Food Access, Housing Security and Community Connections:

A Case Study of Peterborough, Ontario

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Peterborough's JustFood Fresh Produce Box (photo: P. Ballamingie)

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This report has been prepared for the Nourishing Communities research partnership. **Nourishing Communities** has been evolving since 2007 over the course of several projects. In response to input from our community partners, the project builds on two years of collaborative work that developed an inventory of community food initiatives in Ontario, and explored their efforts and effects in multiple ways.

We are investigating a number of critical research issues that have emerged as potential avenues for improving the viability of community food initiatives: 1. land access for local / sustainable production; 2. innovative models of financing for community initiatives [distribution / processing / aggregation]; 3. strategies for tackling the tensions between food security and housing security; 4. opportunities to help farmers access sustainable local food markets; 5. supply management; 6. scale-appropriate regulation; and, 7. institutional procurement.

See Appendix A for the full list of Nourishing Communities researchers. For further information, please visit: nourishingcommunities.ca

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Food Access, Housing Security and Community Connections:
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(Andrée, P., Martin, M., Ballamingie, P., and J. Pilson, 2015)

Executive Summary

Introduction
This report explores how policies and programs might address food access and housing security simultaneously, with the experience of Peterborough, Ontario, as the focus of our analysis.

Background
Researchers from the Eastern Ontario Node of the *Nourishing Communities: Sustainable Local Food Systems Research Group*[1] prepared this report with input from key community partners.

National and Provincial Contexts
Food Security
According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), food security is defined as a state in which "all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 2006, June, p.1). According to a 2014 report, 12.6% of Canadian households and 11.6% of Ontario households experienced some level of food insecurity in 2011-12 (Tarasuk, Mitchell & Dachner, 2014).

Housing Security
In Canada the concept of core housing need serves as a proxy for housing insecurity (Hulchanski, 1995). Core housing need refers to households that do (or would) pay 30% or more of their income on housing (City of Ottawa, 2007). In 2009, about 1.4 million Canadian urban households lived in core housing need (CMHC, 2012). Non-profit/social housing is one of the ways governments try to alleviate income-related housing insecurity. Ontario has almost 1,500 non-profit housing providers located in 220 communities (ONPHA, 2014).

Peterborough
Peterborough is a community that faces significant economic and social challenges, including levels of unemployment higher than the national and provincial averages, and growing levels of poverty and food insecurity. At the same time, Peterborough has many assets, including a strong sense of community.

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[1] For further information about Nourishing Communities, go to:
www.nourishingontario.ca

Demographics

In 2011, the population of the City of Peterborough represented 78,700 of the total population of 134,900 for the City and County (PSPC, 2014). Peterborough City and County have a higher percentage of people 65 years of age and older than does Ontario as a whole (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Employment

At one point, in the early 1960s, Peterborough held the position of North America's leader in manufacturing employment per capita (Canadian CED Network, 2005). Since the 1970s and 1980s, however, the manufacturing sector across Canada has decreased significantly and Peterborough has been no exception. In March 2014, Peterborough CMA was distinguished as the only Canadian CMA with a double-digit unemployment rate (11.2%), well above the national (6.9%) and Ontario (7.3%) averages (Labour Market Information & Research, Research and Planning Branch MTCU, 2014).

Incomes

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, the average annual income of $37,786 in Peterborough City in 2010 fell below the Ontario average of $42,264 (Statistics Canada 2014a).

Social Assistance

In 2011, 8.7% of Peterborough residents relied on social assistance (OW or ODSP) compared to a provincial average of 6.8%. Reliance on social assistance in Peterborough has been rising, while dropping across the province (City of Peterborough, CCRC, PPRN, 2015).

Food Access

Household food insecurity is a growing problem in Peterborough. Peterborough County-City Health Unit's (2014) "Limited Incomes: A recipe for hunger" report shows that 11.5% of households in the City and County of Peterborough (the health unit geographical area) are moderately (6.5%) or severely (5%) food insecure, an increase from the 10% reported in 2013 (Peterborough County-City Health Unit, 2013). PROOF, a research group exploring policy solutions to food insecurity in Canada, used the same data source (CCHS data from 2007-8 and 2011-12) but a different methodological approach, which relies on different coding of data and a different population weighting. In doing so, they found the level of food insecurity for the Peterborough census metropolitan area (CMA) alone increased from 10% in 2007-2008 to 15.9% in 2011-12, a rate exceeding both the national (12.6%) and the Ontario (11.6%) rates, and representing one of the highest levels of food insecurity of any Canadian CMA in that study (Tarasuk, Mitchell and Dachner, 2014).   Despite their differing methods and results, the discouraging commonality between these two reports is the increase shown in food insecurity in Peterborough.

Housing Security

In 2011, 12,310 people or 25.9% of households (48.1% of rental households) in the Peterborough CMA lived in core housing need, paying at least 30% of their income on housing. The Ontario average was 42% for rental households in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2014b).

Peterborough's Policy Tools

Since the 1990s, municipal governments have managed social assistance, though this responsibility is slowly being uploaded back onto the provincial government (a process to be finished in 2018). In recent years, a combination of provincial government policy changes and reductions of municipal contributions to emergency housing stability assistance have resulted in a blow to Peterborough citizens who rely on social assistance. However, City and County governments still fund a range of initiatives intended to address housing and homelessness as well as food insecurity. The City currently owns over 2500 social housing units – about 13% of the rental stock in the city – half of which are reserved for seniors. It also includes affordable housing in Development Charges calculations (Progress Report 2014). In total, Peterborough has a budget of about $14M/year used for housing subsidies, programs and administration, including for social housing. Local government also provides funding for shelters (e.g. Brock Mission, the Youth Emergency Shelter), specific drop-in sites, community meal programs, as well as Kawartha Food Share. The City and County also support a number of Peterborough County City Health Unit (PCCHU) activities that are available to precariously housed and food insecure people such as the Dental Treatment Assistance Fund. Finally, municipal supports for those on low incomes and the food insecure also extend to transit subsidies and youth and seniors' programming among other supports (Mitchelson, personal communication, June 4, 2015). To date, Municipal engagement in food has primarily supported emergency response programs such as food banks and meal programs. One exception is the progressive 2013 City of Peterborough Community Garden policy.

Community-Based/Collaborative Initiatives

The evidence shows that local governments in Peterborough have taken some steps to address housing security and food access, but the statistics noted above show that more can and should be done in partnership with their provincial and federal counterparts. A number of collaborative initiatives that bring together local governments, the public health unit, and non-profit organizations to tackle these two issues are also underway.

Affordable Housing Actions

On the housing front, the 10-year Housing and Homelessness Plan for the City and County of Peterborough reports that, since 2003, a number of initiatives across Peterborough City and County have resulted in 500 affordable rental units (including rent geared-to-income, accessible and special needs units) as well as rent supplements, repair support and accessibility funding for low-income tenants. Furthermore, the City

has been working to increase standards in "rooming, lodging and boarding houses" through licensing (Tim Welch Consulting Inc., Public Interest, Greg Suttor Consulting and Ballak, D., 2013, p. 7).

Community-Based Food Initiatives

Peterborough has many community-based food security initiatives, including at least ten organizations that offer community meals or make 'emergency food' available (e.g. food banks). One exemplary capacity building project, a joint initiative with the YWCA, Fleming College, PCCHU and GreenUP, is the Peterborough Community Garden Network (PCGN). In 2014, the PCGN had 712 gardeners using 194 garden plots in 36 community gardens (PCGN, 2014). Another initiative, the JustFood program of YWCA Peterborough Haliburton uses a sliding fee scale to offer fresh, healthy food boxes twice monthly and boxes of perishable and non-perishable healthy staple foods once each month. It is notable, however, that a systems-wide strategy for food (from production to consumption) is absent in Peterborough. There is growing recognition in the academic literature, and among practitioners, of the positive role that municipal governments can take in addressing food and agricultural issues together through system-wide planning efforts (e.g. OPPI 2011), including through the development of Food Policy Councils. The time may be right for such an approach in Peterborough.

Tackling Housing and Food Together

Community activists in Peterborough are increasingly sensitive to the links between food insecurity and housing insecurity – due in part to the work of the Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network (PPRN). Two examples of initiatives that are taking this dual focus include:

The Mount Community Centre (MCC)

In 2011, the PPRN decided that Peterborough needed a "hub for affordable housing and food" (MCC, 2013). In 2013, the PPRN purchased The Mount, a 10-acre property that had previously housed the Sisters of St. Joseph convent. The PPRN transferred the property to the newly formed non-profit, The Mount Community Centre (MCC), in order to develop a place that "focuses on housing, food, health, arts and culture, and ecological sustainability" and, in so doing, cultivate a "self-sustaining community" (MCC, 2013).

Nourish Project

The idea for the Nourish Project developed out of the Peterborough Community Food Network when its members decided that Peterborough City and County needed to pull together multiple strands of the local food system in specific places to be able to address pressing issues regarding food access, farmer livelihood and the commoditization of food. Nourish consists of a broad and highly collaborative network of community partners. Its vision is "to develop a local network of dynamic places for food dedicated to community, health and fairness" (Nourish Project, 2014). Community engagement and advocacy are central to Nourish's work.

Discussion

Both housing- and food-centred community organizations have identified the need to "bring food home" for Peterborough residents, not only by reducing "food miles" but also by considering food access in terms of where and under what conditions people live. Many food initiatives, like community gardens, Come Cook With Us (a community food literacy and cooking program) and the JustFood program, help ensure that food comes to where people are living. Others, like the Peterborough Gleaning Program, help bring people to food. Ultimately, both community food programs and housing security programs seek to mitigate multiple challenges born of income insecurity.

However, these organizations tend, perhaps out of finite capacity, to prioritize one or the other of these laudable goals. Tensions will inevitably arise by prioritizing one of these two basic needs, which both stem predominantly from income insecurity. In order to address food and housing needs, sustained advocacy for income security – the responsibility of municipal, provincial and federal governments in Canada – remains critical.

Conclusion

The case study of Peterborough enables an on-the-ground look at the issues of food access and housing security, and possible approaches to address these issues together, including the separate and combined responses that have been made in policy, programming and advocacy. Vibrant networks of activists, policy makers, researchers and community members have been working diligently in Peterborough to begin to address access, capacity-building and system change issues with regards to food while advocating around housing, housing supports and income. Peterborough appears to be doing all of the right things at the level of community-based organizations (including the leading role of the PCCHU) and local governments are engaged to some degree. However, the trends in food and housing show that more must be done by all three levels of government, working together and in close collaboration with community-based actors. At the municipal level, the 10-year housing strategy is an excellent start. A parallel system-wide strategy could be developed with key actors in the food and agricultural sectors, keeping an eye to coordination and synergies across these two issues.

With regards to municipal funding, local governments currently fund a number of initiatives related to housing and (emergency) food. However, the potential for housing-related and other financial supports (e.g. the Housing Stability Fund) to prevent people from housing-related and other forms of crisis should not be underestimated. Additionally, since a significant portion of food insecure people also earn wages or pensions, it is important to address issues of inadequate employment income and not just lack of employment itself. The broad adoption by local employers of a living wage as outlined by the Peterborough Social Planning Council (2013a) could be instrumental

here. In addition, provincial and federal governments ought to recognize the positive impacts of income security on many areas such as health and education that could be pursued creatively through strategies such as guaranteed annual income or basic income guarantee. Finally, the federal government could and should play a much stronger role by developing both a National Housing Strategy (see Wellesley Institute 2010) and a National Food Strategy (De Schutter 2012).

Recommendations

By way of summarizing according to the actors expected to take the lead on each, these are the recommendations elaborated upon in the background, discussion and conclusion sections of this report:

Federal government:
- Develop a National Housing Strategy (see Wellesley Institute 2010) and a National Food Strategy (De Schutter 2012), with due attention in each to the ways these two issues interrelate
- Develop and implement a Guarantee Annual Income (GAI)/Basic Income Guarantee (BIG) strategy

Provincial government:
- Raise social assistance rates (ODSP and Ontario Works), and further reform minimum wage to reflect the real costs of housing and a nutritious food basket in communities like Peterborough
- Work with local actors to increase the number of affordable housing/rent-geared to income units
- Investigate policy such as GAI/BIG to address income security that will help to address both housing and food insecurity

Municipal governments:
- Work with local Community Based Initiatives (CBIs) to develop an integrated Food and Agricultural Strategy that becomes integrated into Official Plans
- Implement the 10 Year Housing and Homelessness Plan
- Ensure that plans and strategies for food and housing are fully coordinated and integrated into Official Plans
- Increase municipal budget contributions to the Housing Stability Fund (HSF)
- Ensure access to healthy food is considered in underserviced and new developments
- Ensure adequate public transportation and safe pedestrian routes to food resources such as community gardens, cooking programs and healthy food outlets.
- Encourage fresh and healthy food options in local corner stores
- Continue working with neighbourhoods who express interest in community gardens and considering gardens as one usage of City park land

Housing developers and existing landlords (including market and affordable housing):[2]
- Include community gardening space, water infrastructure, as well as equipment storage
- Affordable housing units be built to facilitate growing, cooking and eating of healthy food (i.e. adequate balconies for container gardening, kitchen space to allow for food preparation and eating, storage capacity, accessibility)
- Establish centralized food supports such as including emergency food cupboards, community freezers and cooking classes as part of new developments

All Peterborough-based employers:
- Pay at least a living wage. The Peterborough Social Planning Council calculated that a family with 2 full-time employed adults and 2 dependents would require, at a minimum, a living wage of $16.47 per hour (PSPC 2013a)

Community based initiatives:
- Continued advocacy and awareness raising on poverty (PPRN), income security (Income Security Working Group of the PPRN), housing security (Affordable Action Housing Committee) and food security (Peterborough Food Action Network)[3] and look to joint initiatives as has been done with Put Food in the Budget and Nourish
- Food- and housing-based initiatives should pay more attention to the tensions between prioritizing one of these two issues over the other, and work on strategies that address both simultaneously
- Continue to bring a spatial lens to food initiatives to ensure access to community kitchens, community freezers, cooking and nutrition classes, good food boxes, community gardens, and bulk buying clubs
- Plan for farmers' markets, food literacy programs and other places for healthy food such as Nourish Project sites to be located within close proximity of low-income neighbourhoods and public transit and to be made accessible through transportation and childcare supports
- Ensure adequate access to emergency food services in all communities

All actors:
- Develop any new initiatives on housing or food with the needs of seniors, commuters, unemployed people, families with young children, renters, low-income homeowners and First Nations in mind, because of the significant numbers of these populations in Peterborough

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[2] These specific recommendations were generated from a review of literature, not a detailed analysis of the housing situation in Peterborough.
[3] Previously named the Peterborough Community Food Network (PCFN) until 2015

Introduction

There exists a well-established link between housing security and food access: individuals facing unstable housing tenures or having limited financial resources are also more likely to report facing food insecurity (Che & Chen, 2001; Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2011). This report takes this connection as a starting point, exploring how policies and programs might address these two issues simultaneously. What could be learned from the mutually constitutive and interconnected nature of these two challenges? How could policies and programs be directed more carefully with these connections in mind? The initial research we did on this topic resulted in a research report by Pilson, Ballamingie and Andrée (2015) entitled '*Environmental Scan: Food and Housing'.* See the 'Background' section, below, for a summary of strategies to address food and housing together.

This report builds on our previous research by presenting a case study of a specific community: Peterborough, Ontario[4]. A case study allows us to bring to the fore what these issues look like at the local level, how they are being addressed there, and the challenges that remain. It enables a finer grain analysis. Furthermore, while our initial research shows the potential roles for provincial and federal governments in addressing both food access and housing security together, it also shows the importance of local level engagement in both of these issues, by city and county governments, as well as by local non-profit organizations. A case study brings this story to life, showing how food access and housing security are connected at the local level, how they are, or could be, addressed simultaneously at that level, and the gaps that remain which may require further attention.

As a case study, Peterborough offers the potential to generate new insights into the tensions between housing and food security that could readily apply elsewhere. As a mid-sized city surrounded by a rural county, Peterborough is representative of many other communities across Ontario and Canada. For example, a 2013 economic report notes that Peterborough[5] has a very similar workforce composition to other census metropolitan areas (CMAs) in Ontario (Stolarick, King & Matheson, 2013). However, Peterborough faces more extreme challenges on the food access and housing security front than most other similar size communities in Canada. As a result, lessons learned from attempts to address these issues in Peterborough, where they prove especially

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[4] Unless otherwise specified, reference to 'Peterborough' includes both the City of Peterborough and the County of Peterborough – two separate administrative units. The County also includes 8 lower-tier municipalities: Municipality of Trent Lakes, Selwyn Township, Township of Asphodel-Norwood, Township of Cavan-Monaghan, Township of Douro-Dummer, Township of Havelock-Belmont-Methuen, Township of North Kawartha and Township of Otonabee-South Monaghan. There are also 2 First Nations located within the County, although they are governed separately: Curve Lake First Nation and Hiawatha First Nation.

[5] The Peterborough CMA includes the City of Peterborough and the adjoining townships of Selwyn, Douro-Dummer, Otonabee-South Monaghan and Cavan-Monaghan.

challenging, can be used to advance food security and housing programs, policies and initiatives in communities across the province of Ontario, elsewhere in Canada, and in similar contexts around the world.

Background

This report has been prepared by researchers associated with the Eastern Ontario Node of the *Nourishing Communities: Sustainable Local Food Systems Research Group* (see Appendix A). Nourishing Communities is a collaborative research partnership, led by Dr. Alison Blay-Palmer at Wilfrid Laurier University, that emerged in 2007 involving a number of diverse partners: community organizations, academic institutions, government and non-governmental organizations. Nourishing Communities aims to conduct research that will ultimately support the creation of a more sustainable regional food system in Ontario – notably, one that incorporates the three interconnected goals of equity, economic viability and environmental sustainability. The province of Ontario (the focus of research to date) includes three regional nodes: Northern, Southwestern and Eastern. Each regional node has identified specific research foci based on input from regional advisory committees, but also negotiated across other nodes to avoid duplication, to draw best on relative expertise, and to generally fill gaps in information.

The Eastern Ontario Node encompasses the area of Ontario delineated to the south by the US border, to the east by the Quebec border, and to the north by the Ottawa River/Quebec border. Its western border runs roughly north from Port Hope and continues north until it intersects with the Ottawa River. This area includes significant urban and rural portions of the province, including: Ottawa, Kingston, Belleville, Pembroke, Peterborough, and Port Hope.
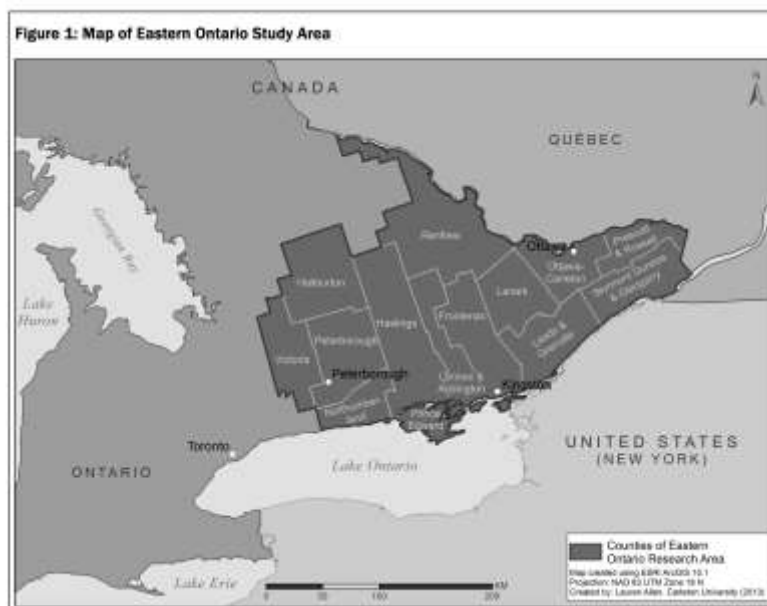

Figure 1: Map showing the boundaries of Eastern Ontario for the purposes of this research. (Created by Lauren Allen, 2014)

Each research group is supported and informed by an advisory committee consisting of various stakeholders. In Eastern Ontario, this broader group consists of faculty members from both Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, and community members from Harvest Hastings, Just Food Ottawa, the Peterborough County-City Health Unit, Northumberland County and the Eastern Ontario Agri-Food Network (EOAFN)[6]. For the period from 2013-2014, the Eastern Ontario Advisory Committee generated the following research priorities:

- Food access and housing security;
- Tensions between farmer livelihoods and food access; and,
- Opportunities and constraints for Eastern Ontario primary producers to access 'local' markets.

This report emerged directly from research into the first priority: Food access and housing security. That research was developed in two phases. The following summarizes the findings of the first phase.

Addressing Food Access and Housing Security Together: Lessons from the Literature

Once government agencies, housing developers, and community-based organizations come to better understand the intersection between housing insecurity and food access, the literature suggests a number of policies and initiatives that address the two issues in an integrated way. Table 1 delineates food access strategies related to existing neighbourhoods with high populations of the groups vulnerable to food insecurity; Table 2 presents strategies suitable to new affordable housing developments. Each table identifies the roles of specific actors (in the Canadian context) to help realize these goals.

Note the concept of 'community-based initiatives' (CBIs) – alluded to in both tables. In Ontario, CBIs are typically projects spearheaded by a mix of local actors, and often funded (albeit poorly in many cases) from a range of sources. They may be led by a non-profit organization (such as a faith-based or women's organization), working in partnership with other local non-profit organizations as well as a local health unit [organized at the municipal or regional level, but accountable to the province of Ontario under the Health Protection and Promotion Act (Ontario 2014)]. A mix of government and private sources, including charitable foundations, typically funds CBIs. While there are real questions about the long-term sustainability of many CBIs (Andrée, Ballamingie, & Sinclair-Waters, 2013) – they often run on very tight budgets and offer precarious employment at best – they also mean that many new initiatives in the food and housing sectors are rooted in local needs and informed by local expertise, and these elements can be critical to their success.

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[6] For more information on each of these groups, please visit their respective websites, listed in Appendix B.

We recognize that 'affordable housing developers' are often based in community-based initiatives themselves (such as non-profit corporations) which ultimately depend on financial support from municipal, provincial and federal levels of government, in addition to supportive policies enacted by all of these levels of government, to achieve their mandates of offering affordable housing. Finally, these tables present representative strategies, and are not meant to be exhaustive lists.

Table 1: Food access strategies for new and existing neighbourhoods

Strategy	Primary Responsibility
• Encourage presence of retail food stores in underserved communities;	• Municipal planners with incentives for developers
• Ensure access to grocery stores through community shuttles, delivery services, shopping services;	• Businesses, CBIs
• Ensure adequate public transportation and safe pedestrian routes to retail food stores where healthy food is accessible;	• Municipal government
• Encourage fresh and healthy food options in local corner stores;	• CBIs and public health agencies
• Ensure access to community kitchens, community freezers, cooking and nutrition classes, good food boxes, community gardens, and bulk buying clubs;	• CBIs with greater support from all levels of government
• Establish new farmers' markets and community gardens through provision of land, changes to infrastructure/built environment;	• Municipal government and CBIs
• Ensure adequate access to emergency food services; and,	• CBIs
• Update and increase the number of affordable housing units.	• Municipal, provincial and federal governments

In the context of existing housing, many of the strategies noted above relate closely to the spatial organization of our communities – to the proximity and distribution of food access points including food banks, meal provision services, grocery stores, healthy corner stores, farmers' markets, community gardens and other CBIs (i.e. food box program access point). But even recognizing these interconnections, comprehensive and forward-thinking policy supports would be required to enable such strategies to be implemented. Similarly, actors from these diverse sectors must come together to think collaboratively and creatively about how to realize more food secure

neighbourhoods for all. Other considerations include increasing core funding to affordable housing and food security initiatives, building partnerships with local community and health centres, and advocating for adequate incomes through increases to minimum wage and social assistance or a guaranteed annual income.

Table 2: Food access considerations for new affordable housing developments

Strategy	Primary Responsibility
• Locate and design with food security in mind (e.g. in close proximity to existing food retail outlets, markets, community gardens and/or along well-serviced transit routes);	• Municipal planners and housing developers
• Include community gardening space, water infrastructure as well as equipment storage;	• Municipal planners (standard setting), housing developers, CBIs
• Increase balcony size (and build in supportive infrastructure) to facilitate container gardening;	• Municipal planners (standard setting) and housing developers
• Include larger kitchens for preparing and eating food;	• Municipal planners (standard setting) and housing developers
• Include greater pantry storage capacity to enable bulk buying and preserving of foods;	• Municipal planners (standard setting) and housing developers
• Design with issues of accessibility (including both physical and mental ability) in mind;	• Municipal planners (standard setting) and housing developers
• Offer incentives for developers to incorporate grocery stores as tenants in new developments; and,	• Municipal government
• Ensure the provision of centralized food security supports, such as emergency food cupboards, community freezers, cooking classes, as part of developments.	• Housing developer with support of CBIs

Although we have not conducted a local study of affordable housing, Table 2 draws on the literature to offer affordable housing providers guidance for augmenting food access in their projects, in concert with municipal planners and community-based food initiatives. New housing developments ought to be located and designed with food access in mind: with community gardening space and equipment storage; with larger balconies, kitchens and pantries; and situated either near existing grocery stores (or

with new stores as tenants), and in close proximity to farmers' markets, community gardens, food banks and other community-based initiatives.

A Case Study of Peterborough, Ontario

The Eastern Ontario Advisory Committee identified Peterborough, Ontario as an illustrative case study to elucidate the shared challenges of addressing housing security and food access, and to identify potential synergistic solutions. Peterborough is a community that faces significant economic and social challenges, including levels of unemployment higher than the national and provincial averages, higher levels of reliance on social assistance than the provincial average, and growing food insecurity.

At the same time, Peterborough has many assets. According to a recent survey of 711 Peterborough residents, respondents had a strong sense of community in general and perceived Peterborough to be a caring community in particular (Community Foundation of Greater Peterborough, 2013). Further, as this case study shows, Peterborough has a vibrant network of food and housing advocates and activists who are working to address these two issues, among others. Partnerships between local groups (service organizations, non-profit organizations), the Peterborough County-City Health Unit and municipal government departments exist. In addition, a number of recommendations that arose from the 2011 community consultation process regarding food and housing have been included in the City of Peterborough Official Plan Review (see Tackling Food and Housing Together section below). While the recommendations have yet to be adopted in the Official Plan, they show that the issues of food access and housing security are increasingly seen as within the purview of the municipal governments to act upon in Peterborough.

National and Provincial Contexts
Food Security

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2006, June), food security is defined as a state in which "all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (p.1). This definition highlights the importance of both physical and economic access to acceptable and culturally-appropriate food. Physical access can be limited as a result of a number of variables, including, but not limited to: limited mobility; lack of personal transportation; minimal public transportation; proximity to retail food outlets; and, having young children in tow (Moffatt, 2008; Williams et al., 2012). Economic access can be limited due to inadequate income to cover the basic necessities, or restricted access to affordable foods. As populations in both developing and developed countries become increasingly urbanized (FAO, 2012), the food insecurity experienced by the urban poor has garnered attention (Battersby, 2011; Cohen & Garrett, 2010).

Data on household food security has been collected annually since 2007 through the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) for Statistics Canada. Reflecting on their own experience over the previous 12 months, survey respondents are assigned to one

of the following four categories of household food security: food secure; marginally food insecure; moderately food insecure; and severely food insecure.

Table 3: Interpretation of Food Security Status
(from Tarasuk, Mitchell & Dachner, 2014)

Food Security Status	Interpretation
Food Secure	No report of income-related problems of food access.
Marginally Food Insecure	Some indication of worry or income-related barriers to adequate, secure food access.
Moderately Food Insecure	Compromise in quality and/or quantity of food consumed by adults and/or children due to a lack of money for food.
Severely Food Insecure	Disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake among adults and/or children

According to the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS), in 2011-12 8.3% or 1.1 million households in Canada experienced moderate (5.8%) or severe (2.5%) food insecurity. This number was significantly higher for lone parent with children households (14.1%) and unattached individuals (38.2%) (Statistics Canada, 2013). According to a 2014 report, nearly 13% of Canadian households experienced some level (severe, moderate or marginal) of food insecurity in 2012 (Tarasuk, Mitchell & Dachner, 2014). In Ontario, that number was slightly over 11%. However, since Ontario has such a large percentage of the Canadian population as a whole, this 11% translated into 571,300 households and represented the highest number of food insecure households in a Canadian province. The highest number of households (131,600) reporting *severe* food insecurity was also found in Ontario.

The Ontario Public Health Association (OPHA) recognizes that there are certain vulnerable groups in Canada who are unable to afford adequate amounts of food. These groups include: female-headed single parent families, children, seniors, Aboriginal people, homeless persons, unemployed people, and new immigrants (OPHA, 2002, November).

In addition, in terms of income sources, a majority of households relying on social assistance proved food insecure to some degree – many, in fact, were classified as severely food insecure, and this most vulnerable group included a significant proportion of those relying on Workers Compensation and Employment Insurance. However, over 62% of food insecure households still garnered income from wages and/or employment salaries (Tarasuk, Mitchell & Dachner, 2014) – the working poor. Moreover, the Limited Incomes: A Recipe for Hunger report (PCCHU, 2014) clearly demonstrates that healthy diets are out of reach for many households because of inadequate minimum wage incomes, low social assistance rates and other fixed incomes. Lower food prices do not address food quality, the challenge for food producers to earn a fair livelihood, or the

systemic reasons for this food insecurity. Income supports, affordable housing policies, and a national food policy are all needed to enhance food security for these particular groups.

Housing Security

Basic shelter is a prerequisite for survival, but safe, healthy and affordable housing is also necessary for full participation in the social, political and economic fabric of society. Homelessness limits an individual's ability to find and keep employment, exercise democratic rights and maintain a healthy lifestyle (both physically and/or mentally). Income-related housing insecurity can also negatively impact the lives of affected individuals and families. In a statement intended to guide governments and non-governmental organizations, the United Nation's High Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR) and UN Habitat notes that despite a central place for the "right to an adequate standard of living, including adequate housing" in international law (as declared in the UN Declaration of Human Rights of 1948), "well over a billion people are not adequately housed" (UNHCHR, 2009, p.1).

In Canada, the concept of core housing need (defined in terms of affordability) serves as a proxy for housing insecurity (Hulchanski, 1995). Core housing need refers to households that do (or would) pay 30% or more of their income on housing (City of Ottawa, 2007). In 2009, about 1.4 million Canadian urban households lived in core housing need (CMHC, 2012). Defining housing insecurity in terms of the percentage of a population in core housing need has its limitations, however, since it does not consider the actual amount of after-shelter income – a figure that determines a household's ability to fulfill other basic needs (Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2007). Housing insecurity also comprises non-economic dimensions and can include individuals living in housing that does not meet their needs with respect to condition (poor quality) or size (overcrowding) (City of Ottawa, 2007). Individuals often choose to sacrifice housing quality or size in order to liberate additional income and resources to pay for expenses such as food, transportation and childcare.

Affordable housing is one of the ways governments try to alleviate income-related housing insecurity. Since the 1980s, affordable housing providers in Canada typically rent housing units to individuals or households at no more than 30% of income, thus seeking to provide an affordable source of housing (Hulchanski, 1995). In Ontario, one of the main vehicles for providing affordable housing is the non-profit housing sector. Non-profit housing provides affordable housing alternatives to seniors, low-income families, disabled people and "hard to house" people through government funding and subsidies. Non-profit housing corporations are usually sponsored by community- or faith-based organizations and supported by municipal, provincial and federal government programs that subsidize both development and operating costs, or cover the gap between what low-income tenants can afford to pay and local market rent (ONPHA, 2014). Ontario has almost 1,500 non-profit housing providers located in 220 communities (ONPHA, 2014).

Notwithstanding the existence of non-profit housing corporations, social housing represents only 5-6% of the total housing stock in Canada (Dalton, 2009; Hackworth,

2008) and little new social housing is being developed (Fisher, personal communication 2015). In Ontario, the number is just slightly above the national average at 6.3% of all housing units, although there is a considerable amount of regional variation with the highest concentration of social housing found in large cities (Hackworth, 2008). Households on Ontario waitlists for rent geared to income numbered over 158,000 by the end of 2013 (ONPHA, 2014). These numbers illustrate a significant need for a greater number of affordable housing units in this province. Notably, Canada has fallen behind most countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in its level of investment in affordable housing, with one of the smallest non-profit housing sectors among developed countries.

In terms of the association between food insecurity and housing, Food Banks Canada (2014) reports that the majority of food bank users (64.1%) live in rental market accommodations while only 7.3% are homeowners. Statistics on food insecurity validate this finding, and suggest that among renter populations in Canada, slightly over 26% reported some level of food insecurity as opposed to the 6% of homeowners who reported food insecurity (Tarasuk, Mitchell & Dachner, 2014).

Peterborough

Peterborough was proclaimed a city in 1905 after having previously been established in the 1820s by Scottish and Irish immigrants working in Canada's booming lumber industry (Bothwell, 1986). Following the years of the Great Depression, Peterborough prospered and proved a significant part of Ontario's industrial power during the post-World War II years (Bothwell, 1986). Later, in 1964, Trent University opened, spurring the growth of an academic community (and corresponding student population) augmented by the opening of Fleming College in 1967.

Demographics
In 2011, the population of the City of Peterborough represented 78,700 of the total population of 134,900 for the City and County (PSPC, 2014). In both 2006 and 2011, the percentage of people aged 65 and over in Peterborough City and County was approximately 5% higher than that in Ontario overall (and about 1.8% higher for people aged 80 and over) (Statistics Canada, 2012). These figures suggest a higher need for single-level, supported or accessible housing in close proximity to healthy food sources.

Employment
In the early 1960s, Peterborough held the position of North America's leader in manufacturing employment per capita (Canadian CED Network, 2005). Since the 1970s and 1980s, however, the manufacturing sector across Canada has decreased significantly and Peterborough has been no exception. As of 1947, manufacturing in the City of Peterborough has declined from 54% of employment to 10%, while service sector jobs have increased from 18% to 82% (City of Peterborough, 2011). Many of the previously available, highly-paid manufacturing jobs have been replaced with service sector jobs – positions in which wages tend to be lower, tenure less reliable, benefits harder to come by, and skills development limited.

Although both General Electric and PepsiCo (Quaker) are still significant employers in the region, many residents travel to Oshawa to jobs with General Motors. Only a small percentage of the population is currently employed in manufacturing (City of Peterborough, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2014c). The current major employers (over 700 employees each) include: Peterborough Regional Health Centre; Public School Board; Fleming College; General Electric; City of Peterborough; Ministry of Natural Resources; Trent University; and, PepsiCo Foods (GPAEDC, 2012). In 2011, the main employers in Peterborough City were, in order, health care and social assistance, retail trade, education and manufacturing (Statistics Canada, 2014c).

Peterborough now has a similar workforce composition to other CMAs across Ontario with people primarily employed in the sales and service sectors (Stolarick, King & Matheson, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2014c). In March 2014, Peterborough CMA was distinguished as the only Canadian CMA with a double-digit unemployment rate (11.2%), well above the national (6.9%) and Ontario (7.3%) averages (Labour Market Information & Research, Research and Planning Branch MTCU, 2014). Unfortunately, between 2006-2011, Peterborough saw a net reduction in the number of jobs compared to a slight increase overall in Ontario[7]. These trends (higher than average unemployment and declining job opportunities) correspond not only to an increased prevalence of food insecurity between 2007 and 2011, but also to an increase in the numbers of households on the social housing waiting lists between 2008 and 2011 (ONPHA, 2013).

Incomes
According to the 2011 National Household Survey, average annual income in Peterborough in 2010 was $37,786, compared to the Ontario average of $42,264 (Statistics Canada 2014a).

Social Assistance
In 2011, 8.7% of the residents of Peterborough relied on social assistance (OW or ODSP) compared to a provincial average of 6.8%. Reliance on social assistance in Peterborough has been rising, while it has been dropping across the province (City of Peterborough 2015).

Food Access
Household food insecurity is a growing problem in Peterborough. Peterborough County-City Health Unit's (2014) "Limited Incomes: A recipe for hunger" report shows that 11.5% of households in the City and County of Peterborough (the health unit geographical area) are moderately (6.5%) or severely (5%) food insecure, an increase from the 10% reported in 2013 (Peterborough County-City Health Unit, 2013). PROOF, a research group exploring policy solutions to food insecurity in Canada, used the same data source (CCHS data from 2007-8 and 2011-12) but a different methodological

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[7] The recession in 2008-2009 may account for some of the job losses during this period.

approach which relies on different coding of data and a different population weighting. In doing so, they found the level of food insecurity for the Peterborough census metropolitan area (CMA) alone increased from 10% in 2007-2008 to 15.9% in 2011-12, a rate exceeding both the national (12.6%) and the Ontario (11.6%) rates, and representing one of the highest levels of food insecurity of any Canadian CMA in that study (Tarasuk, Mitchell and Dachner, 2014). Despite their differing methods and results, the discouraging commonality between these two reports is the increase shown in food insecurity in Peterborough.

Food Banks Canada (2013) annual HungerCount conducted in March 2013 found that local food banks served 7,724 people in Peterborough City and County – compared to the 374,698 individuals across Ontario and the 841,191 people across Canada who accessed food banks in March 2014 (PSPC, 2013b; Food Banks Canada, 2014). 48% of food bank users relied on social assistance, 30% on disability income, and another 11% on employment income. Only a small fraction of Peterborough food bank users (5%) were homeowners. Renters and individuals living in even more precarious housing (such as those staying in shelters, or temporarily with friends or relatives) or in a situation of homelessness (PSPC, 2013b) represent the greatest need.

By using the food pricing from a provincially standardized tool, the Nutritious Food Basket, the Peterborough County-City Health Unit's *Limited Incomes: A Recipe for Hunger* report shows that many people living on social assistance or minimum wage cannot afford both housing and nutritious food. One scenario shows that a single man living on Ontario Works would need to dedicate a full 94% of his income to shelter costs and another 40% of his income towards nutritious food. This scenario would leave him with a *negative balance of $245/month* after paying for only housing and a nutritious diet. In other scenarios, such as that of a single parent family of two receiving Ontario Works, or that of a family of four relying on a full-time minimum wage, PCCHU calculated that they would each need to pay at least 30% of their income on nutritious food and over 40% of their income on housing (PCCHU, 2014). This would leave less than 30% of their incomes for other necessities like utilities, phone, transportation, cleaning supplies, personal care items, etc. This evidence suggests that neither OW nor minimum wage incomes are sufficient to ensure people with housing have the means to eat healthful diets.

Housing Security
In 2011, 12,335 people or 25.9% of households (48.1% of rental households) in the Peterborough CMA lived in core housing need, paying over 30% of their income on housing (AHAC, 2014). The Ontario average that year was 42% of rental households. The heart of the problem here is not necessarily higher than average rents, but rather the combination of rental prices and income. Peterborough's market rental costs are similar to other mid-sized Ontario cities (AHAC 2014), but average incomes are significantly lower, making the rental-to-income ratio particularly high. The net result of insufficient affordable housing, combined with low average wages is that, in 2010, Peterborough renters earning the average Peterborough wage of about $18/hour had to work longer (over 160 hours/month) than in any other Canadian city to cover the average rent for a

2-bedroom apartment (if rent is assumed to not exceed 30% of income) (CMHC, October 2011).

It is important to also note the housing challenges posed to individuals living on fixed incomes, especially seniors. Many seniors who own their home are impacted by the gap between the amount of municipal tax, which rises at a higher rate than the rate of increases in CPP, OAS, and GAINS (which come from investments by the federal and provincial governments) (John Martyn, personal communication January 26, 2015). This gap, combined with the overall increase in the cost of home maintenance and the growing costs of health care, including dental care, pushes up the rate of poverty among seniors. This issue is concerning because of the high percentage of seniors living in Peterborough.[8] Notably, however, the low-income rate (LICO after tax) for seniors in Peterborough is lower than the national or provincial rate (Fischer, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Compounding problems of affordability, the Peterborough 10-year Housing and Homelessness Plan 2014-2024, commissioned by the City, reports that there are many rental units in substandard repair (Tim Welch Consulting Inc. et al. 2013, p. 8). The report further points to the presence of over 4000 (mainly post-secondary) students in the City of Peterborough as contributing to the demand for rental housing. [9]

In summary, housing consumes at least 30% of the incomes of approximately 12, 000 households in Peterborough CMA (AHAC, 2014). Over 1500 applicants are on the list for social housing (Tim Welch Consulting Inc. et al., 2013, p. 9) and many more

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[8] In 2006, 19.2% of the City of Peterborough's population (and 18.4% of the County population) was over 65 years of age. The Ontario average was 13.4% in 2006. As the population ages, this age cohort is expected to rise to approximately 31% of the City/County populations by 2013 (Mayor's Task Force on Poverty Reduction, 2007).

[9] According to John Martyn, longtime housing advocate in Peterborough, these two issues are connected through the dynamic of "absentee landlords" in Peterborough's rental market: "Most of the renters in Peterborough live in private sector units and many of these units are owned by landlords who do not live in Peterborough. They maximize space by converting private homes and/or upper floors of businesses into multiple units, take advantage of tenant mobility by maximizing rents and provide only minimum maintenance… Enforcement of building standards is a municipal responsibility, depends on a complaint-driven process and assumes there are a sufficient number of enforcement officers. Many renters are reluctant to complain for fear of being hassled or being evicted… And even if the city did enforce, private sector landlords will simply pass on the costs of repairs to new tenants…. [Furthermore], a high turnover of tenants (students, underemployed, young people leaving for jobs) means that landlords can raise their rents every time a unit becomes vacant thus raising the overall level of rents in a market driven environment" (John Martyn, personal communication, January 26, 2015). While these comments are anecdotal, they are based on thirty years of volunteer experience in the Peterborough housing sector, and deserve careful consideration.

choose not to sign up for the list given its current length (AHAC 2014). Furthermore, over the course of a year, approximately 900 people make use of four Peterborough emergency shelters (Tim Welch Consulting Inc. et al., 2013). 2012 and 2013 showed the highest emergency bed usage since 2005. These numbers are rising. From 2011 to 2012, the average number of people using emergency shelters leapt from 17,078 bed-days to 20,816 and remained about the same for 2013 (City of Peterborough Social Services, 2014).

Municipal and Provincial Policy Tools for Peterborough

Given the extent of both food and housing insecurity in Peterborough, how have governments and community-based initiatives responded? This section presents an overview of strategies adopted to date. We consider the capacity of municipal governments (City and County) as well as community-based initiatives on food and housing, focusing on the extent to which local government provides general support for the unemployed and those living in poverty.

Municipalities have been involved in the provision of social welfare in Ontario for almost a century (Struthers 1995). During the 'golden age' of welfare programs, from the 1960s to the late 1980s, these programs were federally financed (initially under the Canada Assistance Plan), provincially designed, and municipally administered (Guest 2000). Since the 1990s, social assistance funding in Ontario has been divided into two programs: Ontario Works (OW) and the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP). OW provides financial assistance and employment supports for people assessed to be in need, while ODSP helps individuals with disabilities that are in financial need pay for living expenses, like food and housing. The province of Ontario administered both of these social assistance programs until the mid-1990s. At that time, a Conservative government created the two separate streams, downloaded the programs onto municipalities, and cut overall social assistance rates by 21.6%. This cut has never been fully restored by subsequent governments. In 2008, a Liberal government committed to gradually uploading the costs of these programs back onto the province by 2018 (OMAH, 2013).

City of Peterborough Social Services (2013) reports that it serves almost 4,000 individuals and families per month through OW with a 2013 gross budget for OW of $42.45 million (City of Peterborough Social Services, 2013). In August 2014, the basic needs allowance for a single adult was $250/month plus a maximum shelter allowance of $376. For a two-parent family with two children (under 18 years of age) the basic needs allowance was $458 plus a maximum shelter allowance of $702. Recipients may also receive up to $250 each month per person for a special diet prescribed by a medical professional and meeting certain conditions and $40 per month for a pregnancy diet ($50 for a non-dairy pregnancy diet). From the age of 65, recipients may receive an additional $39 per month (Peterborough Social Services, 2014).

The case of 'discretionary benefits' exemplifies how the emerging gap between citizens' expenses and what is funded impacts those most in need. Discretionary benefits are municipally-administered benefits for OW and ODSP recipients that the municipality is not provincially mandated to provide. In 2012, these benefits were

categorized as either "health-related" such as "dental care for adults, vision care for adults, prosthetic appliances (e.g. back braces, surgical stockings, artificial limbs, inhalators, hearing aids), funerals and burials, heating payments and payments for low-cost heating energy conservation measure" (PSPC, June, 2012, p. 1-2), or "non-health-related" such as "vocational training and retraining, travel and transportation that is not for health-related purposes, moving expenses, any other special service, item or payment authorized by the Director" (PSPC, June, 2012 p. 2). In 2012, a total of about $2.5M was available for discretionary benefits in Peterborough. $2.1M of this total was to be funded by the province and the remainder by the City and County governments (PSPC, June, 2012). However, the 2012 Ontario Budget capped (for the first time) the combined amount for health and non-health-related discretionary benefits at $10 per OW or ODSP case (PSPC, June, 2012) – clearly, an amount insufficient to meet needs. (Until 2012, cities were able to access additional provincial funding to compensate for delivery of health-related benefits). In order to continue to subsidize these services, municipalities had to fund the difference in 2013. The City of Peterborough chose to augment the $10 paid by the province by another $5, but the total still did not add up to the full previous level of $24/case. Since 2013, a number of discretionary benefits have been eliminated such as funding for home repairs, emergency housing expenses (e.g. for rent or a fridge), paternity testing, vocational training, and certain transportation costs (e.g. for moving, attending court). Other benefits have been significantly reduced (e.g. for funerals, baby supplies and equipment, dentures, the children's social and recreational subsidy) (Prindiville, 2013).

Gaps in funding such as the one regarding discretionary benefits pose a significant challenge to municipalities, and negatively and disproportionately impact people who are the most vulnerable. A resident who needs assistance with their child's recreation costs, or requires a health-related benefit like dentures would typically apply for discretionary benefits to help cover the necessary costs. The loss of this previously available funding means that more people have less money available for food and turn to community-based and emergency food programs.

Another recent change to provincial-municipal funding programs is the loss of funding for the Community Start-Up and Maintenance Benefit (CSUMB) previously available to recipients of OW and ODSP (it covered a range of items such as "first and last month's rent deposits, buying or replacing furniture, deposits for utilities, overdue utility bills") (PSPC, June, 2012, p. 4). In 2013, various provincial housing and homelessness initiatives, including CSUMB, were brought together under the new Community Homelessness Prevention Initiative (CHPI). The CHPI includes some funding for emergency housing supports as well as the Housing Stability Fund (HSF), which provides funds up to once a year for households for housing debt reduction or rehousing (City of Peterborough Social Services, CCRC, PPRN, 2015).[10] However, this

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[10] Despite the loss in funds that has resulted in the shift from CSUMB to HSF, it is notable that benefits now extend to non-social assistance recipients (Nancy Fisher, personal communication, June 30 2015). However, they make up a minority of

transition not only meant a significant ($935,793) loss of emergency housing funding for Peterborough City and County from 2012 to 2013, but also of numerous provisions that citizens had benefited from under the CSUMB (Prindiville, 2013).[11]

Following a significant outcry from across the province, in 2013, the Ontario Government provided municipalities with a one-time grant to ease the transition from the CSUMB to the CHPI over that year. Peterborough's share for the HSF was just over $1.5M (Prindiville, 2013) — down significantly from $2.8M in 2012. Beginning in 2014, the province instituted new permanent funding for the CHPI. CHPI funding to Peterborough for 2014-15 allocated towards the HSF was $1.8M (Doherty 2014), which is still $1M below 2010-2012 funding levels (Mitchelson and Doherty, 2014). Figure 2 (below) illustrates the dramatic decline in HSF funding from 2012 to 2014, as well as its implications for the number of HSF payments made in those years.

Figure 2: Housing Stability Fund in Peterborough, 2010-2014 (from City of Peterborough 2015)
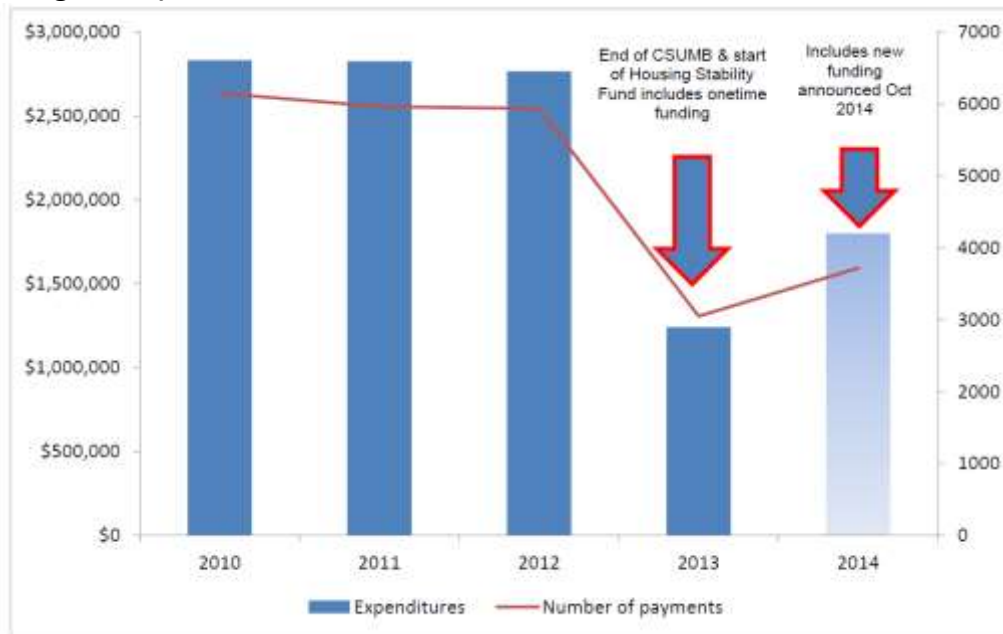
Some of the community's most vulnerable populations rely on HSF funding – including people moving from shelters to rental accommodations or women leaving abusive

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recipients (under 20% of applicants according to City of Peterborough 2015), Fisher also points out that there has been a significant increase in the rent bank in Peterborough from $55,000 to $250,000 (Nancy Fisher, personal communication, June 30 2015).

[11] $2.8 million annually was spent on payments to social assistance recipients through CSUMB while its replacement, the HSF, was expected to spend only $1.2 million in 2013, even though the HSF applies to all low-income residents while CSUMB only applied to social assistance recipients (City of Peterborough, 2013).

situations – to allow them to better their living conditions. Significantly, of 111 households in Peterborough who responded to a Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network (PPRN) survey and had been denied discretionary or Housing Stability Fund benefits, over two-thirds of participants reported an ensuing lack of food or the use of food banks. Among 12 possible survey outcomes, this outcome was second in prevalence only to stress and anxiety (Prindiville, 2013). One respondent to a survey conducted among social services staff reported:

Family stress, anxiety and breakdown. Families too busy trying to survive to work on child development, social skills, recreation, advocacy for children and youth with developmental disabilities. Hearing about more hunger and missing meals. More sickness... (Prindiville, 2013, p. 21)

Another stated:

They have not had the start-up funds available to them. This imposes hardship on them... I have had two families come in who have not had fridges in their homes and have been unable to buy another one. I am aware of a young woman in an abusive relationship in unhealthy living conditions, staying in the relationship and the unheated apartment because they do not have the money to move. (Prindiville, 2013, p. 21)

These types of results led the City of Peterborough, along with the Community Counselling Resource Centre and the PPRN to undertake another survey of people who applied for the HSF (and either received or were denied benefits) from November 2013 to May 2014. Aside from questions on the ability of HSF recipients to maintain their homes, pay their hydro bills, and maintain mental health, the survey also asked a question on the impacts of HSF on food availability. While over 30% of those who received HSF indicated that this had a positive or very positive impact on food availability in their home, almost 80% of those denied believed that the decision had a negative or very negative impact on food availability (City of Peterborough, CCRC and PPRN, 2015).

The significant drop in the HSF, together with the loss of the municipal contribution to the fund in the wake of the shift from CSUMB to CHPI, have dealt a major blow to those living on a low income (especially OW and ODSP recipients) in Peterborough. The gradual provincial upload of social assistance (to be completed by 2018) is saving the municipality millions of dollars each year (Mitchelson and Doherty 2014), although municipal staff members report that some of these savings have been offset by reductions in another fund, the Ontario Municipal Partnership Fund (Mitchelson, personal communication, June 4, 2015). Staff also point out that there has been a significant increase in the rent bank from $55,000 to $250,000 (Fisher, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

Under CHPI, municipalities can now use their discretion to fund housing and homelessness initiatives within their communities, including funding for the HSF. While

the municipality is no longer required to make contributions from the local municipal budget to the HSF like they were to the CSUMB, local tax dollars do continue to support the HSF and other homelessness initiatives to a tune of $4.1 Million/year ($3.3 Million from CHPI and $800,000 from the City and County) (Fisher, personal communications, June 30 2015).

When it comes to municipal engagement in the housing sector, Peterborough City and County have a number of policies and programs that deserve mention here. For example, the City currently owns over 2500 social housing units – about 13% of the rental stock in the city – half of which are reserved for seniors. However, due to lack of support for social housing by higher levels of governments, the future of this stock remains uncertain (Bacque, personal communication, June 9, 2015). Including affordable housing in Development Charges calculations represents another municipal initiative. Development charges are normally collected from developers to help pay for services like roads, police, fire and transit. Since 2014, Peterborough added an affordable housing charge. Funds paid under this charge will go toward incentives for building new affordable housing (Progress Report 2014). A third example is the new multi-residential tax class for new multi-residential developments in both the City and County. This tax class is intended to stimulate more of this type of rental development (Bacque, personal communication, June 9 2015). In total, Peterborough has a budget of about $14M/year used for housing subsidies, programs and administration, including for social housing. However, municipal staff point out that in the coming decade this amount will change as operating agreements in the non-profit housing sector end. "This is both a challenge and opportunity as the landscape in social housing changes" (Bacque, personal communication, June 9, 2015).

Furthermore, City and County governments fund a range of initiatives intended to address homelessness as well as food insecurity. These initiatives include supporting rent supplements and providing funding for shelters (e.g. Brock Mission, the Youth Emergency Shelter), specific drop-in sites, community meal programs, as well as Kawartha Food Share (the umbrella food bank organization in Peterborough).[12] The City and County also support a number of PCCHU activities that are available to precariously housed and food insecure people such as the Dental Assistance Treatment fund. Finally, municipal supports for those on low incomes and food insecure people also extend to transit subsidies and youth and seniors' programming among other supports (Mitchelson, personal communication, June 4, 2015). It is beyond the scope of this study to examine in detail this full suite of activities, though important to acknowledge that they all fall within the scope of the local governmental response to the issues of housing and food insecurity.

It is notable that, to date, municipal engagement in food has primarily supported emergency response programs such as food banks and meal programs. One exception is

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[12] The funding for Kawartha Food Share is $78,836 in 2014 ($31,836 in Community Service Grant, $20,000 from social Services and $27,000 in property tax rebate) (Nancy Fisher, personal communication, June 30, 2015).

the 2013 City of Peterborough Community Garden policy. This progressive policy states that the municipality will promote community gardens and their usage, maintain a presence in community gardens, provide start-up support for new gardens and allocate space for them (City of Peterborough, 2013b). As a result of this policy, a group of community volunteers is currently working with municipal planners to investigate urban agriculture options, which build upon the success of community gardens and address the potential of urban food production.

Community-Based/Collaborative Initiatives[13]

The evidence shows that local governments in Peterborough have taken some steps to address housing security and food access, but the statistics noted above show that they can and should do more in partnership with their provincial and federal counterparts. A number of collaborative initiatives that bring together local governments, the public health unit, and non-profit organizations to tackle these two issues are also underway. This section reviews these community-based initiatives.

Affordable Housing Actions

On the housing front, the 10-year Housing and Homelessness Plan for the City and County of Peterborough reports that, since 2003, a number of initiatives across Peterborough City and County have resulted in 500 affordable rental units (including rent geared-to-income, accessible and special needs units) as well as rent supplements, repair support and accessibility funding for low-income tenants. Furthermore, the City has been working to increase standards in "rooming, lodging and boarding houses" through licensing (Tim Welch Consulting Inc. et al., 2013, p. 7).

Much of the Peterborough 10-year Housing and Homelessness Plan, which spans 2014 to 2024, involves supporting community organizations (hospitals, correctional facilities, emergency shelters, mental health and addictions services, homelessness services) in order to foster more secure housing for local residents. In addition, the plan emphasizes various forms of collaboration: with landlords, with community members (especially those with lived experience of housing insecurity), between municipal departments, and between municipal committees. Furthermore, the plan supports the existence, affordability and good repair of rental housing (Tim Welch Consulting Inc. et al., 2013). This is a promising plan, though further work is now needed to ensure it is fully implemented in the collaborative manner it lays out.

Within the City and County of Peterborough, several organizations actively seek to establish more affordable housing. For example, community members, municipal staff and councilors, and volunteers make up the Affordable Housing Action Committee (AHAC), a group committed to using diverse means to augment affordable housing access in Peterborough City and County (City of Peterborough, 2014). AHAC has several branches of activity, including: community education, the analysis and promotion of the

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[13] Where relevant, local government involvement in these initiatives is noted.

local affordable housing supply, and the monitoring and improvement of housing access and services (City of Peterborough, 2014). Further, the Community Counselling and Resource Centre hosts a housing support website and operates Peterborough's Housing Resource Centre which offers support and information resources to help people become or remain housed (Housing Peterborough, 2014a). In addition, the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) Haliburton, Kawartha, Pine Ridge offers supportive housing and other housing-related supports for people with serious mental health issues. These are just some of the housing supports offered in the area. What remains unclear at this stage (since it was beyond the scope of our research) is whether each of these initiatives consider the importance of creating the centralized spaces and supports, within the context of affordable housing, for the growing, storing, cooking and eating of healthy food as indicated in Tables 1 and 2 above.

Community-Based Food Initiatives

Many Peterborough community-based and faith-based groups have food security initiatives including community meals and emergency food access, as well as programs that build the capacity of individuals and families to feed themselves.[14] As noted above, some of these programs are supported with municipal funding.

Working at the intersection of all of these initiatives is the Peterborough Food Action Network (PFAN)[15], a working group of the Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network (PPRN). The PFAN focuses on a food security continuum that considers emergency need, capacity building and overall system change/policies to support access to healthy food for all. Bringing together a range of organizations, it supports emergency food access, food literacy and other food programs throughout the region. In addition to providing food itself, these programs, aimed at the most vulnerable sub-populations throughout the City and County, seek to provide training and education to build people's capacities to feed themselves and members of their households, potentially leading to increased food security.

As an example of a community-based response to food security, one program, "Come Cook With Us", was developed through the PCCHU's Food Security Community Partnership in 2006. "Come Cook With Us" fosters food literacy and food preparation skills, addressing barriers for participation (such as childcare and transportation); it is now funded through PCCHU's base budget.

A second exemplary project, a joint initiative with the YWCA, Fleming College, PCCHU and GreenUP, is the Peterborough Community Garden Network (PCGN). In 2014, the PCGN had an impressive 712 gardeners using 194 garden plots in 36 community gardens (PCGN, 2014).

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[14] The PCCHU has developed maps of the community food initiatives in Peterborough. These can be found at: http://www.foodinpeterborough.ca/need-food/now/peterborough-neighbourhood-maps-city/

[15] Previously named the Peterborough Community Food Network (PCFN) until 2015

Another outstanding initiative, the JustFood program of YWCA Peterborough Haliburton, uses a sliding fee scale to offer healthy food boxes focusing on fresh vegetables and fruits twice monthly and boxes including non-perishable healthy staple foods as well as fresh produce once each month. The program helps to feed 1000 adults and children each month. Volunteers deliver the boxes to pick-up centres in various communities around Peterborough City and County. Moreover, JustFood works to reduce food insecurity while attending to the income security of farmers through fair prices, as well as to people living on low incomes through dignified access to subsidized food.

Food Banks, Food Centres and Community Meals
Kawartha Food Share (KFS) is the umbrella organization that warehouses food for and supports a number of member agency food banks, meal programs and emergency food cupboards. Groups must pay a membership fee to KFS to access the warehouse for their programs. KFS currently supports 4 meal programs, 4 food banks in the City of Peterborough (and 7 in the County) as well as over 20 food cupboards, and school nutrition programs in 48 schools and 6 housing projects (Kawartha Food Share, 2014) through donations of food, other goods and grocery store gift certificates.

In addition, over the course of a year, an active network of agencies and faith groups, some with City funding, ensure the provision of free meals every single day, amounting to tens of thousands of meals to community members who need them.

Table 4 (next page) shows many of Peterborough's community food programs and the number of participants they serve. Unless otherwise noted, most of the numbers are self-reported by the programming agencies. The purpose of this table is to provide a quick overview of the extent of participation in most of Peterborough's community-based food initiatives. The table does not provide details on program frequency, on how they are organized or on sources of funding.

Table 4: Peterborough Annual Food Program Usage

Program	Usage
Food Not Bombs[i]	🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲
CMHA Community Lighthouse Centre[ii]	🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲 🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲 🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲 🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲 🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲
St. Paul's Community Dinner[iii]	🍲🍲🍲
Out of the Cold[iv]	🍲
Salvation Army Breakfast[v]	🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲
Brock Mission Open Table Supper[vi]	🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲🍲
Murray St. Baptist Church Breakfast[vii]	🍲🍲🍲🍲
Kawartha Food Share Food Banks and Cupboards[viii]	☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺ ☺

Food for Kids Peterborough City and County (breakfast and snack programs)[ix]	☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺ ☺
Come Cook With Us[x]	👨‍🍳
A Taste of Nourish[xi]	✂COUPON ✂COUPON
Peterborough Gleaning Program[xii]	🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓 🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓🍓 🍓🍓
Just Food Boxes[xiii]	📦📦📦📦
Salvation Army Good Food Boxes[xiv]	📦
Peterborough Community Garden Network[xv]	🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬 🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬 🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬 🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬🥬

🍲 = 1000 meals   ✂COUPON = $1000 worth of market coupons

☺ = 1000 people served   👨‍🍳 = 1000 participants

📦 = 1000 food boxes   🍓 = $1000 worth of produce gleaned

🥬 = 1 community garden

[i] 5000-10,000 meals per year (Miles Conner, personal communication Apr. 27, 2015)

[ii] 120-130 lunches/day (=43,800-47,450/year)   (Bill Smith, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[iii] 3153 meals in 2013 (St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[iv] 1682 meals from Nov. 1/13- March 31/14 (Out of the Cold, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[v] 30-50 breakfasts 5 days /week (=7800-13,000/year) (Salvation Army, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[vi] 10,000 meals/year (Brock Mission. (nd). http://www.brockmission.ca/programs.html)

[vii] 90 breakfasts/week in 2014. (=4680/year) (Elizabeth Mead, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[viii] 7600 people served/month (=91,200/year) (Kawartha Food Share. (2015) http://www.kawarthafoodshare.com/index.html)

[ix] 17,434 students served breakfasts and snacks in the 2013-14 school year (Peterborough County City Health Unit. (2015). http://www.pcchu.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/2013-14-FFK-Annual-Report.pdf)

[x] attendance of 1515 for 2014 (Carolyn Doris, personal communication, May 7, 2015)

[xi] $2200 of coupons distributed to participants were redeemed at the local farmers' market (Joëlle Favreau, personal communication, Apr. 27, 2015)

[xii] $22,000 of produce gleaned (Peterborough Gleaning Program. (2015). https://peterboroughgleans.wordpress.com/)

[xiii] 4171 food boxes distributed in 2013 (Joëlle Favreau, personal communication, Dec. 1, 2014)

[xiv] over 1300 boxes distributed per year (Salvation Army, personal communication, Nov. 2014)

[xv] 38 community gardens as of May 1 2015. (Jill Bishop, personal communication, May 1, 2015)

The potential for municipal leadership on an integrated approach to the food system

Table 4 demonstrates the depth of commitment by various organizations, and their many volunteers, to addressing food insecurity in Peterborough. Peterborough has a 10-year Housing and Homelessness Plan, but not an equivalent municipally-led plan for food provision and access to healthy food. Individual advocates, organizations and especially the PFAN (with municipal staff representation and chaired by the health unit) are working with a view to systems-level analysis and change. However, a similar approach has not been adopted within the municipal government, which primarily funds emergency food provision and otherwise has stand-alone policies such as the community garden policy.

There is growing recognition in the academic literature, and among practitioners, of the positive role that municipal governments can take in addressing food and agricultural issues together through system-wide planning efforts. The 2011 Ontario Professional Planners Institute report 'Healthy Communities and Planning for Food' argues that planners need to more actively consider the issues associated with food production, distribution and consumption in how they do their work (OPPI 2011). One well-established approach to systems-wide planning for food undertaken in many communities is the formation of a food policy council that includes municipal representatives as well as representation from key sectors with an interest in improving food and agricultural systems for the benefit of the whole community (Pothukuchi and Kaufman 1999).

One sign of growing local interest in an integrated approach to food issues was the 2012 Future of Food and Farming Summit. This summit was held to increase awareness of the links between food, health, community economic development, food security and farming in Peterborough County. It led to the documentation of local issues facing the future of food and farming and the establishment of the Working Group on Food and Farming which focuses on: preserving farmland; facilitating the production, storage, processing, distribution, and marketing of local, healthy food; and, encouraging farmers to practice good environmental stewardship (Dawn Berry-Merriam, personal communication, October 28, 2014).

Tackling Housing and Food Together

At the level of municipal government, Peterborough also does not take an integrated approach to both food and housing. However, the community currently has the chance to develop a more comprehensive plan across these two issues because Peterborough's Official Plan is under review. The Official Plan is a land-use planning document that contains goals, objectives and policies to manage and direct physical change and the effects of that change on the social, economic and natural environment in the community.

In 2013, the City summarized the results of first phase of Official Plan Review community consultations in a Potential Policy Directions Report (March, 2013). In that report, several ideas for policy consideration emerge that make explicit reference to food and housing (City of Peterborough 2013). For example, "Planning for Access to Local Food" (p. 46), "Providing Affordable Housing" (p. 36) and "Providing a Range of Housing Opportunities" (p. 35) are areas identified and elaborated upon in the review.

The summary document also draws on Peterborough City and County's (2003) Municipal Social Plan which aims towards what amounts to the widely accepted definition of food security: "To ensure that all people at all times have access to sufficient amounts of safe, nutritious, and personally acceptable foods in a manner that maintains human dignity" (p. 32). Moreover, as part of its objectives and action plan, it aims to: "Develop public education and advocacy strategies to highlight the link between food insecurity, housing insecurity and income insecurity" (p. 32).

Community advocates in Peterborough are increasingly sensitive to the links between food insecurity and housing insecurity – due in part to the work of the PPRN. This network hosts both the Peterborough Food Action Network (PFAN) and the Affordable Housing Action Committee (AHAC) – described above. Notably, the PFAN's long-term goals include working with PPRN working groups to advocate for reducing housing and income inequity, in explicit recognition that food security connects directly to issues of income and housing (PCFN, 2012).

As another example, there are several social housing and low-income neighbourhoods that have community gardens. In one of these communities, Stewart Street, an individual resident advocated for the development of a community garden (which developed into a collaborative community effort, and, with support from the PCGN, now includes plots for residents and some for food donations). By all accounts, this garden has increased community engagement and sense of "neighbourly togetherness" (Housing Peterborough, 2014b).

The Mount Community Centre : An example of a combined food and housing initiative
In 2011, the Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network decided that Peterborough needed a "hub for affordable housing and food" (The Mount Community Centre, 2013). Not long after, in 2013, the PPRN purchased The Mount, a 10-acre property that previously housed the Sisters of St. Joseph convent. The PPRN transferred the property to the newly formed non-profit, The Mount Community Centre (MCC), in order to develop a place that "focuses on housing, food, health, arts and culture, and ecological sustainability" and, in so doing, cultivate a "self-sustaining community" (MCC, 2013). As of 2014, the MCC rents out office space as well as the chapel space for social functions. It has received funding from the Ontario Trillium Foundation to hire a Strategic Advancement Director, and from the Community Foundation of Greater Peterborough (CFGP) for operations and renovations. The CFGP also sponsors the Mount Bonds investment initiative (MCC, 2013). The MCC's first priority remains housing; it plans to offer units for a diversity of residents at both market rental rates and non-profit rental rates (10% below market rate), which will combine funding through its own initiatives and funding from municipal and provincial governments. The first phase, involving the

development of 47 apartments, is currently underway. Another of MCC's priorities regards food, with a vision for the (re)development of an orchard, community ground-level and rooftop gardens, commercial kitchen space, communal dining space for residents, food education and social enterprise (MCC, 2013).

The Nourish Project: Creating places for food where people live
The idea for the Nourish Project (hereafter referred to as Nourish) developed out of the Peterborough Community Food Network when its members decided that Peterborough City and County needed to pull together multiple strands of the local food system in specific places to be able to address pressing issues regarding food access, farmer livelihood and the commoditization of food. Nourish consists of a broad and highly collaborative network of community partners. It "seeks to help build a new local food system that is accessible, equitable and sustainable" (YWCA Peterborough Haliburton, 2015). To meet this ambitious goal, Nourish focuses on access to healthy, local food, skills development and advocacy. Nourish has supported communities across Peterborough County to define their needs and develop places for food that meet those needs.

In 2013, Nourish's first pilot project, A Taste of Nourish, was launched in downtown Peterborough. In this project, participants convene at food literacy workshops where they develop skills around food safety, healthy eating and the preparation, growing and storage of healthy foods. After preparing healthy meals with seasonal food, participants may receive JustFood boxes or, during the market season, farmers' market coupons that allow them to purchase fresh, local, healthy food. The workshops periodically involve a market tour to help familiarize participants not only with a diversity of foods, but also with the market space itself. As a next step, A Taste of Nourish is partnering with local organizations in order to offer food literacy classes for groups with specialized food needs. Community engagement and advocacy remain key to Nourish's work. With its second pilot project, the Nourish Peer Advocacy Training, Nourish has begun to provide community members with opportunities to volunteer, mentor and advocate around food issues.

In 2014, Nourish began working with a provincial advocacy group, Put Food in the Budget, to encourage people with lived experience of poverty to engage in community discussions on ways to address the root causes of food and income insecurity. These discussions led to the formation of the "Basic Income Peterborough Network" to advocate locally for a Basic Income Guarantee for all people. Nourish also partnered with Kawartha Food Share to lead the cross-country "Chew On This" campaign in downtown Peterborough to encourage the public call for a federal anti-poverty plan. In addition, Nourish members came together with PFAN members and local food producers to celebrate World Food Day together at a community meal. Nourish is building community and places for food by addressing simultaneously the distinct needs of communities and their structural roots.

Discussion

Both housing- and food-centred community organizations have identified the need to 'bring food home' for Peterborough residents, not only by reducing food miles but also by considering food access in terms of where and under what conditions people live. Many food initiatives, like community gardens, Come Cook With Us and the JustFood program, bring food closer to where people live. Others, like the Peterborough Gleaning Program (see Table 4), help bring people to food. While Nourish builds on existing community ties to develop places for food in these communities, The Mount plans to use housing, food and culture to help establish a community in the City of Peterborough. Both sets of initiatives highlight the need to apply a spatial lens to these interconnected issues. Ultimately, both community food programs and housing security programs seek to mitigate multiple challenges born of income insecurity.

However, community-based organizations tend, perhaps out of finite capacity, to prioritize one or the other of these laudable goals. Tensions can arise between prioritizing one of these two basic needs which both stem predominantly from income insecurity.

Despite the efforts of community food programs and local housing initiatives, high levels of food insecurity persist in Peterborough, likely due in large part to the significant gap between housing costs and incomes for local renters and the fact that people often must prioritize their fixed costs, like housing, over other costs, such as food. Stable, safe and affordable housing is essential for food security, and both depend heavily on income security. And what would income security mean in Peterborough? For those who are employed, it means earning at least a 'living wage', The Peterborough Social Planning Council calculated that a family with 2 full-time employed adults and 2 dependents would require, at a minimum, a living wage of $16.47 per hour (PSPC 2013a).

Other approaches to achieving income security include raising provincial social assistance rates, increasing minimum wage levels significantly, or implementing a national Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI)/ Basic Income Guarantee (BIG) policy. University of Calgary researchers Emery, Fleisch and McIntyre (2013) found that a significant drop in household food insecurity occurs after reaching the age of 65 among low income, unattached people. The authors attribute this decline to Old Age Security, Guaranteed Income Supplement and Canada Pension Plan. Drawing on experiments in GAI/BIG undertaken in Manitoba in the 1970s, they recommend further exploration into extending a guaranteed annual income to those under 65 years old in order to address poverty and reduce health care costs among Canadians of all ages. In order to address both food and housing needs, sustained advocacy for income security - the joint responsibilities of municipal, provincial and federal governments in Canada – clearly remains critical.

Beyond income security, there are a number of ways that the intersections between housing and food can be addressed directly by governments and non-profit sector actors together. The background section to this paper listed a series of food access strategies that can be implemented in new and existing neighbourhoods, as well as in affordable housing developments. Non-profit organizations in Peterborough

already adopt a number of these strategies, such as ensuring access to community kitchens, cooking and nutrition classes, good food boxes and community gardens. The municipality also actively strives to build and retain a strong public transit system, including a transit subsidy for social assistance clients, for example. However, there remains a larger role for municipal, provincial and federal governments to play, particularly in terms of leading a comprehensive and coordinated approach to these two issues at each of their respective levels. Knowing that there could be a stronger government role, a number of local actors in the Peterborough area are actively engaged in advocacy. These efforts, a few of which deserve mention here, are an important step towards more active public sector engagement.   For example, the Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network's Income Security Working Group has been at the forefront of the advocacy for supports lost with cuts to CSUMB and discretionary benefits.

Advocating for Peterborough's Official Plan to address food and thus to bring more active municipal government involvement on food issues, has also intensified in recent years. After hosting a consultation around the urgency of food access and food security issues in 2011, the PCFN, renamed the PFAN in 2015, prepared and submitted a report entitled *Plant It! Peterborough* (in response to the official *Plan It! Peterborough* process) with recommendations for the new City of Peterborough Official Plan. Plant It! considers the food distribution system as it relates to official plans using an urban agricultural, nutritional and food security lens (PCFN, 2011). One result of their work has been the inclusion of a reference to support establishing "a community food hub in a central downtown location to provide a community meeting space where people of all incomes can access nutritious food" within the City of Peterborough Official Plan Review: Potential Policy Directions Report (City of Peterborough, 2013, p 46). The PFAN feels that this achievement may have a significant impact given that the Nourish Project has, since its conceptual beginnings around 2009, aimed to develop such a centre for food. This report will be used as a basis to develop the Official Plan. It is hoped that Plant It! Peterborough will also be an asset to additional County of Peterborough and Township Official Plans as they are revisited.

Conclusion

The case study of Peterborough enables an on-the-ground look at the issues of food access and housing security, and possible approaches to address these issues together, including the separate and combined responses that have been made in policy, programming and advocacy. Peterborough demonstrates the juxtaposition between major challenges to basic needs and dynamic responses to those challenges. Peterborough City and County experience levels of housing insecurity, food insecurity, unemployment and an income-to-rent gap that stand out nationwide and have been reinforced by a sharp decline in manufacturing jobs and changes in funding arrangements between the provincial and municipal governments. Meanwhile, vibrant networks of activists, policy makers, researchers and community members have been working diligently in Peterborough to begin to address access, capacity-building and

system change issues with regards to food while advocating around housing, housing supports and income. For example, the municipal governments of Peterborough City and County have developed a 10-year housing strategy, increased affordable housing units, increased rent supplements and diverted funds in order to cover shortfalls incurred by the loss of provincial funds for discretionary benefits. A parallel system-wide strategy should be developed with key actors in the food and agricultural sectors, keeping an eye to coordination and synergies across these two issues. With regards to municipal funding, local governments currently fund a number of initiatives related to housing and (emergency) food. However, the potential for discretionary and housing-related financial supports (e.g. the Housing Stability Fund) to prevent people from housing-related and other forms of crisis should not be underestimated.

In the absence of stronger leadership by higher levels of government, advocates from multiple sectors are working together locally through the Affordable Housing Action Committee to advise on, and advocate for affordable housing supply, access and services as well as community education around housing. Similarly, in the food sector, where municipal governments have played a smaller role to date (focusing financial support on emergency food and programming), networks of local food advocates have coordinated community gardens, good food boxes, and emergency food access while also advocating for new food policy development through the PFAN.

Throughout all of these initiatives, including the advocacy work, an understanding that stable and affordable housing is essential for food security and depends heavily on income security is increasingly evident: many food initiatives are developing a spatial lens while housing initiatives are beginning to incorporate a food focus. While the Peterborough Food Action Network advocates for both housing and income security, community gardens are established primarily in low-income neighbourhoods, and JustFood boxes are distributed around the City and County. The Nourish Project meanwhile works to develop places for food throughout the City and County and The Mount Community Centre seeks to include a food focus in its evolving housing project. Looking forward, food- and housing-based initiatives must continue to attend to the interconnections between food access and housing insecurity. Still, there is more work to do on this front. It is important that The Mount and Nourish, as our two examples, actively address the intersections between food access and housing security in their work. To further the work of developing an integrated perspective on these issues more broadly, we recommend a coordinated municipally-led planning process on food and housing that includes community-based advocates and agencies with food and housing focuses as well as representatives from the private sector such as developers.

When creating new community-based initiatives on housing and food, these should be developed with the needs of seniors, commuters, unemployed people, families with young children and First Nations in mind, because of the prevalence of all these populations in Peterborough. Housing and food policies and programs must keep at the fore the needs of people who are precariously employed or employed in service jobs. Supporting the development of the Peterborough Workers' Action Centre and locating food programming and housing close to hubs of service jobs might prove useful strategies. In keeping with the recommendations made in Tables 1 and 2 above (based

on a review of the literature), it also remains important to plan for healthy food access including farmers' markets, food literacy programs and other places for healthy food such as Nourish Project sites to be located within close proximity of low-income neighbourhoods and public transit and to be made accessible through transportation and childcare supports.

The persistence of the issues of food and housing insecurity in Peterborough despite vibrant grassroots responses indicates the need for all three levels of government to play a greater role in solutions to them. Peterborough appears to be doing all of the right things at the level of community-based organizations and local governments are engaged to some degree. However, the trends in food and housing show that more must be done by all three levels of government, working together and in close collaboration with community-based actors, particularly to effect broader system change regarding income security. At the municipal level, the potential for discretionary and housing-related financial supports (e.g. the Housing Stability Fund) to prevent people from housing-related and other forms of crisis should not be underestimated. Additionally, since a significant portion of food insecure people also earn wages or pensions, it is important to address issues of inadequate employment income through policies such as increased minimum wage or living wages and not just lack of employment itself. The broad adoption by local employers of a living wage as outlined by the Peterborough Social Planning Council (2013a) could be instrumental here.

In addition, provincial and federal governments ought to recognize the positive role income security plays in health and education and thus pursue strategies such as guaranteed annual income or basic income guarantee. Finally, the federal government could and should play a much stronger role by developing both a National Housing Strategy (see Wellesley Institute 2010) and a National Food Strategy (De Schutter 2012).

On March 4, 2013, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, addressed the Human Rights Council of the United Nations in Geneva to present his report on the Right to Food in Canada (De Schutter 2012), based on his mission to Canada in May of 2012. De Schutter's (2012) report drew attention to the inadequacy of social protection schemes to ensure all Canadians can meet their basic food needs (p. 10-12) and the fact that minimum wages do not reflect a "living wage" (p. 12). The report also drew particular attention to the challenges facing Aboriginal people in Canada due to their longstanding marginalization resulting in "considerably lower levels of access to adequate food relative to the general population" (p. 16). Further, it highlighted the link between food access and housing in criticizing Canada's lack of a national housing strategy and recommending that housing benefits be reformed.

At the heart of the UN Special Rapporteur's report is the notion that none of these and other food-related challenges need to exist. Canada is a rich country, with abundant natural resources, and with one of the lowest debt-to-GDP ratios of any OECD country (p. 13). Canada also has the policy tools for addressing these issues, including a legal framework that can ensure the protection of social and economic rights like the Right to Food, if governments were to make this protection a priority. On a more

hopeful note, the report points out that a number of provinces have poverty reduction strategies, that there are many municipal and provincial food policy councils emerging, and that there are a number of initiatives afoot (including Food Secure Canada's People's Food Policy) which can form the foundation for a national food strategy that seeks to integrate agriculture, health, environment and food access goals. We believe that a food access and housing security lens will be instrumental to these efforts.

Recommendations:

By way of summarizing according to the actors expected to take the lead on each, these are the recommendations elaborated upon in the background, discussion and conclusion sections of this report:

Federal government:

- Develop a National Housing Strategy (see Wellesley Institute 2010) and a National Food Strategy (De Schutter 2012), with due attention in each to the ways these two issues interrelate
- Develop and implement a Guarantee Annual Income/Basic Income Guarantee strategy

Provincial government:
- Raise social assistance rates (ODSP and Ontario Works), and further reform minimum wage to reflect the real costs of housing and a nutritious food basket in communities like Peterborough
- Work with local actors to increase the number of affordable housing/rent-geared to income units
- Investigate policy such as GAI/BIG to address income security that will help to address both housing and food insecurity

Municipal governments:
- Work with local CBIs to develop an integrated Food and Agricultural Strategy that becomes integrated into Official Plans
- Implement the 10 Year Housing and Homelessness Plan
- Ensure that plans and strategies for food and housing are fully coordinated and integrated into Official Plans
- Increase municipal budget contributions to the Housing Stability Fund (HSF)
- Ensure access to healthy food is considered in underserviced and new developments
- Ensure adequate public transportation and safe pedestrian routes to food resources such as community gardens, cooking programs and healthy food outlets
- Encourage fresh and healthy food options in local corner stores

- Continue working with neighbourhoods who express interest in community gardens and considering gardens as one usage of City park land

Housing developers and existing landlords (including for affordable housing):
- Include community gardening space as well as equipment storage
- Build housing units to facilitate growing, cooking and eating of healthy food (i.e. adequate balconies for container gardening, kitchen space to allow for food preparation and eating, storage capacity, accessibility)
- Establish centralized food supports such as including emergency food cupboards, community freezers and cooking classes

All Peterborough-based employers:
- Pay at least a living wage. The Peterborough Social Planning Council calculated that a family with 2 full-time employed adults and 2 dependents would require, at a minimum, a living wage of $16.47 per hour (PSPC 2013a)

Community Based Initiatives (including PCCHU):
- Continued advocacy and awareness raising on poverty (PPRN), income security (Income Security Working Group of the PPRN), housing security   (Affordable Action Housing Committee) and food security (Peterborough Food Action Network)[16] and look to joint initiatives as has been done with Put Food in the Budget and Nourish
- Food- and housing-based initiatives should pay more attention to the tensions between prioritizing one of these two issues over the other, and work on strategies that address both simultaneously
- Continue to bring a spatial lens to food initiatives to ensure access to community kitchens, community freezers, cooking and nutrition classes, good food boxes, community gardens, and bulk buying clubs
- Plan for farmers' markets, food literacy programs and other places for healthy food such as Nourish Project sites to be located within close proximity of low-income neighbourhoods and public transit and to be made accessible through transportation and childcare supports
- Ensure adequate access to emergency food services in all communities

All actors:
- Develop any new initiatives on housing or food with the needs of seniors, commuters, underemployed people, families with young children and First Nations in mind, because of the significant numbers of these populations in Peterborough

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[16] Previously named the Peterborough Community Food Network (PCFN) until 2015

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Appendix A – NOURISHING COMMUNITIES CORE RESEARCH GROUP

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The Nourishing Communities research partnership includes more than a hundred community partners, private sector representatives, scholars (including undergraduate and graduate students, and postdoctoral researchers), and government representatives. For more information please visit nourishingcommunities.ca

Appendix B – Alphabetical Listing of Relevant Websites

Eastern Ontario Agri-Food Network
    http://www.agro-on.ca/en/
Harvest Hastings
    http://www.harvesthastings.ca/
 Just Food
    http://justfood.ca/
Kawartha Food Share
    http://www.kawarthafoodshare.com/
Mount Community Centre
    http://www.themountpeterborough.com/
Northumberland County
    http://www.northumberlandcounty.ca/en/
Nourish Project
    http://nourishproject.ca/
Peterborough Community Garden Network
    http://growpeterborough.org/
Peterborough County-City Health Unit
    http://www.pcchu.ca/
Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network
    http://www.pprn.ca/
Peterborough Social Planning Council
    http://www.pspc.on.ca/

Appendix C – List of Acronyms

AHAC	Affordable Housing Action Committee
CARP	Canadian Association of Retired Persons
CBI	Community-Based Initiative
CCHS	Canadian Community Health Survey
CED	Community Economic Development
CHHS	Canadian Community Health Survey
CHPI	Community Homelessness Prevention Initiative
CFGP	Community Foundation of Greater Peterborough
CMA	Census Metropolitan Area
CMHA	Canadian Mental Health Association
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CSUMB	Community Start-Up and Maintenance Benefit
EOAFN	Eastern Ontario Agri-Food Network
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GPAEDC	Greater Peterborough Area Economic Development Corporation
HSF	Housing Stability Fund
KFS	Kawartha Food Share
MCC	Mount Community Centre
NHS	National Household Survey
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODSP	Ontario Disability Support Program
OMAH	Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing
ONPHA	Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association
OPHA	Ontario Public Health Association
OW	Ontario Works
PCCHU	Peterborough County-City Health Unit
PCGN	Peterborough Community Garden Network
PFAN	Peterborough Food Action Network (previously named the Peterborough Community Food Network or PCFN)
PPRN	Peterborough Poverty Reduction Network
PSPC	Peterborough Social Planning Council
RGI	Rent-Geared-to-Income
UNCHR	United Nation's High Commission for Human Rights