswick, 2002). African peoples were enslaved and forced to migrate to America in order to work the lands for the European colonizers. The migration of Indentured Servants from Western Europe was financed by colonizers of the *New World* (Chiswick, 2002; Wallach, 2013). The first colonists are also responsible for the pushing or forced migration of native peoples to Canada and into the West. Colonized America not only forced migration, but it had its own draw of opportunity for people of the world, pull factors, as there was a significant economic incentives drawing people to the U.S (Chiswick, 2002). In many regions of the globe, there also existed, and still exist, push factors, which forced people to leave their homes for means of survival and hopes for better lives (Bose, 2014; Hiers, Soehl, & Wimmer, 2017). The industrialized American society provided jobs for hardworking peoples; many Chinese moved to the States to help construct the transcontinental railroad during the nineteenth century, and today Mexicans are currently the backbone to the Dairy industry in Vermont, and immigrants, similarly, are the backbone to the U.S food system (Bauer, 2010; Bouvier, 1986; Garcia, 2017). America was built on immigrants, and still is (Chiswick, 2002). The main draw of the U.S is the potential for jobs and hopes of building a better life for oneself or their family. In the late twentieth century, immigrants made up around seven percent of the U.S population; it was predicted, given the low birth rates of that time, that immigration would account for all of the growth in the U.S by the year 2030 (Bouvier, 1986). Today, over fifteen percent of Americans are foreign born (Cordeiro, Sibeko, & Nelson-Peterman, 2018; Huth, 2018). These numbers of foreign-born individuals contribute to the American melting pot culture.

Ever since the September 11th, terrorist attack in 2001, there have been significant adjustments in the way that our country handles immigration (Coleman & Kocher, 2011; Garcia, 2017; Obinna, 2018). As a result of that incident, Congress reorganized border policing. This reorganization resulted in the creation of the Customs and Border Control (CPB). The CPB was given jurisdiction to 100 miles from the border in all U.S border states (Moon & Stanton, 2014). This recent reorganization was the largest shift in immigration policy since the creation of the U.S Border Control in 1924 (Coleman & Kocher, 2011). Increased American Nativism, opposition to outside influences, and the ambivalence about immigration has long resulted in widespread exclusion and discrimination against Immigrants, as well as increased political involvement within the United States (Ku, 2013; Mesoudi, 2018; Obinna, 2018; Schrag, 2010). This historic uncertainty towards newcomers stems from skepticisms in regard to their socioeconomic status, religion and political affiliations (Obinna, 2018; Pitt, 2016). This discrimination often reaches populations who are actually native born, but hold different physical characteristics such as skin color, linking them to races and ethnicities not thought of as being American (Ku, 2013; Wallach, 2013). Obinna (2018), suggests that anti-immigrant policies began to increase after the Great Depression, as Americans blamed immigrants, while underpaid and exploited, for the economic crises. Immigrants were and are still willing to work for much less than U.S Born individuals (Briggs, 2006; Chiswick, 2002; Gray, Horton, Ribas, & Stuesse, 2017; Hiers et al., 2017; Wallach, 2013). Briggs (2005), argued that the United States continues to be a country where labor needs are met by immigration.

Under today's political leadership, immigrants are racialized and criminalized; portraying immigrants as harbingers of crime and instability (Obinna, 2018). These views are not necessarily new, they fit the historic narrative that immigrants lack the same cultural values as U.S born individuals, depicting them as less than, and undeserving as the same treatment as non-immigrant peoples (Obinna, 2018). Historically, immigrants have succumbed to realities of racial profiling, social inequity, and discrimination as the benefits of living in America overshadow the societal abuses (Ayón, Ojeda, & Ruano, 2018; Coleman & Kocher, 2011; Cordeiro et al., 2018; Pitt, 2016). In order to lessen the realities of discrimination against immigrant peoples, it was common for immigrant families to change their names, hide their cultural practices outside of the household, comply to societal norms and remain under the radar, particularly those who lacked documentation. For some people, the fear of being an immigrant outweighed the loss of identity

experienced through forced assimilation, the absorption or integration of one's surrounding culture (Fairfax, 2012; Hiers et al., 2017; Ku, 2013; Mesoudi, 2018; Thompson, 2011). Dweba (2018), suggests that adopting one's host country culture is most prevalent among children, as they often have greater exposure through schooling, and are more easily acculturated due to peer pressure and media.

Immigrants and the U.S Food System

The United States food system was built upon slavery and indentured servitude, and still relies heavily on forced labor and modern-day slavery (Bauer, 2010; Gray, 2014; Obinna, 2018). The government estimates that sixty percent of the agricultural workers in American are undocumented immigrants (Bauer, 2010). Jayaraman (2013) states that around forty percent of restaurant workers in New York are undocumented immigrants. Documented immigrants, similarly, make up a significant percentage of food service workers. The United States has long seen mass migrations of peoples, immigrating by means of force or by choice. There have been two main eras of immigration, that of *mass migration*, the steady stream of immigrants entering the U.S from Europe and Africa, and the era we find ourselves in today, the era of *constrained mass migration* (Chiswick, 2002). This constraint relates to increased immigration policy, which makes entering the United States a more difficult feat than it once was. This change has ultimately resulted in an increase of undocumented immigrants, or people entering the country without proper legal documentation to remain within the countries borders (Bauer, 2010; Chiswick, 2002). Many aspects of our food system are overlooked and under credited. Those aspects are related to those harvesting, planting, processing and packaging food (Bauer, 2010; Gray, 2014; Jayaraman, 2013; Stuesse, 2015). These jobs are hard, dangerous, and often unappealing to citizens of this country (Briggs, 2006; Chiswick, 2002; Stuesse, 2015). While often undesirable, these jobs are required in order to maintain the food system we see today, with cheap prices and ease of access.

Historically, the U.S has relied on immigrant labor to produce the food needed for the population. Overtime, laborers in the food system have been from different regions of the world, but still primarily, were not born citizens of the United States (Bauer, 2010; Gray, 2014; Obinna, 2018). The continual stream of immigrants prevented wages for indentured servants to increase.

This has allowed for producers to pay low wages for immigrant peoples, because they are able to threaten replacement in response to a request for a higher wage, as there are plenty of other immigrant peoples available and willing to work for that wage (Gray, 2014; Jayaraman, 2013; Thompson, 2011). Immigrant laborers are not only threatened with replacement, but now, as more and more immigrants are undocumented, they are threatened by the fear of detainment and deportation (Bose, 2014; Garcia, 2017; Gray, 2014). This constant threat puts immigrants in a more vulnerable position, allowing farm, factory and restaurant owners to take advantage of their non-citizenship and subject workers to dangerous working conditions, extended work weeks, no sick time, and low wages (Gray, 2014; Stuesse, 2015).

Migrant workers often make the decision to come to the U.S out of financial necessity in order to provide for their families. While treatment of migrants in the U.S food system is often inhumane, immigrants continue to pursue these jobs, because the compensation is still better than in their home country (Bauer, 2010; Garcia, 2017; Stuesse, 2015). It is important to clarify that these abuses are not only associated with the industrialized food system, but they reach more intimate sectors of local food production and family owned farms (Gray, 2014). Stressors of being an immigrant worker increase as a lot of the workers are not only separated from their families, but also from society. Gray (2014) suggests through her research, that employers try to avoid the assimilation of their workers, because once ‘they get Americanized, then they get lazy’ (74). Another farmer argued that employers ‘don’t want Mexicans [workers] speaking English, because as soon as they start speaking English they start working like Americans’ (75). The fear of assimilation stems from the possibility that once immigrant workers begin speaking English and communicating with outsiders, they may have a better understanding of their rights, and will demand higher wages, or will leave to seek better job opportunities. By keeping their workers tied to the property, isolated from society, employers maintain control (Ibid). Isolation also creates reliant relationships among employers and employees. Bauer (2010), emphasized the abuse of female workers in the food system and their increased vulnerability; where sexual predators saw those women and other undocumented women as the ‘perfect victims’, because they were isolated, generally did not know their rights, and their undocumented status. The increased vulnerability of undocumented female food system workers made them easy targets for sexual assault and abuse (Ibid). Employers find ways of taking advantage of their workers by developing means of dependence and manipulation. To compensate for marginal wages,

employers often offer things like free housing, or transportation to their workers, which often gets interpreted as a form of care, but is ultimately a way for employers to have their workers become reliant upon them. This relationship is what Gray (2014) defines as a *paternalism* or a *paternal relationship*, where workers perceive their employers as having authority beyond just ownership of the means of production. This type of intimate relationship allows employers to not only have control over their employees work life, but their home life as well; a manipulative way of reinforcing power hierarchies (Gray, 2014).

Within the United States government, agriculture has been exempted from national labor laws; this permits the lower wages, uncompensated over time, denial of sick days, exposure to toxic chemicals and much more that contributes to the unequal treatment of migrant farm workers (Bauer, 2010; Gray, 2014; Pitt, 2016). Agriculture also differs from other industries because it relies on government subsidies to compensate for financial losses of increased production costs, rather than portraying a higher price to consumers (Gray, 2014). A majority of government subsidies however, are given to large scale, corporate farms; those which produce mostly commodity crops, which are highly mechanized and not as reliant on human labor. This leaves many ‘small scale’ farms to use what is referred to as *labor subsidies*, which transfers those production costs to their workers through means of low wages, poor working conditions, and old and dangerous technologies (Gray, 2014; Wilson, 2012). By reducing wages for workers, employers are able to maximize their profits, while still being competitive in the market and providing reasonable prices to consumers.

Food, Culture & Syncretism

Moon and Stanton (2014), suggest that food is universal, in the sense that every human needs it; Yet, at the same time, food remains richly specific in its cultural, regional and personal variations (Dweba et al., 2018; Moon & Stanton, 2014). Jayaraman (2013), states that “food is essential, universally important to everyone, because every culture, no matter its beliefs or traditions, cares about food” (21). Food ties to a sense of place, memory and identity; it exemplifies a connection between culture and biology. Culture, while generally specific to countries and regions of origin, is generally a large part of one’s personal identity. As a person migrates to another region of the world, they will generally bring with them different aspects of

their home culture, be it religious practices, customs, societal views, and food practices (Ku, 2013; Wallach, 2013). One of the major barriers facing immigrant peoples after entering a new host country is the loss of food products and food consumption patterns (Dweba et al., 2018; MinkoffZern, 2014). Often, traditional foods are not as readily available in new host countries, because of differing agricultural climates or differences in regularly consumed foods. Food plays a significant role not only in nutrition, but also in a social, cultural and religious context ; Failing to obtain culturally appropriate foods is a secondary tier of food insecurity, which is a common occurrence among immigrants within the United States (Aronson, 2014; Cordeiro et al., 2018; Dweba et al., 2018; Menezes, 2004; MinkoffZern, 2014). Cordeiro et.al (2018), concluded within a study that immigrant people rated having access to cultural foods as just as important to having access to healthful foods, exemplifying just how significant cultural connections can be to a person.

For many marginalized, and misrepresented communities, food memory is a common way to seek wholeness and belonging. Garcia (2017) and Wallach (2013), explain that eating, in reference to culturally appropriate foods, acts as a metaphor of solidarity, belonging and exclusion. By eating traditional foods from one's home culture, there is a heightened sense of connection to place and general comfort. The palate often becomes a way for migrating peoples to resist cultural dismemberment and hold on to those cultural aspects of their personal identity (Dweba et al., 2018; Garcia, 2017; Mares, 2012; Wallach, 2013). As people immigrate to new countries, they often bring with them new cuisines and new ways of cooking, as a way to keep that part of their culture alive (Dweba et al., 2018; Fairfax, 2012; Garcia, 2017; McCullum, 2014; Wallach, 2013). This concept of cultural migration is the reason why America is considered the cultural melting pot; a country built on immigrants, will naturally bring together the cultures of those who reside there (Chiswick, 2002; Fairfax, 2012; Wallach, 2013). This mixing of cultures is sometimes referred to as syncretism, or as defined by the Merriam Webster (2018) dictionary, the amalgamation of different religions, cultures or schools of thought. As different cultures meet by means of the migration of people, they will naturally mix. Globalization, and the movement of peoples across territorial boundaries has historically and continues to redefine national foodways (Garcia, 2017; McCullum, 2014). What is today considered *American* cuisine, was really a combination of African, Native American and European ideas, brought together to make a new style of cooking (Wallach, 2013). By looking at

the social history of America and its food systems, it is possible to see certain struggles, adaptations, oppressions and innovations of immigrant people, as well as the emergence of certain cultures and customs (Fairfax, 2012; Garcia, 2017). As waves of immigrants settle within America, they often form communities based off of familial and cultural cohesion; these communities are generally known for becoming stable economic institutions and for creating resilient cuisines (Fairfax, 2012). It is known that immigrant families bring with them traditional knowledge, and because of that, immigrants have historically become national leaders within their traditional food practices such as butter production, animal husbandry and cheese making (Dweba et al., 2018; Fairfax, 2012; Garcia, 2017).

Locavore Movement

The locavore movement, aimed at increasing consumption of locally produced goods, has been growing over the past few decades because of its close connections to environmental, personal, and community health promotion (DeLind, 2010). There are many approaches to local food movements, through programs relating to community gardening, community supported agriculture, and organic farmers markets. All approaches tie to communal support and the promotion of local economies (Macias, 2008; Moon & Stanton, 2014). In regard to sustainability and overall health of our food systems, local food movements are portrayed as superior when compared to the conventional system. The conventional system refers to global, non-organic production of goods, shipped all over the world for economic reasons (Fairfax, 2012; Ohmer, 2009; Sazvar, 2018). During the early nineteenth century, there began a transition away from growing and cooking one's own food, shifting the food system towards industrialization and the conventional system. Once commercial markets began to come to the forefront of food purchasing and consumption, small-scale, local and regionally oriented farming were thought of as slow and unproductive in comparison to the heightened efficiency and economic opportunity of the industrialized system. The locavore movement is strongly rooted in returning to the pre-industrialized ways of living (Moon & Stanton, 2014). We as a society are in no way shifting away from conventional food production as there continue to be innovations and growth within industrialized food production systems and a reliance on the quantity of its production. However, there are, simultaneously, increased efforts to bring back certain practices of localized, pre-

industrial systems. The pre-industrial practices are often associated with environment and human health promotion. By incorporating these pre-industrialized practices into the conventional system, there is greater movement towards a goal to bring the food system back to a healthier state, more focused on environment and human health (Sazvar, 2018). The global food system has notoriously embodied harmful farming practices, which connects to greater energy inputs and emissions, as well as a degradation of lands, destruction of wildlife habitat, and contribution of environmental pollutants via pesticides, fertilizers, and other growth promoting chemicals (Fairfax, 2012; Sazvar, 2018; Schipanski et al., 2016).

Authors argue that while local food movements seem to have gained support, there are many faults that lay within those systems, which cause disparities among communities (Born, 2006; Hartwig & Mason, 2016; Macias, 2008; MinkoffZern, 2014; Schipanski et al., 2016). Locavores and individuals who primarily choose to purchase local produce, are frequently from higher socioeconomic status, as local products are sold at higher prices because of the greater costs of inputs for the individual farmers and a generally higher quality of what is being produced (Campbell, 2014; Fairfax, 2012). This disparity leaves certain populations at a disadvantage; Local food is not as financially accessible as other imported, commercial products, to people of lower social economic status (Chou, 2018; Morland, 2009). Local produce, in comparison, remains more expensive than conventional fruits and vegetables, which are produced at larger scale. Being a locavore often carries a connotation of privilege, as it is an expensive lifestyle to maintain. It has been shown that being a locavore allows individuals who identify as such, to think that they are making a difference in the world, just by consuming (Garcia, 2017; Moon & Stanton, 2014; Walker, 2012). Walker (2012), argues that the local food movement carries a “feel good” message; buying locally and rejecting products of industrial agriculture will result in being healthier while saving the world at the same time. This mindset has the potential to be harmful to our greater planet, as it gives a false assurance to certain individuals that by consuming local products, they are doing their part in the fight against environmental degradation; it does not remain that simple (DeLind, 2010). It is argued that local food production is not necessarily more sustainable than conventional systems. Moon and Stanton (2014), argue that attempting to eat local food is not a blanket solution, merely a point of engagement, and at best, a slow movement toward clearer, shared understandings and more intentional collective actions. Small scale local producers do not inherently include organic and

sustainable practices (Schipanski et al., 2016). Local food products are capable as being just as bad for the environment as products from the conventional system (Morland, 2009). This concept is referred to as the ‘local trap’ (Born, 2006; Gray, 2014). Companies have been conflating the term *local* for means of promoting sales of local products because of the wholesome connotation the word *local* holds. Local production, however, does not necessarily mean better. There is still the ability for local producers to exploit their farm workers, and use harmful practices (Bauer, 2010; Gray, 2014).

Many authors and researchers recognize that local production, allows for a strengthened local economy, increased communal dynamics, and contribution to a greater sense of place (DeLind, 2010; Moon & Stanton, 2014; Ohmer, 2009). Buying from local producers provides the opportunity for increased social interaction among community members, and builds norms of reciprocity and trust (Ohmer, 2009). While the purchasing of local goods provides benefits to producers and consumers, there is still harm being done if there are individuals incapable of participating in that system; by not being able to afford local products, a person may be kept from feeling that sense of community and trust in their neighbors. Though there are means of addressing some of those discrepancies, they do still continue to exist, as there truly is no end all, be all solution (DeLind, 2010; Seguin, 2017). Local food production remains complex, as it has many impacts as well as many stakeholders. The definition of local, itself, is often up for interpretation, adding to the complexity (Garcia, 2017). While there are arguments both for and against local food movements, many authors reason that these movements are situational and dependent on specific communal interactions and intentions (DeLind, 2010; Glasser, 2018; Macias, 2008; Schipanski et al., 2016). There is great potential for the future of local food systems, but that does not necessarily mean that local food is inevitably the solution to our flawed food system.

Vermont Context

Vermont has long been a destination for resettling individuals and families, both looking to and forced to immigrate to the United States (Bose, 2014). Vermont, however, is located within a border zone, meaning CPB agents, as mentioned above, have the ability to be more aggressive, establish check-points, stop cars without probable cause, fly drones over “suspected

lands” even if private (Garcia, 2017). Since 9/11, the Vermont-Canada border has become “increasingly ‘Mexicanized’, amidst concerns of terrorism and lax surveillance” (31) (Mares, 2019). Vermont is home to a large undocumented population; There are around one thousand undocumented migrant workers, mostly from Mexico, who work on the State’s dairy farms. It is argued that without migrant workers, the dairy industry would not be able to exist (Allen, 2017). This type of patrolling from Border Patrol, has made life very frightening for undocumented dairy workers within 100 miles of the border, encompassing a majority of Vermont (Mares, 2019). Many migrant workers never leave the farm because they lack access to safe transportation and for fear of being detained and deported. This reality makes daily existence stressful for these workers. Consistent with national and historic norms, there is significant mistreatment among these migrant farm workers within the State; it is difficult for them to fight injustices for fear of deportation and a loss of stable income for their families. There are however, increasing efforts within Vermont through farmworker organizing and local organizations like Milk with Dignity and Migrant Justice which assist migrant workers in their fight for worker justice (Ibid). Many migrant workers are subjected to dangerous working environments, harsh housing accommodations, low wages, extended work weeks, food insecurity, and constant fear of detainment and deportation (Bose, 2014; Garcia, 2017; Mares, 2019). While the immigration presence in Vermont extends further than the dairy industry, this case seems to capture the raw and real current issues that immigrants experience at a national level not only today, but as a historical pattern. Migration, forced or voluntary, is a very difficult experience which is only made harder when forced to fear for one’s own daily existence. Immigrants within the United States have long faced inequities and discrimination which hinders their ability to exist within the national borders (Hiers et al., 2017; Mesoudi, 2018; Obinna, 2018). Though these historic abuses exist, the U.S remains a destination for those seeking asylum and better opportunities for themselves and their families. Within the existing political environment immigration is arguably at its peak of contention. Xenophobia or racism, and anti-immigrant hatred is increasingly endorsed by the current administration, which makes it more present throughout the U.S society. Still however, waves of people continue to try to cross the U.S borders every day for reasons of survival, safety and aspiring success (Obinna, 2018).

Within Vermont, there are many issues regarding immigrant populations and culturally appropriate foods (Garcia, 2017). Food remains one of the primary ways that allow immigrants

to remain connected to their country of origin, a connection which alleviates some of the daily stresses of living in a new country (Moon & Stanton, 2014). As discussed within the previous literature section regarding Immigration, Vermont has intensified barriers to culturally appropriate foods because of environmental factors, insufficient transportation to food stores and inadequate availability of traditional ingredients (Bose, 2014; Dweba et al., 2018; Garcia, 2017; Mares, 2019). By having proper and consistent access to culturally appropriate foods, immigrants are more likely to reach appropriate levels of food security (Aronson, 2014; Cordeiro et al., 2018; Pitt, 2016). Throughout history, there have always been examples of immigrant peoples bringing with them physical traces of their culture, intentional or not, through means of seeds and other forms of food (Wallach, 2013). This recurrence has aided immigrants within Vermont deal with certain barriers to accessing culturally appropriate food. There have been successful efforts aimed at growing ‘atypical’ climatic produce and grains within the Vermont landscape in order to serve different cultural cuisines (McCullum, 2014). These innovations and initiatives have long made culturally appropriate foods more accessible to immigrant and refugee populations not only within Vermont but at a national level, and have simultaneously been altering the local food systems (McCullum, 2014; Ober, 2013; Wallach, 2013).

In the case of Burlington, VT, there have been many innovative programs and efforts implemented in order to create a more just and accessible local food system (Macias, 2008). These programs attempt to work with all individuals within communities, to alleviate the negative pressures that a localized food movement can often entail. There are efforts on community gleaning, or the gathering of leftover produce from harvest. There are examples of subsidized ‘health care shares’, providing local produce to people with health-related problems which potentially can be alleviated by a more healthful diet. Other efforts assist certain financially and medically burdened families, gain access to the healthy, local foods which are generally out of reach (VYCC, 2018). These efforts are lessening the inaccessibility of local foods, while aiming to minimize environmental impacts. While the implemented efforts have not necessarily solved all food system discrepancies, they have made significant progress addressing issues within the Vermont food system. Vermont, while not absent from flaws, is a noteworthy leader in proactive food and environmental movements, and should be used as an example, for other regions looking to incorporate more, all-encompassing, equitable and accessible localized food systems.

Objectives

The objective of my thesis was to bring to light a very important history of the immigration in Burlington, and its intersection with the local food system. Through my podcast series, I was able to illustrate the influence that immigrant populations in Burlington have had on the local food system. This connection was exemplified through conversations with Burlington historians, new immigrant farmers, and those who work with programs relating to local food production and Burlington's immigrant and refugee communities. Though this project did not conclude with one definite answer to how exactly Burlington's immigrant history has impacted the food system, I was able to illustrate how immigrant populations contribute the local food system. This series intends to provide listeners with important insight, through histories and stories, in order to better understand this intersection of immigration and the local food system within Burlington, Vermont.

Methods

To present the findings for the immigrant influence on Burlington's Food System, I have created a podcast in order to exhibit interviews on a virtual and accessible platform. This series of seven podcast episodes, including an introduction and a conclusion episode, took place over a series of two months, with interviews taking place at the best convenience of each participant. Each of the interviews was conducted using a semi-structured interview guide (see appendix B-F), influenced specifically by their role in the food system. These guides were used in order to remain on track and get through all of the information. The interviews themselves were intended to be informal, more conversational and used as an opportunity for storytelling (Davies, 2014). Each interviewee was chosen for a specific reason, in hopes that the individual, or pair of individuals would be able to provide the most appropriate information relating to their topic of

focus (Fetterman, 1998). Podcast episodes are available through a program called Anchor, but are also accessible on Spotify, Apple Podcasts, Stitcher, Google Podcasts, Overcast, Radio Public, Pocket Casts and Breaker. The idea of each interview was to explore, through conversation, how the waves of immigrants throughout Burlington's history have changed the food system, resulting in how it is today. Interviews were conducted with Burlington historians, food fanatics, new immigrant farmers, and those working with current immigrant populations and programs (see figure 1.1). The goal of the podcast is to get people to recognize that, though it may not look like it on the surface, the Burlington food system has long been influenced by the immigrant and refugee populations in the area.

The brief overview episode discussed the intentions for my project and my methods. The introduction episode provided background to the topic of focus and the importance of the research. The episode outlined who the interviews that followed would focus on and how it would relate the overarching themes of food and culture, immigrant communities and the Burlington Local Food System. To explore these ideas, individuals were chosen strategically to interview, from all different facets of the food system and from the Burlington immigrant population.

1.1 Interview Content

Interviewee	Affiliation	Content of Episode
Elise Guyette & Gale Rosenberg	Burlington Edible History Tour	<p>Holistic historical perspective of Burlington Food System</p> <p>Different waves of immigrants and the different roles they took within the food system</p> <p>Mixing of Old and New Food Tradition</p> <p>Importance of Food and Culture</p>
Harka Khadka	Pine Island Community Farm	<p>Production of Culturally Appropriate Foods</p> <p>New American Farmers</p> <p>Food Tradition / Food & Culture</p> <p>Carrying of Food and Food Tradition</p>
Alisha Laramée	New Farms for New Americans	<p>Food Tradition</p> <p>Production of culturally appropriate foods</p> <p>Communication Networks</p> <p>Farming as a Connection to Home</p> <p>Strengthening Familial Ties</p>
Carolina Lukac	Vermont Community Garden Network	<p>Food Building Community</p> <p>Continuing Tradition</p> <p>Culturally Appropriate Foods</p> <p>Cultural Exchange</p> <p>Cultural Perspectives</p>
Teresa Mares	Huertas	<p>Challenges to Immigrants in Vermont</p> <p>Immigrants in the Food System (Present and Historic Lenses)</p> <p>Social Justice Movements</p> <p>Food as a Connection to Home</p> <p>Diverse Systems as Resilient Systems</p>

The final episode in the series is a synthesis of the interviews and all the information that was uncovered. This episode was intended to tie together overlapping concepts, and truly dissect and pick apart what was discussed throughout the series. In order to find these overarching themes, all of the interviews were transcribed and analyzed. Emergent themes were highlighted and organized together, in order to show how themes crossed over from interview to interview. This analysis brings to light the history of Immigrants and their current presence in the Queen City and greater area and how their participation has truly transformed the food system into what it is today.

Along with the interviews, I used other forms of data which were able to assist in my analysis and conclusion; providing an opportunity for triangulation (Creswell, 2018). Appendix A shows a layout of the community garden at Pine Island Community Farm; The image, shows the division of garden plots by cultural group, and the suggestions of integration and mixing of ethnic groups. Participant observation at Pine Island Community farm, also contributed to the overall research. Throughout the semester of collecting data, I was also enrolled in a Food and Labor class, which contributed greatly to my understanding of the histories of these topics and provided a significant addition to my collection of literature. The Food and Labor class required a secondary *thesis project*, which I tied into research for this project, and where I looked more deeply into the production of culturally appropriate foods for new American communities here in Burlington.

Within this approach to my research project, there were three primary limitations, 1) speaking to people about contentious topics 2) a lack of existing knowledge or public information about the topics 3) limited time. The first limitation may have brought up personal biases and had the ability to sway how the information was received. It may have also influenced

who was willing to participate within the interviews; the state of the topic impacted people's willingness to put their names and stories out on to a public platform. The second limit made it hard to legitimize facts which were discussed. The third limit made it difficult to schedule interviews and life events interrupted people's ability to participate

This research did not conclude with one single answer, to how the waves of immigrants throughout Burlington's history have changed the food system, nor was it meant to do so. This was an opportunity to teach people to look closer into the system that they exist within, to see that not everything is just as it seems, and to make people more familiar with the issues which are happening right around them. This research is important, because historically, immigrants have been the backbone of our food industry. In a State which is noted for its whiteness, and local food movements, it is important to recognize that there still are immigrants and refugees are present in this community, and they are making great contributions to local food production and have been for generations. The way that our food system is structured, keeps consumers very distant from the food they are consuming. Bringing attention to these topics, will hopefully allow those participating in the local food system to recognize that Vermont has long been a resettlement area and that there is rich culture hidden in our history. Rich culture remains presently around us; you just need to be open and willing to learn and look for it.

Results

Throughout the entirety of my research project I knew that I would not be stumbling upon one answer to my thesis question regarding how immigrants have influenced the Burlington food system overtime. My research project did however promote a transparent conversation about 1) realities of immigration within Burlington and the greater Burlington area, 2) immigrant participation in the local market, 3) sustaining food and culture, and 4) systemic oppressions within the food system. My thesis started with a question of immigrant influence on the local food system, initial assuming that though there is not a significant emphasis on immigration within our city, there is significant impact that new American people bring. My thesis however quickly transformed into not so much, how immigrants influence our everyday food system e.g., the food on our plate and what is listed on menus, but how immigrants engage in smaller sectors of the food system and utilize resources to produce food in order to bring them a little closer to home.

Realities of Immigrating to Vermont

One thing that was prevalent in my podcast and is important to acknowledge, is the impact that immigration has on the individual, particularly with respect to challenges these immigrants faced regarding their push from their home country, racial homogeneity, and challenges to obtaining culturally appropriate foods. Three of my participants suggested the difficulties of leaving one's home country and needing to migrate elsewhere. One participant, Elise Guyette, stated

“There is a push out of your country, it's not an easy thing to leave your home land, it is very difficult. Even if you choose it, it is still difficult. And then if you're a refugee, it is even worse”.

A significant contribution to this data is that Vermont, one of the least racially and ethnically diverse states in the country, has been a place of refuge for many communities fleeing their home countries. Because of the fact that Vermont is so white, it makes immigrants very easy to detect. Being an immigrant in Vermont does not make it easy to fly under the radar. Teresa Mares stated

“one of the things that we don’t often think about is that combined with the fact that Vermont is a border state where border patrol is active, and ICE is active, is that it is a very rural state and a very white State. We are often the most ethnically homogenous state in the country if not the second... so for immigrant communities who are usually from central and southern Mexico and Guatemala who don’t fit into that dominant whiteness that is Vermont, people are often very visible especially in rural areas and that raises a number of difficulties not only accessing food but accessing health care and going to church and taking their kids to school, all of those kinds of things”.

Historically, immigrant communities hid their cultures inside of the household because of reasons of discrimination. Though there was early participation of immigrant communities in the Burlington food system, it was shown that they were not selling or preparing foods from their home country or culture because of the assumptions that the greater population of Vermont thought of the food as “peasant food”. It was also never easy for immigrant communities to obtain culturally appropriate foods.

Immigrating to Vermont is difficult for many reasons, but one commonality suggested by all participants is that many of the people who have resettled in Vermont have prior experience or links to farming backgrounds. The harsh seasons of Vermont makes it very difficult to produce many foods that new American and immigrant groups were used to growing and consuming. While there have been significant breakthroughs in attempting to grow more culturally appropriate food in Vermont, there is still a significant learning curve for all new

American farmers as seasons and harsh weather are not something they are necessarily accustomed to.

Several participants also mentioned the significance of ethnic markets, and how they have carried meaning throughout history and still today with not only providing culturally appropriate foods for immigrant communities, but also providing space for new American farmers to sell their produce and attempt to make a living off of farming as they did back in their home country. One participant Harka Khadka stated,

“People want to sell their produce, because we have huge plots, but that is not really happening. Sometimes people are able to sell in the ethnic stores, but they don’t get a good price, because when the shop keeper or the store keeper goes to Boston or New York and brings stuff, they give them a lot cheaper prices. They take our produce, but they don’t pay us much, they don’t pay us well, so sometimes we just give them away”.

There still are several cases of new American farmers being successful in the Burlington market, but it still is not as significant as the amount of food they are producing. Pine Island Community Farm in Colchester was developed because of a need and desire for culturally appropriate foods, most specifically goat meat. Through visiting the farm, and talking to those who work there, it became clear that although they have a significant operation, they are not able to package and sell their products in the market because of the stringent and seemingly unattainable requirements of the FDA. This leaves the farmers at Pine Island reliant on people coming to the farm to buy their products, which puts them at a disadvantage.

Accessing the Burlington Local Market

Vermont as a state has a great market for locally produced foods. While there are many great impacts of local food production, it has not proven to accommodate for all participants.

Interviewees stated that immigrants and new American farmers want to grow and eat the foods that they grew up eating. As described by one interviewee Elise Guyette, “Farm to table, that’s the way that the different migrant groups lived, they lived backyard to table, using food from their backyard”. These *new* trends of the locavore movement not only offer up a way of living that existed within the city of Burlington several decades ago, but potentially discredit’s the work that new American communities are doing within the greater Burlington area. Still today, it is difficult for new American farmers to break into the Burlington food system because there is a lack of desire for the foods they are producing. Three participants suggested that most of the food produced by new American farmers was going directly to their families or being sent out to other ethnic communities throughout the country. Two participants suggested that there is no market for culturally significant foods within the mainstream Burlington market. One participant Alysha Laramee stated that,

“The Burlington market is almost impossible to break into if you don’t have the kinds of skills that a lot of the farmers are coming in with, that are not just farming, but understanding how to use social medias and how to set up a website and how to do the supply and demand. If that is not in your realm of understanding then it is super hard to break into the market”.

Other participants noted challenges to participating in the Burlington market due to language barriers and limited access to transportation. As mentioned earlier, there are also issues regarding FDA requirements which hinders the new American participation within the conventional local market. The new American community however has and historically have been leaders of the locavore food movement. While culturally appropriate foods may not have a significant market in Burlington, they are supporting the greater immigrant communities in the area by providing culturally significant foods which allow people to connect to home while remaining so far away.

Sustaining Food and Culture

A lot of the data that was collected through this project looked into the challenges of immigration and how immigrant communities cope with the realities of leaving home and find ways to reconnect with tradition and culture. Food is significant to all cultures around the globe. While immigration remains a difficult feat, communities are able to reconnect to their home countries and continue their culture and tradition through food. Three interviewees stated that the creation of the programs in which they were involved stemmed from not only a desire, but a genuine need for immigrant communities to obtain the foods they used to eat before resettling in Vermont. Food is very powerful in that way. Food has the ability to bring us a sense of connection, or a sense of place; something that many refugees need amongst resettlement in a new country, as it remains a very traumatic experience. Though mainstream Vermont grocers do not provide a sufficient range of culturally appropriate foods for most immigrant communities, through efforts of gardening and farming, these communities are able to utilize resources to support their own food traditions. It was a commonality between several interviewees that community garden space provided a place for immigrant peoples to produce their own food, but to also share and exchange knowledge, food, and experience. There have been suggestions of sharing of farming knowledge and mixing of old and new food tradition which is initiated at these community gardens. While there still remain many barriers to language and cultural divisions, Interviewees shared notions of communication networks made through the bartering, selling and trading of foods. Alysha Laramee, program director for New Farms for New Americans, stated

“occasionally people will just share what they have at the farm. A lot of people are there to work hard and be with their families. Although they feel the comfort of others around them, I don’t know if they’re always there to socialize with other

groups. And plus, with language being a huge barrier for a lot of people, sometimes the most that happens is bartering or trading or selling, and that is sort of this universal language of people understanding what's going on".

Though the New Farms for New Americans program runs on a community garden-like system, Laramee suggests that it is not necessarily meant for community building, but simply for producing one's own food, with one's family. While this does combat previous assumptions of food as building community, she does suggest that trading and bartering does happen at the plots. This interaction shows that even if these communities are not necessarily building friendships, they are building relationships based on food and selling and trading of certain items; a form of economic exchange which is ultimately separate from the conventional market. Similarly, Appendix A, illustrates one community garden in the area, with garden plots divided by culture and region of origin; there are, however, indications of the integration and mixing of different cultural groups. This market network developed in the gardens, though not recognized by the conventional system and larger Burlington population, provides a new meaning to local food movements; they are organizing community-based food sharing systems to help support one another. These gardens have become centers for community building and cultural acceptance; a place for those seeking refuge to join similarly situated individuals and belong in a space that is not only healing but connects them back to their roots. Laramee stated, in regard to people participating in the New Farms for New American program, "It is people who are finding peace and solace in the space that is green, that is outside, it is healing. It's not a place that they experience some of the trauma they have experienced in their lives before". Most immigrants and refugees gardening and farming in Vermont had farms or gardens in their home country; this practice is one which not only supports their food access and autonomy, but it connects them to who they are and how they used to live.

Systemic Oppressions in the Food System

While my intention for this project was to find the ways in which immigrants are directly influencing the conventional Burlington food system, I was unable to find, through my research, solid evidence to support that. My findings were not what I thought, yet they are still significant in their own way. My findings were situated elsewhere; in the smaller more intimate sectors of food production. Two interviewees did discuss the history that immigrants have played not only in the Vermont food system, but also at a national level. Elise Guyette stated, “anywhere you look, where food is being cooked, or moved, or grown, or disposed of, you’re often finding immigrant workers in the food chain... immigrant workers are really significant across the food system”. Similarly, Teresa Mares stated,

“the immigrant work force is incredibly important for national food security and we would have a very different food system if we did not have undocumented labor or immigrant labor in general. Our own food security as a nation is very much dependent on immigrant labor, it is a very simple fact”.

The dairy industry as Mares discussed in her podcast episode, is heavily reliant on Migrant labor; the project which she co-directs, Huertas, assists the populations of migrant dairy workers so that they can produce their own food which alleviates pressures and the difficulties of them leaving the property to purchase foods. Huertas focuses on providing these migrant workers, kitchen gardens so that they can grow their own significant foods, and as Mares stated, “it is also just another pleasurable activity in their life where they can connect with people”. The dairy industry in Vermont is very closely tied to immigrant labor and the many harsh realities of immigrants in the food system. While those realities and aspects are extremely important to acknowledge and focus on, I know that there is significant work already being done within that sector, and I have decided to look closer into a more personal aspect of the food system. My findings, therefore, are

not focused on large scale production, harvesting, packaging, prepping and restaurant work that immigrants are notably associated with. My findings were focused on a more intimate subdivision of the food system that is not necessarily seen at the conventional level. Three participants suggested aspects of sharing of the locally produced culturally appropriate food to the greater new American community who do not have the means to garden. Harka Khadka, from Pine Island Farm, mentioned in regard to the cultivation of culturally appropriate foods, “Another thing we do, is we produce so much here, and there are a lot of people here who cannot garden, so we share. We share with all of the people in the community”. These findings point to a growing system, which operates on the local production of culturally significant foods. This not only accounts for culturally significant vegetables and fruits, but for animal husbandry, and other meat products which are slaughtered traditionally, and are in high demand from the immigrant community of the area. This localized system is not specifically new, it was stated earlier, immigrant communities have historically lived backyard to table in Burlington. What emerged from my research were the cohesive aspects of food and culture and the ability for food to bring together communities regardless of their cultural ties.

This project also tied into a growing movement not only of cultural acceptance but pride in one’s home country and culture. Three participants mentioned a pride in producing foods from their home land. Elise Guyette mentioned that “There is a difference though today in people coming from different countries taking pride and knowing that they have a market for tasting the food from different countries. You are finding more Asian or African markets and restaurants than you did thirty years ago”. This acceptance provides a place for new American peoples to continue their traditions and do it publicly, while still attempting to make a living. You likely will not see these producers at the Burlington Farmer’s Market, because of the many obstacles

standing between them and participating in the conventional system, but they also know where their support lays. They have created community ties amongst each other and work alongside and support one another through a mutual struggle. These systems are some of inspiration and should really be a model for food systems in the future.

Discussion

During my preliminary research on this topic, I was able to find very little written information about these topics in Vermont; the majority of the information I was able to obtain was through word of mouth and conversation with individuals who have done work within these areas. This podcast brought the realities and stories to a public platform for any and all people to access. While this research project does not show what I initially assumed, it suggests the interworking's of smaller networks which support the immigrant communities in the area and provides them a sense of home through the connections of food and culture.

Immigrants and the Vermont Food System

In order to better comprehend the different immigrant influences on the food system, it was important to look into the history of immigration throughout the United States. By reviewing broad literature on this topic, I was able to recognize the recurring patterns and issues relating to immigration in the U.S, in this case, more specifically relating to different interactions that immigrant people have within the food system, and other prominent food related issues. There are many national trends relating to the intersections of immigration and food systems. My findings link directly to historic trends as stated by Heirs and Sohel (2017), regarding immigration. My research suggested that patterns of immigration show where there is prominence of conflict in the world; people seeking refuge are those who are forced to flee from their countries, or who are seeking better opportunities to support their families elsewhere. My findings also connect back to the literature, as many of the challenges and struggles that immigrants face and have faced all though history were aligned with previous findings of Ayón (2018), Cordeiro (2018) and Coleman (2011). My research pointed to issues of discrimination, food insecurity, and hindered abilities to participate within greater society because of language

barriers, mobility etc. These findings though not necessarily new, contribute to the greater conversation of immigration within Vermont and the United States.

Our current and historical dependence on immigrant labor encompasses many inequities and inhumane conditions that migrant workers are subjected to. My research aligned with the literature, regarding the ugly realities of our food system and how immigrants continue to be treated unequally, in order to cater to the American population. Though my findings were later aimed towards more of an intimate sector of the food system, there were suggestions that related to the greater picture of immigrant labor in the food system. While holding a lot of emotional weight, this section remains important for those who are uninformed about what really happens in the dark of our food system. It is important that people face that reality and begin to soak in the actuality of present-day slavery in our country as discussed by Jayaraman (2013), Gray (2014) and Thompson (2011). My research was able to provide support on this unjust reality within the Vermont landscape such as within the realm of dairy work. This data, along with my research, shows that the Vermont food system contains abuses and inequalities. By engaging with my podcast, Vermont listeners are more likely to become attached and impacted by these issues. The issues will no longer be able to be argued as being *elsewhere*; it has been made clear that it is a Vermont food issue as well.

Food and Culture in the Local Food System

By illustrating the connection between cultural identity and food practices, it is possible to visualize different immigrant food behaviors and how those impact their ability, or lack of ability, to participate within certain food systems. By looking into the importance and ties of food and culture, it was easier to analyze patterns and practices occurring within the immigrant communities in Burlington. Local food systems are aimed at increasing consumption of locally

produced goods for environmental, personal, and community health reasons (DeLind, 2010). These systems often do not allow for culturally appropriate foods, as shown by Chou et al.(2018) and Morland (2009), and my research additionally. My findings showed that differing growing climates and a deficient market for culturally significant foods within the Burlington local food system, proved to be difficult in terms of not only accessing foods but selling them, for many immigrant communities within the Vermont landscape. My findings also, however, showed increasing efforts aimed at providing new Americans greater access to these culturally significant foods, and assisting them in gaining market exposure.

Local is a widely used term and significant part of the Burlington and Vermont identity. Through the literature it was clear that local food systems have many benefits and but also faults which mostly relate to inequitable access and misleading connotations (Chou, 2018; Gray, 2014; Morland, 2009). By exploring more about the Locavore movement, the disparities and limitations became clearer how the Burlington immigrant population fit into this narrative. My research was better able to illustrate the barriers and inequities faced by Burlington immigrant populations and their attempts at breaking into what is the conventional local market. Additionally, through my research, I was able to illustrate examples of smaller scale, intimate local food systems which are not frequently recognized, but exist among immigrant communities, for example, the bartering and trading of culturally significant foods at communitiy garden sites.

My initial research of this topic showed there to be a lack of accessible public information and resources on these topics within the context of Vermont. This approach to my thesis, allowed me to make these important yet irregularly discussed and invisible histories more accessible for those who are interested in learning more about the Burlington food system and

immigration within Burlington and the greater Burlington area. Through these interviews, I was able to develop a more wholistic image of immigration within Burlington, looking at the past and present, while also incorporating important aspects of participation and labor in the local food system. This podcast allows listeners to gain a better insight on how Burlington's immigrant communities historically have, and continue to, create their own connections of food and culture through production and intimate markets as a subsection of the Burlington food system.

Opportunities for Further Research

As aforementioned, there is very little accessible public knowledge of immigrant participation within the Burlington local food system. Most literature that I found focused on historical aspects of immigrant participation within the Burlington restaurant scene and ethnic food markets. There is still significant research that could be done on these topics and in regard to immigrant participation within the Burlington local food system as it stands today. I think the potential for further research stands within the cultural interactions and alternative economies of new American and refugee communal garden and farming plots.

Conclusion

Queen City Culture, the podcast series, looked into the participation of immigrant communities within the Burlington local food system overtime. My intention for the project was to build the awareness of all *local* Burlington consumers, who wish to learn, about the participation of immigrants within the local food system. The data collected through this research project was through five primary interviews with professionals of different aspects of the food system and work with immigrant programs. Throughout the interviews the main topics discussed were of realities of immigration in Vermont, accessing the Burlington Local market, sustaining food and culture, and systemic oppressions in the food system. My research project points to three main interactions between immigrants and the Burlington local food system, regarding the continuation of food tradition, accessing the local markets, and the obstacles that are faced in attempt to contribute to the greater local food system. Through this research, I have learned that immigrants play a huge role in most all food systems, but their participation is not always recognized. Here within the local food systems of Burlington, immigrant peoples are largely kept separate from the conventional system but function and persist separately through communal support. The new American and refugee communities in the area are separated from the mainstream markets as the foods from their cultures are not necessarily accessible through conventional grocers, nor are many of their culturally significant products in demand of the conventional market either. Immigrant communities have developed their own market economy which works through bartering and trading of culturally significant foods at community garden plots and by supporting traditional animal slaughter of new American husbandries to access traditional meats which are not locally sold elsewhere. There are systemic obstacles which prevent greater participation of these new American communities in the more conventional

market due to language barriers, lack of knowledge of local markets and other difficulties complying to entities which allow for greater distribution. While there is a lot standing between immigrants and the conventional Burlington local food system, it is not to say that they do not contribute to that system at all. The communities addressed within this research project have developed their own intimate sector of the local food system which exists through a demand of culturally significant foods.

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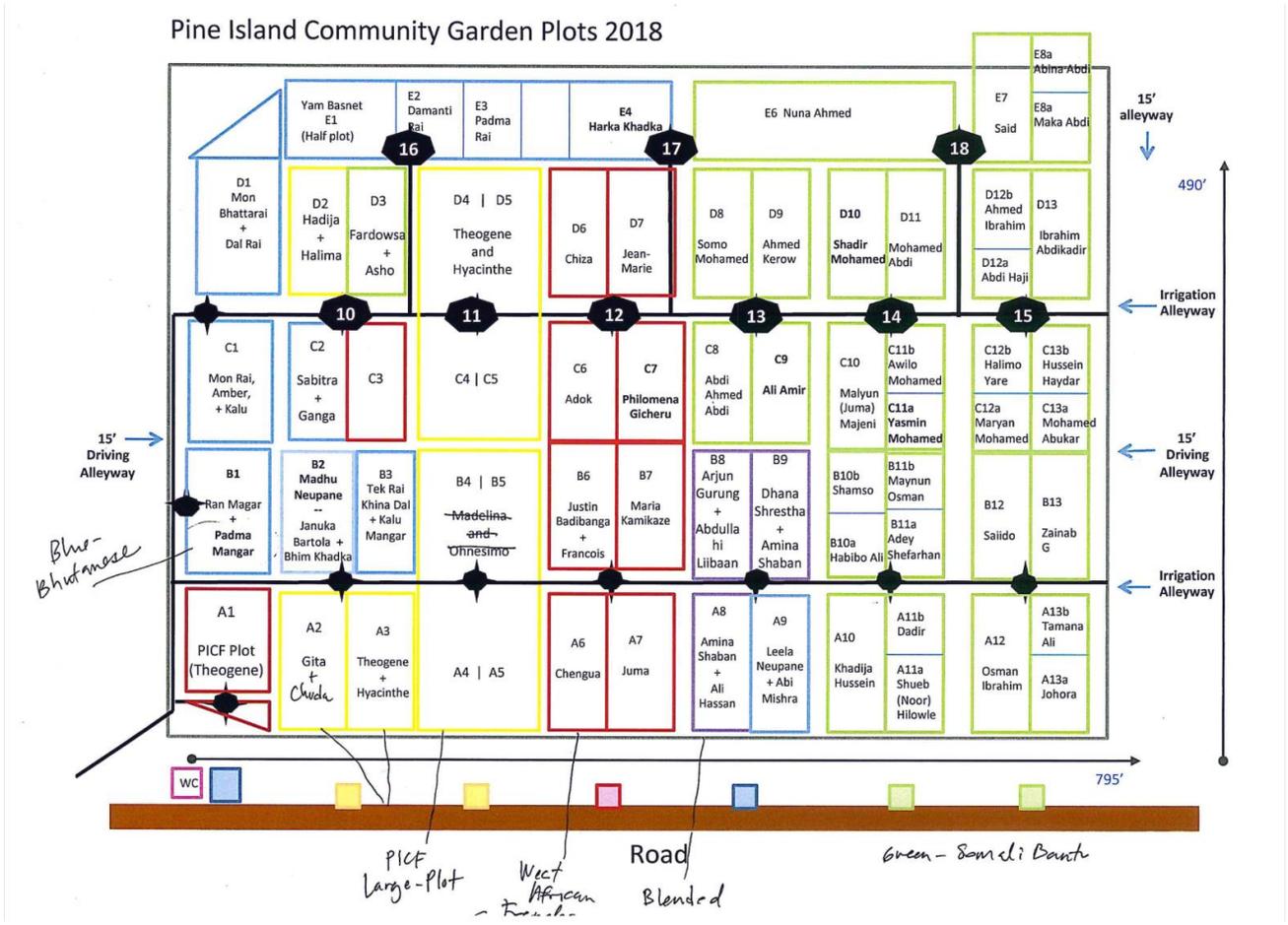
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Appendix A

Map of Pine Island Community Garden Plots



Appendix B

Interview One: Burlington Edible History Tour; Gale Rosenburg and Elise Guyette

What inspired the development of this tour?

What are some of the earliest immigrant influences on the Burlington Food System?

Can you talk about the ethnic neighborhoods that used to exist?

What was being served at the first restaurants in Burlington?

Where did people practice their ethnicities?

Can you talk about some of the gender dynamics in the food system?

Can you talk about food tradition or practices that immigrants brought with them to Burlington?

Are there still restaurants around today that are owned by the same immigrant families?

Appendix C

Interview Two: Pine Island Community Farm; Harka Khadka

Can you talk about the history of Pine Island Farm, and its current work supporting New American communities?

Are you sourcing to the local markets?

Who has access to participating in these gardens?

Can you talk about the community dynamics at the gardens?

Can you talk about food tradition or practices that immigrants have brought with them to Burlington?

Can you talk about the mixing of old and new food tradition?

Appendix D

Interview Three: New Farms for New Americans; Alysha Laramee

Can you talk about the development of AALV and the New Farms for New America Program?

Who has access to these programs?

Do you have the same participants returning year after year?

What are some of the indigenous farming practices that people are bringing with them?

Do you have any examples of sharing of knowledge through farming practices?

Can you talk about the experience that people who are trying to sell their products are having within the Burlington Market?

Can you talk about food tradition that New Americans have brought with them to Burlington?

Can you talk about the mixing of old and new food tradition?

What kind of transition are these New Americans facing as they immigrate to Vermont?

How do you see this program developing in the future?

Appendix E

Interview Four: Vermont Community Garden Network; Carolina Lukac

Can you talk about the work and development of VCGN?

How did you become involved in this type of work?

Who is able to participate in these programs?

Can you talk about your experience working with immigrant families through VCGN?

What are people planting?

What are the dynamics down at the community gardens?

Can you talk about the collectively managed garden system?

Can you talk about the connections of food and culture that you have seen through your experience?

How do you see this program expanding in the future?

Appendix F

Interview Five: Huertas; Teresa Mares

Can you talk about your work with immigrant communities within Vermont?

How did you become involved in this type of work?

Can you talk about some of the specific challenges that immigrants face here in Vermont?

Can you describe what a typical day for a dairy worker looks like?

Can you talk about the migrant dairy workers experiences outside of the dairy [within Vermont society]?

Can you talk about some of the Social Justice movements happening around the state?

Can you talk about how being undocumented within the United States, perpetuates these abuses with jobs like dairy work or agriculture?

Do you think that, looking at the future, there will be same demand for people immigrating to the state to work on the dairies?

Can you talk about the significance of immigrants within the food system throughout history?

How do you see this work expanding in the future?

What do you think is important for the general population to know, regarding this topic?