THESIS

NO COMO VENENO: STRENGTHENING LOCAL ORGANIC MARKETS IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES

Submitted by

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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY JENNIFER LOOMIS ENTITLED NO COMO VENENO: STRENGTHENING LOCAL ORGANIC MARKETS IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

NO COMO VENENO: STRENGTHENING LOCAL ORGANIC MARKETS IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES

Economic and social development in Peru can partially be achieved through the promotion of local organic Farmers' Markets. Local markets provide unique spaces in which producers and consumers interact and foster relationships developing a stable supply of high quality organic produce. However, market opportunities are limited by an underdeveloped consumer base. The goal of this study is to identify the patterns and values among current organic consumers in order to develop further actions that would increase demand for and supply of organic agricultural products. I have found that organizational obstacles, limited organic supply of organic goods, and lack of marketing all contribute to the underdeveloped consumer base which thereby limits market opportunities for small-scale organic farmers. By providing a case study of a Farmer's Market in Peru, we can understand the values and beliefs present among current organic consumers, identify opportunities for expanding the market, and in turn, organic agricultural production.

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ACRONYMS

ACEH- Asociación de Consumidores Ecológicos de Huancayo *(Organic Consumer Association of Huancayo)*

ANPE- Associación Nacional de Productores Ecológicos *(National Organic Producers' Association)*

APEREC- Asociación de Productores Ecológicos de Región Centro *(Organic Producer Association of the Central Region)*

CEAR- Centro de Apoyo Rural *(Center of Rural Support)*

CEDEPAS- Centro Ecuménico de Promoción y Acción Social *(Ecumenical Center for Social Promotion and Action)*

CIP- Centro Internacional de la Papa *(International Potato Center)*

CFAT- Center for Fair and Alternative Trade

CONAPO- Comisión Nacional de Productos Orgánicos *(National Comission of Organic Products)*

IDMA- Instituto de Desarrollo y Medio Ambiente *(Institute of Development and the Environment)*

IDRC- International Development Research Centre

IFAD- International Fund for Agricultural Development

IFOAM- International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements

NGO- Non-governmental Organization

PIDAASSA- Programa de Intercambio, Diálogo, y Asesoría en Agricultura Sostenible y Seguridad Alimentaria *(Exchange Program of Dialogue and Consultancy in Sustainable Agriculture and Food Security)*

RAE- Red de Agricultura Ecológico (*Network of Organic Agriculture)*

I. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

Demand for organically grown products is growing around the world as consumers become aware of the negative consequences of pesticides for the natural environment, consumers' health, and farmers' health (Winter and Davis 2006). The foundation of organic agriculture is the elimination of artificial chemicals and the promotion of natural processes. To achieve these means, research and training has largely focused on the production end of the commodity chain, motivating farmers to adopt and use organic techniques and integrated pest management. There exist far fewer studies examining the market end of the commodity chain and its potential for sustaining organic production, especially in local direct markets. Local markets like Farmers' Markets provide substantial opportunities for small farmers to sell their goods and earn an income. Examining the social relations among shoppers at a local Farmers' Market in Latin America can offer insights into how increasing demand for organic agricultural products might illustrate opportunities for increased organic production in the area.

A. Development Strategies

Small farmers represent about 70% of the total population in Peru making "…the small farmer… a critical objective inside of any rural development strategy" (Escobal 2005). In Peru there are roughly one million farmers with less than three hectares of land (CONAPO 2003). Some authors assert that "[a] priority of development is that it must recognize and respond to the unique relationships that indigenous peoples have with their lands and the ecosystems which sustain them" (Croal and Darou 2002:91). Organic agriculture is one such development strategy for small farmers in Peru because results from a study conducted by the International Fund for Agricultural Development in Latin America in 2003 determined:

> Organic Agriculture is… advantageous to small farmers because it uses their traditional knowledge of the natural environment and of the unique relationships between various crops or animals and the environment. …At the same time, it avoids chemical inputs, which for small farmers are generally higher priced… Furthermore, the health factor of not having to handle harmful chemicals is particularly important to small farmers.

Indeed, the health effects of pesticides are an important consideration in developing organic farming. Farmers in Peru have had a history of extensive use of Highly Hazardous and Mutagenic pesticides (WHO 2005), with adverse health and livelihood consequences. Illnesses due to pesticides are often underreported by agricultural workers (Murray and Taylor 2000), making any discussion of the problem understated. Nonetheless, one study examining the relationship between pesticide use and health determined, "…farm children and applicators particularly suffered high rates of poisoning, with days lost from work and expenses for transport, treatment and recuperation affecting farm family livelihoods" (Cole et. al. 2000). "In agricultural communities, poor health reduces income productivity, further decreasing people's ability to address poor health and inhibiting economic development more broadly, while in the population at large, malnutrition and disease patterns influence market demand for agricultural products" (Hawkes and Ruel 2006:984). The negative effects of intensive pesticide use can restrain development and are a frequently cited reason among small farmers for the transition from conventional agriculture to organic production.

As a development strategy, organic agriculture optimizes indigenous knowledge, but NGOs involved in the Peruvian Andes "…need to be able to pursue alternatives that offer some possibility of addressing rural people's livelihood needs in a context of increasingly open and competitive markets" (Bebbington 1997:134). Farmers are motivated to produce organically, but yet to date "the domestic markets [in Latin America] for certified organic products are not very developed, and in some cases are non-existent" (IFOAM 2008:224). Generally, organically grown produce benefits from higher and more stable market prices (IFAD 2003), but low consumer awareness and demand for organic products limit the market opportunities available for organic farmers. Arrangements like Farmers' Markets in which the producer sells directly to the consumer without intermediaries, are important in organic markets because the consumer cannot independently verify if the products were actually produced with organic methods. When the farmer and consumer can interact, trust can be established which then reifies the production method and encourages consumers to return through the building of relationships. Thus, when selling organic products, the marketplace and farmers benefit from these direct interactions established upon trust to ensure organic production methods.

A study conducted in the highlands of Peru by a local non-governmental organization (NGO) determined, "…the absence of fair markets… causes the farmers to suffer from mistreatment, the inability to secure [fair] prices for their products, and competition with larger farmers" (HortiSana 2008:12). This absence forces farmers to sell in conventional markets, even if they produce organically. Thus, the need for fair, local, and direct-markets is an important consideration in any discussion of rural development in Latin America.

Small farmers make several complaints about conventional markets. First, the conventional markets are dictated by intermediaries who have control over the spaces in the markets and the prices the farmers receive. Intermediaries often buy products from the farmers at below-market prices leading predictably to the conclusion "[t]he rural farmers… are tired of dealing with the intermediaries and receiving such little money when selling their products" (Podestá 2008:1). Also, in order for a farmer to be able to sell their goods to an intermediary, they are forced to transport their goods at odd hours of the day. Farmers must travel from their fields to the main market in town, arriving between 3:00 and 4:00 a.m.

Further, the intermediaries are guaranteed places to sell in the market and when individual farmers try to sell in the conventional market, they are ousted by the authorities. With limited spaces, farmers are competing against one another to be paid by the intermediary, reducing prices even more. There exist extremely limited alternative opportunities for small farmers to sell their own goods at market prices causing small farmers to be subjected to the market power of the intermediaries because they control the prices and the space in the market.

If small farmers are hoping to capture the increased economic opportunities emerging in the organic sector, they face strict demands when exporting to international countries. Export markets demand large volumes of the product to be delivered on a consistent basis regardless of environmental conditions. Secondly, quality requirements are often difficult for small farmers to meet as all of the product must look identical in shape, color, and size. Finally, third-party certification required by international contracts is expensive and creates a significant obstacle for small-scale producers with limited resources. “[L]ocal markets would have great advantages for small farmers in terms of access and more flexibility regarding quality and volume requirements” (IFAD 2003:xv). The need for alternative markets is critical in order to improve the socio-economic situation of small farmers in Peru.

Local Farmers’ Markets offer a viable alternative to conventional and export markets. First, at Farmers’ Markets, the absence of intermediaries allows for greater financial returns to farmers which can contribute to rural economic development. Additionally, through the absence of intermediaries, farmers are guaranteed a place to sell their goods and can create groups in which they can learn organic farming techniques and foster mutually beneficial relationships.

Also, Farmers’ Markets create social spaces in which both consumers and farmers interact face-to-face. “While such interactions are often social and greatly valued as such, they can also generate and circulate knowledge vendors might use to develop new products and creative ways of marketing them” (Hinrichs, Gillespie, and Feenstra 2004:33). By talking directly with the consumer, the farmers are able to learn firsthand what the consumer desires and can then develop new product ideas. Also, consumers are assured of the production process by speaking directly with those who produced the food.

Local markets mostly feature products grown in the region. Native products are featured that have less value on international markets, but maintaining a market for them helps to protect the biodiversity of the region. In Peru this is especially important in the case of the potato, as there are thousands of varieties grown and consumed there that are not marketable elsewhere. At larger conventional markets, products are sold that were grown in other regions of the country, or in other countries in South America. Selling foreign products in a conventional market can undermine an indigenous population's ability to farm products that have naturally evolved over generations in their local environment and with which local farmers have an intimate familiarity. By featuring local products at a Farmer's Market, the freshness of the product is maximized because the distance from field to market is considerably shorter than in export markets and can help maintain an indigenous population's control over their traditional cultivars.

Hence, "...the marketing strategy that holds the most promise... is direct sales of fresh produce in regional markets, a strategy which is most faithful to the organic dogma" (Guthman 2004:56). Some advantages include a reliable and fair space in which the farmer can sell his/her goods without intermediary involvement, a shorter supply chain that allows for direct contact between farmers and consumers, and fresh products native to the region. These important features are reasons why local markets most strongly offer the potential for economic and social development for small farmers in Latin America (IFAD 2003).

Among those aware of the qualities of organic products, they are often more highly valued than conventional products. "...[I]n addition to traditional concerns about nutritional content, purity, and freshness, consumers also may value a product more because it addresses a social concern or has a public good aspect, even though the product may not necessarily be "more valuable" or "higher quality" than a conventional product" (Thilmany et. al. 2007:155).

B. Purpose

This study will focus on the role of consumer behavior in a local organic market in the highlands of Peru and what potential exists for expanding organic agriculture in the area as defined by consumer demand. This project grows out of a visit to Huancayo, Peru, in the Fall of 2008 by Dr. Douglas Murray, with funding from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of the Government of Canada. Murray worked with the HortiSana project team of the International Potato Center (CIP) on an interim evaluation of the HotriSana project. One conclusion of that evaluation was that there existed a need to analyze the role of independent organic markets as a means of achieving the HortiSana project's objective of increasing organic agriculture in the region. With further funding from IDRC and CIP, subsequent fieldwork for the study described below was carried out by Jennifer Loomis from January through May 2009.

The goal of this study is to identify the buying patterns, perceptions, and values among current organic consumers in Huancayo in order to develop further actions that would increase consumption and production of organic agricultural products from producer-controlled markets. The premise for this research is that consumers' socially-constructed beliefs about the benefits of organic goods can be used to improve the viability of the only established organic Farmers' Market in the area (called a bioferia) and spread awareness of organic goods to the general population who shop in more conventional markets. By studying the demand for organic produce, this research will identify opportunities for expanded organic farming in the region. Much of the existing research on Farmers' Markets does not rely on original research (Hartwick 1998; Jackson 2002; Goodman and DuPuis 2002; Hardesty 2008). This study addresses the void in the literature by providing an empirical case study of the role of consumption and socially-constructed values in the bioferia and the potential for exploiting opportunities related to expanding organic production and consumption in the surrounding areas.

The format of this thesis is as follows: Chapter two will start with a review of the theory and empirical literature on rural development and then focus on small farmer production, Farmers' Markets as a form of direct marketing, the relationship between social and economic influences, and the competition faced by small farmers. This is followed by a description of the methodology employed in this study. Chapter three will consist of a description of the findings from the Huancayo bioferia regarding consumers and organic producers as well as a comparable description of conventional consumers. Chapter four explores an analysis of the findings along with a set of recommendations for the expansion of the bioferia. Finally, chapter five will provide a conclusion that will highlight the most important findings to motivate further research that can build on what was found in this study and explore its implications for the field of the sociology of development.

II. CHAPTER TWO: THEORY, RELEVANT LITERATURE, AND METHODS

There are several theoretical considerations that elucidate this study of local Farmers' Markets. First is how local markets contribute to rural social development. Second is the emphasis given to the production end of the commodity chain and relative lack of research on the market end. Next is the notion of embeddedness and its emphasis on the relationship between cultural and economic spheres. Next are the disadvantages that small farmers face in competition against large supermarkets. This is followed by discussion of the role of NGOs and their potential for empowering farmer organizations and then finally the importance of trust in the success of developing better economic opportunities for small scale and poor farmers.

A. Sociology of Development

As defined by Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, "…development means improving the conditions of life" (1999:17). Peter Rosset believes "[t]he only lasting way to eliminate hunger and reduce poverty is through local economic development." (2003:1). Arturo Escobar agrees that economic development based on resources from the global North, which he refers to as "Development," is failing and instead development must come from within the countries in need and are predominantly from the grassroots level (1992:419). Escobar observes, "many [local struggles] are the result of the people organizing themselves to prevent or repair the damage done by Development and deal with their current problems…" (Escobar 1992:421).

Neo-liberal development agendas have been criticized for exacerbating the gap between growing profits in the Global North and rising food insecurity in the Global South. M. Samsul Haque (1991:199) describes the negative consequences of neo-liberal development:

> In effect, such neo-liberal policies are likely to expand industrialization (causing environmental pollution); globalize consumerism (encouraging consumption of environmentally hazardous products); multiply the emission of CO_2 and CFCs (worsening the greenhouse effect and ozone layer depletion); overexploit natural resources (depleting nonrenewable resources); increase the number of urban poor and rural landless (forcing them to build more slums and clear more forests); and, thus, threaten the realization of sustainable development objectives.

Not surprisingly, these neo-liberal strategies have "…met growing resistance by those most affected by the [food] crisis - the world's smallholder farmers" (Holt-Giménez 2009:142).

One form of this rural struggle has been the food sovereignty movement. Defined by Francisco Menezes, "[f]ood sovereignty is the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce the staple foods of its peoples, respecting their productive and cultural diversity" (2001:29). Proponents of food sovereignty believe that"[o]ne way to achieve such development in rural areas is to create local circuits of production and consumption, where family farmers sell their produce and buy their necessities in local towns" (Rosset 2003:2). Featuring local products at Farmers' Markets can maintain traditional cultivars in the region, which reinforces a farming population's ability to maintain control over their livelihood, contributing to development more broadly.

With a substantial rural population in Peru, taking control of the food supply and stimulating local markets for agricultural products will target a large portion of the population which is often the poorest (IFAD 2003). Since "…development is fundamentally an economic process… and all theories of development have significant economic dimensions" (Peet and Hartwick 1999:17) this framework sets up local markets for agricultural products as holding great potential in rural development. Through "…direct marketing systems, food sovereignty aims to democratize and transform our food systems" (Holt-Giménez 2009:146). Local markets have a strong economic dimension and can address poverty in rural areas in Peru through the establishment of market opportunities for small farmers and helping the indigenous population maintain control over their food production, or, "helping farmers help themselves".

B. The Focus on Agricultural Production and Implications for Market Strategies

Research in the domestic organic sector has largely focused on "production-centered theoretical frameworks" (Goodman and DuPuis 2002:5) and applied measures to strengthen the production end of commodity chains. Other research on production has emphasized reducing dangerous pesticide use through techniques such as integrated pest management (Konradsen 2007), or reducing access to the most dangerous chemicals through regulatory reforms (Eddleston et al. 2002; Konradsen et al. 2003). Much of this research has been focused on the production end of the commodity chain because "…it is clear that illnesses and injuries in agricultural workers can be reduced significantly by producing foods organically rather than conventionally" (Winter and Davis 2006: R121).

There exist far fewer studies analyzing the market end of the commodity chain. Goodman and DuPuis (2002) assert that "[c]onsumption has been neglected, under-theorized, treated as an exogenous structural category, and granted 'agency' or transformative power only in the economistic, abstract terms of demand" (10). Most studies examining the demand in local organic markets have been conducted in developed countries such as the United States or Europe and not in the global South (Thilmany, Bond, and Bond 2008; Brown and Miller 2008; Guthman 2002; Sage 2002) or by economists with a narrow focus on price premiums and willingness to pay for organic products (Krystallis and Chryssohoidis 2005; Hammitt and Graham 1999). Other economic studies have examined quantitative sales, profits, and impacts on surrounding businesses (Hughes et. al. 2008; Brown and Miller 2008; Otto and Varner 2005). Where organic market research has been done in Latin America, it has generally focused on export to international markets (Raynolds 2008; IFOAM 2008). The lack of research on the role of demand in local organic markets in Latin America calls for further studies to understand how the role of demand can affect agricultural production.

C. Farmers' Markets and Embeddedness

Local markets for organic goods frequently occur in a Farmers' Market setting, also referred to as direct-marketing systems (Bond, Thilmany, and Bond 2006). "[Farmers' Markets] are the expression of intersections of networks of actors and… the nature of the spaces of [Farmers' Markets] is of key importance in understanding the meanings and ideologies encapsulated within the act of consumption in this context" (Holloway and Kneafsey 2000:290). Within the local market setting, "…the social relations formed in consumption – both with producers and with other consumers…" help create dynamics that are unique to the direct-market atmosphere (Goodman and DuPuis 2002:17).

As a social construct, a market is embedded within the larger social context of which it is a part and cannot be separated from it. Karl Polanyi wrote in 1944, "…man's economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships" (46). This means there are other reasons for one's purchasing decisions beyond just costs versus benefits. Polanyi continues by saying, "He [man] does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets" (1944:46). Therefore, there are underlying social reasons why one may make certain purchasing decisions or the decision to sell in local markets.

Similarly, other reports call for the dissolution of the dichotomy between production and consumption due to the embeddedness of direct-markets (Goodman 2002; Guthman 2002; Jackson 2002). At the heart of the notion of embeddedness is the emphasis laid on the necessity of social relations to all economic transactions" (Winter 2003: 24). Mark Granovetter writes that people's "…attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations" (1985:487). Peter Jackson agrees, that the "…rational calculus of the market is inescapably embedded in a range of cultural processes" (Jackson 2002:5). These authors assert that the dichotomy between production and consumption does not exist because the two factors are interrelated.

However, some authors challenge this belief and say that separating the economic and the cultural is an error. Claire Hinrichs writes, since the economic and social aspects are hard to separate, "[i]lluninating the social context of the economic is a worthy, quite necessary enterprise to which the concept of embeddedness can be recruited" (2000:301). However, "[a] more critical view of embeddedness recognizes that price may still matter and that self-interest may be at work, sometimes even in the midst of vigorous, meaningful social ties" (2000:297). Working off of Fred Block's (1990) analysis, Hinrichs describes how markets are qualified by "marketness". High marketness refers to rational economic behavior with little to interfere with maximizing personal gain, whereas low marketness is characterized by economic behavior that is enmeshed in social relations. She goes on to say, "[r]ecognizing how social embeddedness is qualified by marketness… is critical for understanding the viability, development and outcomes of local food systems" (2000:301).

In describing direct markets, Laura Delind believes, "[w]hile the ensuing relationships may be personable and the supply chain shorter and more innovative, the critical bonds and concerns still remain largely economic in nature" (2006:124). Results from a Farmers' Market study conducted in California (United States) by Alison Alkon indicate that the economic and cultural can work together to benefit local economies. In her study, the "[p]roponents of farmers markets believe they provide economic support for local entrepreneurs in hopes of creating vibrant, local, morally embedded economies" (2008:492). Therefore, these authors assert that while social relations are important in delineating direct-markets, they cannot escape from the inherent economic nature of markets.

Not only must we realize the economic is embedded in a social context, but Farmers' Markets allow the farmer to see, talk with, and interact with the consumer. "In general, connecting the producer and consumer and localising the food supply system are seen as central to [Farmers' Markets]" (Moore 2008:145). "…[T]he space of the [Farmers' Market] is particularly important in providing the context for rather distinctive types of producer-consumer relations and for the construction of certain meanings and ideologies around the products on sale" (Holloway and Kneafsey (2002: 292). Michael Winter argues that the local, direct-marketing atmosphere is a stronger influence than the inherent qualities of organic products because it exposes the relations between consumers and producers (2002). "…[T]hese interactions can provide vendors with valuable information and insight into consumer receptivity to products and services and generate ideas about new products and services" (Hinrichs, Gillespie, and Feenstra (2004:38). "…[H]ow the consumer goes about "knowing" food is just as important as farmers' knowledge networks in the creation of an alternative food system"(Goodman and DuPuis 2002:15). Some studies have found that for vendors, "[t]he social aspects of direct selling appear to be as important as the economic benefits, if not more so." (Gale 1997:24). A study conducted in Maine found that "[a] majority of vendors (62%) rated having a direct relationship with customers as their most important motivation for selling at Farmers' Markets" (Brown and Miller 2008:1297). "Embeddedness, in this sense of social connection, reciprocity and trust, is often seen as the hallmark (and comparative advantage) of direct agricultural markets" (Hinrichs 2000: 296).

D. Small Farmers and Competition

The lack of fair markets (such as Farmers' Markets) in Peru for small farmers pushes many of them to sell products in conventional markets, which are often dictated by intermediaries who buy agricultural products at below-market prices (HortiSana 2008). They also are unable to meet the strict requirements of supermarkets and larger contracts due to the irregularity of what they produce and, at times, inferior quality of their products. Therefore Andrew Shepherd believes that "…development of groups is necessary to enable farmers to make the transition from a production to a market orientation" and that these groups have "…the best chance of success when farmers perceive that obvious economic benefits are derived from group activities" (2007: 23-24).

In order for farmers to avoid unfair conventional markets, then group organization is necessary to create viable alternative markets.

When discussing the circumstances of small farmers, Andre Devaux et. al. (1999:31) note:

> In contemporary agricultural markets, small farmers are often at a disadvantage in relation to larger commercial farmers who can supply larger volumes of quality-assured products, possess superior bargaining power, and have better access to information.

"Supermarkets are now dominant players in most of the agrifood economy of Latin America…" (Reardon and Berdegue 2002:371). Some of the appeals of supermarkets are difficult for small farmers to accomplish. Supermarkets are able "…to win customers by cutting costs, assuring consistency from day to day, and raising product quality and diversity" (Reardon and Berdegue 2002:378). It is challenging for small farmers in Latin America to compete with large supermarkets who reliably offer products of superior quality. However, small Farmers' Markets in open-air plazas have been a traditional shopping place for many citizens of Latin America and remain an important outlet for agricultural products (PIDAASSA 2008).

Because supermarkets are usually chain stores that have outlets in several cities, if not countries, consumers are led to believe that some of the products offered are not from the region in which they are selling. Therefore, many consumers relate Farmers' Markets with local products and then associate local with superior quality. However, the meaning of the term "local" varies from person to person and is sometimes hard to define (Selfa and Qazi 2005). Nonetheless, some scholars (Winter; Holloway and Kneafsey; Hardesty) have identified the link that many consumers identify local products with higher quality.

"A nation-wide survey [in the United States] of consumers by the Hartman Group (2008) indicated that consumer interest in locally produced goods was driven primarily by the belief that they are healthier" (Hardesty 2008:1289). This belief further enhances the motivation for consumers to shop at a Farmers' Market featuring local products and not at large, chain supermarkets.

In Peru, there is often not enough supply to meet the demand for organic products. The fact that "...demand for Farmers' Market goods may be outpacing the supply" (Otto and Varner 2005:3) leads to a marketing paradox. This "...typical marketing paradox is that buyers [consumers]... typically complain about inadequate supply... while farmers complain about the lack of markets" (Shepherd 2007:11). This is related to the limited size of the farms, limited supply of organic fertilizer, and the difficulty in acquiring new lands which leads to a limited supply of products. With a limited supply of organic products, this can discourage consumers from returning to a Farmers' Market when products are not consistently offered.

E. The NGO as a Middle-level Organization in Market Development

NGOs are in a special position called a "middle-level organization" (Freeman 1989). This means the NGO acts "...as a mediator between small farmer groups and government agencies" (IFAD 2003:45). This is a critical role because it can be difficult for individual farmers to contact and influence government agencies responsible for enacting laws and distributing resources. Also, the middle-level organization brings together the expertise of the site-specific farmers and the more abstract, scientifically trained NGO leaders. And, the structure of the middle-level organization influences the outcomes and must be designed properly to ensure satisfaction among all invested parties. NGOs in the position of a middle-level organization can empower farmer organizations representing multiple individuals.

NGOs play a critical role in the empowerment of farmer organizations and as a channel of communication between individual farmers and larger government agencies. Individual farmers organized into farmer organizations, can more easily access markets, learn production techniques, and create a logo recognized by consumers to bolster marketing efforts. NGOs help "…the promotion of the organization of small farmers through the creation and strengthening of farmer associations, which have become key in the marketing of organic products and the establishment of effective monitoring systems" (IFAD 2003:45). NGOs can play a crucial role in developing, maintaining, and strengthening farmer organizations.

NGOs working with farmer organizations combine two very different ways of understanding the world. First, as defined by David Freeman, "nomothetic" knowledge, commonly held by NGO officials, "…depends heavily upon generalized principles abstracted from the rich flow of natural and social processes" (1989:14). "On the other hand, local people [farmers] possess extensive idiographic knowledge built through long experience and encoded in tradition and custom" (Freeman 1989:15). Both types of knowledge are necessary for the application of development assistance programs. Any programs or government assistance must combine the two: the abstract, theoretical, globally tested principles and the site-specific application to the farmer's own lot given environmental and social conditions because "…the individual farmer is intensely interested in the specific outcomes of his or her particular situation" (Freeman 1989:15).

F. The Formation and Importance of Trust

In generating trust, there are a few key influences. First, is "… the role of concrete personal relations and structures (or "networks") of such relationships in generating trust" (Granovetter 1985:490). This is manifested in face-to-face interactions. Secondly, the certification system can influence the level of consumer trust. And finally, the actions of the vendors also are a factor in the formation of trust.

"In organic food networks, the question of trust is of extreme importance, since the added value is mainly based on production methods, which in turn, are impossible to assess outside the production site" (Kottila and Rönni 2008:379). Anthony Giddens (1990) explains that face-to-face interactions, or "facework", is needed to establish trust among persons. If this is to happen, then facework must replace faceless commitments. This is a key strength of Farmers' Markets: facework is established between producers and consumers. "As for consumers, direct-marketing arrangements are supposed to produce knowledge and, hence, trust in their food supply" (Guthman 2004:54). By featuring organic products in a direct-marking atmosphere, the organic products have a higher value due to the assurance of the production process established through relationships between the farmer and the consumers.

The certification system also plays a role in the ability to raise prices. "The more trust the consumer places in the certifying organization, the more likely it is that she will be willing to pay a higher price for certified organically grown produce" (Ward, Hunnicutt, and Keith 2004:62-63). This is because, generally, certification provides "…consumers assurances regarding the production methods used and ensuring producers that conventional growers will not be able to make claims to produce organically" (Ward, Hunnicutt, and Keith 2004:62). It is important then, "[t]o create trust and collaboration, the actors [vendors] need to consider the influence of their action not only on the adjacent actors, but on the relationships within the whole organic food chain" (Kottila and Rönni 2008:389). If one vendor violates the organic procedures, then they are risking consumer trust in the entire certification system, and ultimately the bioferia.

Trust in organic networks and direct-marketplaces is important because the consumer cannot independently verify that the products on sale are produced with organic methods. Factors such as interaction among vendors and consumers, the strength of a certification system, and the practices of vendors can either strengthen or inhibit the formation of consumer trust in the bioferia.

G. Methods

1. The Research Process

Five months of fieldwork were carried out from January through May 2009. During the period of fieldwork, I worked closely with a team of local interdisciplinary researchers from fields such as entomology, agronomy, and anthropology. The members of this team acted as my gatekeepers to introduce me to the farmers and establish that I was a trustworthy researcher. The primary focus of the local team was strengthening agricultural production, while I sought to understand the motives and patterns among consumers of organic produce. Ethnography was the primary research methods used because "…ethnographic inquiry…extend[s] our understanding of the whole material culture surrounding food production and consumption (Goodman and DuPuis 2002:10).

The methods of investigation included participant observation and semi-structured surveys with open- and closed-ended questions conducted with five populations: 1) consumers of organic products; 2) consumers of conventional products; 3) organic producers; 4) organic vendors in the bioferia; and 5) key informants. Key informants were chosen based on their involvement with local and regional governments, organic agriculture, or local markets.

Gaining access to consumers in the organic and conventional markets was relatively easy because both are public markets. Consumers were sampled within the market to minimize issues associated with recall as consumers are better prepared to talk about their opinions and recent purchases when immersed within the market environment. Consumer interviews were primarily open-ended questions. This gave the respondent the opportunity to answer the question using their own words. I did not want to restrict the responses, so that I would receive a range of answers that gave a broad understanding of consumer demand and awareness of organic products. This also allowed me the opportunity to hear unanticipated answers. Most respondents gave more than one answer to each question, therefore the analysis of some questions does not involve mutually exclusive categories, but instead multiple possible answers.

The sampling strategy for consumers in the organic and conventional markets was to approach every third person who appeared to have made a purchase within that market. At times this was difficult when I was engaged in an interview, which caused the sampling strategy to be temporarily postponed. Eighty-seven organic consumers and 72 conventional consumers completed the five- to ten-minute surveys. The refusal rate was higher in the conventional market (27%) than in the organic market (16%).Consumers were asked why they attended the market that day, what products were purchased, and how much money was spent. Further questioning included eliciting perceptions on the difference between organic and conventional products, if they knew where organic products were sold, and if they would be willing to pay more for organic products. Additional information was collected on gender, age, occupation, and education.

Approaching vendors in the bioferia was easier after I made several visits. Vendors were asked how long they have participated in the bioferia, how long they have been producing organically, how they learned and came to adopt organic production techniques, whether they were certified, and challenges they experienced when trying to expand their production. I was able to speak with vendors at 20 of the 21 stands.

Gaining access to the organic farmers who do not sell in the bioferia was more difficult. Fortunately the local research team I worked with had previously identified 21 organic farmers in the area and 20 were available to discuss organic production and their experience with local markets. The interviews were conducted at the homes of the farmers and lasted about 10 minutes each.

The key informant interviews included more detailed, open-ended questions and lasted approximately 45 minutes each. Some key informants were directors for the regional and local government. Others were persons in positions of leadership for local agricultural NGOs such as CEAR (Centro de Apoyo Rural [Center of Rural Support]) and CEDEPAS (Centro Ecuménico de Promoción y Acción Social [Ecumenical Center for Social Promotion and Action]). And still other key informants were involved in the management of organic bioferias in Lima. The key informants were questioned about their involvement in and support for organic agriculture, their thoughts on the expansion of local organic markets, and demand for organic products among the general population. These interviews were conducted at the place of work of the key informant.

2. Limitations

Weaknesses of the overall study include two principal factors. First, because Spanish is not my first language, there might have been misunderstandings when recording data. However, I have studied Spanish for eight years and after being immersed in the language for five months, I feel confident this was a minimal influence. Secondly, because I could be recognized as a foreigner, this might have altered some of the responses of consumers, producers, or vendors. However, consumers generally have less incentive to embellish answers so their data is considered more accurate than other sources (Brown and Miller 2008). Nevertheless, because I was not from Peru and Spanish was not my first language, it is therefore possible that respondents' answers were influenced by this fact.

III. CHAPTER THREE: DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

A. The Setting: Huancayo and the Bioferia

Huancayo, Peru was chosen for the setting of this study because of the level of involvement with organic agricultural production and the underdeveloped state of organic markets as identified by the HortiSana project (2008). Huancayo is a city in the Andean region of Peru, with a population of 430,000 at an elevation of 10,629 feet. In the surrounding rural areas, agriculture is a main source of income for small farmers. My findings show that only a small proportion of these farmers employ organic farming methods. Popular organic products include corn, lettuce, spinach, aromatic herbs, carrots, broccoli, and a variety of native potatoes. The majority of organic goods available for market are sold at the bioferia in the city of Huancayo.

The bioferia in Huancayo (founded in 2001) is held every Saturday morning from 8:30 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. It is held in a plaza visible from the street and easily identified by its bright yellow and green tarps which shield each stand from rain and sun. In between the two rows of stands there is a large open space and at the end of the rows there is generally an information stand where brochures are available. There are 21 stands with 10 on one side and 11 on the other. Each stand is about five feet wide and 10 feet deep and has a small table and chairs where customers can sit.

B. Organization and Management of the Bioferia

The group in charge of the bioferia is called APEREC (Associación de Productores Ecológicos de Región Central [Association of Organic Producers in the Central Region]). This group consists of about 46 members, but only 25 sell in the bioferia on a weekly basis. ACEH (Associación de Consumidores Ecológicos de Huancayo [Association of Organic Consumers of Huancayo]) is a subgroup within APEREC who is responsible for educating consumers. ACEH's objectives are twofold: 1) "To raise awareness of and create a consciousness in the region of the goodness of the organic agriculture of our region for a sustainable consumption, improved nutrition, a conservation of the environment for a better quality of life"; and 2) "Linking consumers with producers in a fraternal, cordial, transparent, and fair relationship for an ethical consumption toward a fair price" (ACEH 2008:1).

To carry out these goals, ACEH has developed a number of brochures covering a variety of topics to distribute to consumers. These topics include the nutritional qualities of the vegetables and fruits along with recipes that utilize what they sell in the bioferia. Other brochures discuss the benefits of organic production and consumption of organic goods. Generally, ACEH hosts an information stand at the end of the two rows in the bioferia where these brochures are available. The stand is run primarily by the ACEH group but volunteers occasionally help.

One way that ACEH promotes the bioferia and educates consumers is through specialty days, where one type of product is highlighted. For example, one Saturday was devoted to "chicha," a traditional drink, usually made from corn. ACEH hosted a tasting competition where consumers could sample different chichas from the vendors and vote on their favorites. These special promotion days encourage the building of relationships between vendors and consumers because they facilitate a dialogue when customers have the opportunity to ask the producer why their product is the best.

C. Vendors in the Bioferia

The vendors in the bioferia are from several rural areas around Huancayo and many have been members since its inception. Among the vendors are both producers and sellers of prepared goods. Producers sell products like vegetables, fruits, eggs, and honey. Processed goods require multiple ingredients and include meals, ice cream, breads, and desserts. Most of the vendors in the bioferia sell goods that they have themselves grown, cooked, or otherwise prepared. A few vendors sell products they have purchased from bioferias in Lima such as sugar and chocolate. Vendors report increased sales early in the day due to the greater supply of organic vegetables available in the morning.

Each vendor in the bioferia is certified through a participatory certification system provided by APEREC. The participatory certification system does not utilize a neutral third-party certifier for reasons of cost, but instead facilitates monitoring among the members of APEREC to assure compliance with organic requirements. The participatory system was developed by ANPE (Associación Nacional de Productores Ecológicos [National Organic Producers' Association]) and was implemented in Huancayo as a pilot study. Previously, the members of APEREC were certified by a third-party certifier, BioLatina, which was established by RAE (la Red de Agricultura Ecológica [Network of Organic Agriculture]). APEREC members stated the reason for abandoning this certification was the cost, which kept escalating each year. APEREC launched the participatory system after ending the BioLatina certification.

Vendors are responsible for marketing the products at their stand. This usually includes signs hung from the table or top of the stand. Some of these signs are professionally made with sturdy material, colorful pictures, and large font. Other vendors have simple hand-written signs displaying the names of some products on sale. It is rare for a sign to display the price, as it can vary depending on the amount purchased and the size of the product. There is a wide variation between the marketing strategies of the different stands.

Also, vendors are responsible for providing the customer service at their stand. Family members often assist the principle vendor with weighing, bagging, serving food, changing money, and cleaning the stand. Each vendor is also responsible for having change at their stand in order to handle larger bills that some customers inevitably have.

Data on vendors also show some noteworthy trends. Bioferia vendors have a high educational attainment. Eighty percent of organic vendors report they are in the superior category with some college or technical training. Also, of the vendors who sell in the bioferia each week, 70% are females.

Some vendors relied heavily on local NGOs to make the transition from conventional production to organic methods. Forty-two percent reported they first learned how to farm organically though CEAR. Another 32% said they learned how to farm organically from their ancestors, without NGO help. Only one vendor mentioned they have learned organic techniques from APEREC, showing that most vendors learned how to produce organically before entering the bioferia.

D. Potential Organic Supply

There are farmers who produce organically and do not sell in the bioferia, but it is hard to identify all organic producers because many are not involved with official organizations. Therefore, those with whom I talked represent only a portion of the universe of organic producers. These farmers were identified as using organic methods by the HortiSana team and also self-reported their production methods to be organic.

Fifty-five percent sold their organic products in the major conventional market in the city of Huancayo. Others sold their products in Lima or in other local markets in the rural areas surrounding Huancayo. These farmers (and some vendors in the bioferia) report the household consumes some of their organic products instead of bringing all of the harvest to market.

Eighty percent of those who sell their organic produce on the conventional market try to differentiate their product by informing the consumers that their product is organic. Many of the producers complain that the customers in the conventional market don't understand what is different about an organic product, but once they explain to a conventional consumer about organic production, many are attracted to the idea. Of those organic producers who differentiate their product and inform the consumer that their product is organic, 73% say they receive a price higher than that of other vendors in the conventional market.[1]

If an organic producer wants to join the bioferia and sell his or her organic products, s/he must write a letter with three things: 1) What s/he produces or creates; 2) The quantity and regularity of what s/he produces or creates; and 3) Why s/he wants to join the bioferia. Then one must submit the letter to the office at CEAR or bring it to the bioferia. APEREC then reviews the letter and decides if s/he is accepted to do a three-week trial period. After an inspection of the production method and the three-week trial period, APEREC will decide if s/he remains in the bioferia.[2]

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[1] Vendors did not report exactly how much more they receive.

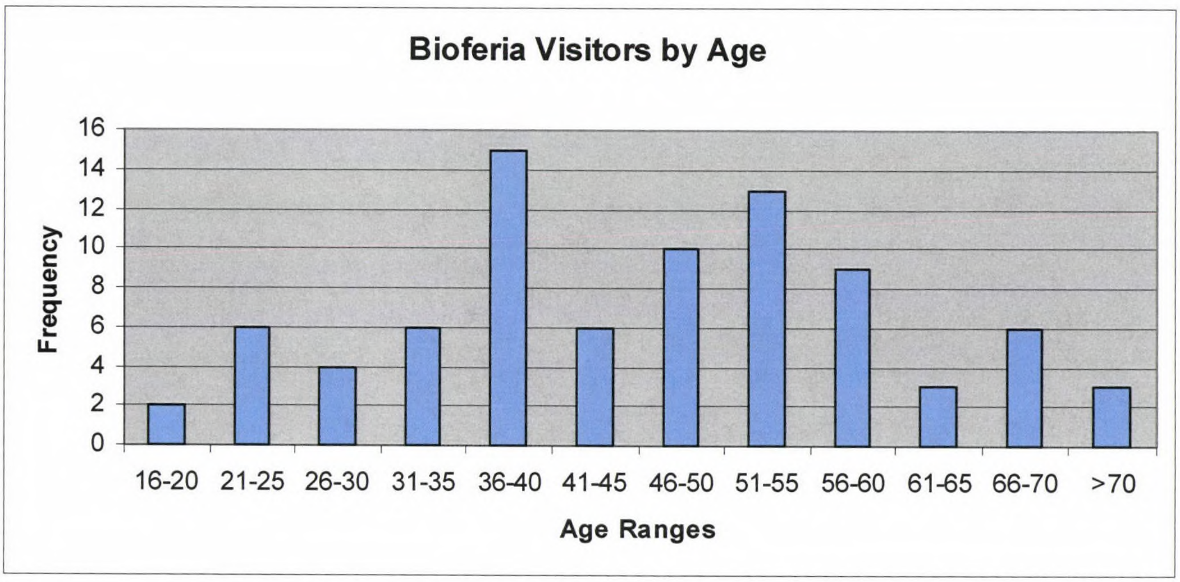
[2] There was only one stand that did not pass the trial period during the five months of fieldwork for this study. The stand offered ceramic crafts but did not appear to make any sales, most likely explaining why this vendor did not pass the trial period.

C. Organic Consumer Profile

The way most consumers learn of the bioferia is by casual or word-of-mouth methods and not through advertisements or other formal marketing techniques. Fifty-seven percent of consumers first learned of the bioferia simply by walking by and seeing it. They reported either seeing it because they live nearby or they were visiting a major bank a few blocks away. An additional 27% learned of the bioferia because a friend or family member told them of its existence.

There are several trends among organic consumers worth noting, related to gender, age, and educational attainment. Sixty-four percent of the consumers in the organic market were females and 21% of all organic consumers identified as the "ama de casa" or housewife. The average age of consumers at the organic market is 46 years of age, with 53% of all consumers between the ages of 36 and 55. See Figure one, this page. Also, organic consumers have a high level of educational attainment with 75% of organic consumers in the superior category, which is defined as having some college or technical training.

Figure 1



Amongst returning organic consumers, the level of awareness of what organic products are is very high. Organic consumers most frequently report personal factors, like health and nutrition, as the reason they shop in the bioferia, while few mentioned aspects such as environmental health or the well-being of the farmer. This is in contrast to a study in the United Kingdom which found that the primary motivation for consumers' attendance at Farmers' Markets was environmental in nature, described as "ecological citizenship" (Seyfang 2006:383). In the Huancayo bioferia, 29% of consumers specifically used the word organic when describing why they like the products in the bioferia (either "ecológico" or "orgánico"). Thirty-nine percent said one of the reasons they attended was because the bioferia sells "natural products." Fourteen percent said that they come because the products are free from chemicals. See Figure two on page 31 for a summary of reasons why organic consumers report they attend the bioferia.[3]

To elicit more information, consumers were asked about the difference between products in a bioferia and those in a conventional market. Some answers reflected a relationship between organic goods and better health using phrases like: "these products don't harm your health," or "these products are more nutritious and without preservatives" (60%). Others show an understanding of the production method by saying, "they don't contaminate the natural environment," or "they protect biodiversity" (27%). And last, some people's answers reflect prior experience with the products such as, "they

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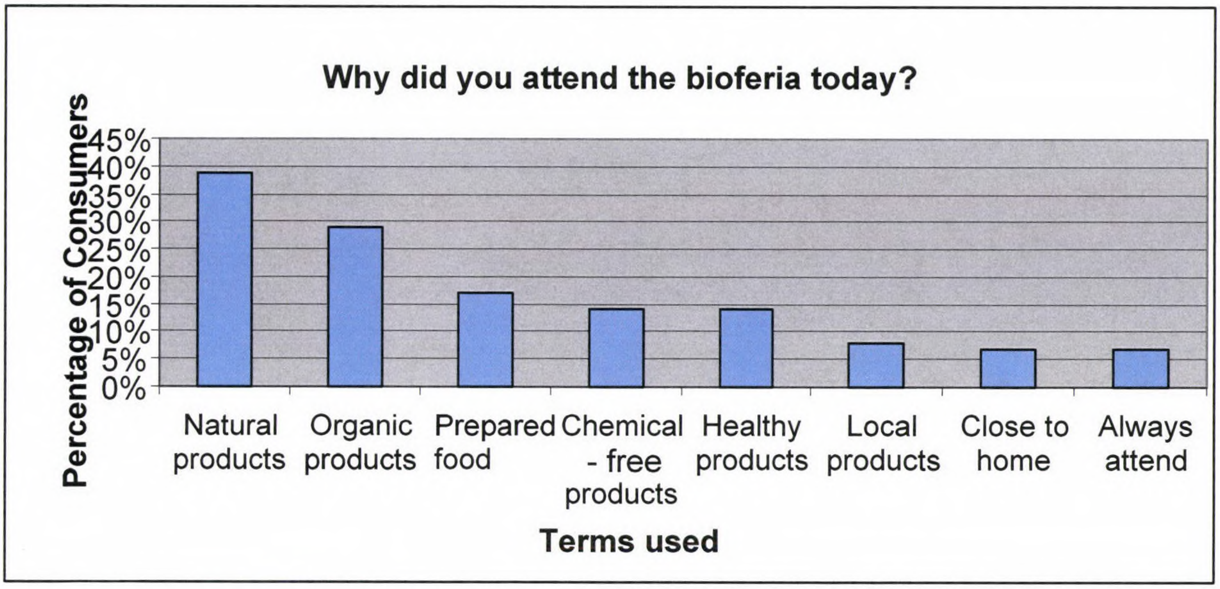
[3] Many of the consumers gave more than one reason as to why they attended the organic market that day. For example, one consumer said she comes for "natural, healthy products free from chemicals". I recorded this as if a person that mentioned four things: product, natural, healthy, chemical free. If another consumer said they liked "natural products from within the region", this was recorded as a product, natural, and local.

have a more delicious flavor," or "they last longer" (13%).[4] These phrases reflect the values of organic goods important to organic consumers in the area.

Figure 2



The types of products purchased in the bioferia reflect their popularity. On the day the interview was conducted, 57% of organic consumers reported buying vegetables at the bioferia.[5] Forty-eight percent had eaten a meal or prepared food like soups and 37% were buying baked goods like breads or desserts. Similarly, 35% of people were buying milk-products and 27% reported buying potatoes. Nineteen percent of organic consumers were buying fruit while 14% bought honey. Four percent of consumers said they were buying meat that day and another 4% reported buying organic eggs. Only 5% of people

[4]A study conducted in Ireland in 2007 also revealed that consumers can "…taste the difference…" between organic and conventional products, with organic translating into a superior taste (Moore 2008:151).

[5] Organic consumers were asked what they had already bought and if they were done with their purchasing. If they said they were going to buy more, they were asked what that was to get a full picture of their purchases for that day.

approached had not purchased anything at the time of the interview. Please see Figure three on page 33. Organic consumers spent an average of 17 soles with a mode of 10 soles.[6]

Eating food or meals plays an important role in the bioferia. Thirty-three percent of consumers report that they go to the bioferia to eat something like a traditional soup or guinea pig dish. Vegetables are the most commonly purchased product, but meals are also relatively popular. Most people who reported eating a meal also purchased other products. Of those that said they ate a meal on the day of the interview, 25% also purchased vegetables and 20% bought baked goods, some of which are easily eaten at the bioferia. Also, of those who ate a meal, 19% reported buying milk-products (mostly yogurt). It is not clear whether people first go to the market to eat and then buy other products, or if they go to buy several products and decide to eat while there.

To gain a broader understanding of consumer demand, consumers were asked what products they wish were sold in the bioferia but which they have not been able to find. As identified in Figure four on page 33, 31% of organic consumers said they wanted a greater quantity of vegetables and 21% wanted more fruits. Fifteen percent said they want a greater variety of potatoes and 11% said that they want to be able to buy organic meat and fish. Five percent said that they want more organic eggs. And 21% reported that everything that they desire is available in the organic market.

[6] The conversion rate between soles and dollars is three soles equals one dollar.

Figure 3

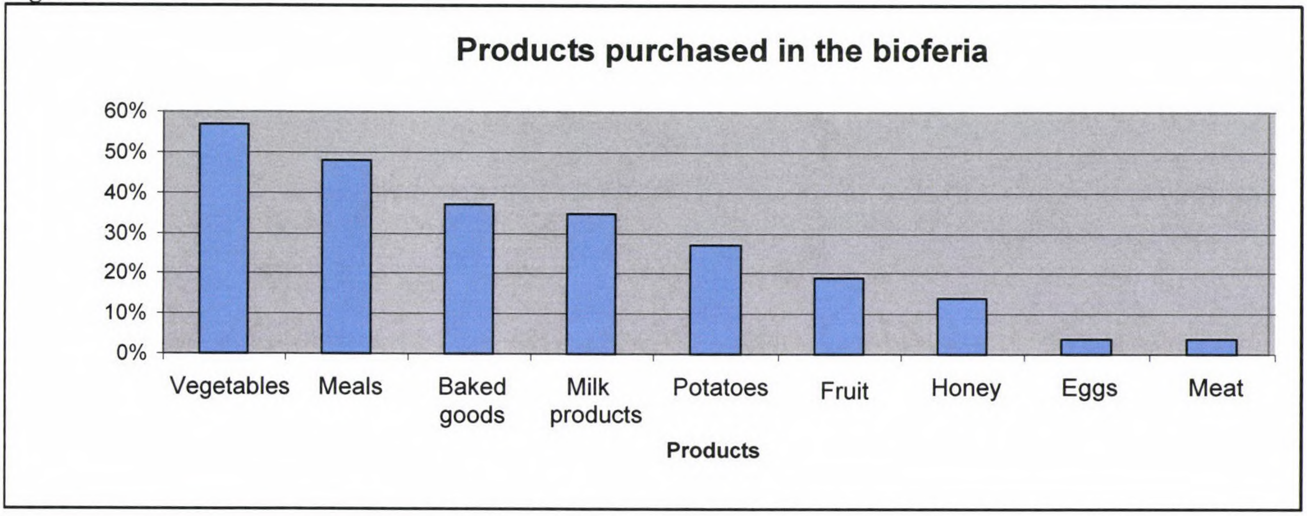
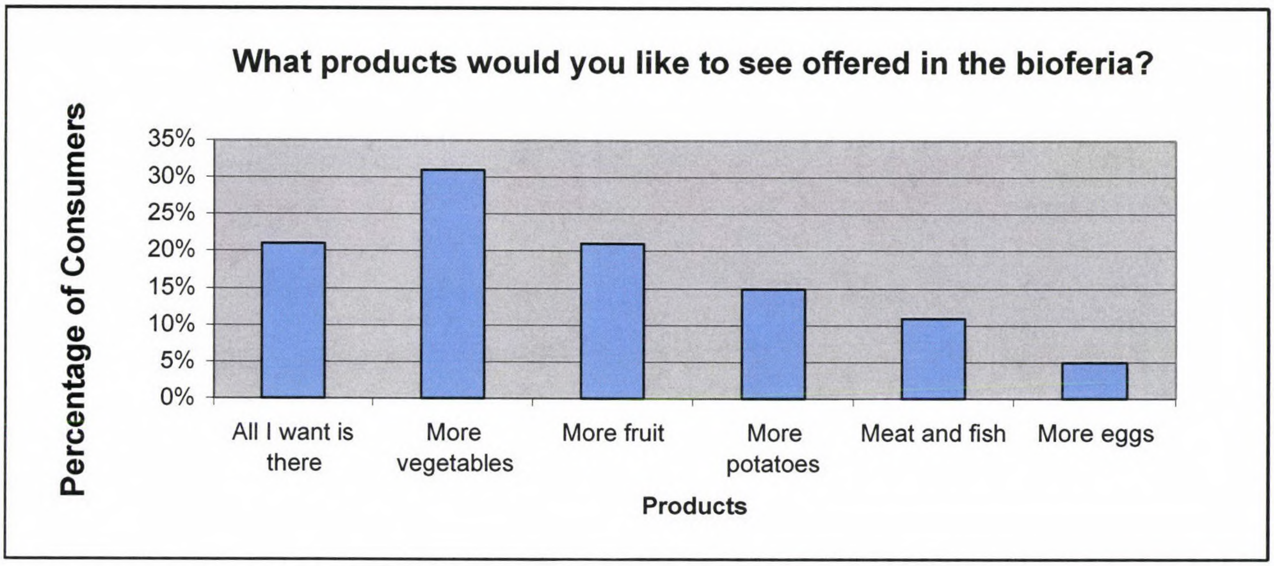


Figure 4



Forty-eight percent of organic consumers mentioned they come to the bioferia to buy specific items while 45% replied that they come to see what is available on that day. There were some respondents who reported seeking specific things like vegetables and prepared meals, but then reported making impulse purchases of goods they were not planning to buy beforehand.

Organic consumers were then asked how many days a week they want organic goods to be available for purchase. Eighteen percent said they want to be able to purchase organic products seven days a week. On the other hand, one third of consumers think that one day a week is satisfactory. An additional 44% of consumers would like organic products to be available twice a week. When discussing consumer behavior, it is noteworthy that 78% of organic consumers only want to be able to purchase organic goods once or twice a week.

Amongst organic consumers, 98% said that they are willing to pay a price premium for organic goods. I recorded how many people responded with the word “claro”, or in English, “of course” as an indicator of the degree of willingness. This response was made by 52% of organic consumers. If consumers are willing to pay more for organic goods, with the price being equal to that of the conventional market, then we can say that the consumers experience a “consumer surplus” since the prices are lower than what they are willing to pay (Millock et. al. 2004: 8).

E. Comparison with Conventional Consumers

I interviewed conventional consumers to identify comparative insights. I found similarities between the two groups in some cases, such as the desire for a formal certification to assure consumers of the validity of organic claims. On the other hand, there are results that differ between the two groups like the frequency with which different products were purchased and the amount of money spent in the market the day the interview was conducted. Also, the qualities of the products that conventional consumers and organic consumers look for in the market are different. The main reasons that conventional consumers attend the market are centered around convenience.

Conventional consumers reported the reasons why they attended a market were the market was closest to their home, or that it offers the cheapest prices. See Figure five, this page.

The conventional market is a much larger market than the bioferia. The conventional market has over 100 individual stands and covers about five city blocks in Huancayo. Conventional consumers most often mentioned convenience when describing why they chose to shop at the market that day. Some described that the closest to their home and therefore the easiest to access and carry goods home from. Also, that the market "sells everything." Indeed, the conventional market offers a substantial variety of fruits, vegetables, potatoes, meat, fish, and other non-edible products that are not available at the bioferia. Also frequently mentioned, was that the conventional market offers the cheapest prices. Therefore, the qualities of the conventional market that were highly valued include cost, access, and supply. This is in contrast to some bioferia customers who mention they shop at the organic market because they like the reduction of harmful chemicals in the environment, their food, and the farmers' work environment.

Figure 5

Among conventional consumers, very few know of the bioferia in Huancayo. Forty percent of conventional consumers say that they know of a bioferia nearby, but only 11% of conventional consumers in total can identify the actual location of the only bioferia in Huancayo. Of the 28 interviewees that say they knew of a bioferia, only 28% identified it as an organic market. The others believe that the conventional markets in Huancayo are called bioferias. Because only 11% of conventional consumers clearly identified the location and character of the bioferia, we can surmise that the majority of the population in Huancayo remains unaware of the bioferia.

To gain a further understanding of the awareness of bioferias among the general population, organic consumers were asked what is different about products that you find in a bioferia. Almost half of the consumers replied they did not know what the difference was, corroborating the above finding, that many consumers did not know what a bioferia was. The rest of the results were mixed. Equal amounts of respondents (6%) said that the products are cheaper as said that they are more expensive. Also, six percent replied that products in a bioferia are natural, an additional six more percent replied that they are chemical-free, and a further 6% said they are direct from the farm. Please see Figure six on page 37.

The products that conventional consumers purchased were different than those purchased in the bioferia. Ninety-one percent of conventional consumers purchased vegetables the day the interview was conducted and 63% bought fruit. Forty three percent bought potatoes and 23% bought meat. See Figure seven on page 37.

Figure 5

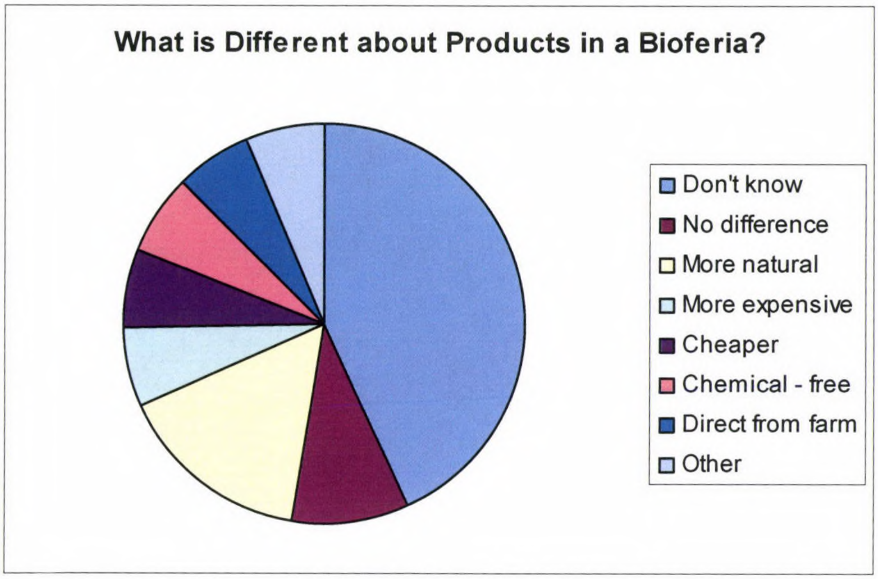
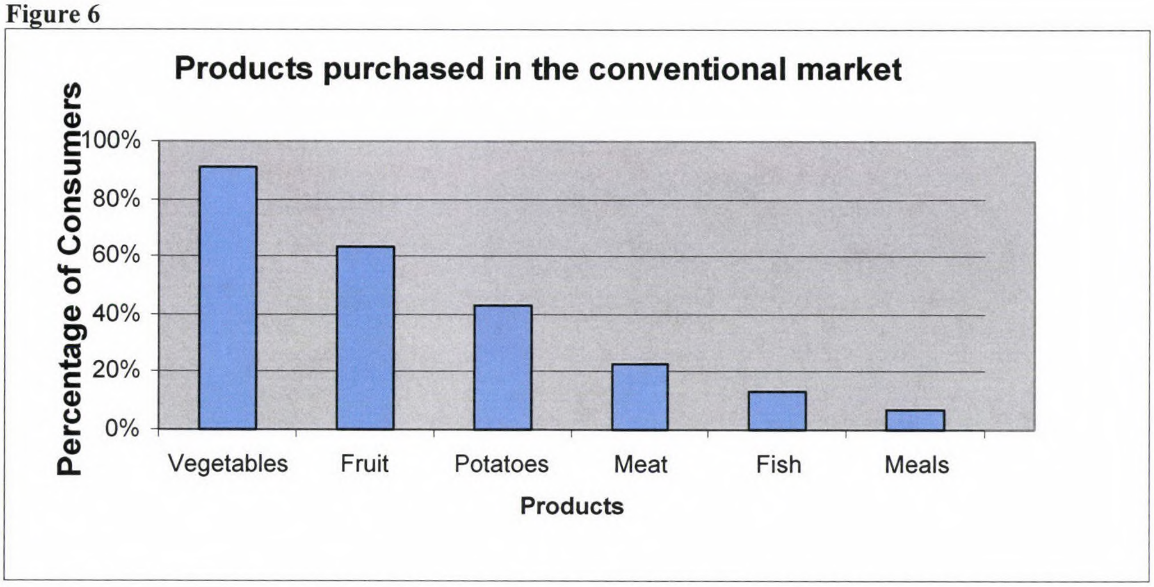
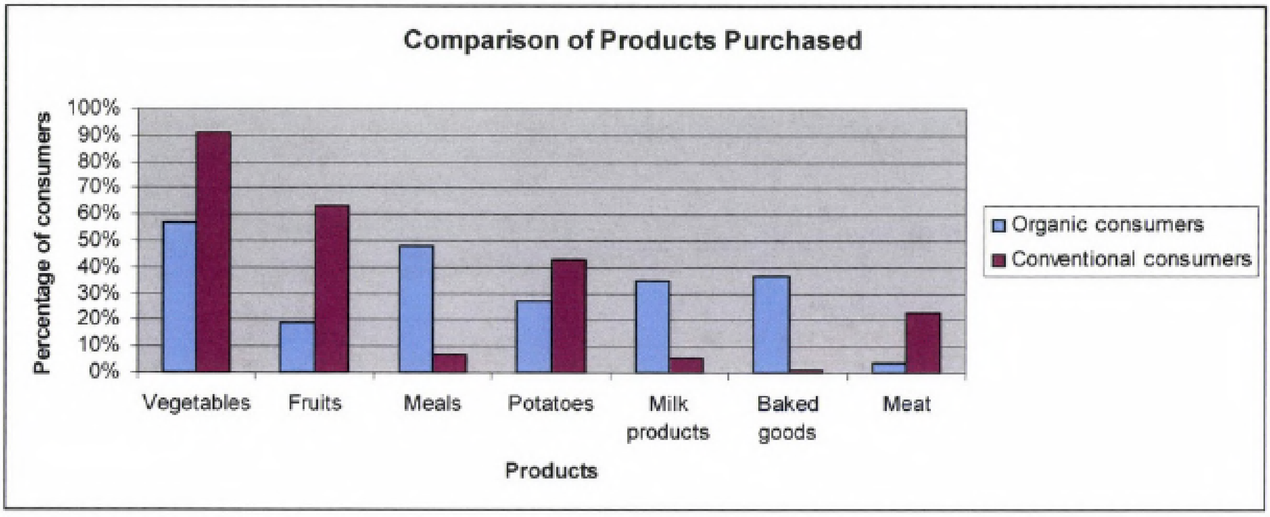


Figure 6



When comparing what conventional and organic consumers purchased, there are a few noteworthy trends. First is that vegetables are the most frequently purchased item in both markets. Second is that meals and baked goods were popular in the bioferia, but not in the conventional market. Last is that meat is available in the conventional market, and almost never offered in the bioferia. See Figure eight on page 38.

Figure 7



Conventional consumers spent an average of 29 soles the day of the interview with a mode of 20 soles. Organic consumers spent less on the day the interview was conducted, while on average, conventional shoppers spent more that day. Please see Figure nine on page 39.

The bioferia consumers on average have a higher level of educational attainment. Seventy-five percent of organic consumers are in the superior category, while only 50% of conventional consumers have a superior educational level. See Figure ten on page 39.

Compared to organic consumers, conventional consumers are slightly less willing to pay a higher price for organic goods. However, once each conventional consumer understood what an organic product was, 90% replied that they would pay a little more for this type of product. Forty-eight percent of conventional consumers replied with the word "claro." This is only slightly lower than the organic consumers.

Figure 8

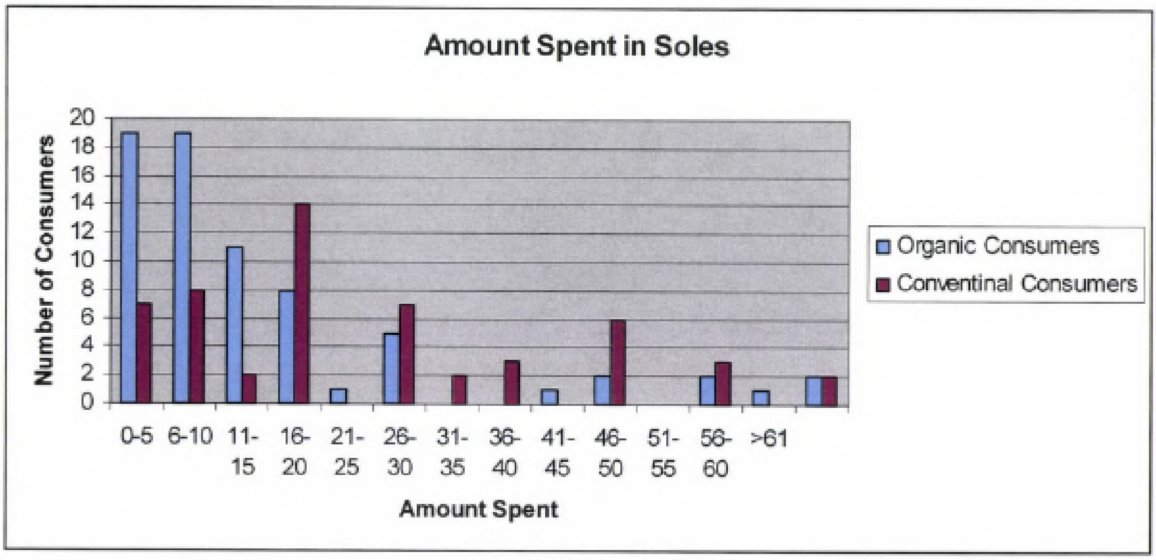
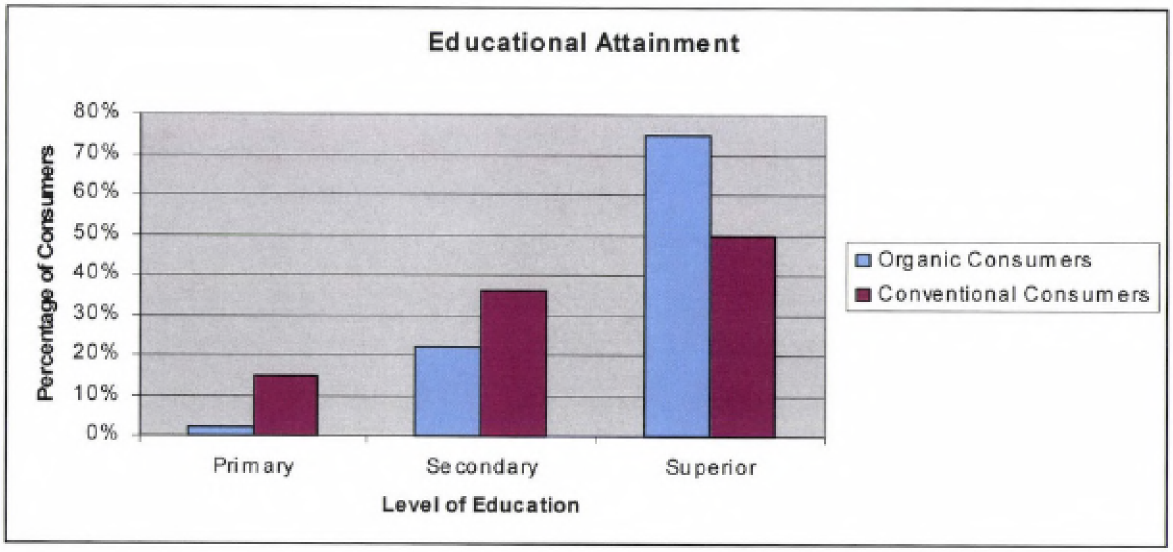


Figure 9



IV. CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

There are several key issues that emerge from the data collected. First, are the benefits available through the direct-marketing system. Second, are the organizational tensions within APEREC which represent obstacles to the effectiveness of the group. Third, are the problems associated with the limited and variable supply of organic products (especially vegetables) in the bioferia. Next, weaknesses in the certification system for the bioferia pose obstacles to expanding consumer support and to the raising of prices. To conclude this section, I will examine the profile of current organic consumers as it informs our understanding of low consumer awareness of the bioferia.

A. The Bioferia

1. Benefits of Direct-marketing Arrangements

The direct-marketing system has three noteworthy benefits over conventional arrangements. First, even with organic prices relatively equal to those of the conventional market, direct-marketing arrangements not reliant upon intermediaries can bring greater financial returns to organic farmers. These greater financial returns can help the farmers invest their money to expand or improve their production and also keeps money in the local economy contributing to both rural development and food sovereignty. The second benefit to the direct-marketing system is the stability of the location in which the bioferia is held. Because APEREC has permission to use the same plaza every Saturday, the producers are guaranteed a reliable space to sell their goods which can reinforce consumer behavior through habit-building. Last, the trust formed in direct-markets is especially important when selling organic goods because consumers often cannot determine a product is organic by appearance. Therefore, because consumers directly interact with the producers of the products on sale, trust is generated and consumers are then assured "…that the products were grown chemical-free or with other desired techniques" (Gale 1997:20). These interactions lead to a reinforced consumer base and steadier attendance at the market. Thus, the direct-marketing system is a unique market environment that allows greater financial returns to farmers, a reliable location, and fosters stable relationships between consumers and producers.

2. Weaknesses within APEREC

The conflicts among the members of APEREC impede the ability of the group to target problem areas like low supply and low promotion of organic products in the bioferia. The most prominent conflict is due to APEREC's failure to officially register with the National Organic Producers' Association. Without being registered, the group is unable to solicit help from other NGOs. APEREC's members appeared to be evenly divided over disbanding and reorganizing in order to apply for formal registration under a new name, or continuing with the existing organization while seeking official registration. This conflict has persisted throughout the data gathering period from January to May, 2009. The organizational problems within APEREC make it less attractive for some farmers to join the bioferia and thereby increase the supply of organic produce to the bioferia.

Another frequently reported tension within APEREC is whether a member is producing organically or still using artificial chemicals. This is especially true in the case of vendors of processed goods who sell products such as breads and desserts. Even though vendors of processed goods are required to use only organic ingredients, often they are unable to find entirely organic inputs for their products, such as organic oil, eggs, milk, sugar, or flour. Also, some members of APEREC are in a state of transition from conventional to organic production meaning they do not completely produce organically. This is the basis of a frequently reported tension that divides the members into two groups: those that produce organically and those that are in a state of transition to organic production.

The tensions are displayed differently between the producers' front stage and back stage. As Erving Goffman (1959) describes, the definition of the situation in the bioferia is that it is an organic market. This means the observers, or the consumers, are expecting the vendors to sell organic products. If the vendors wish to maintain their role as sellers of organic goods, they must refrain from any performances that would discredit their roles. The contrast between the two stages is quite apparent when one observes the group's actions outside of the bioferia. In the back stage atmosphere, the conflicts within the group surface, and there are often arguments and yelling. These back stage tensions hinder the front stage effectiveness of APEREC and the improvement of the bioferia.

Customer service is hindered by the hidden tensions of the group. One front stage action that reveals the back stage discordance is when a vendor does not have enough change for a customer with a large bill. The vendor then must visit other stands asking for smaller change, which happened several times per Saturday. If one vendor is not friendly with the soliciting vendor, then they will not give him/her small change even if they have it. This forces the original vendor to continue soliciting at as many stands as necessary. This, in turn, causes the original vendor's stand to be unoccupied, or short on help. This further reduces the quality of customer service at the original stand. Also, the table and chairs at each stand are usually occupied forcing other consumers to wait to be seated. Therefore, several customers reported that they would like to see an improvement in the customer service at the bioferia.

3. Lack of Promotion by ACEH within the Bioferia

There are also problems within ACEH; the group in charge of promoting the bioferia and organic goods to consumers. The information stand for which ACEH is responsible is not regularly maintained in the bioferia. Because one in eight people are new to the bioferia each week, it is important to have information available on the benefits of organic products so that the new visitors can learn why the bioferia is there and why they should return. "Information helps the consumer decide what to buy or eat [and] it also helps build trust" (Guthman 2002:302). It is important that ACEH be more reliable when carrying out its goals of informing consumers and linking producers and consumers so that trust is reinforced. The number of brochures and handouts already developed needs to be increased to ensure an adequate supply in the bioferia. The information stand should be present each time the bioferia is open, with a volunteer actively distributing information during all hours of the bioferia's operation. When the information stand is absent, promotional opportunities to inform and encourage consumer behavior are not realized.

The well-established bioferia in Miraflores, Lima hosts "talks" or presentations where a representative from the bioferia or an organic farming association educates consumers on the benefits of organic goods. The key informant from this bioferia reports that these talks are popular with people returning each week in order to attend. The topics are varied and often highlight the products on sale. This is a strategy that might help the Huancayo bioferia in their goals of educating consumers and spreading awareness of the benefits or organic goods.

Similarly, there is an ample amount of space between the two rows of stands at the bioferia which could easily be used to conduct advertising. Nearly every week a new visitor asked me, "What is this event?" There was no information readily available to inform new visitors that this is an organic market open every Saturday. When the ACEH stand is not in the bioferia and advertising space is not used, the motivation for consumers to return is not reinforced and an opportunity to inform new consumers of the benefits and availability of organic goods is missed.

Another way to promote the bioferia to consumers is through the establishment of relationships between the consumer and the producer. A study by the National Sustainable Agriculture Information Service (ATTRA) in 2008 conducted in the United States has found:

> The personality of the grower is one of the most important elements to success. Gregarious farmers-those who like to meet new people and talk about their food and farms-will always do better than the quiet types. Friendliness, courtesy, and respect for the customers will win you a loyal following. People come to farmers' markets seeking social interactions, and the more you can help them accomplish that, the better you will do.

Not only will publications, promotions, and advertising contribute to a greater consumer base, but the personality of the vendor also plays an important role in the motivation for customers to return to Farmers' Markets.

4. Weaknesses in the Certification System

The major weakness of the participatory certification system used by APEREC is that products to be sold in the bioferia are not fully organic. Theoretically, the members within APEREC monitor and control the actions of other members so that everyone conforms to organic standards. But monitoring is infrequent with members visiting each others' farms initially when someone joins and then only once a year after that. The absence of regular monitoring has led some to question whether organic inputs continue to be used exclusively in both cultivated crops and prepared foods. Further, as of October of 2007, only 13 members were producing entirely organically and 41 members were in a state of transition (IDMA 2008). Transitional producers are treated the same as organic producers and some producers use the transitional status as an end-goal rather than moving toward complete organic production.

The members of APEREC recognize the limitations of the participatory certification system. One member reports that the monitoring is ineffective because even if they found a transgression, they aren't likely to report it because of the necessity of maintaining an adequate supply of products in the bioferia. Also, some of the members are friends, and if a transgression was noticed, they won't expose a friend to the consequences. Therefore, there are substantial weaknesses to the participatory certification system and the members APEREC recognize this.

5. Consumer Trust in Certification

Consequently, a significant number of consumers and other key informants reported doubts about the claims of the organic qualities of goods offered in the bioferia. One bioferia customer mentioned a qualm reminiscent of Becky Mansfield's (2003) critique of environmental contaminants when certifying something as organic. The customer said, "How organic can the milk be when the cows are wandering around eating grass from other fields contaminated with pesticides?" Another mentioned there is always doubt about the degree to which a product is organic because there is no guarantee advertised in the bioferia. Therefore promoting the certification system can help garner support for the bioferia.

Greater transparency can be accomplished through small signs hung from the top of the tarps, the table, or on larger stands in the middle open space. APEREC can better assure customers that these goods are made with organic ingredients by listing those inputs or using other educational measures. Another way to increase awareness will be to inform the consumers as to the current stage of organic production of each producer, whether they are still transitional or have become fully organic. Therefore, by giving the consumer more information about the exact composition of the products on sale, consumer confidence can be strengthened and as well as the ability to raise prices.

Trust is an important dimension of the bioferia's effectiveness. Holloway and Kneafsey have found that "...consumers make assumptions about the quality and freshness of the products simply because of the consumption context." (2000:292) Therefore, the atmosphere of the bioferia influences whether a consumer believes a product is organic. In the bioferia, 62% of organic consumers reported they simply trust what the vendors say, or trust that since it is in the bioferia it must be organic. This is congruent with a study conducted in Peru about local markets that found that more than half of consumers trusted what the producers said (PIDAASSA 2008). "When you hear something from somebody you know and trust, the message comes with built-in credibility" (Bachmann 2008:6).

While a relatively high level of confidence exists between consumers and producers, consumers still prefer an official certification to verify that the products are organic. Eighty-eight percent of consumers in the bioferia said that it is important to have an official guarantee, or some quality control over what constitutes the organic products. One effective response to these concerns has been for APEREC members to invite consumers to their homes or fields to see the production process. This fostering of relationships outside of the marketplace can build trust that may lead to the ability to increase prices. "While higher prices are partly explained by the organic nature of the products, the type of relationship that farmers established with buyers also played a key role in price margins, with higher prices being obtained when farmer organizations engaged in long-term relationships with buyers" (IFAD 2003:xi). By guaranteeing its products are organic, APEREC can help consumers feel more confident in the marketplace and long-term relationships can be established. Prices might then be gradually raised as this confidence grows.

6. Problems of Supply of Organic Products

My analysis shows that 80% of consumers desire a greater volume and variety of goods offered in the bioferia. In particular, consumers want more quantity and variety of organic vegetables. The majority of consumers arrive early to the bioferia to buy the limited amount of vegetables. Attendance declines for the rest of the day reportedly due to a lack of goods available. This coincides with the observations of a key informant involved with the Miraflores bioferia in Lima. She reported that vegetables are the primary draw for consumers in that bioferia, and concluded that any organic market must have a wide variety as well as a large quantity of vegetables to sustain its overall viability. "This greater diversity [of products] attracts a greater variety of shoppers as well as helping to strengthen local farm operations" (Brown and Miller 2008:1300). This finding is also congruent with findings from the United Kingdom Farmers' Market by Holloway and Kneafsey. In their study, vegetables were also the most frequently purchased items, suggesting strong trends between vegetable supply and volume of purchases (2000:290).

The amount of vegetables available in the bioferia is further limited because vendors recognize the nutritional benefits of organic goods and want their family to eat these healthier products. Different NGO representatives report that this is a problem for bioferias around the country. When a portion of the organic vegetables produced in the country goes to feeding the farmers' families, the supply in the local markets is further reduced, exacerbating the problem of low supply of organic vegetables in the bioferia.

Reliability of the supply of organic vegetables is also an important factor in the motivation of consumers to return. The fact that some weeks vendors will have onions and carrots and other weeks they won't have either disappoints consumers who go to the bioferia expecting to purchase something specific they previously have been able to acquire. This was illustrated when I asked organic consumers what products they wished were available in the bioferia. Several of them mentioned products that were available that day, suggesting that if consumers don't see a product available one week, they are likely to believe it is not available again. It is difficult to produce certain products year-round, but because there exists a steady demand, efforts should be made to supply products with increased regularity to encourage consumers to return.

Further, the quality and appearance of the vegetables is important. Quality must be consistent among vendors if the products are to be sold in the same bioferia, and especially if the vegetables are sold in bunches. Similar appearance involves the vegetables being matured to the same age, being similar in size and color, and being trimmed properly. Trimming involves removing wilted or yellow leaves and washing off dirt. Several key informants mentioned that it is difficult to convince a customer that an organic product is superior when the appearance is not as aesthetically appealing as conventional products. The demands of quality can make it difficult for vendors to sell what they have produced, yet is required if they are to sell their products consistently.

One way to ameliorate the low supply of organic vegetables is to entice more transitional farmers. This can happen by informing them of the economic incentives inherent in direct-marketing. If the overall supply of vegetables is increased, this will help attract and retain more consumers, which can help raise volume of sales for not only other producers but also vendors of processed goods. If there are more transitional producers, in order to differentiate those that produce 100% organically, there could be a sign hung from their stand making the distinction that they are fully organic or allow them a high-traffic area in the market. Increasing the overall supply of vegetables in the market is beneficial for all involved. Making a distinction between those in transition and those who produce organically can help pacify discordance among vendors and also provide more information and greater transparency to consumers, further strengthening trust and feedback.

7. Limits to the Expansion of Organic Production

While many organic producers acknowledged the problem of limited supply in the bioferia, they explained there are a range of problems limiting the expansion of their production to augment the organic supply. Fifty-five percent of organic producers reported the biggest issues are related to the environment, including lack of water for irrigation and variability in temperature. Lack of water is a more severe problem during the dry season which is May through October. According to a study conducted by RAE and CEAR (2007), 46% of their producers reported they need a better irrigation system if they are to expand their production. Extremes in temperature are a problem even in the wet season when there is water available. This is because the temperature can drop so low at night that the vegetables can freeze, ruining an entire crop. Environmental restrictions such as a limited water supply and extremes in temperature hinder the ability to increase production.

Producers also reported a shortage of organic fertilizer as a further obstacle to expanding their production. Producers mentioned that organic fertilizer is not available on the general market, making the only source available to the farmers their own animals. Another study looking at access to markets has also identified the problem of limited organic fertilizer. The author recognizes "…the impossibility to access equipment to handle large volumes of organic fertilizer" (Yurjevic n.d.:7). Since 88% of vendors in my sample produce their own organic fertilizer, the amount available to them is limited by the number of animals on their farm, further limiting the expansion of their production.

B. Trends in Consumer Preferences

"Consumers purchasing organic foods may do so for a number of reasons, including perceived benefits to the environment, animal welfare, and worker safety, and the perception that organic foods are safer and more nutritious" (Winter and Davis 2006:R123). In the bioferia, few customers report they believe their money is going towards a greater cause than just fulfilling their need to acquire food. Only 5% of consumers report that they make purchases in the bioferia because their money is going towards helping a local farmer instead of an intermediary or that buying at the bioferia helps to give local farmers opportunities to access markets. Also, only 8% of consumers mentioned they make purchases at the bioferia because their money is helping to protect the environment through the encouragement of organic production. Common phrases used by consumers to describe why they support the cause of protecting the environment include: “protecting biodiversity” and “not contaminating the river or soil”. However, a much larger proportion of the organic consumers (49%) report that they shop at the bioferia because it offers healthier products that don’t harm their stomachs. This coincides with the findings of James Kirwan’s study in the United Kingdom of Farmers’ Markets: “The primary motivation for consumers’ attendance at [Farmers’ Markets] was pragmatic and individualistic (rather than civic or socially minded)…” (2006:306). Therefore, while some consumers identify the reason they shop at the bioferia is because their money goes towards a cause like helping local farmers or protecting the environment, more consumers’ motivation to shop at the bioferia is due to personal factors like health.

Consumers of conventional products reported that they value convenience when choosing which market to attend. Conventional consumers reported that the market is close to their home, or it offers a wide variety of products is why they attend. By offering a variety of products consistently, consumers only have to shop in one location and not visit multiple sites to buy all that they need. Both features are determinants of attendance at the conventional market. These values are likely to be representative of the larger population and suggest further opportunities to strengthen the bioferia as discussed below.

When asked about the properties of goods sold at a bioferia, 18% of conventional consumers reported qualities that are true of goods at a bioferia. Six percent of conventional consumers said that products in a bioferia are chemical-free, which is largely true. Also, six percent mentioned that products in a bioferia come directly from the farm, which is also true. And last, another six percent of conventional consumers mentioned that products in a bioferia are more natural, which is a commonly held notion among the Huancayo population. This suggests that there is some awareness among the general population that there are organically produced products for sale, and superficially understand what that means.

When we compare what products conventional consumers and organic consumers purchased, we can see a variety of differences. Due to the increased quantity and variety of vegetables and fruits offered at the conventional market, more people were able to purchase these types of products. Almost three times as many people bought fruits at the conventional market as did people at the organic market. Conversely, almost 10 times as many people in the organic market bought prepared meals than those in the conventional market. Again, vegetables are the most popular product in both the organic and conventional markets. See Figure eight on page 38.

1. Limited Awareness among Conventional Consumers of Organic Products and of the Bioferia and the Necessity of Promotions

Only 11% of conventional consumers are aware of the bioferia in Huancayo. Many consumers in the conventional market were interested in organic products, but were completely unaware of where to buy them in Huancayo. This is surprising because the interviews with conventional consumers were conducted in the conventional market only three blocks away from the location of the bioferia. Because the majority of organic consumers learned of the bioferia just by walking by and seeing it, and because the majority of conventional consumers interviewed also live in the neighborhood where the bioferia is held, they presumably have had the same opportunities to walk by and see the bioferia.

Due to the lack of marketing and promotions, informal social networks seem to be one of the primary ways in which people learn of the bioferia. This is similar to a finding reported in Holloway and Kneafseys' study in the United Kingdom in which they found that many consumers "…had heard about the market by word of mouth." (2000:289). Therefore, due to the absence of formal marketing techniques, spreading awareness of the bioferia is limited to social networks which likely results in few conventional consumers aware of the bioferia.

Advertising can help reverse this trend by taking advantage of the high value placed upon convenience by conventional consumers and the importance of health. Advertising can first be targeted within the neighborhood closest to the bioferia or near the popular bank close to the bioferia. By forming a relationship with the management or employees at the bank, this could be a fruitful and low-cost advertising mechanism. In return for a free meal once a month, bank employees may be encouraged to promote the bioferia to customers as a location for healthy meals and products. Also, promoting the Huancayo bioferia in established organic markets in Lima could inform consumers who travel to or have friends and family in Huancayo. As the survey data from the bioferia indicates, personal health is a primary motivation for consumers to seek organic products. The message "No Como Veneno, Como Orgánico" (I don't eat poison, I eat organic) boldly displayed on the aprons of some vendors in the bioferia is further evidence of the local view that organic food is a means of avoiding the toxic effects of pesticides. This trend should be included in any marketing strategies since it reflects the values present in the Huancayo population. Therefore, lack of promotions outside the bioferia leads to its limited awareness among conventional consumers. This suggests that the majority of the population in Huancayo does not have the basic information necessary to foster a shift toward shopping in the bioferia, but marketing can help to encourage attendance at the bioferia.

When organic farmers sell their products in conventional markets, they confront the issue that many conventional consumers are unaware of the properties of organic goods. Because the producers must convince the consumer that the product is organic and without pesticides, it creates more work for them in the marketplace. However, the extra work may bring greater returns to the farmers by building a consumer base through greater understanding and trust (Allen and Kovach 2000). Similarly, with organic producers selling their goods in the conventional market and differentiating their products, awareness is strengthened among conventional shoppers as well.

2. Willingness to Pay

The majority of both conventional and organic consumers report that they are willing to pay more for an organic product. The fact that people barter in the bioferia is also interesting because the price in the bioferia is generally equal to or lower than that of the conventional market even with consumers willing to pay more.[7] Bartering might be a

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[7] Consumers did not mention any specific goods that they would be willing to pay more for. This could be of interest for a future study- which products are consumers most likely to pay more for and how much?

cultural norm present in all markets, but the actions of the vendors could inhibit this practice. Many bioferia vendors reported that they do not lower their price and instead describe why their product merits the price they are asking. If the vendors are encouraged to offer such explanations each time a consumer requests a lower price, more people may become aware of the benefits of organic production and ultimately be willing to pay a higher price. Knowing that many consumers report they would pay more for organic goods might also encourage vendors to explain why they will not lower their prices or why they charge more.

V. CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Development that has an economic dimension offers the greatest potential for social development in rural Peru. Small farmers make up a large percentage of the population in Peru, making them an important target in development strategies (as Escobal 2005, Croal and Darou 2002, and HortiSana 2008 have demonstrated). The food sovereignty movement, in opposition to neo-liberal development agendas, helps farmers maintain control over food production and their livelihoods. This can partially be achieved by the promotion of organic agriculture which exploits indigenous people's knowledge of their local environment and through the promotion of local markets which allow easier access to market opportunities for small farmers. NGOs like CEAR and CIP, who act as middle-level organizations, are working with small farmers in the Peruvian Andes to improve their socio-economic situations by facilitating the adoption of organic agricultural production. However, the market opportunities available to small organic farmers in the Peruvian Andes are limited.

Conventional and export markets can be difficult for small farmers to access, placing greater importance on the development of local organic markets. Local markets allow easier access to market opportunities for small producers because of the less stringent requirements on quantity, quality, and official certifications. Local markets also feature native products helping to maintain a traditional form of agriculture and protect the natural biodiversity of the region. Moreover, the direct-marketing arrangement, like in the bioferia, allows for the formation of relationships between producers and consumers and the assurance of the production process. These face-to-face relationships can be built on trust which reinforces consumer loyalty. Further, direct-marketing systems allow greater financial returns to the farmers due to the absence of intermediaries.

Organic agriculture and the elimination of highly hazardous chemicals in the process of production are not only beneficial to the environment, but are also important to farmers and to consumers. Consumers make purchasing decisions that reflect their values based on product safety and quality, as well as public-good aspects like how production practices protect the environment or empower small farmers. Consumer demand for locally-grown organic products is increasing in many parts of the world, but to date, is underdeveloped in Huancayo. I have put forth recommendations to increase consumer demand for organic agricultural products in Huancayo and to expand organic agricultural production.

One issue that impedes the development of the bioferia is the organizational problems within APEREC and the instability of APEREC's governing board. Solving the conflicts within APEREC will help attract more organic producers to the bioferia to augment the supply in the bioferia, especially of vegetables.

Steps should be taken by APEREC and ACEH to improve the quantity and quality of information about organic goods provided to visitors to the bioferia including creating more brochures and handouts to ensure an adequate supply in the bioferia. Also, the open area between the two rows of tents provides ample room to set up displays with pictures that can easily catch the eye of a visitor. These displays can include information about the bioferia, the time and date, as well as information regarding the most attractive qualities of organic goods such as the absence of dangerous chemicals.

It is important to improve the promotion of the certification system within the bioferia to build consumer confidence since most consumers prefer an official certification. Local NGO representatives recommend there be more transparency in how the existing certification system works, what monitoring has found, and what measures are being taken to further assure the quality of the products. Improving the transparency of the certification system would build relationships fostering trust and reinforcing consumer loyalty.

Once relationships between consumers and producers are reinforced, APEREC can take advantage of the fact that many consumers are willing to pay more for organic products and begin to set prices above or equal to those of the conventional market. If supply remains limited as a stronger consumer base is established, this will further support price increases.

It is critical that APEREC conducts marketing outside of the bioferia to increase awareness of organic products, including where these goods are being sold. The message to consumers should be kept simple with only one or two important parts such as: what is organic, and where one can buy organic goods, so that consumers can easily remember understand and recall the primary message points. The hazards and impact of heavy pesticide use in conventional production should be regularly presented in whatever media is available, and thus will provide indirect support to organic marketing efforts. There are several places to start advertising outside of the bioferia to increase awareness of where and when to buy local organic products.

A proactive or consciousness-raising approach to advertising should be pursued. "…[N]iches must not be viewed as a market or resource void waiting to be filled, but rather the product of social agency" (Sherwood 2009: 150). Market niches in Huancayo to target include mothers, people over 35 years of age, and more educated consumers. Females are more likely to do the food shopping for the entire household and older and more educated segments of the population are more likely to be health conscious and attracted to the nutritional benefits of organic products, although these trends are not universal (Thompson 1998).

Since vegetables are the most frequently purchased products in both the organic and the conventional market, the quantity, variety, and reliability of organic vegetables must be improved in order to attract more customers to the organic market. Further increasing supply will foster increased attendance and retention of consumers, likely increasing overall demand. By having a variety of products available, this increases the time consumers spend in the bioferia, allowing them more opportunities to make a purchase.

Therefore, I recommend continued and increased interventions to expand the supply of organic products. Local and international organizations such as CEAR and CIP can play an important role in increasing what is offered in the bioferia by addressing the most-often reported constraints. Creating a sharing system or commercial enterprise for organic fertilizer can help some vendors increase their production. NGOs can also play a role in organizing organic farmers who only produce a small quantity of organic products. This will allow them to collaborate with other small farmers to pool their products in order to sell in the bioferia or other markets, to form mutually beneficial relationships, and to learn organic production techniques.

Through the application of the above recommendations, I expect increased consumer attendance at the Huancayo bioferia. In Julie Guthman's study of organic farmers in California, a majority of farmers switched to organic methods for market reasons, and not personal beliefs (2004). An increase in demand for organic products should provide a strong incentive for farmers to switch to organic methods irrespective of normative incentives, fulfilling a goal of NGO initiatives in the area. By stimulating market demand, market opportunities will be increased for small farmers.

To summarize the recommendations from the Huancayo bioferia, I suggest strengthening the organization of APEREC and ACEH so they are more capable of attracting new farmers and promoting consumer-producer relationships. Further, it is advisable to augment the promotions that are done within the bioferia by making more of the existing materials available and by being more active when dispersing them to consumers. I also suggest improving the promotion of the certification system within the bioferia by making it more understandable to shoppers to foster greater consumer confidence. Next, I recommend that vendors adjust their prices gradually to a point where consumers experience as little a consumer surplus as possible. It is also recommended that APEREC and ACEH increase their marketing efforts outside of the bioferia to spread awareness and attract new consumers. Last, I recommend addressing the limits to supply in the bioferia by increasing capacity-building for new and existing farmers particularly by addressing the lack of organic fertilizer available.

The development strategy outlined in this thesis, while site-specific, can be transferable to other areas within Peru, and possibly other parts of the developing world. Since indigenous control over food production and livelihoods is so important, promoting local markets with organic agricultural products helps small-farmers maintain methods for producing traditional cultivars and helps keep money circulating in the local economy. This development strategy could apply to many rural areas in developing countries.

The study of local organic Farmers' Markets has the potential to contribute to the field of the sociology of development through deepening our understanding of local economic development and its potential for empowering poor indigenous peoples of rural Latin America. Farmers' Markets featuring local products help maintain the traditional food culture in the region as well as protect the biodiversity by farming crops native to that area. This can help small farmers develop economically by focusing on products that they have historically produced and with which they have an intimate familiarity allowing them greater control and self-determination. Also, development in rural Latin America has a greater chance of success when it is supported by the rural poor themselves, rather than dependent upon support from other nations. The economic and grassroots dimensions of the local organic Farmers' Market can contribute significantly to the development of the rural poor. Expanding the Huancayo bioferia in the ways recommended above may provide increases in the production and consumption of organic agricultural products, improve access to economic markets for small farmers, and contribute to socioeconomic development in the area.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ORGANIC CONSUMER SURVEY

Encuesta para consumidores -----→ Numero de encuesta____________
(MERCADO)

1. **Porque vino Ud. a este bioferia hoy, en vez de ir a otro mercado?** (la razón)

2. **Como se enteró de la bioferia?**

a. Lo vió
b. De amigos
c. De familia
d. Por institución ____________________
e. De Trabajo
f. De Municipio
g. Iglesia
h. Doctor/clínica medicina
i. Otro__________________
j. No sabe/contesta

3. **Visita a este bioferia frecuentemente?**

a. Si
i. **Cuantas veces al mes** 1 2 3 4

b. Otro_____________________________ No

Porque viene _ _ veces al _ _ :

4. **Cuantos días a la semana le gustaría visitar la bioferia? (o** sería disponible una bioferia?)

5. **Ha visitado Ud a otras bioferías?**

a. Si: Cuales_______________________________________
b. No

6. **Para Ud. que significa el término bioferia?**

7. **( )Cual es diferente de los productos que se encuentra en una bioferia comparando con otros mercados?** (si la respuesta es vago, siga preguntando: [Puede explicarme un poco mas?]) *Obtenga la respuesta para_ _ _*

8. De ellos, que es lo mas importante para Ud?

a. Sanidad (de que)

i. consumidor

ii. productor (→ 10)

iii. medio ambiente (→ 10)

b. Otro__________________________________

9. A Ud. le parece que hay otros beneficios de estas características?

10. Cómo sabe que estos productos son _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _?

a. Están en este mercado

b. El logotipo de vendedor

c. Certificación

d. Confianza i. Afuera ii. Dentro

e. Etiqueta

f. Sabor

g. Apariencia mas chico

h. Otro____

11. Ud. cree que alguien o algo debería garantizar que estos productos son _ _ _

a. **Si** **b. No**

(COMPRAS)

12. Ud. pagaría un poco mas por un producto _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _?

a. Si (Claro) b No

13. Ud. tiene la impresión que los precios de estos productos ya están por encima de los precios de productos en otros mercados?

a. Si b. No

14. Que tipo de productos ha comprado hoy. (Cuanto ha gastado)

a. Comida preparada/comer___

b. verduras/hortalizas___

c. Papa___

d. Frutas___

e. Carnes___

f. Lácteos___

g. pan/horneados___

h. otros: ____________________

i. no ha comprado nad

15. Ha terminado sus compras hoy?

No: Que mas cree que vaya a comprar?

a. Comida preparada Para comer

b. verduras/hortalizas

c. Papa

d. frutas

e. Carnes

f. lácteos

g. pan/horneados

h. otros: ____________________
No Sabe Si

16. Viene Ud. por productos específicos o para lo que está disponible?
a. Específicos b. Disponible c. Ambos

17. Que productos, que Ud. no ha encontrado hoy, quisiera que se vendiesen en este biofería?

(ENTREVISTADO)

18. Cual es su edad?

19. En que distritito se ubica su vivienda.

20. Quien va a usar estos productos que ha comprado hoy?

21. Quien de su familia viene mayormente a la bioferia?
a. Madre b. Padre c. Hijos d. Abuelos e. Tios f. Empleado g.otro

22. A que se dedica Ud.?

A que religión pertenece Ud.?
a. Católico
b. Evangélica
c. Adventista
d. Testigo de Jehová
e. Mormón
f. Otro________________

23. ( )Cual es el grado de su educación?
a. Primaria b. Secundaria c. Superior d. Otro_______

24. Masculino Femenina

APPENDIX B: CONVENTIONAL CONSUMER SURVEY

1. Porque vino Ud. a este mercado hoy, en vez de ir a otro?

a. Productos
b. Cerca de la casa
c. Para comer
d. Conoce al vendedor
e. Es mas barato (cuesta menos)

Otro____ **3. Visita a este mercado frecuentemente?**

f. Si

i. Cuantas veces a la semana 1 2 3 4

g. b. Otro___________________________ No

h. Para Ud. que significa el termino biofería?

2. **Ha visitado Ud a una biofería?** (si menciona el Tambo bioferia → 6)

a. Si: Cuales____________________________________
b. No

3. Conoces a una bioferia cerca de aquí? Si No

4. Cual es la diferencia entre los productos que se encuentra en una biofería y los de otros mercados? (si la respuesta es vago, siga preguntando: **[Puede explicarme un poco más?])** Obtenga la respuesta para_ _ _ .

a. Si no sabe, diga**: Los productos en una bioferia son más sanos porque son producidos sin químicas y no hace daño al medio ambiente, ni el agricultor, ni su salud. También, en general tiene un mejor sabor y calidad.**

5. (COMPRAS)

6. Ud. pagaría un poco mas por un producto _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ (o) sano (o) que se encuentra en una bioferia?

a. Si (claro) b No

7. Ud. tiene la impresión que los precios de los productos _ _ _ _ _ [(o) sanos (o) que se encuentra en una bioferia] están mas altos que los precios en este mercados?

a. Si b. No

8. **Ud. cree que algo o alguien debería garantizar que los productos son _ _ _ _ _**
Si No

9. Que tipo de productos ha comprado hoy.

a. Comida preparada/comer___
b. verduras/hortalizas___
c. Papa___
d. Frutas___
e. Carnes___
f. Lácteos___
g. pan/horneados___
h. otros: ____________________
i. no ha comprado nada

10. Ha terminado sus compras hoy?

a. No: Que más cree que vaya a comprar?

b. Comida preparada Para comer
c. verduras/hortalizas
d. Papa
e. frutas
f. Carnes
g. lácteos
h. pan/horneados
i. otros: ____________________

i. No Sabe Si

11. Viene Ud. por productos específicos o para lo que está disponible?

a. Específicos b. Disponible c. Ambos

12. (ENTREVISTADO)

13. Cual es su edad?

14. **En que distritito se ubica su vivienda**

15. Quien de su familia viene mayormente al mercado?

a. Madre b. Padre c. Hijos d. Abuelos e. Tíos f. Empleado g.otro

16. **A que se dedica Ud.?** De que tipo de trabajo hace Ud?

17. A que religión pertenece Ud.?

18. Cual es el grado de su educación?

a. Primaria b. Secundaria c. Superior d. Otro_______

19. Masculino Femenina

APPENDIX C: VENDOR SURVEY

Encuesta para **Vendedores** Actuales→ # Puesto_______ # de encuesta__________
Que vende____
MERCADO:

1. Sus productos viene de alguien diferente o solo de Ud y su familia/chacra?

a. Son propios

b. De otros (**Como es la relación?**)________________________________

c. Ambos (**como es la relación**?)____________________________________

2. Vende los productos ecológicos solo en esta bioferia?

a. Si (→ # 5) b. no

3. En que otros lugares vende Ud. sus productos ecológicos?

a. Mayorista/Maltería

b. Mercado Modelo

c. Tambo

d. Chupaca

e. Chilca

f. Lima

g. Otro__________________

4. Son vendidos como ecológicos o como convencionales?

a. Ecológicos b. Convencionales

5. Cuáles son los productos que, mayormente, le compran los consumidores? (**Vende mas**)

6. Los consumidores rebajan/baratean sus productos en este mercado?

a. Si b. No c. yapa

7. Que quiere que los consumidores sepan de la producción orgánica?

a. No contamina al medio ambiente (suelo) (rio)

b. Requiere mas trabajo para el productor c. Cuesta Mas

d. Otro________________________________

8. Cuenta con certificación o algo que garantiza que sus productos son orgánicos?

a. Si: de que organización? ________________________

i. Grupo ii. Individual

b. No

9. Con que tipo de certificación cuenta?

a. Participativa b. Formal

10. Que ventajas vienen con la certificación?

11. Ha encontrado desventajas de conseguir la certificación?

a. Si, ________________________________

b. No

12. Recibe Ud. un precio mejor por unidad para productos ecológicos comparando con los productos convencionales. Dígame cuales productos y Si, No, o Igual

a. Si b. No c. Igual

PRODUCCION

13. Desde que año inició su producción orgánica? _______________

14. En que ano entro en la bioferia?

15. Porque convirtió su producción (o transformación) a orgánica?

16. De dónde obtiene el abono orgánico?

a. Propios animales b. tienda c. vecino d. otro__________

17. De donde obtiene los productos para controlar las plagas y enfermedades?

18. Tiene problemas continuos u obstáculos para ampliar su producción?

a. **Si. Cual es**____

b. **No**

19. Como aprendió por primera vez a cultivar orgánicamente?

a. ECAs

i. Institución___________________________________

b. Tallers/Capacitacion

i. Institucion____

c. Antepasados/Familia/hijos/hermanos

d. Vecinos

e. Otro____

20. Actualmente, de donde consigue información sobre manejo de cultivos orgánicos?

a. ECAs

i. Institcion_____________________________________

b. Talleres/ capacitacion

i. Institución___________________________________

c. Antepasados/Familia/hijos/hermanos

d. Vecinos

e. Otro____

FAMILIA: (Parar terminar vamos a hablar de Ud)

21. Donde esta ubicado sus campos de cultivo: Anexo/barrio, distrito, provincia

22. Pertenece a una religión? cual?

a. Católico

b. Evangélica

c. Adventista

d. Testigo de Jehová

e. Mormón

f. Otro_________________

23. Que es el grado de su educación?

a. Primaria b. Secundaria c. Superior d. otro___________

24. Cual es su edad?

25. Masculino Femenina

APPENDIX D: ORGANIC PRODUCER SURVEY

Encuesta para Productores en los Campos→ Nombre ______________________________
MERCADO: Districto______________________

1. **Donde vende Ud. sus productos ecológicos?**

a. Mayorista/Maltería

b. Mercado Modelo

c. Tambo

d. Chupaca

e. Chilca

f. Lima

g. Tambo bioferia

2.Son vendidos como ecológicos o como convencionales?

h. Ecológicos b. Convencionales

2. Ha encontrado obstáculos a acceder o entrar en otros mercados?

a. Si. Cuales_______________________________________

b. No

3. Que quiere que los consumidores sepan de la producción orgánica?

4. Cuenta con certificación o algo que garantiza que sus productos son orgánicos?

a. Si: de que organización? _______________________________

i. **i.** Grupo ii. Individual

5. Con que tipo de certificación cuenta?

a. Participativa b. Formal

6. Que ventajas vienen con la certificación?

7. Ha encontrado desventajas de conseguir la certificación?

8. Recibe Ud. un precio mejor por unidad para productos ecológicos comparando con los productos convencionales. Dígame cuales productos y Si, No, o Igual

a. Si b. No c. Igual

9. PRODUCCION

10. Desde que año inició su producción orgánica?

11. De dónde obtiene el abono orgánico?

a. Propios animales b. tienda c. vecino d. otro____________

12. De donde obtiene los productos para controlar las plagas y enfermedades?

13. Tiene problemas continuos u obstáculos para ampliar su producción?

a. Si. Cuales ___________________________________

14. Como aprendió por primera vez a cultivar orgánicamente?

a. ECAs
i. Institución__________________________________
b. Tallers/Capacitacion
i. Institucion____
c. Antepasados/Familia/hijos/hermanos
d. Vecinos
e. Otro____

15. Actualmente, de donde consigue información sobre manejo de cultivos orgánicos?

a. ECAs
i. Institcion_____________________________________
b. Talleres/ capacitacion
i. Institución___________________________________
c. Antepasados/Familia/hijos/hermanos
d. Vecinos
e. Otro____

16. FAMILIA: (Parar terminar vamos a hablar de Ud)Donde esta ubicado sus campos de cultivo: Anexo/barrio, distrito, provincia

17. Cual es su edad?
18. Pertenece a una religión? Cual?

19. Que es el grado de su educación?

a. Primaria b. Secundaria c. Superior d. otro___________

20. Masculino Femenina