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DÉBUT

IN THIS ISSUE

This inaugural issue of *Canadian Food Studies* exemplifies the range of publishing categories that we aim to support over the years to come. We hope to encourage writers, researchers, community members, and food practitioners to use the voice that most comfortably expresses the essence of their work. A mix of 'languages'—whether first person narrative, conventional academic, audio/visual, or other forms of expression—allows and encourages boundaries to be challenged. In the world of food studies, diversity is key. Stories must be told, geographical areas compared, injustices exposed, and successes lauded. Meanings and insights derive from robust analysis, constructive critique, and context that includes historical, philosophical, social, political, economic, and cultural perspectives. Welcome to our début!

Canadian Food Studies   La Revue canadienne des
                               études sur l'alimentation

Editorial

Voices and visuals from the Canadian foodscape

Ellen Desjardins

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *Canadian Food Studies/La Revue canadienne des études sur l'alimentation*, the open-access, online journal of the Canadian Association for Food Studies/l'Association canadienne des études sur l'alimentation (CAFS/ACÉA). Our journal arrives on the scene in the context of a well-established organization that has, for the past decade, promoted multidisciplinary interaction, debate, and research about food in Canada. The prolific and diverse nature of this food-related research was hailed earlier by Power & Koç (2008) in a guest-edited collection of articles by Canadian scholars to celebrate the founding of CAFS. Indeed, every year since 2006, the CAFS meeting at the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences has served as a communal table, laden with a smorgasbord of collaborative and transformational ideas. The feast continues, not just among academic faculty and students, but shared with health professionals, artists, teachers, farmers, fishers, environmentalists, chefs, and colleagues from NGOs, food networks and policy councils. Collectively, these actors form the voices and visuals of the Canadian foodscape. The purpose of our journal is to offer a professional, academic forum for the astonishing breadth and depth of material that they can produce.

   Our first issue exemplifies the range of categories in which authors can submit to the journal. This, we hope, will encourage writers and researchers to use the voice that most comfortably expresses the essence of their work. A mix of 'languages', whether using first person narrative style, conventional academic voice, or audio/visual expression, allows—and encourages—boundaries to be challenged. In the world of food studies, diversity is key. Stories must be told, geographical areas compared, injustices exposed, and successes lauded. Meanings and insights derive from robust analysis, constructive critique, and context that includes historical, philosophical, social, political, economic, and cultural perspectives.

   The contributions in this issue are an affirmation of the variety of topics and styles used by prominent researchers in the field. Harriet Friedmann, who has written extensively on transformations in food systems and food regimes, invites us in her commentary to travel with her as she examines food production in China, farmer-chef entrepreneurship in Brazil, and demographic shifts in the Greenbelt area of Toronto. Her recent focus on the concept of 'foodsheds' crosses scalar boundaries of food systems, as she links urban and rural programs,

policies, and social movements to global dynamics. In another geographical comparison, Erin Pratley and Belinda Dodson take us to farmers' markets in Belo Horizonte (Brazil) and Toronto, to hear the voices of farmers and retailers and to learn how their spaces can differ radically depending on physical contact with customers, space, economic influences, and political power relationships. Recognizing the underlying issues and realities in these case studies helps us to understand the complexity of local food systems and social justice issues.

We also have, in this issue, a focus on maintaining traditions in food preparation, gardening, farming, and fishing—a reminder that in many places across the country, these skills do not always have to be reinvented but can be perpetuated. Kristen Lowitt's digital work and Jennifer Braun and Mary Beckie's article both show how rural people—in spite of dramatic changes to their livelihoods and food supply—often still value the traditional food practices that strengthen their sense of place and, to some degree, their self-sufficiency. Braun and Beckie have delved into the food practices among women in a rural Albertan town, including the rationale they give for continuing to cook, preserve, garden, and share skills with the next generation. In Lowitt's audio-documentary, the voices and sounds of Bonne Bay lend a vibrant realism to place and time. The author reflects that the process of creating this work influenced her plan to make her dissertation relevant to both academia and the broader community.

In a similar vein, the multiple authors who contributed to the article by Andree et al. offer valuable insights into a key—and complex—element of successful, community-campus research: building effective partnerships. The methodological gems that emerged from their four nation-wide case studies can inform the process for other projects that aim to improve outcomes of food-related civil society organizations. Some of the partnership-building approaches they describe are not necessarily intuitive, such as interrogating the meaning of community and identifying differences in power; negotiating a shared project direction (when often a project is driven by a dominant partner); and cultivating, among players who might normally take a back seat, the capacity to engage on their own terms. The extra time, coordination, fluidity, and respect involved in nurturing partnerships are transformational characteristics—a hallmark of projects that aim to re-democratize aspects of the food system.

Furthering the potential for change, a novel addition to our journal is the food system *transitions stream*, with Rod MacRae as editor. Articles in this transitions stream will explore a specific pathway towards a more desirable food system—for example, through revised or new policies, programs, or regulations. Since such topics are typically current and controversial, readers are invited to respond to these articles, with the aim of producing a continuous, moderated dialogue or debate. Peer review in this case is transparent, and can become part of the published thread. Transitions streams in other areas may be initiated as well. MacRae has inaugurated the food system transitions stream with an article in which he argues that trade agreements do not necessarily limit the development of local/sustainable food systems in Canada. We encourage you to participate in the discussion.

Reflection on the research process itself is vital, especially in the area of public policy. Lesley Frank's field report is a candid exposé of how interviews with food insecure mothers and program workers in Nova Scotia revealed the disconnect between those mothers' realities and the intent of infant feeding policies. Frank's narrative provides an example of how a field study can be used to reflect on boundary transgressions—in this case, the unexpected consequence of transforming from a researcher into an advocate for change.

We present two 'perspectives' articles that highlight the potential of this journal to feature sensory and experiential aspects of food and farming. Lenore Newman's Nanaimo bar

trail takes us on a well-researched journey from post-war recipe trends, to canonization of the bar as a 'Canadian' treat at Expo '86, to an explosion of varieties in restaurants and bakeries today. Seeing this confection end up with a place-making function in Nanaimo, even without a definite historical connection, we get a taste of the complex path a particular food can take to become a cultural icon. Wayne Roberts achieves a similar goal with his journalistic-style rendering of the story of environmentalist-rancher Bryan Gilvesy. He chronicles the myriad historical, social, and economic pieces of the puzzle required for an entrepreneur to demonstrate—successfully—more sustainable approaches to agriculture. Part two of his perspective is forthcoming.

The first issue of our journal also includes invited reviews of four books that showcase the diversity of Canadian food studies, performed by students and practitioners actively engaged with the topic at hand. Moving forward, the journal will continue to profile thoughtful critiques of books, art, and events that capture the latest in food studies explorations and transgressions.

I conclude with a reflection on the bowl shape that forms part of the visual identity[1] for our journal and for CAFS/ACÉA. It embodies a sense of commonality (a universal cooking and eating vessel), as well as fluidity and openness (the shape is not closed). It symbolizes our journal's commitment to inclusivity and receptiveness to new ideas and contributors.

Our journal has a tight, creative, and highly-coordinated editorial team. We thank the members of our Advisory Board and Editorial Review Board, as well as the CAFS/ACÉA Board, for their support in the development of our journal. We are grateful to the University of Waterloo for providing the OJS (open journal systems) online platform and library staff support. This journal is for you—the food studies community—and we look forward to your help in shaping future issues of *Canadian Food Studies/La Revue canadienne des études sur l'alimentation*.

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Power, E., & Koç, M. (2008). A double-double and a maple-glazed doughnut. *Food, Culture & Society 2(3),* 264-267.

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[1] The CAFS/ACÉA graphic design package was developed in 2011 by Catherine Vallières at Concordia University's Department of Design and Computation Arts, supervised by Dr. Rhona Richman Kenneally and Dr. Nathalie Dumont. David Szanto, PhD candidate in gastronomy at Concordia, facilitated the process with CAFS/RCÉA.

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Commentary

Reflections on foodsheds in three continents

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I have been thinking for a while now about the intriguing concept of *foodshed* in changing urban food regions. As the world becomes more urban, North and South, new fora, such as the International Urban Food Network—with the Toronto Food Policy Council as partner—reflect this shift of reimagining relations between urban and rural. Canadian experience has a specific place in the practice of emerging city food regions, one it shares with other places of European colonial settlement (and displacement of indigenous land use), but also one in which urban food regions have pioneered policies bridging the rural-urban divide.

In Canada as elsewhere, cities have long histories in relation to the foodlands around them. In fact, as Jane Jacobs, Lewis Mumford, and many others have noted, cities and farms are a pair that grew up in mutual relationship. But the recent history of European settlement (as well as Australia, Argentina, South Africa, and the U.S.) shaped landscapes very differently, not only from indigenous ways of inhabiting the land, but also from those that grew up over thousands of years in the indigenous civilizations of Europe, and pre-colonial Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The earliest Canadian cities, of course, developed in the most fertile areas and those best situated for river, lake and ocean trade; but railways and then highways allowed Canadian cities to expand more easily into the very foodlands that originally supported their inhabitants. Cities found fewer obstacles to the displacement of farms than longer-settled places.

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[1] *Dr. Friedmann is a renowned food systems analyst and researcher of international food and agriculture policy. Her work ranges from food regimes to transformational issues at the local level. She is now a Visiting Professor at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, a member of the Toronto Food Policy Council, and a member of the Executive Committee, USC-Canada. Dr. Friedmann is currently writing a book on the political ecology of food with Dr. Tony Weis. She received the 2011 Lifetime Achievement award by the Canadian Association of Food Studies.*

I was recently lucky enough to be able to reflect on how Canadian (or at least Southern Ontario) experience compares to a very old part of the world—China—and a very different world of European colonization—Brazil. The concept of foodshed is helpful for imagining this comparison.

Foodshed as a basis for research, policy, and emergent practices

The idea of foodshed was revived by the seminal thinker Jack Kloppenburg and his colleagues (1996) from an important article by Getz (1989). It first appeared in an obscure, informal journal called *The Permaculture Activist*—a letter, really, that revived the idea from a U.S. policy official—precisely to ask how food flows into cities (Hedden, 1929). The term foodshed is a way to highlight the importance of protecting the source of supply of food, just like water in the watershed. Getz wrote, "As in watershed protection, this will require specific geographic and ecological knowledge…for it to be safeguarded and enhanced" (p.1). He cited Gene Logsdon, author of an insightful blog, that this requires "more farmers, not fewer"—a paradox worth contemplating.

The idea of an urban foodshed is a way to help us connect food system analysis to the extraordinary reality that humanity is now careening headlong into a reversal of the balance between food producing landscapes and human settlements that has lasted for most of the ten thousand years since cities began. Urban settlements were an experiment that the human species embarked on long ago, and that they sustained for thousands of years in intimate connection with the farms and forests around them. It more or less accords with von Thunen's (2009) model of distance and cost of transport until, as Carolyn Steel shows in her ovarian work, *Hungry City: How Food Shapes our Lives,* it was all undone in the era of railways (and more). Now we live in an era of 'land grabs' that evict the last farmers in the South in favour of large-scale agriculture, mining and other land uses. This is what Farshad Araghi (2001) has called, in comparison to the history of England in the 16th–18th centuries, a 'global enclosure' of the remaining peasantries of the world.

Most of all, the concept is a double one, looking carefully at what exists at the moment and also what the land, or ecosystem, makes possible for the people who live there. It has been taken up by Christian Peters et al. (2009) to model possible constellations of sustainable food production and patterns of consumption in New York State, compared to present food flows in and out. It is empirical, showing what exists now, and also prospective, showing what a politics of *emergence* might aim toward. Altering Wheatley's definition to fit a sustainable foodshed, emergence is how

> …separate, local efforts connect with each other as networks, then strengthen as communities of practice, suddenly and surprisingly [creating] a new system…at a greater level of scale…[T]he system that emerges always possesses greater power…than is possible through planned, incremental change… [New] qualities and capacities…are properties of the system, not the individual, but [also become capacities of individuals]. " (Wheatley & Frieze, 2008)

Such a politics is called for, I think, given the depth and speed of reorganizing foodsheds as links between monocultural regions. Some of these links occur via trade, although the World Trade

Organization and even regional and bilateral trade agreements tend to get stuck on agriculture (but not before instituting some crucial rules, especially in intellectual property). Just as important are the world-spanning logistics of supply chains organized by a handful of global corporations, which turn every fruit, vegetable, and even flower into a potentially global commodity. Imagining and moving towards foodsheds that are centred on urban regions does not contradict trade, but calls for changes in analysis, policies, and practices that focus on both the potentials of the region to grow food, and of the people in that region to adjust to (or at least notice) regional potentials in what they eat.

What follows are some observations from my recent travels to China and Brazil, which I then connect back to Southern Ontario to reflect on the potential of trans-local networks and the various ways in which diverse regions are attempting to preserve or relink local foodsheds.

China

I saw two contrasting foodshed policies near Beijing. The first was in Hebei Province, in the Great China Plain, traditionally an area centred on wheat, both farming it and eating it. Now, however, under the guidance of agronomists working with U.S. universities whose expertise lies in monocultural maize and soy for animal feeds, and under pressure from incentives set by government to encourage feeds for distant animal operations, the farmers have switched partly to maize. Maize is everywhere during the harvest, in streets, by highways, in courtyards. It is 'rotated' with wheat, because dumplings—which I spent a lovely afternoon making and eating with a farm family and a group of students—are part of social life as well as cuisine. The agronomists would like the farmers to grow only maize, and their experimental stations show that by applying nitrogen fertilizer they can grow two or even three maize crops each year.

The students in Science and Technology Backyards were inspiring in their respect for, and connection with, farmers. They lived in villages, worked and socialized with farmers, and tried to both teach 'better' techniques and learn what the farmers cared about. The problem, as I see it, was their calm, unquestioning conviction that official policies, crops, and techniques were best for farmers; and that farmers' innovations, however admirable, only mattered if they fit the policies, namely to grow more maize. Farmers' resistance, or their desire to keep growing wheat for their own use, was called a 'limiting factor' to the production of more maize.

The 'rotation' (which seemed to mean one crop after another) was summer maize/winter wheat—but not soybeans. Soybeans, which are traditional for sustainable agronomy and for human foods, are now imported in massive quantities from Brazil to feed animals. By contrast, maize prices were high because of government policies. The agronomists wanted to shift to a maize/maize 'rotation', and experimentally they were getting three maize crops, clearly where they hoped to go. Chemical nitrogen runoff has, in a short time, killed all the fish in local rivers, and the experimental station, with partners from Nebraska, is focusing on varieties of maize that are more efficient at using nitrogen (so less can be applied) and water (reducing the depletion of underground water).

The biggest limiting factor to growing a monocrop of maize for distant livestock operations was the farmers' (agri)cultural commitment to wheat, and to the dumplings that are part of social life. Sadly, this ancient urban civilization is following the path of Canada, the U.S., and other settler regions, at least for now. From a foodshed perspective, the problem is national government policy, which is based on a borrowed idea of food security that emphasizes grain for animal feed, getting meat production as high as possible, and concentrating both in very large

monocultures. Some villages grew specialty crops for the region (we saw watermelons and apples) and some taught ecological improvements, for instance bringing in pollinating insects. But everywhere—in streets, courtyards, the sides of highways, the plaza in front of the agricultural extension station—there was recently harvested maize, newly introduced in this region and about to be shipped to distant livestock operations. Pigs are absent in these villages.

Little Donkey Farm (LDF), which is familiar to other Western visitors to China, is the opposite. From a foodshed perspective, it models and anticipates a holistic food system for the urban region, the latest in a series of experiments in sustainable farming. LDF has learned from Western models—community gardens, CSA with a system of logistics for delivery—and have added good wages for workers. They learned from South Koreans how to make traditional plant-based pesticides and soil enhancements, and they innovated ways to make pigs and the people tending them happy. For example, mucking out pig poop is hardly pleasant, but they have created a kind of bedding that composts the waste that the pigs bury, so that when it is removed it is lovely rich soil, ready to apply to crops in LDF farms. No flies, since birds catch them in the bright pig house next to the woods where the young ones wander. LDF is in a former village in a high-tech industrial suburb of Beijing, and there are several others like it around the county.

These two experiences are impressions, but a third gave me an insight that seems to apply more widely. I visited 1,700-year-old rice-fish terraces in Qingtian, which also embrace vegetables, fruits, and other animals, all integrated with forests, waters, and villages. It is one of the new "Globally Important Agricultural Heritage Sites", which began through the Global Environment Facility of the *United Nations Environment Program* and has now moved to the Food and Agriculture Organization. They are too small to turn to monoculture, though some activities such as threshing can be mechanized. They are too distant to be included in global supply chains or be interesting to capital seeking to invest. They are in danger from losing young people, like farming systems everywhere. But of interest here is the fact that careful scientific research on these systems shows how much more productive is the combination of fish and rice without use of chemical fertilizers or pesticides than monocultures of either fish or rice, which lack the inter-species symbiotic benefits and therefore need chemicals. This research comes not from agronomists, but from natural resource scientists whose mandate is to protect forests and waters. This, I think, can be interpreted in a broad vision of foodshed—namely, how to re-embed farming and food in ecosystems.

Brazil

Unlike China, Brazil is a country that has long inspired Canadian food change and policy, especially the experiments pioneered in Belo Horizonte. That city-region produced Cecilia Rocha, who studied at York University with Betinho, the hero of progressive movements in Brazil who came to Canada under exile from a dictatorship. Cecilia has acted as liaison for many Canadians to learn how the municipal government of Belo Horizonte works holistically for food security, including how to link support for sustainable, local farmers with programs giving access to quality foods to all citizens.

After attending an inspiring workshop in Porto Alegre—the home of 'participatory budgeting' and the World Social Forum, a longstanding centre of agroecology, and now the largest organic farmers market in Brazil—I took a side trip to Rio de Janeiro to meet with colleagues. There I met Teresa Corçao, a heroine of foodshed innovation. Teresa didn't know anything about the policies of Belo Horizonte, so I found myself telling her about Toronto and

the Golden Horseshoe, and how much we learned from the national food policy of Brazil and from the municipal programs of Belo Horizonte. This suggests that emergence of sustainable foodsheds happens in trans-local networks, not necessarily inside national boundaries. Let me write a few words about Teresa's journey.

Teresa is chef and owner of an elegant restaurant in central Rio called *O Navigador*. A Slow Food meeting led to an invitation to Belem, a poor region in northeast Brazil. Teresa was more curious about the manioc (cassava) pancakes made on the street than in the workshop she was there to teach. This amazed the local people, that a fancy chef would be interested in a food associated with the poor, both indigenous and Afro-Brazilian. One thing led to another: to the 'manioc house' in an indigenous village in the Amazon, and to her own restaurant kitchen, where she discovered unsuspected knowledge about manioc preparation among workers who had migrated from the poor north to Rio for employment. Teresa now includes manioc in her elegant meals, and works to restore the dignity of the people preparing diverse, regional varieties of dishes. Every region, from tropical to temperate, has unique ways of preparing and preserving manioc. It is a model of integration in many ways—traditional and professional cuisine, chefs and workers, the unity of diverse regions each with its own distinct foodways connected to manioc. She helps traditional producers to be respected and to enter into commerce with Rio and other cities. She does this while appreciating that they don't want to be stuck in a timeless idea of tradition, but to be part of the modern world, offering their knowledge and products, trading on fair terms, and using modern technologies such as cell phones. It is a fine example of foodshed innovation.

Teresa innovates organizationally in a number of ways. For manioc, there is Instituto Maniva. To improve the foodshed of Rio, she created *Eco-Chefs*. This group encourages traditional farmers markets, which are jeopardized by small supermarkets and by profound changes in rural society that threaten the continued supply of farmers to the city. She takes unsold produce from farmers to prepare in her restaurant, as a way to avoid waste. To scale this up, she has just become head of all the chefs of Rio, where she hopes to link support for local sustainable farmers, elegant restaurants, and recovery of good food otherwise destined to become waste.

Comparative questions for Ontario

The idea of foodsheds elsewhere helped me to understand how Southern Ontario is changing. We are certainly innovators, especially in the area of links between urban food change and large farm organizations that are manifest in the *Food and Farming Action Plan* of the Greater Golden Horseshoe. We do so in the context of continued immigration to cities and towns, while farms and farmers are in crisis. We need to revive the links in ways that renew crops, farmers, food businesses, and eaters. China is imitating the foodways that got us into foodshed disconnect, but is now also looking for ways to improve health and the environment. So, to some degree, they are innovating to reconnect urban foodsheds (Little Donkey Farm), and protecting farming systems that have been resilient for many centuries (rice-fish terraces). Brazil, which has shared experiences with Ontario for two decades now, is pioneering to incorporate indigenous and Afro-Brazilian foods into valued cuisines, and reshaping urban foodsheds before they disintegrate as much as ours have.

Relinking of foodsheds seems to be emerging everywhere, always taking different forms according to the specific histories, landscapes, and geopolitical contexts of each region. Here in

Ontario, we share the dilemmas of a region dominated by cities and towns with rich surrounding land, and young and immigrant farmers who want to farm it to serve diverse urban markets, but who face immense obstacles in doing so. Lots of questions arise. Is there something for a European settler region to learn from indigenous foodways that once defined this landscape? From revival of indigenous foods in culturally diverse, urban Brazil, which also shares Canada's huge agricultural trade? From the problems faced by a system in China that has survived for almost two millennia? From experimental networking and adaptive learning such as Little Donkey Farm, which recovers ancient knowledge, adapts Western forms like the CSA, and sustains connections that link diverse foodsheds across continents?

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Perspective

Notes from the Nanaimo bar trail

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Abstract

Archival work suggests that the Nanaimo bar is based on a recipe for unbaked chocolate cake published in the *Vancouver Sun* in 1947 and republished in 1948. The bar itself was likely developed by a member or members of the Nanaimo Hospital Auxiliary, and the first known recipe was published in 1952 in that group's cookbook. The mystery of the bar's origins is explored, the bar's place within the tradition of 'dainties' is noted, and its current role within Nanaimo's efforts at place making is documented.

Introduction

There is an enjoyable puzzle to food. Even the most quotidian element of a cuisine or foodway hides a convoluted and often deeply personal tale of adaptation, evolution, and affection. The origin of the Nanaimo bar is an enduring local mystery that has piqued interest in the confection locally and nationally. (See Zeidler [2013] for a recent summary of the origin mystery.) The story of food is often unsung, hidden in cookbooks, newspapers, and oral histories. Study of these tidbits can reveal a surprisingly complex culinary tradition; as noted by Gertz (1993, p.19) "one must find cultural artifacts capable of rendering the curve of social discourse into an inspectable form." As Adema (2009) notes, food is encoded with significance and is a vehicle for communication. The Nanaimo bar speaks of a land and its people, and the bar continues to act as a place-making cultural artifact.

The Nanaimo bar is a three-layer dessert, with a bottom layer of unbaked chocolate cake, a filling of custard-flavoured butter icing, and then a final layer of dark chocolate. It is calorie heavy, combining butter and sugar with as many as five branded products: Graham crackers,

Bird's custard powder, Baker's chocolate, Fry's cocoa, and Tropic coconut. It is one of the best known recipes that can truly be said to be Canadian, and is one of a handful of really well known Canadian dishes (Hashimoto & Telfer, 2006), yet it seems an odd ambassador for a people who Hlutchy (2003) notes are more usually associated with fresh, local, and wild foods. Voted the nation's favourite confection in a 2006 survey in the *National Post* (2006), the bar is made in homes and sold commercially across the country. But what is Canadian about this cookie? How does it fit within our cuisine? The bar's namesake, Nanaimo, British Columbia, is not otherwise known as a centre for culinary innovation. It is a resource industry town on the East Coast of Vancouver Island that began as a coal-mining hub, and by the mid-1950s the town's economy was dominated by the pulp and paper industry, creating a solid blue-collar middle class.

Figure 1: A classic Nanaimo bar

The idea of Canadian food or Canadian cuisine is an ethereal concept, a loose web of regional elements following themes that vary strongly between urban and rural, East and West. Canada's cuisine has been described as shaped by regions, climate, and cultural groups (Duncan, 2003), and as incorporating native ingredients, regional flavours, and multicultural elements (Jacobs, 2009). Elsewhere (Newman, 2012) Canadian cuisine has been described as seasonal. A Nanaimo bar is none of these things; it is what Johnson and Baumann call a 'norm breaking' food (2010). Why is it a Canadian icon? Margaret Fraser provides what is perhaps the best answer: the Nanaimo bar is Canadian because "we know, at some point, someone from Canada came up with it" (Tucker 2011, p.1). Hashimoto and Telfer (2006) go as far as to call the bar famous, but say nothing as to how the bar developed; they do caution that foods are invested and reinvested with meaning and often with vehement local patriotism. Together with Shea Wind, an archival student at University of the Fraser Valley, I headed out to better understand the bar, and perhaps sort out the mystery of its origins. Our methodology involved web and literature searches, a search of all period cookbooks in the region and a targeted national search focusing on the 1940s and 1950s, and an archival search of the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper stretching from 1930 to 1960. Targeted interviews of individuals highlighted in earlier search efforts were also conducted, and the minutes of several women's auxiliary groups were explored.

The no-bake dessert in history

The Nanaimo bar sits within a long tradition of no-bake deserts. Using up stale baked goods in new dishes traces back to antiquity; Apicius describes a Salacattabia (jelly) made with bread crumbs soaked in a wine mixture, mixed with cheese, and chilled in a mold packed in snow

(Vehling, 1977). Saberi (2002) has explored the modern evolution of this dish from trifles to icebox cakes. English trifle, which uses stale sponge cake brushed with liquor, a layer of custard, a layer of jam, and cream on top, continues this tradition, and dates back to at least the late 16th century. The trifle begat the charlotte, which can be found in a great number of recipes right into the 1930s; almost every book we examined had several. From charlottes we get the icebox or refrigerator cake, and during the research for this project we noted a transition from the overwhelming use of ladyfingers as a cake base to other variations including the crushed or whole Graham cracker. Quick refrigerator squares became extremely popular after World War II, when butter and sugar was once more available. By 1950, Graham rolls and Graham marshmallow squares appeared in almost every book we studied. Of the four dozen books examined, all of the books appearing post 1950 contained recipes that combined marshmallows, sweetened condensed milk, and crumbled cookies to create a tooth-achingly sweet goo.

The origin of the Nanaimo bar

If the origin of the Nanaimo bar could be discovered at all, it was likely to be found in a newspaper or community cookbook. The problem, however, is that many of the small church cookbooks stayed in private hands, making them hard to find (Kowalchuk, 2013). Elizabeth Driver (2009) noted how similar the books are to each other; recipes were copied word for word, submitted to new newspapers or books, and transmitted to new regions. The Nanaimo museum's collection of recipes confirmed that the name of the bar came after the recipe itself. The first known recipe was included in the 1952 *Women's Auxiliary to the Nanaimo Hospital Cookbook*, which has three nearly identical recipes for the dessert that differ only slightly from the modern version, under the names Chocolate Square (twice) and Chocolate Slice; the one closest to the modern bar was submitted by Mrs. E. MacDougall.

Aside from this, the internet and gray literature search turned up a great number of rumours, but no verifiable origin. Determining the exact origin of a food item is difficult; in the place of documentation, one often finds what Andrew Smith calls *fakelore* (2001). Food creates strong memories, and can often create a fictional past (Holtzman, 2006). Smith (2001) points to particularly robust fakelore that occurs in cases where stories sound true, address a mystery, or are objects of local boosterism. As he notes, "much of what has been written under the rubric 'culinary history' has been collections of twice-told myths" (p. 259). The internet, and in particular sites such as Wikipedia, haven't helped matters. In the case of the Nanaimo bar, an origin in the *Ladysmith and Cowichan Women's Institute Cookbook* was repeated widely online, but not only has the book never been found, there is no evidence that such an organization even existed. Organizations leave traces; the Nanaimo Hospital auxiliary minutes are archived, so it is known in that case that the organization did exist.

A more promising lead remained from earlier searches. In the mid-1980s the Nanaimo Chamber of Commerce attempted to determine the bar's origin, and noted that Phyliss Millgan, a member of the Nanaimo Hospital auxiliary, reported that the recipe first appeared in their cookbook and was based on a recipe for a Chocolate Fridge Cake from the *Vancouver Sun* (Rayburn, 2001). Though the cookbook exists, and is believed to be the earliest book containing the recipe, the recipe in the *Vancouver Sun* was not found. This gave reason for a targeted search of the recipes presented in the *Sun* between 1930 and 1960, which were published as part of a daily contest held under the Edith Adams brand name. Edith Adams, like Betty Crocker, was a

gestalt identity created by the *Vancouver Sun* in 1924 to offer recipes and advice to the homemaker. An excellent description of Edith's interesting history is given in Driver (2005).

The first known printed use of the term Nanaimo bar remains the one identified in the *Vancouver Sun*. On April 11, 1953, the recipe appears in the *Vancouver Sun* as the London Fog Bar (Vancouver Sun, 1953), submitted by Mrs. David Orr. Edith Adams notes that they are also called Nanaimo bars. (This was also noted on the CakeSpy blog during the blog author's 2011 search for the origin.) It wasn't possible to determine how the Edith Adams column determined the alternate name, but it is imaginable that the recipe had been submitted, under different names, by multiple contestants. The recipe is identical to the one in the Nanaimo Hospital auxiliary cookbook. The recipe then appeared later that year, only as Nanaimo Bars, in the *14th Edith Adams Cookbook*.

The search for evidence about the origin the bar also involved digging into some of the more common alternative names. Jean Paré, creator of the *Company's Coming* cookbooks, claimed the bars were originally called smog bars, and were from Alberta (Schultz & Paré, 2006); the first recipe in the *Vancouver Sun* uses a name that is very similar. However an extensive search of Albertan cookbooks of the period turned up no reference to smog bars or fog bars of any kind. A wide range of names for the confection was found: Mrs. Ruby Polych of Drumheller called them Victoria Specials (Salvation Army, 1957); Mrs. Harold Payne of Nova Scotia called them Mabel's Squares (Upper Gloucester District Women's Institute, 1954); and in 1977 in an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, they are called the New York Slice, the only reference we found to this once-popular alternative (Larson, 1977). After searching 48 books drawn from archives in British Columbia and online, as well as gathered from local collections in Nanaimo, no reference to a Nanaimo bar or a similar recipe was found that predates 1952.

The newspaper search was more successful. It was found that no recipe for chocolate fridge cake had been published in the *Vancouver Sun* before 1953, nor any recipe for a Nanaimo bar or similar dessert. On the other hand, however, two recipes were found for what is the bottom layer of the bar. On April 18, 1947, Mrs. Lois Light of Vancouver submitted a Chocolate Quickie Square, which she suggested be frosted with peppermint butter icing (Vancouver Sun, 1947), and on February 21, 1948, Jean Haines of Wildwood submitted a recipe for Unbaked Chocolate Cake that she claims is from New Zealand (Vancouver Sun, 1948). This recipe was reproduced in the 12th Edith Adams Prize cookbook; it is worth noting that Nanaimo and Wildwood are both mill towns located opposite each other across the Strait of Georgia. If we then consider that the first recipe in the *Sun* for Nanaimo bars calls the middle layer a special icing rather than a filling, it becomes likely that the women of the hospital auxiliary created the Nanaimo bar by adapting the earlier cake recipe, inventing a new frosting, and capping the dessert with chocolate. Though not impossible, it is doubtful that a recipe from before 1947 will ever be found. Nanaimo bars seem to have been developed in Nanaimo, by combining an existing recipe with a new icing. Credit for the creation can be shared among the women of the Nanaimo Hospital auxiliary. However, the naming of the bar appears to have been done by the Edith Adams column in the *Vancouver Sun*, perhaps because of the cookbook in which the bar recipe first appears, or because of the source of many of the submitted recipes.

Nanaimo bar as a populux dainty

Though the early history of the Nanaimo bar is still someone cloudy, it is not a mystery as to how they fit into the foodways of the time. The bar can be classed as a *dainty*, a small sweet treat

served at home or at public events such as church suppers, as it fits the model of these sweet, hand-held treats. Inness (2001, p.57) describes dainties as "frothy and cloudlike," but extremely rich. These squares exploded in popularity after World War II, though as Diane Tye (2010) notes in her exceptional book, *Baking as Biography,* they were all rather similar. She discusses how dainties and baking in general was a status symbol in her mother's social circle, an attitude echoed by my own mother. The ability to entertain was expected, and the foods made were often fancy and extremely time consuming. A move towards using ready-made ingredients was more about status than time saving. Nanaimo bars, already costly due to their high butter and sugar content, required several purchased premade goods, and required time and care to make.

My own mother commented that these sweet treats were time wasting, a product of the free labour available in a society that excluded women from the workplace. Cusack (2004, p. 135) notes that "cuisines are not just innocent concoctions but reflect the dominant ideologies of the societies in which they emerge". Food became, as Bessière (1998) notes it often is, a class marker. Foods such as the Nanaimo bar also draw on faith in the processing industry and capitalism in general; Warren Belasco (2006) describes the foods of this period as *populux*; it was a period of optimism and faith in science and capitalism, where foods highlighted as easy because they included brand name goods (Tye, 2010) displaced earlier pioneer recipes.

The road to a food of locality

Many foods from the 1950s are no longer served. As noted by Gitelson (1992, p.1) "to describe suburban cuisine in the 1950s is to invoke images of hellish concoctions". The Nanaimo bar's survival comes from the action of a few individuals, and from the attraction of the name. The Nanaimo bar is an excellent example of 'cultural proximity', a phenomenon in which socio-cultural traditions are used to brand products (Renting et al., 2003); in this case, a bar made in a mill town is associated, through a name, with that region. As Adema (2009) notes, particular foods become iconic of specific places, the forces that inform this identification are often condensed or abstracted. So even though the exact origin of the bar was forgotten, the association remained intact (the hospital auxiliary link was only rediscovered in the 21st century).

The Nanaimo bar's popularity beyond Vancouver Island owes a lot to Susan Mendleson, co-founder of the Lazy Gourmet café and catering company in Vancouver. She sold the bars in the 1970s during college to pay her tuition (Kramer, 2011), and made the bars a cornerstone of her catering. Dorothy Duncan (2006) in *Canadians at Table* notes that The Lazy Gourmet in Vancouver claims to have been the first place to sell Nanaimo bars commercially. More importantly, Susan Mendleson was in charge of writing the cookbook for Expo '86, and she included three recipes for the bars. Very little has been written about Expo '86, and nothing about its food, but key events such as an Olympics (or an Expo) can greatly accelerate branding of a region's cuisine (Dinnie, 2004). Richman Kenneally (2008) explores this effect in her study of Montreal and Expo '67, and how a national cuisine was cobbled together for the fair. Expo '86 left similar imprints; Nanaimo began revitalizing its downtown, and the mayor held a contest to find the best Nanaimo bar recipe. (Joyce Hardcastle won, with a recipe that is still given on the town website today.)

After Expo '86, the Nanaimo bar spread rapidly as a Canadian treat; it can be found at Starbucks during the Christmas season, and is sold in sheets at Costco. BC Ferries still sells the bars, and Nanaimo began to embrace the bar as a potential tourist draw. The Nanaimo bar became a food of locality: a food that is deeply linked with a place, either through component ingredients

or through association (in this case the latter). Susan Musgrave (2009) describes this effect as 'locationism': the Nanaimo bar evokes Nanaimo. In an examination of later cookbooks, after Expo '86 the bar almost always appears under the name Nanaimo Bar, rather than a variation.

The Nanaimo bar trail

Foods change over time. As Fabio Parasecoli (2008, p.10) remarks, foods are "the objects of ongoing negotiations within the communities that produced them, and the larger bodies of which those communities are a part". In a world where smaller resource cities often find themselves marginalized, Nanaimo now positions itself online as a retirement hub, and the provisioning centre for the mid-island (*Nanaimo News Bulletin*, 2013). As Zukin (2010) has noted in her work on gentrification and globalization, food plays a role akin to art in the new era of urban culture. It has been noted that globalization is a matter not only of the emergence of a single homogenous 'world culture,' but equally of an increased preoccupation with local culture (Askegaard & Kjeldgaard, 2007). In cases where there is no obvious food grown or processed in the region, whatever food of locality is on hand has to do; when Nanaimo looked to food to draw tourists, there was really only one food of locality available.

One popular way to achieve place branding through food is through a *tasting trail*, which draws the moneyed traveler into multiple transactions within a region. Hashimoto & Telfer (2006) note the popularity of such trails; they have emerged as an important food tourism experience (Nexus & Urban, 2003), even in what Ilbery & Kneafsey (2000) call 'placeless foodscapes', without deeply engrained food culture. For the last few years Nanaimo has put together a suggested tasting trail that features over twenty variations on the classic bars. Minnoz restaurant offers a cheesecake version, Modern Café slings a Nanaimo bar martini, and Two Chefs Affair presents an ice cream version of the classic. There are gluten free versions and raw food versions, and of course a deep-fried version as well. Island Farms sells a popular ice cream version of the bar throughout the region. As one probably shouldn't eat more than one Nanaimo bar at a time, the trail can test even the most dedicated foodie, but it is no less calorie-laden than Ontario's two competing butter tart trails (Giovannetti, 2013).

Figure 2: Nanaimo bar Ice Cream Bar

Concluding thoughts

The Nanaimo bar's exact origins remain mysterious, but the real innovation that happened in Nanaimo was most likely the invention of the custard frosting. The *Vancouver Sun* recipe for the bar's base suggests an origin for the confection, and dates the bar's inception as occurring in Nanaimo in the late 1940s. Though the Nanaimo bar doesn't fit well with current Canadian food trends, it reveals a rich hidden culinary history. Once a dainty served at home by a blue-collar middle class, the bar serves a place-making role in contemporary Nanaimo, even if it isn't an ideal food for a tasting trail due to its sweetness and calorie content. That the Nanaimo bar remains popular is testament to the power of sugar and nostalgia; during the course of this research many people related tales of childhood or of life in mid-twentieth-century mill towns. As Gibson (2007, p.15) notes, "food is a signifier of belonging, cultural identity, and home". Though a new generation of Canadians is more likely to associate the bar with Costco than with a church supper, the taste lives on.

Acknowledgements

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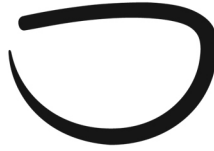
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Perspective

Life of Bryan: Working the magic of sustainable food's sweet spot

Part One

Wayne Roberts[1]

Abstract

Bryan Gilvesy is one of Canada's most-recognized farm innovators, as well as one of the country's best-known leaders of the food movement. That combination is unusual in any region or country—one of the ways that Gilvesy exemplifies both the hallmarks of the food movement in Canada, as well as the unique components of agroecology as it emerges in a temperate-cold climate. This portrait of a food and farm leader is based on my own reporter's notes taken over seven years of attending meetings where Gilvesy has spoken, and on files of news clippings and academic articles related to the farming methods he's pioneered in Canada. Part 1 of this article provides an overview of Gilvesy's background and personal evolution prior to his adoption of views and practices for which he's presently renowned. Parts 2 and 3, which will be posted in subsequent issues, introduce his measures to promote a wrenching shift in food system redesign—specifically the provision to pay farmers for ecosystem services they produce on the working landscape of their farm. Parts 2 and 3 will also spell out specific trends within Canada's food movement, such as its promotion of concrete, positive and practical reform measures and its service as a Big Tent coalition of various public interest groups—trends that Gilvesy personifies.

[1] *Wayne Roberts is internationally recognized as a leading analyst, advocate and practitioner in the field of city food policy. From his home base in Toronto, Dr. Roberts has written 12 books, most recently The No Nonsense Guide to World Food (2nd Edition) and Food for City Building. He is also a longtime associate of Bryan Gilvesy, and has volunteered for two years as an unpaid "director of sustainability education" for Y U Ranch, which Gilvesy owns.*

Y U Ranch

Bryan Gilvesy has been on a winning streak for the last decade. Recognition of his contribution to a whole new way of thinking about food and farming started humbly in 2006 when the Toronto Food Policy Council—which I then staffed—gave him its low-profile Local Food Hero Award. The next year, he won the Ontario Premier's Award for Agricultural Innovation. He went national the year after, and won the Canadian Agri-Food Award of Excellence for Environmental Stewardship. In 2009, he went global and was named the International Texas Longhorn Breeder of the Year. One year later, he won the Ontario Environment Minister's Award for Environmental Excellence. In 2013, he received both the Canadian Farmer-Rancher Pollinator Award and the Ontario Premier's Award for Agricultural Innovation. While he doesn't identify with any single comprehensive philosophy of farming, Gilvesy is comfortable being referred to as a pioneering Canadian practitioner of food production methods understood globally as *agroecology*.

In his day job, Gilvesy is a rancher who stands out because of his innovative use of native and wild grasses to feed livestock and nurture a variety of environmentally friendly ecosystem services for which he hopes to charge members of the public. In his volunteer work, he serves as a popular leader of both the food and ecological farming movements, as co-chair of Sustain Ontario, a coalition of food activists from many backgrounds, as chair of the farmer-based Alternative Land Use Service (ALUS) committee in his home county of Norfolk, Ontario and as Eastern Canada lead for ALUS. Several of the hallmarks that distinguish the food movement in Canada from food movements in other regions and countries—the capacity to bring rural farmers and urban good food advocates under the Big Tent of one organization, and the ability to organize around practical and positive programs that can be implemented in the here-and-now, to give but two illustrations—are central to Gilvesy's persona and stature.

Y U Ranch isn't a household name, partly because it's not branded for sale through supermarkets or chains. Instead, Gilvesy pioneers as a farmer-retailer, who sells about a third of what he produces to individuals, many of whom just finished a hay wagon tour of his land and are keen to tell dinner guests a great story, while offering them exceptional steaks from grass-fed Longhorns. The Y U name also graces the menu of some dozen restaurants oriented to local, sustainable, cool, smart and authentic foods. Whenever I go to Guelph and eat at Borealis, I see a larger-than-life portrait of Bryan and Cathy Gilvesy and one of their Texas Longhorns as I enter the washroom. I really like you, I nod to the picture, but having you peek over my shoulder while I pee is a bit creepy. Never mind, it's a reminder that even a poster boy for the green and food movement stays close to the humble realities of daily life.

Neither Bryan nor Cathy fit the stereotype of sustainable food leaders. Born in 1958, the last year of the certified baby boomers, Bryan is 25 years older than most ag and food movement activists. He gives most of his talks wearing business casual, leans back to show a belt buckle with a honkin' big Texas Longhorn in the middle—he gave me one for Christmas, but I haven't yet found the right occasion to wear it—and usually starts a public lecture by poking fun at his bald spot, unaware that such jokes only reveal his glass-is-half-full approach to life: truth be told, his head sports more of a hair spot than a bald spot. The Gilvesy home is close to the village of Delhi in southwestern Ontario, itself a bit of a drive to Tillsonburg and a winding hour-long drive from London. Country people, Bryan and Cathy have only recently thought of big cities as

exciting, rather than scary. Back in 2006, he thanked the Toronto Food Policy Council for introducing him and Cathy to a Toronto that was friendly and welcoming, rather than a terrifying canyon of high-rises.

As a university student, Bryan studied business, not agriculture or food studies. He and his parents believed business school offered the right training for the business of farming. He is always pleased to give talks to business school students, and he peppers his presentations about his bold and radical farming methods with biz-speak phrases about niche markets and value-added offerings. For some, the oddest thing about both Cathy and Bryan is that they like to have fun, are excited about life, think well of most people, don't seem to pass judgment and just keep pressing ahead as best they can.

In my view, Bryan Gilvesy is a world-class visionary of the movement for better food and farming, because he identifies the need for a fundamental food system change that sees farmers paid as producers of a healthy environment, not just healthy food. That's why I wrote about him in the *No-Nonsense Guide to World Food*.

But I'm writing this article because I also think his evolution as an individual, rancher, environmental farm leader and food movement spokesperson personifies important trends in the evolution of the Ontario and Canadian food movement. His decision to become a solo entrepreneur selling his own brand of local, sustainable, safe and nutrient-rich beef is a prime example of what food movement analysts mean when they talk about the quality turn. This pivotal transition started shortly after 2000 when a number of farmers, artisan processors, specialized retailers and chefs turned their backs on the sheer *productivist* tradition that drove the obsession with high yields and low prices since the end of World War II. The quality turn is about shifting the range of food choices from quantity to quality, whether that quality is taste or nutrients or social and ecological benefits.[2]

Gilvesy's personal history also reflects several important shifts within the movement referred to as sustainable agriculture. Until the new millennium, the sustainable ag conversation was mostly about the need for low inputs, particularly of toxic chemicals. The common acronym for this was LISA, which stands for Low Input Sustainable Agriculture. The very term speaks to the messaging that has kept environmentalism both a marginal and misunderstood force, suspected of a lifestyle featuring a dress code of sackcloth and ashes.

Gilvesy has been part of major quality turns in the understanding of sustainable ag. Although he and his family had long taken pride in their stewardship of the land, he didn't really embrace sustainability until shortly after certifying with Local Food Plus. Someone from that organization showed him the United States Farm Bill of 1990, with a five-part definition that specified "economic viability of farm operations" as well as enhanced "quality of life for farmers and society as a whole," as key attributes of sustainable agriculture.[3] That was "an unbelievable eye-opener for me," he says, "the world's biggest epiphany ever" because—as the father of a young family—it was important that environmental management be linked to economic success. Learning that sustainability wasn't just about "morality, guilt and sacrifice," but also made business sense, was a breakthrough for him. That was Gilvesy's introduction to what is now an article of faith in the Canadian food movement's understanding of sustainability—a *win-win-win* combo of measures that are good for the economy, good for society, good for the environment.

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[2] Goodman, D. (2003). The quality 'turn' and alternative food practices: reflections and agenda. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19(1), 1-7.
[3] United States Department of Agriculture. (1999 and 2007). Sustainable Agriculture: Definitions and Terms. Alternative Farming Systems Information Center.

In terms of the conversation which the food movement fosters with the general public about sustainable food systems, that approach has been a game-changer, and he serves as a business case of this new face of the movement within the larger farm community.

As well, Gilvesy's understanding of sustainability goes far beyond the 1990s low input mantra, which became somewhat obsolete in the new century. Since the release of one UN report on ecosystem services in 2005, and another UN report in 2010 on biodiversity and the economy, sustainability discussions have hinged on an understanding of the environment as the life support system necessary for human survival—a set of essential services that are either irreplaceable or extremely expensive to replace. Emphasis shifted from harm humans inflict on Nature to benefits humans can net by respecting Nature; in turn, that insight opened a portal to understanding good environmental behavior as an investment, not just an expense or existential experience, which in turn opened the gateway to *fees for environmental services*, a transformative concept in terms of the role of farming in the overall political economy. In 2005, the same year that some 700 leading scientists and economists signed off on the UN's ecosystem assessment report, the neo-liberal *Economist* magazine put its finger on experiences that were bringing such a new paradigm to the fore. An article on the destruction of Florida's Everglades recalled the failure of Louisiana's similarly-destroyed marshes to perform their sponge-like function by holding onto torrential rainfall from Hurricane Katrina, and thereby prevent the disastrous flooding of New Orleans. Since then, the *Economist* argued, correcting "the balance between protecting people from nature, and protecting nature from people, has become an urgent matter of public policy."[4] Valuing ecosystem services, not to put too fine a point on it, is about saving humans money as much as saving the planet, an insight that serves as a cornerstone of any strategy to engage people in the work of protecting and rejuvenating 'natural capital' and 'living infrastructure' (aka the environment).

In this new paradigm, the environment is no longer 'out there', a pretty young thing abused by human greed and shortsightedness. Nature also lives in the wild medicines that cure disease, the hillside bushes that prevent mudslides, the marshes that reduce flooding, the wild pollinators that produce so many fruits and vegetables, the trees and grasses that store carbon in the ground and keep it out of the atmosphere, where too much carbon triggers climate chaos and global warming. Just as the mainstream industrial economy in the Global North went from the production of hard goods to the production of soft services during the 1960s, the understanding of Nature's economy began to shift from the production of goods—lumber, water and fish, for example—to the production of services, as far-ranging as carbon storage to protection from erosion. As in the mainstream economy, the services sector can add many times more value, and charge many times more dollars, than the goods sector. This is the new potential source of wealth creation and value production identified by an ecosystems view of Nature's economy.

Three practical propositions flow from understanding and measuring the economic value of Nature's ecosystem services. First, people who think of environmental integrity as a source of valuable human services have a stronger business case to pitch than people who describe the environment as invaluable and priceless, a term that doesn't register in a capitalist system. So the first proposition is that food advocates intervene in the mainstream dialogue about food and the economy. Second, people who champion practical actions to boost environmental performance are heard as being more positive than the allegedly negative people known only for actions they condemn. So the second proposition is that food advocates take care that they are seen as

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[4] Economist. (October 8, 2005). "Water, bird, man," p. 31.

constructive critics. Third, leaders who promote individual and community actions to support environmental, economic and social well-being are seen as more inclusive and empowering of people than those who demand government pass regulations banning harmful practices. So the third proposition is that food advocates identify as people who want to empower people, rather than as people calling on the state to discipline people. It's my observation that most people in the food movement get these basic propositions, while many people in the official environment movement do not. That's a distinguishing characteristic of the food movement, and accounts for what's commonly called its 'positive energy', an energy that is central to the Gilvesy persona as well as his shaping of the political positioning of the food movement.

In 2005, the very year the UN assessment on ecosystem services was released, Gilvesy learned about a grassroots farm group called Alternative Land Use Services or ALUS. At about the same time, leading Toronto charitable foundations, first Metcalf and then Friends of the Greenbelt, recognized that ecosystem services could be provided by working landscapes such as farms—and not just by totally protected areas, such as wilderness parks. These charitable foundations began funding organizations such as ALUS in Norfolk County and Toronto-based Local Food Plus, which promoted local and sustainable food systems on the biggest use of land in the country—which is farms, not wilderness parks. Shortly thereafter, Metcalf initiated meetings to bring city and countryside community food leaders together to develop one common vehicle for food and farm advocates—what became Sustain Ontario. When Gilvesy became an advocate for Local Food Plus in 2006 and took a leadership position with Sustain Ontario in 2010, he lent credibility to Sustain as an advocate for both city and countryside elements of the food and agriculture equation—a signal achievement of the Ontario food movement, rarely achieved elsewhere. It's much more typical for the food movement and environmentalist messages to be understood as anti-farmer.

But I have gotten ahead of myself. These organizational developments flow from the transformations I must first document, which I will do by sketching Gilvesy's biography in the next section of Part 1 of this paper.

Bum steers

Before all sorts of nice things happened to Bryan Gilvesy, he suffered some pretty hard knocks, and developed the resilience that enabled him to bounce back—or rather forward. For those drawn to the melodrama of ancient myths and archetypes, his storyline reads eerily like the phoenix that rose from the ashes—in this case, cigarette ashes.

The key person in Bryan's early life was his grandfather George Gyulveszi, who, like many in the area around the village of Delhi, arrived from Hungary alone and penniless. The Y U in Y U Ranch express the esteem Bryan holds for his grandfather, whose name, spelled the Hungarian way, still commands respect in the region because of his economic success and many community contributions. Grandfather encouraged Bryan to go to business school because having a business on the side was absolute common sense for any enterprising person who farmed tobacco. The farm season went from May to mid-September, and a person needed a second career to keep busy during a lengthy off-season. Grandfather's off-season business was construction, in which he started with little and made a fortune no less than three times, having gifted it to others twice, the last time when he was 82. Bryan watched his granddad rebound the last time, and it gave him a real-life model of resilience that soon enough marked his own life.

When he began farming fulltime in the 1980s, it was already clear to Bryan Gilvesy that tobacco—the crop that had sustained most farms in the area for some time, and one of the few crops that could thrive in the sandy soil of the region—had no future. The medical evidence about the dangers of smoking was impossible to ignore by the 1980s, and it was clear there was no future in either making a living in, or feeling good about, the tobacco product. Aside from its poor business prospects, the young entrepreneurially-minded Gilvesy didn't take to the idea of working in an industry where huge corporations and impersonal markets beyond his ability to influence decided what farmers were to grow and how, and what price they would get. When Bryan Gilvesy bought his second farm in 1985 for $200,000—a price indicating the dismal prospects of tobacco farming—he declined the full tobacco quota that came with the farm, planted only 45 of 70 cleared acres in tobacco, and turned his mind to other uses of the land resource. Like thoughtful neighbours around him, he was looking for alternatives. His next-door neighbor, for instance, was Joe Stroebel, one of the first farmers in Canada to promote legalizing hemp grown for fabric, fiber and cooking oil, rather than marijuana; "rope, not dope" was the slogan of the movement.[5]

For reasons he can't recall, Bryan Gilvesy and his dad bought two Texas Longhorns and put them out to pasture on the new farm. When he saw how the birds and the bees worked with beef—one cow and one bull added a new calf every year, a perfect illustration of how ecosystem services could grow a business for free—he saw his future in cattle breeding. By 1993, he made breeding his business. It was perfect for him, he thought: no corporate overlord, multiple customers, relatively low-cost technology and debt load—one door closes, and another opens.

The Longhorn—a breed descended from escaped cattle brought to Mexico by the Spanish—appealed to the independent maverick in Gilvesy. They adapted in the wilds of the North American plains, where only the hardiest and most efficient feeders survived. They are intelligent, long-living, have hard hooves, high resistance to disease, live outdoors summer and winter, have huge horns to fend off predators and can calve on their own in the outdoors. They eat rough grasses and can add weight even when on the move through barren country. They appealed to the romantic and solar enthusiast in Gilvesy, who likes to say that the grass converts sunlight into feed and the Longhorns convert that into solar beef—no need for feeds dependent on fossil fuel-based fertilizers, pesticides, planting and harvesting equipment. Perfect for a small and independent operator who wants pasture-raised animals and the lifestyle that goes with it.[6]

Gilvesy was a happy breeder of Texas Longhorns until 2003, when a case of 'Mad Cow' disease was discovered in Canada, and international borders to all Canadian cattle were suddenly closed. That finished him as a breeder, because most of his customers were in the U.S. "I saw 2.3 billion dollars in cattle values (across the country) vapourize overnight," Gilvesy says.

Fortunately, he'd always had a nagging feeling that something was wrong with the way the beef business was organized. The rising chorus of public health critics worried about excessive animal fat in the diet reminded him eerily of the losing battle tobacco farmers faced when they came up against evidence of illness caused by a farm product. He was uneasy about the beef industry standard that aimed breeding and feeding at achieving high rates of marbled fat for Triple A grading. As well, he found the feed suppliers who were always pushing low-cost protein supplements a bit too aggressive, and never allowed such feeds on his property. He fed

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[5] I worked actively with Stroebel and others on that campaign, which succeeded in winning legal status for industrial-quality hemp in 1998; that was an early indication that farmers and urban creatives could work together to create environmentally-beneficial jobs.
[6] For more on Texas Longhorns, www.tlbaa.org

all his animals on a strict plant diet, which they had evolved to eat. As well, he always held back a few steers from the corporate processing plants, 'finished' them on his own farm, and took them to town to be butchered under his instructions, for later use by family, friends and a few personal customers.

After the source of Mad Cow was traced to the low-cost protein supplement made from bone meal of cattle, Gilvesy realized that he had what marketing gurus call a Unique Sales Proposition. "All of a sudden, I had something to sell that no-one else had," he said: a herd of cattle born and raised only on his land and fed only grass, with no low-cost protein supplements made from animal bone meal to fatten them, and thus no possibility of contact with Mad Cow disease. While the rest of the beef industry was in shambles, he had an option thanks to his foresight about cheap but bogus animal feeds. He walked down the driveway, and posted a hand-written sign on the road: "Beef For Sale." He was ready to do his own sales under his own name, Y U Ranch, to his own customers. "The old paradigm fell apart that day," he says. "I didn't want to be selling a commodity or beholden to a corporation ever again. It was clear that the food chain was broken, added no value for us, just created distance between us and customers."

At this point, Gilvesy had bounced back two times from the conventional agricultural journey that led away from sustainability. And he had taken the first step on a new journey toward sustainability, a journey that would lead him to live the life of a farmer working in harmony with Nature, working to produce high-quality food by mimicking the methods of natural systems and capturing some of the non-food benefits of working with natural systems. To implement this food production strategy and optimize the benefits that flow from it, he became an advocate of fees for farmer stewardship of ecosystem services and of the good food movement in Ontario.

That part of his journey will form the core of Part 2 of this article in the next journal issue.

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Original Research Article

Building effective relationships for community-engaged scholarship in Canadian food studies

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Abstract

How can community-engaged scholars best undertake grounded, policy-relevant, food systems research and teaching in ways that support the capacity of—and meaningfully build on—the experiences of civil society organizations working on these issues in Canada? This paper analyzes four case studies in the context of a research project that brings together members of the Canadian Association for Food Studies and Food Secure Canada. One case was led by Region of

Waterloo Public Health and faculty from the University of Waterloo; a second by the Food Security Research Network at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay and the North Superior Workforce Planning Board; a third by the national student organization Meal Exchange and Ryerson University in Toronto; and a fourth by the BC Food Systems Network. We argue that the answer to the question above lies in establishing respectful relationships and recognizing the different cultures involved, and we offer five methodological insights for building effective relationships in practice. The first is the need to disaggregate the concept of 'community' in order to acknowledge the distinct needs and assets of the diverse organizations and populations involved. Our second and third insights are linked: Establish the relationship around a shared vision, and *then* negotiate mutually-beneficial teaching or research projects. Fourth, practitioners should approach community-campus engagement through the framework of contextual fluidity, which includes seeing the relationships and the vision at the heart of the work, while remaining open to shifts and new opportunities. Finally, adopting community capacity building practices helps practitioners realize their shared vision.

Keywords: community engaged scholarship, community service learning, community-based research, participatory action research, community food security, community-campus engagement

Acronyms used in this article:
BCFSN: British Columbia Food Systems Network
CAFS: Canadian Association for Food Studies
CFICE: Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement
CFS: Community Food Security
FSC: Food Secure Canada

Introduction

In 2001, a group of community food activists, food policy analysts and academics from a variety of disciplines came together in a national alliance to address food issues in Canada. This gave birth to two sister organizations, the Canadian Association for Food Studies (CAFS), formed in 2005, and Food Secure Canada (FSC), officially incorporated in 2006. The mission of CAFS states that it "recognizes the need for coordinated interdisciplinary research efforts in response to societal needs for informing policy makers, assessing the outcomes of community-based work, and demonstrating the environmental and social impacts of changes affecting food systems and food policies" (CAFS, 2013). FSC has a more activist bent. It is "a Canada-wide alliance of civil society organizations[1] and individuals collaborating to advance dialogue and cooperation for policies and programs that improve food security in Canada and globally" (FSC, 2013).[2]

Our work builds on the culture of engagement that already exists between CAFS and FSC, and seeks to identify how this emergent 'community of practice' linked to Canada's

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[1] Civil society organizations are defined broadly in this article as all of those formal and informal organizations, lying between the individual and the state, through which people come together to work on social and political change.
[2] While these two organizations operate independently, over the last nine years CAFS and FSC have shared board members, and each has actively encouraged participation by its members in the other's meetings.

growing food movement can be expanded and its work refined. Specifically, we ask: How can researchers—whether campus or community-based—best undertake grounded, policy-relevant, food systems scholarship in ways that support the capacity of, and meaningfully build on the experiences of, the types of civil society organizations that are brought together under the umbrella of FSC? We argue that effective community-campus engagement in both teaching and research involves building respectful relationships and trust, and we offer five methodological insights for establishing such relationships in practice. This paper arrives at these insights by bringing the literature on community engaged scholarship—especially the 'recipe' for community-academic partnerships to help build food security developed by Nelson, Stadey, and Lyons (2005)—into dialogue with reflections on four diverse case studies. These studies were carried out in 2012-13 through the Community Food Security hub (CFS hub) of the Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement (CFICE) research project based at Carleton University, Ottawa.

CFICE's overall mandate is to dig into the details of: how civil society organizations define, evaluate, and utilize the value created by community-campus engagement; how this work can take place across various scales; and how they can best participate in the design of engagement activities. We are also exploring ways to address the many ethical issues involved in collaboration in teaching and research, especially when working with vulnerable groups or working cross-culturally. CFICE research is being carried out by four issue-based hubs in the areas of Poverty Reduction, Community Environmental Sustainability, Violence Against Women, and Community Food Security—with a fifth focused on knowledge mobilization across the project. The CFS hub understands community food security as a "condition in which all community residents obtain a safe, culturally appropriate, nutritionally sound diet through an economically and environmentally sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance, social justice, and democratic decision making" (Hamm & Bellows, 2003, p. 37), and respects the approach of food sovereignty. To help make community food security a reality in Canada, the CFS hub seeks to build stronger links between research and policy advocacy, and to increase recognition of the research capacity of civil society organizations (particularly of those working at the grassroots level). It also strives to ensure that students are given the best possible grounding in the 'real world' experiences of organizations working to build healthy, just, and sustainable food systems in Canada. Our ultimate goal is the adoption of food sovereignty policies which better meet the needs of all those currently marginalized in the dominant food systems by governments, among others. To make all of this happen, Food Secure Canada is one of the core partners in the CFS hub, and CFICE enables FSC staff to coordinate some of the activities of the hub, including the virtual Community-Academic Collaborative network which holds periodic webinars to share the lessons of collaborative projects.[3]

The theory and practice of effective community-campus engagement

There is a long history of practice and theorizing in the field of community-engaged scholarship. The US-based Commission on Community Engaged Scholarship in the Health Professions (2005) defines Community Engaged Scholarship as "scholarship that involves the faculty member in a mutually beneficial partnership with the community" and notes that it often

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[3] To join the Community Academic Collaborative, go to foodsecurecanada.org

involves a variety of practices, including community service learning, community-based research, and participatory action research. Community service learning is an "educational approach that integrates service in the community with intentional learning activities" (CACSL, 2013). Community service learning activities are intended to reinforce classroom content while also providing a beneficial service to the community (Bringle & Hatcher, 1996; Chupp & Joseph, 2010; McCarthy & Tucker, 1999).

Strand et al. define community-based research as, "a partnership of students, faculty, and community members who collaboratively engage in research with the purpose of solving pressing community problems or effecting social change" (2003, p. 3). When this involves students working on research projects defined by community partners but for course credit, it is sometimes defined under the umbrella of community service learning (Andrée, 2007). Participatory Action Research is "a process of producing new knowledge by systematic inquiry with the collaboration of those affected by the issues being studied, for the purposes of education and taking action or effecting social change" (Macaulay et al., 1999). Participatory Action Research does not necessarily involve students, but it is typically rooted in collaboration among academic and non-academic partners in research.

While there are important distinctions between each of these forms of community-campus engagement, including whether they are teaching or research oriented, our focus is on their common element: the relationship between community-based organizations and colleges or universities, often mediated by specific faculty members and community organization representatives. This paper therefore discusses community-campus engagement in general terms throughout, while noting where some of our case studies were concerned with specific forms of this engagement in teaching or research.

A number of benefits have been identified for the various forms of community-campus engagement. For community-based research and participatory action research, these include grounding academic research in real-world context (Chopyak & Levesque, 2002). For community service learning, benefits include strengthening student skill levels, work skills development, and leadership capacity (Chupp & Joseph, 2010; Kozeracki, 200l; Tucker & McCarthy, 1998). For community organizations, it is argued that such partnerships provide them with services for free when many are constrained financially, thereby helping them to be more effective and efficient (Andrée, 2007; Chupp & Joseph, 2010). It is notable, however, that the literature on the impacts of community-campus engagement often treats the community solely as a beneficiary rather than as a partner in identifying the problems and solutions (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2000). Ward and Wolf-Wendel (2000) argue that this blind spot is rooted in the way these projects, and especially community service learning, are framed as ways for higher education to do *for* the community rather than as a way to do *with* the community. These critiques suggest the need for approaches that allow students and faculty members to work alongside other community members to address issues as 'insiders' rather than as 'outsiders.'

To realign community-campus engagement in this direction would require addressing a number of additional barriers and challenges. Since community organizations and universities are structured and organized differently, institutional and structural issues can affect the development of a truly equitable relationship. Such issues include the allocation of funding, decisions on teaching and research mandates, and determinations of what constitutes valuable knowledge and outcomes. For example, community organizations often feel that students' educational needs or faculty publication needs come first, and that the community must fit their

needs into a predesigned package. These concerns can result in conflicts over research priorities (Stoecker, 2008). Sullivan et al. (2001) also identify trust issues that act as barriers, including: a historical lack of trust between communities and academic institutions; awareness of past mistreatment of the communities in academic research; and the concern that academics may be dishonest about their research agendas.

In response to these challenges, new approaches to community-campus engagement are emerging. Swords and Kiely (2010) call on community service learning to be reinvented with more emphasis in areas such as organizational learning and community development. Stoecker et al. (2009), drawing on extensive interviews with community partners in service learning, propose a model of course-based community-based research—in place of most other forms of community service learning—that is carefully designed to achieve the research outcomes set out by the community partners. At the level of practice, the US-based non-profit organization Community-Campus Partnerships for Health is developing a progressive partnership approach among communities and academic institutions in order to achieve health equity and social justice.[4]

Community-Campus Partnerships for Health seeks to challenge some of the problematic institutional structures, including how academic research is defined and evaluated by university tenure and promotion committees. Nelson et al. (2005) are among Canadian academics at the forefront of change. Their article outlines a 'recipe' for community-academic partnerships to help address some of the general challenges around community-campus engagement, including the need for collaboration founded in trust and a shared vision for moving forward. Nelson et al. (2005) draw on the concept of *contextual fluidity* from complex adaptive systems theory, as well as community development theory, to flesh out the *practices* of effective engagement.

Complex adaptive systems theory offers an entry point into this work because each participant in community-university collaborations is a complex system in its own right. When these complex systems interact they mutually shape each other's evolution (Stroink & Nelson, 2013); these interactions are not always linear and predictable. All engaging communities, whether they are universities and colleges or social benefit organizations, have their own goals and reward structures, timelines and ways of doing business. Through their interactions, many behaviours and outcomes emerge that could not be predicted by the individual actions of each part of the collaboration. The contextual fluidity literature encourages actors to recognize that (1) often a specific project is as much about the intersection of webs of networks as its declared goals; (2) there may be no centre outside of shared context and especially the shared vision; (3) fluidity—in outcomes, direction, timing—can be a strength; and finally (4) formal and informal linkages, planned and unplanned, conscious and unconscious interactions, are all important—possibly critical—to the final results.

Nelson et al. (2005) also draw on the community development literature in their recipe. Campus-community engagement to meet shared goals is ultimately about community development in a number of ways (Stoecker et al., 2009). The lessons of how to engage in effective community capacity building thus become important tools for collaboration (Block, 2010; Born, 2012). There is some overlap between these tools and those necessary to work in complex adaptive systems. To the latter, community capacity building practices add: the importance of participation in the process; developing a keen ear for listening to all community voices; focusing on strengths not problems; being opportunistic in using available—and

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[4] CCPH website: https://ccph.memberclicks.net/

diverse—resources; finding ways to respect and bring out the unique skills—or gifts—of individuals and groups; putting more energy into the process than into definitive plans; accepting and building from mistakes; and engaging all (Nelson & McPherson 2004; Nelson, Stadey & Lyons, 2005).

This review of the literature on community-campus engagement illustrates a number of challenges inherent in this approach to teaching and research, while also pointing to a new generation of better practices. The four case studies presented below move this conversation forward. They highlight the internal complexity of both 'the academy' and 'the community' and suggest that finding common ground for a respectful research relationship is akin to cross-cultural dialogue. They underscore the need for flexibility and an honest examination of differences in power. They also point to specific constraints imposed by funders.

The following reports are quite different from one another. Our research approach was grounded in the needs of our collaborators, both academic and community-based. Each project's collaborators wrote the case study reports and then worked with the CFS hub co-leads (Cathleen Kneen and Peter Andrée) on this paper. In some cases, the case study research was on the process of community-engagement itself and in others reflections on engagement emerged in the context of evaluations of community service learning and community-based research projects with independent aims. Our first case examines two models of community-campus engagement in Waterloo, while the second presents reflections on a research project that involved a class of community service learning students in Thunder Bay. Our third case study is a new community-based research project undertaken by two partnering organizations based in Toronto brought together by the hub. The fourth reports on the results of a community-based research project led by a network of activists in BC who interviewed food system change leaders and experienced community organizers, primarily from Indigenous communities, about what they had learned about effective collaboration, not just between campuses and communities, but also across cultures and worldviews.

Case Study 1: Community-campus engagement in the Waterloo Region Food System[5]

Our first case studied the effectiveness of two *ad hoc* models for including students in efforts to create a healthy community food system in Waterloo Region in southwestern Ontario. Waterloo Region includes three urban centres and four rural townships with a population of 560,000. One of the two models under study is an inter-disciplinary practicum program in the Healthy Eating and Active Communities Team (HEAC Team) at Region of Waterloo Public Health. The second involves a series of research projects completed by students in a fourth year food systems course at the University of Waterloo for use by community-based partners.

These two models differ in how they are initiated and how they operate. In the HEAC Team model, rather than a university professor or a university-based broker connecting students with a community partner, the Team acts as both host and intermediary. It gathers students from many different universities and disciplines and deploys them to directly or indirectly support the work of a number of civil society organizations in the region. The University of Waterloo model represents another variant of community-based research, providing research to a range of civil society organizations, as opposed to specific community partners.

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[5] This case study prepared by Katherine Pigott, Steffanie Scott and Wajma Qaderi-Attayi

Model 1: The HEAC team

Region of Waterloo Public Health recognizes food as a key determinant of health due to its ability to influence the physical well-being of residents, improve the environment, stimulate economic growth, preserve the vitality of rural communities, and build a sense of social connection. Nasr and Komisar (2012) describe their collaborative activities and research on food system planning as "exemplary" and "cutting edge" (p. 50). Within Region of Waterloo Public Health, the Healthy Eating and Active Communities Team, led by Katherine Pigott, has been a facilitator of a healthy community food system since 2000. Programs and initiatives are tailored to respond to community needs as per the 2008 Ontario Public Health Standards.

From 2000 to July 2013, the HEAC Team has hosted 57 students from a variety of academic disciplines to support the HEAC Team's activities. Practicum students are from a variety of universities and colleges in Southern Ontario. The positions are predominantly unpaid, except for graduate student planner positions. Students' length of placement and learning objectives vary according to discipline and academic institution. The HEAC Team guides the work of students and links students to the community partners with which it collaborates. Some student practicums support research and evaluation based activities in a variant of community-based research. For example, a graduate student planner and a public health nutritionist practicum carried out interviews with community members as part of the Community Garden Storytelling project that measured the community health outcomes of community gardens in Waterloo Region. Other practicum projects are a variant of community service learning as students are directly engaged in developing and implementing healthy food systems initiatives with community partners. For example, a master's of social work student helped to convene community meetings to plan and develop accessible gardens in four neighbourhoods, and a community psychology student implemented a recruitment strategy to find volunteer bloggers to ensure current content on the Waterloo Region Food System Roundtable website.

Model 2: University of Waterloo

In the second model, the Department of Geography & Environmental Management at the University of Waterloo offers a one-term fourth year undergraduate course on Food Systems and Sustainability that attracts 40–50 students each year. It examines food system sustainability and food security from production to consumption, from local to global, strongly emphasizing civil society initiatives and the localization of food systems. This course, taught by Steffanie Scott in 2010 and 2011, offers community-based research opportunities to students working in groups of three or four. As a result of Steffanie's membership on the Waterloo Region Food System Roundtable[6] since 2007, she has been able to solicit ideas for potential student research projects from fellow Roundtable members, among other contacts. These projects dealt with a range of issues, including stakeholder perceptions of community supported agriculture in the Waterloo Region; compensating farmers for ecosystem services; barriers and opportunities faced by homesteaders raising urban livestock; and barriers to the use of emergency food programs by low

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[6] The Roundtable serves as "a networking and policy-making group working on building a strong voice for a healthy food system in Waterloo Region." (WRFSR, 2013). Its members include local farmers; emergency food providers; food processing, distributing, and retail business people; health professionals; and academics.

income populations in Waterloo Region. Most research projects do not directly benefit a single community organization—other than the Roundtable by enhancing the evidence base around its six priority areas. Nor were the final papers necessarily fed back to any community organizations other than the Roundtable, though a few were.

Methods

Wajma Qaderi-Attayi was hired as graduate student planner and worked in the HEAC Team from January through July 2013. She carried out data collection and analysis and communicated research results along with Katherine Pigott and Steffanie Scott. Thirty-one participants—two lead researchers, 11 University of Waterloo students, 10 Public Health placement students, six Public Health staff, and two community-based partners—were interviewed by phone or in focus groups. All sessions were recorded and later transcribed. Data was analyzed using N-Vivo, a qualitative software tool, to collate preliminary findings.

Findings

A common challenge identified for both models related to institutional protocols. Healthy Eating and Active Communities (HEAC) staff noted that significant financial and staff resources go towards the support of student placements. Furthermore, there is a strong and growing demand from universities to take on practicum placement students but without financial compensation to host organizations, and sometimes with limited involvement of universities as the practicum placement unfolds. Another administrative challenge relates to the varying length of placements and number of hours that are required each week, and in general both students and their supervisors—Region of Waterloo Public Health staff—felt that longer placements were more beneficial. Many of Steffanie's University of Waterloo students also reported difficulty finding or connecting with appropriate stakeholders within the assigned timeframe to gather information for their research projects (i.e., one semester).

On the other hand, a real strength was the centrality of symbiotic relationships in each model. There are many informal relationships at the heart of these student placements and research projects. To enable this, there appears to be an undefined, and even unspoken, acceptance whereby universities, community organizations, and students have depended on one another's abilities and skills to advance projects, tasks, and/or partnerships. None of these actors are obliged to form these partnerships; the collaboration emerges because of shared goals and interests in relation to the creation of a healthy community food system. For example, the HEAC team and Opportunities Waterloo Region—a non-profit—worked together on various projects: a neighbourhood market pilot project, a community garden capacity building project, an ethno-cultural outreach project, and an accessible garden project. In many instances, they enlisted the support of practicum students to move the work forward. The creation of this system of mutual interdependence has worked well, leading to opportunities that would have not existed otherwise. This symbiosis was even found in the intersection between HEAC and the work of Steffanie Scott's students, as revealed in this quote from a public health staff-person:

> Sometimes these papers from 4th year students…[were] really useful
> and really helpful piece of work which was a bit of a surprise! It was
> very useful and applicable work that we wouldn't/couldn't have
> done otherwise…Some of the projects we had no role in determining
> but they still were very helpful (Interview 1)[7].

Finally, research on both models led to a related set of suggestions. First, more attention needs to be given to aligning students' learning objectives and skills with those of the assigned project to lead to a more successful placement and project completion. As one HEAC staff person noted in an interview:

> Sometimes there is a mismatch in skills brought in, compared to
> what you as an organization require of them—usually again this
> doesn't happen as we have interviews and selection criteria but
> sometimes it does happen. [We try and be mindful] to triangulate
> and align three goals: meet the students' needs, colleges'/
> universities' requirements and also trying to complete the work [for
> the community partner] (Interview 2).

It would also be beneficial to have clearer brokerage roles established for students, universities, and hosting organizations—in the case of student practicums on the HEAC Team—that specifically match skills, projects, and learning objectives. For their part, the hosting community organization should identify clear objectives, and university programs should clearly outline their learning goals. For the course-based projects, the data suggested that the instructor could dedicate more time to discussing the principles of experiential learning and community engagement as context for the students' research projects.

Case Study 2: A workforce multiplier study of locally produced and processed foods in Northwestern Ontario[8]

Our second case involved a study of the *workforce multiplier* effect of the agricultural and food processing sector in Northwestern Ontario. It was undertaken as a form of community-based research by a class of third year university students at Lakehead University.

The study emerged out of an initial encounter at a Thunder Bay food strategy meeting between Steven Bill of the North Superior Workforce Planning Board and Connie Nelson of the Food Security Research Network based at Lakehead University. Later, the Workforce Planning Board invited their sister organization—Northwest Training and Adjustment Board—to join.[9] Expanding the group allowed them to study all of Northwestern Ontario, which is the geographic focus for the FSRN.

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[7] In order to standardize our way of reporting in this paper, which is based on a large number of interviews from four different case studies, those interviewees directly cited were given a number from 1 to 17.
[8] This case study prepared by Connie Nelson and Mirella Stroink
[9] The Workforce Planning Board represents the District of Thunder Bay and the Training and Adjustment Board represents the Districts of Rainy River and Kenora.

Methods

Data to determine the workforce multiplier effect was collected through individual interviews, three focus groups—one from each district—and surveys conducted by Lakehead University students in the Faculty of Natural Resources Management as part of a community service learning experience in a Forest Economics course taught by Dr. Chander Shahi. The survey data was compiled and compared with the secondary data obtained from Statistics Canada, and the current and projected number of jobs related to the local farms and food processors were estimated. The number of direct and indirect jobs for each district was estimated by prorating the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from the provincial data, obtained from the Conference Board of Canada. GDP projections from 2013 to 2017 for crop and animal production in Ontario were used to predict the number of direct and indirect jobs related to local farms and food processing businesses in the region.

Findings

The food production sector in Northwestern Ontario has a workforce multiplier effect of 1.4. (Thunder Bay District 1.7, Rainy River District 1.3 and Kenora District 1.2). This means that every 1000 jobs at local farms and food processors support 400 additional jobs indirectly among suppliers and retailers. This analysis also shows a preliminary finding that Northwestern Ontario has a higher rate of farm capital market value supporting jobs as compared to the provincial average. The density of the networking in Northwestern Ontario appears to provide more local sector food opportunities at a much lower investment cost than the provincial average.[10]

Reflections on the process

To understand the success of this joint engagement in research among university students, professors associated with the Food Security Research Network, and two workforce planning boards in Northwestern Ontario, it is important to examine more deeply the evolution of the "in-community" (Harrison, Nelson, & Stroink, 2013) engagement at the basis of the relationship.

After that initial conversation between Steven and Connie, some shared interests began to emerge. Several dynamic and informal discussions eventually led to a merging of relevant and complementary skill sets: the Workforce Planning Board had expertise in workforce planning and an emerging interest in food, but no data; FSRN had experience in local food system issues, but had never previously considered workforce questions.

Early in the process, Steven wrote a concept paper explaining the rationale for a workforce multiplier study to "assist in strategically directing future initiatives that address food security and agricultural development within Northwestern Ontario" (Bill, 2012). This paper provided a focus for subsequent discussions.

Funding was a key concern. Early on, the Workforce Planning Board had identified that they could put forward $5,000 as matching funds for this project. Likewise, FSRN had a promise of $5,000 through CFICE toward this case study. However, both organizations knew from

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[10] For details see http://www.fsrn.ca/

experience that undertaking a study of the multiplier work force for the vast geographic area of North-western Ontario through community-based focus groups would normally cost $100,000 or more.

FSRN then suggested the option of a community service learning approach, effectively training students while garnering research results along the way. This approach was an unknown to the Workforce Planning Board, but they quickly became interested. Using the NSWPB concept paper, the FSRN approached Dr. Shahi, who taught food security issues in his forest economics class. Dr. Shahi's students came onboard. Meanwhile, the Workforce Planning Board approached the Training and Adjustment Board for another $2,500 in funding. As the group could not expect students to pay upfront costs and then get reimbursed, some immediate funding was essential. The Workforce Planning Board wrote a cheque to FSRN within two weeks of making the decision to proceed, in order to cover transportation and accommodations for students to meet with focus groups of community members in all three vast districts of Northwestern Ontario. This quick turnaround demonstrates the trust that had developed in the FSRN, Workforce Planning Board and Training and Adjustment Board relationships.

The groups involved are now looking to the next steps. All of the organizations agreed that the workforce multiplier work had successfully developed a new economic tool for Northwestern Ontario to gauge the role that agriculture has on the northern economy, and are now looking at moving forward on a range of regionally-focused projects that emerged during the community-based focus groups.[11]

Case Study 3: A collaborative study of student-based campus food systems initiatives[12]

Our third case study involves a community-based research project undertaken as a result of a new partnership between Meal Exchange and Ryerson University's Centre for Studies in Food Security. Meal Exchange is a national registered charity that was started in 1993 at Wilfrid Laurier University. Today it works with students on over 60 campuses to achieve its mission of engaging, educating, and mobilizing youth to work with their communities in order to alleviate hunger locally and achieve food security. Established at Ryerson University in 1994, the Centre for Studies in Food Security promotes food security through research, dissemination, education, community action, and professional practice. The Centre takes an interdisciplinary and systemic approach to the social justice, environmental sustainability, health and socio-cultural aspects of food security.

Initially, the joint Ryerson/Meal Exchange case study was to focus on re-launching an online student-led peer reviewed academic journal. However, over the course of six months of conversations among the case study partners and the co-leads of the CFS Hub, the focus shifted considerably. Louisa Hawkins, a Ryerson University student who was in the last year of her undergraduate degree, was eventually funded through CFICE to analyze student-led food systems initiatives on Canadian campuses on behalf of Meal Exchange. The purpose of this study was to understand how student-led alternative food systems initiatives (especially farmers markets and food gardens) on campuses get started, how they are maintained, and on the role of

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[11] To see the key actors in this work discussing their community-engagement process in a webinar for CFICE, go to http://foodsecurecanada.org/community-networks/community-academic-collaborative

[12] This case study was prepared by Louisa Hawkins, Christina Muehlberger and Peter Andrée

community partnerships in the process. Because of this study's focus on student-led community-campus engagement, both the research results and the community-based research process are discussed in the cross-case analysis section that follows.

Methods

Data for this study were collected through eight qualitative interviews with student leaders directly involved in the initiatives. The analysis involved describing the six campus food systems' initiatives: gardens at Ryerson University, the University of Toronto and Vancouver Island University Nanaimo Campus; and farmers' markets at Simon Fraser University, McGill University, and the University of Northern British Columbia. We drew themes from the interview data in order to answer the research questions, at least from the student leaders' perspectives. Due to the limited number of interviews, the findings of this study are considered preliminary. However, they offer a useful entry point into further research on student-led initiatives. The interviews also corroborated some of the main points previously identified in the literature on community-campus engagement.

Findings

Highlights from this case study include the importance of communication, accommodation of partner needs, community-building, institutional buy-in, and approaching the initiative in a business-like manner.

Communication with both community partners and team members was of great importance across campus initiatives. A student leader from one of the markets commented:

> It's important to have meetings in person when you can talk to all
> the vendors I think…they don't necessarily use email the same way
> that students do…so sometimes it takes a little more legwork to
> phone them or go to the downtown market on Saturday and talk to
> them there in person (Interview 3).

In addition to maintaining good relationships with market vendors, students who run weekly markets must also maintain good working relationships with other initiative partners—such as campus parking and loading dock staff—and find out what their needs are, as another student leader explained:

> Finding out what would work for them and what wouldn't work for
> them…we had to change our market hours to make sure that we
> closed early enough to be able to have the vendors leave off the
> loading docks before [campus staff] was supposed to leave for the
> day because to ask them to stay late every single Tuesday was just
> a little bit too much (Interview 4).

This example highlights the need for appropriate accommodation for community partners, which was commonly cited in the interviews as key for the success of these initiatives.

Community-building through education and knowledge sharing was also widely recognized as being a driving force behind the success of campus food projects. Food related workshops seem to be a popular method of promoting campus initiatives while spreading knowledge about food growing and preparing.

For long-term success, institutional buy-in was also identified as critical. One student project leader, when asked about the longevity and success of their garden project, said "it's so integrated into our department now…the department really uses it as a bit of a bragging tool" (Interview 5). And how can students garner institutional buy-in? Another project leader asserted: "You have to plan out, you have to have the right connections…it's a really big project…it needs organization…seriousness as well, just in order to get accepted by the university" (Interview 6).

Many interviewees summarized these ideas in terms of the need to approach their initiatives 'as though they were a business.' Project leaders emphasized that the initiatives were fuelled by passion for good food and alternative food systems, but their experience had also taught them that without proper attention towards funding, balancing their budget, and maintaining detailed records, their projects would not be as successful as they could be.

Reflections on the process

Notwithstanding the valuable stories and insights that were gathered through this research, this case study faced a number of challenges along the way. First, the faculty member who initiated the case became unavailable, and then a second faculty member had to remove herself from the work due to a potential conflict of interest. When a third faculty member was able to provide useful methodological advice, a number of months had already passed. The next challenge was that student leaders' attempts to recruit faculty and administrators at their respective institutions did not result in any interviews. After several more months, a new research protocol was developed and submitted to the Research Ethics Board at Ryerson for approval. Despite the implementation of this new protocol, interviews with faculty members and administrators remained elusive. In the end, Meal Exchange staff believe that they learned from the process of collaborating with a university, particularly with regard to research methodology, and the research ethics process. Furthermore, the full case study report[13] contains a number of recommendations on how to approach this type of project differently in the future.

Case Study 4: Building and maintaining inclusive food security networks to support Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities[14]

Our fourth case study was undertaken by the BC Food Systems Network (BCFSN). This volunteer-run network formed in 1999 to link people across BC on community-level action related to food. BCFSN is comprised of a diverse group of people involved in food systems work, including: community health workers, farmers/gardeners, Indigenous food sovereignty leaders, traditional harvesters, academics and researchers, civil society organizations, political advocates, and others. The network has approximately 300 members and hosts 19 listservs supporting regional communication and connecting people on specific topics across the province.

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[13] The detailed report can be found at studentfood.ca
[14] This case study prepared by Dayna Chapman and Wanda Martin

The network holds a strong belief in having grassroots and marginalized groups involved in the process of policy formation at all levels. BCFSN is closely connected to the work of Food Secure Canada and through that relationship became involved with the CFS hub.

This case study was premised on the fact that Indigenous people occupy a delicate and critical space in relation to food security and food systems research, yet far too often such research has been rejected by Indigenous communities as disrespectful of their culture or even downright exploitive. In the land we call 'British Columbia,' cross-cultural dialogue has been embraced by the BCFSN through hosting the Indigenous Food Sovereignty Network and developing relationships with the Vancouver Island and Coastal Communities Indigenous Food Network, as well as various academic institutions around the province. In the past decade, Indigenous leaders—including the Indigenous Food Sovereignty Network—have started several initiatives to develop guidelines and protocols for engagement in food systems research, and this work continues. This case study, undertaken as a Participatory Action Research project, built on that work and the successful models of cross-cultural dialogue and relationships within the BCFSN. Its purpose was to shed more light on the complexities of those relationships and best practices that could inform future research relationships in and with Indigenous communities. To that end, the study engaged leaders in the BCFSN—including members affiliated with a provincial academic institution—as well as Indigenous leaders and traditional knowledge holders and users.

Methods

The interviews for this case study were undertaken by Dayna Chapman, at the time a Board member of the BCFSN, who lives in a Nuxalk Nation community. The fact that she had a relationship with many of those whom she interviewed meant answers came from conversations grounded in trust and respect. To broaden the scope, the research team also hosted two exploratory sessions on the subject of cross-cultural collaboration at the Food Secure Canada Assembly in Edmonton in the fall, 2012, and a session on cross-cultural relationship building during the BCFSN's annual Gathering in July 2013. Researchers analyzed data using constant comparative methods.

Findings

All interview participants agreed that it is important to engage cross-culturally. Participants noted that living together on common land means that they do not actually feel they have a choice about engaging cross-culturally, it is part of what they do. They also felt that food issues, in particular, create a bridge and provide a common framework for looking at multiple issues, such as land, health, and governance. Food is also useful for addressing social injustices and the legacies of colonization. As one person noted, "the work of decolonization is our common work" because colonization has negatively impacted 'settlers', although to a much lesser degree than Indigenous people.

Engagement and collaboration need to occur as an equal relationship where all cultures come together with no agenda except to build relationships and to learn from each other.

> The key is, it's a relationship. First, getting to know each other, our
> histories, communities, ways of communicating, stories, listening.
> An element of 'doing', not 'consultation'. We need less talking,
> more doing. It sparks energy in relationships and ideas bubble up
> (Interview 8).

Open communication is needed about a non-commodity approach to food and a deeper
understanding of values. Challenging collaborations often result from one partner having a
narrow, culturally-myopic, point of view. As one person of Indigenous descent noted,

> We don't fit into the existing framework of institutional thinking.
> It's challenging when we're placed into a category of 'producer',
> which is neoclassic economic language (Interview 11).

Another interviewee was asked by authorities how to get more fresh vegetables into remote
communities. This way of framing the problem reveals a very top-down, simplistic approach,
which ignores locally available sources of nutrition other than imported vegetables. Seldom is
there appreciation for local knowledge and for engaging communities directly—communities
who have successfully fed themselves for centuries. As she noted:

> I see people so passionate about things like preserving farmland,
> which is such a huge battle in itself, but we need to get better at
> working with Indigenous allies and partners to find solutions that
> apply to a broader lens. The whole food system is connected
> (Interview 16).

Indeed, the focus on farmland, while important, sidelines the traditional Indigenous food systems
which often included some agriculture but within the context of fishing, hunting, and gathering.
        Similarly, as reported by one participant, many non-Indigenous university students
approach Indigenous community members with a single-minded agenda. For successful
engagement, research needs to be mutually beneficial. This requires the researcher to be involved
with the community at an early stage, develop a positive relationship, and mutually identify all
stages of the research project, allowing a vested interest and ownership of the project by all
involved. The different perspectives and worldviews can then be a complement to research,
giving it depth by reflecting values, goals, and community vision. Overall, while collaboration
can be difficult, "challenges are where the learning edge is" (Interview 17). It is only by facing
and overcoming challenges that understanding develops and genuine relationships build.
        All study participants had tools, tactics or strategies for working with cross-cultural
partners. The central commonalities among them are: that they remain open and flexible to
change; that there is adequate time allowed for developing shared protocols; that they contain a
clearly defined and agreed upon purpose; and that they hold a tradition of respectful engagement.
In order to develop such an approach, both parties need to know themselves and know how to
listen to each other. It is also important to be respectful about what is unknown and seek
guidance. As one person said:

> For partnerships, it's good to have an informal agreement
> acknowledging you're coming from different experiences; it sets a
> tone of respect. Inquire! Ask! When we don't, that's when we
> make mistakes. You can't be afraid to respectfully ask questions.
> Get the guidance and teaching you need (Interview 8).

Indigenous communities have their own protocols and guidelines and it is important to look to the community rather than impose institutional understandings of community engagement. Also, there is a ceremony piece that may easily be overlooked by non-Indigenous cultures because it is often not practiced in the same way between cultures. As one person noted, "pay attention to the ceremony. It connects us so much more to what we're eating and where we're coming from and who we are together" (Interview 15).

Another common theme was around issues of time. Time is necessary for engagement if it is to be successful:

> If something is really a community priority, people will give it the
> time it needs to do it properly which sometimes means it will
> happen over a long time. Artificial, imposed timelines can be a
> problem—people feel like they have no control and they'll leave
> (Interview 9).

Another participant stated the following:

> It's so important, actually having the time and communication with
> students during the revision process, too, to make sure things aren't
> getting misinterpreted. It happens easily with different worldviews.
> Part of the project has to be including adequate time and resources
> to make sure this happens (Interview 11).

Reflections on the process

Cross-cultural engagement in the BC context is primarily about decolonization. The BCFSN values cross-cultural engagement because of the opportunities to learn and increase consciousness and awareness of mutual challenges. It can be both challenging and rewarding for non-Indigenous people to remain mindful of the need to work toward decolonization. Respectful listening and honouring of local knowledge are key aspects to successful engagement. This work appears to require a humble approach to learning and working together that allows all those involved to strengthen their ability to respond to challenges in food system redesign.

Before interviews were conducted an application was brought forward to the research ethics board of Carleton University to undertake interviews with individuals from Indigenous communities. Because of a history of exploitative research in many of these same communities, collaborative research guidelines were developed—over several months—between the CFICE project and the BCFSN. These guidelines ensured that the individuals interviewed for this project, as well as members of the BCFSN, retained a high level of control over the research process, interpretation of results, and the sharing of results.

Methodological insights

What do these cases tell us about building effective relationships for community-engaged scholarship—whether in the form of community service learning, community-based research, or participatory action research? This section presents our collective reflections. In addition to presenting additional details from the cases, it includes comments recorded at roundtable discussions organized at the Food Secure Canada assembly in Edmonton (November 2012) and the Canadian Association for Food Studies meetings in Victoria (May 2013), where these four cases were presented and analyzed together. Participants in those discussions included case study collaborators as well as a wider group of university and community practitioners working on food issues in Canada. This step in the process was itself consistent with participatory action research and community-based research protocols, which encourage processes that include the research "partners" in the analysis (e.g. van de Sande & Schwartz, 2011).

Disaggregate 'community'

Our first task is to interrogate the word community. In a project called "Community First: Impacts of Community Engagement", we are constantly tempted to make simplistic assumptions about who 'community' is and whose priorities we put 'first.' For example, some within the research project encourage us to look to those groups most vulnerable, and make the case that even the civil society organizations which purport to speak for many members of the 'community' may represent a level of bureaucracy that can get in the way of understanding what community members really think, feel and need. Recognizing that power is at play is always a valuable starting point, but this particular viewpoint has its limitations.

We have come to the conclusion that whenever 'community' is invoked, it is important to speak about the specific actors that we are engaged with. For example, there are variations in governance, power, resources and legal status among the civil society organizations involved with the CFS hub. A regional public health department is very different, culturally—both in its organization and in the types of power it has—from an unfunded provincial network of food system activists, from indigenous food sovereignty activists, and from a national non-profit organization that advocates for food security with funding from a major foundation. They all convene or represent 'community' in one way or another, but their variation has led us to recognize the specific needs of each in relation to community-campus engagement.

And of course colleges and universities are also communities in their own right, and themselves members of their local, national and international communities. In keeping with this way of thinking, Nelson and her colleagues encourage us to see academic researchers as community members first (Harrison et al., 2013; Nelson et al., 2005; Nelson & Stroink, 2012). Academics may bring specific skill sets, and sometimes have access to resources or other forms of power, but this is true for all of the other actors involved in our collaborative activities in one way or another. Each actor also brings his or her own particular 'baggage' that may hamper collaboration.

Given these differences, the ability of communities to engage with one another varies considerably. This needs to be taken into account by practitioners of community-campus engagement, and when differences between collaborating entities are significant, the relationships need to be approached with great care. Further, there are imbalances of power

within universities, and power dynamics among community organizations, including hierarchies, which are not always transparent to students and faculty members who engage with them, adding additional layers of complexity.

At the Canadian Association for Food Studies conference, discussion on the question of the power dynamics between academic researchers and community organizations was summed up by a non-academic participant as follows:

> We should not fetishize community as the purest of the pure. We are all parts of different communities. An academic may have power in the classroom, but outside of that space, is a member of different communities. The privilege and power emerges in the interactions, the dynamics as we communicate with each other, and sometimes we need to be a little bit relaxed about who has power and who has privilege and just listen to each other…. Sometimes we just need to ask "How can I help you? How can you help me? How can we produce something collectively that will add value to ourselves, to our organizations, and to the community at large?" (CAFS Roundtable, 2013).

The metaphor of dancing surfaced as a way to think about these relationships: "This work is like learning to dance with each other. Sometimes we will be stepping on each other's toes and we will say, 'oops, I'm sorry' and learn not to do that" (CAFS Roundtable, 2013).

Establish community first

Our second insight, then, is about *how* to establish 'community' among the key collaborators**.** We define 'community' as a set of relationships based in common experiences, interests, and /or purposes. The process of establishing community must thus involve a shared vision, which becomes the glue for keeping the collaborations moving roughly in the same direction. Further, attention to the vision—rather than the details of a project—allows for emergent, unplanned for and innovative happenings within the larger framework.

This ingredient for success is exemplified in the Northwestern Ontario project. In their report to CFICE on their community service learning experience, Nelson and Stroink write: "Our project did not come first. Rather the project self-organized from the relationships and interests" (2013, 2). Establishing these relationships early in the process allowed the collaborators to weather challenges later on. For example, in early dialogue, the Food Security Research Network had convinced the Workforce Planning Board about the need to look beyond the larger producers in the region when doing a workforce multiplier study. This issue came back later in the process. However,

> …because of the trust and respect that had been built up among the main players, this potentially contentious issue was handled without a ripple. When the group's inclusion of both emerging and established farm producers was later questioned by one of the local farm organizations, the group was able to handle the question of

> who should be included in a workforce multiplier study in a very
> positive way because it had already been dealt with internally
> rather than swept 'under the table' (Nelson & Stroink, 2013, 3).

It is worth noting that the group's vision was not only shared verbally. It was written down in Steven Bill's initial concept paper (Bill, 2012), and that document underpinned the work as it developed.

The Northwestern Ontario case also provided an interesting example of the role of humor in building community among collaborators. Consider this story relayed by Connie Nelson and Mirella Stroink of the FSRN in Thunder Bay:

> I remember early on, we came breathlessly, in order to be on time,
> to a meeting with Madge and Steven in our market garden attire—
> field boots, old dirty clothes and unwashed hands and face. Madge
> looked at us and giggled and said 'welcome' into her warm but
> very pristine boardroom…. Humour turned out to be one of our
> ways of reinforcing our humanness (Nelson & Stroink, 2013, p. 4).

Given that our work in this hub is all about food politics in one way or another, the BCFSN interviews also remind us of the power that sharing food can have in the building of community. As Chapman and Martin note in their project report, "food is a tool for engagement because it is something we can all relate to. It creates a bridge and provides a common framework for looking at multiple issues, such as land, health, and governance" (2013, p. 3).

On the other hand, not taking the time to build collaborative relationships can have significant negative repercussions when it comes to working together. One participant in the BC research shared the following:

> When people come and there are strong agendas and there's no
> relationship built, we've had meetings come to a complete
> standstill. We end up having to take time to educate, which was not
> the point of the meeting (Interview 12).

In the CAFS conference discussions, this point was summed up in the following way by one of the participants:

> It is important to share and dwell on the utopian visions of why we
> are all here, which helps people to identify why we are working
> together and is something that people can come back to (CAFS
> Roundtable, 2013).

It is notable that the challenges experienced in the Meal Exchange-Ryerson case study may be linked to the difficulty that the collaborators had in establishing a shared vision from the outset. These organizations had not worked together before, and experienced setbacks in building a working relationship. Then, when the student researcher faced methodological challenges, the

support structure was not necessarily in place to assist her quickly. Still, that work generated useful insights, including some that reaffirm this very point. For example, the leader of one of the university markets noted the value of building a team that is able to work together:

> Finding the right people to take on the project means so much,
> making sure that the team of people want to work together and that
> they push each other to do more is very important (Interview 14).

Establishing community first takes time, and this is something activists, working on many fronts, have precious little of, especially when outcomes—such as research reports—are far-off and it is uncertain what the benefits will be. Establishing community may also take money, in order to travel and work together, for example. How do we effectively share resources to do community engaged scholarship well? This remains a question for CFICE. Our experience to date shows that sharing funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) with civil society organizations to help manage the hub, and to undertake these case studies, can be very challenging. SSHRC has many mandatory protocols, from the need to prepare an academic CV to be part of the project, to requiring the civil society organization to track in-kind contributions with meticulous detail. University-based processes can also mean that actually getting the funding to the organization can take many months longer than it should. All of these factors make it difficult for civil society organizations to engage in a university-based process on an equal footing with their academic collaborators.

Negotiate a mutually-beneficial project

Our third insight concerns the establishment of mutually beneficial directions for the research or teaching engagement. The BCFSN interviews reveal the importance of clearly *negotiating* a shared project direction.[15] Those interviews also bring to the fore the role of culture, and the potential need to bridge different understandings, such as neoclassical economic understandings of land use versus Indigenous perspectives. This work takes time, and that time must be planned for. In Northwestern Ontario, the team clearly put in the time and effort necessary to arrange a research/teaching project, as well as a plan for how to approach it in a manner that worked for all parties and with available resources. The results of the Waterloo research further underscore the importance of getting the right match between capacities and needs, and taking into account what each participant has to offer.

   The idea of identifying a shared project that matches goals and capacities sounds simple, but can be difficult to put into practice, especially when trying to accommodate multiple needs and processes. For example, one organizational collaborator may have requirements that dictate how time on a project is spent. At Region of Waterloo Public Health, the HEAC practicum students receive mandatory training. In the interviews, the students, organizational partners, and regional staff all noted the relevance of the training provided (i.e., training in Workplace Hazardous Materials Information System, Region of Waterloo document management and

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[15] We use the term 'negotiate' not to emphasize that the relationship may be adversarial, but rather to highlight the importance of having both parties interests and needs define the path forward. 'Arranging' a mutually-beneficial project might be a gentler way of phrasing this activity.

Microsoft Outlook, as well as Regional Orientations), but when placements are short, this training can take up a significant proportion of the student's time. Mandatory administrative processes, including paperwork and approvals, were also noted as a challenge by some staff as well as students. Similar issues have arisen in the context of the CFICE projects with regard to the research ethics processes that all Canadian university research involving human subjects must go through.

Beyond negotiating among the *existing* needs and goals of the collaborators on a project lie deeper questions about what these collaborators' needs and goals *should* be. Some student placements are paid, for example, while others are unpaid, and there is a trend towards more of the latter. Do more unpaid work experiences serve the student best? At what point is an unpaid internship exploitative?

There are a number of tools that can be used to help these types of arrangements along. These include contract templates and data-sharing agreements. In the case of the BCFSN case study, research guidelines were drafted that would allow the BCFSN to retain a high level of control over how that research would be shared in outputs, including this very paper. Those guidelines included the following clause:

> The analysis of the data gathered through interviews will be undertaken by the research team. This analysis will be shared with the Research Committee of the BCFSN to get their insights into data interpretation, and to ensure that data has not been misinterpreted. The final analysis will be developed cooperatively between the researchers and the Research Committee. Once a final draft of the report has been read, and no later than six months after it has been submitted to them, the Research Committee will be asked to determine any restrictions on the way that the data and analysis are to be used, including through conference presentations, and publications (BCFSN/CFICE, 2013, p. 23).

Given the history of inappropriate use of Indigenous knowledge by many researchers, this clause was intended to ensure that the outputs of this research stay true to the intent of the interviewees who participated in the work (through their representation on the Research Committee of the BCFSN). The clause was also designed to ensure that once an agreed upon interpretation of results had been achieved, the researchers would be able to share those results into the future without having to seek further permission from the BCFSN or the interviewees.

Notwithstanding the progress made with this case, it is worth recognizing that the guidelines developed in this project are just one step forward, and that they remain 'academic' in many ways. Within CFICE, we will continue exploring new models for sharing power and control of the data among researchers and community participants as a decolonizing methodology (e.g. Smith, 1999). We plan to draw, in particular, on the growing body of literature regarding Ownership, Control, Access and Possession of data in the context of the history of colonial research practices on First Nations (e.g. Schnarch, 2004).[16]

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[16] We wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing OCAP to our attention.

At the heart of the idea of establishing a shared and negotiated project direction is a specific epistemological stance which acknowledges that a variety of different forms of knowledge exist, that they each have equal contributions to make to our collective understanding of the world, and that it is critical to establish dialogue among various forms of knowledge. It is only when collaborators accept the equal value of different forms of knowledge and experience that they can come together as equals to truly negotiate the myriad issues that need to be dealt with in a new collaborative research or teaching project.

To better understand this stance, we draw on the experience of one of the CFS hub's partner organizations, Nova Scotia's FoodARC (Food Action Research Centre). It brings a "ways of knowing" (Bryant, 2002) framework to participatory action research practice in Canada. This approach explicitly values and seeks to integrate three types of knowledge—instrumental, interactive, and critical. Bryant refers to "instrumental knowledge" as that which is "usually created by experts and systematically developed through 'scientific' methods" whereas interactive knowledge is derived from "lived experience acquired through dialogue and information sharing among members of a community" (2002, p. 92). Critical knowledge "considers questions of right and wrong, analyzes existing social conditions, and outlines what can be done to alter social conditions to improve quality of life." It is this same epistemological approach, we argue, which must underpin the development of any new project's direction.

Finally, our cases appear to back the direction proposed by Stoecker et al. (2009) for the future of community service learning. Given a history of poorly executed service learning that drains more from community organizations than it offers in return, they argue that the future of community service learning lies in a community-based research model grounded in community needs and developed through a community development model (Stoecker et al., 2009, p. 190). When we began to define our hub's projects, it was community-based research projects that came to the fore in two of our four projects (cases 2 and 3). A third (Waterloo) involved the study of two different models of community-based research. Finally, the BCFSN project was itself a type of participatory action research that allowed activists to interrogate the forms of cross-cultural engagement—not just community-campus—that was most productive in the context of work on Indigenous food sovereignty. This project orientation gives a strong indication that the needs of Canadian civil society organizations working in the food movement lie in furthering effective relationships with campuses focused on negotiating more community-based or participatory action *research* projects in particular.

Cultivate fluidity in relation to context

As a fourth insight, our case studies provide several examples that reaffirm the value of seeing community-campus engagement through the lens of contextual fluidity, as outlined by Nelson et al. (2005). In the Waterloo case study, it is the vision for a healthy and sustainable food system—held by Steffanie, Katherine, community partners with which the Healthy Eating and Active Communities Team collaborates, and others involved with the Roundtable—which lies at the centre of the work. Further, it is the strength of that shared vision which allows the symbiosis discussed in the case study, so all of the students, public health staff, and affiliated community organizations can benefit from each other's work while moving in the same direction.

The Northwestern Ontario case also affirms the principle of contextual fluidity that states that projects bring networks into contact, and that these intersections can be as important as achieving the substantive goals of the specific project:

> As our engagement continued, we discovered that both North
> Superior Workforce Planning Board and the Food Security Research
> Network are themselves dense and diverse networks... These dense
> networks of both NSWPB and FSRN mean that we have very
> quickly become intertwined where projects such as the Multiplier
> Work Force case study emerge through ripple effects and shared
> interests across these networks (Nelson & Stroink, 2013, p. 4).

However, while contextual fluidity may offer insights into how the world really works, institutions are rarely designed to be fluid. In the case of the Northwestern Ontario case study, the research group was challenged by the university bureaucracy, which wanted to see a contract with North Superior Workforce Planning Board and the Northwest Training and Adjustment Board and proof that the CFICE funding would indeed arrive. Such "bureaucratic demands can be issues where a more fluid 'in community' approach is adopted and often takes some creativity to resolve" (Nelson & Stroink, 2013, p. 4).

Finally, one of the BCFSN interviews illustrated the importance of informal connections in building the cross-cultural relationships necessary to tackle larger issues together. In this case, the informal activity was cooking, and its importance was described in this way:

> You just make it happen. You've done it so often. You just need to
> make it work. So many people were able to jump in and
> understand. The preparation of the feast became a common
> equalizer. Working collectively, hands in motion and creating
> together. It provides hands-on, measurable success that clears the
> path for relationship bonds to form…being able to do hands-on
> work together (Interview 17).

Nurture the capacity to engage

Both Stoecker et al. (2009) and Nelson et al. (2005) emphasize the practical skill set that academics and community members alike must develop when involved in community-campus engagement, and our fifth and final insight reaffirms this. This approach to teaching and research is, at its heart, about building communities of practice among diverse actors. Each of our case studies reaffirms this view in one way or another. A community development approach was evident in the example of the student leaders who recognized that they needed to make an extra effort to reach out to market vendors and university staff on their own terms. It was also clearly named in the BCFSN work by both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous food system activists who decided to place community building and cross-cultural learning at the focus of their case study.

One of the principles of good community capacity building work is to be opportunistic in using diverse resources. For example, the Northwestern Ontario project brought the community service learning model to the table as a way to make possible a study that would otherwise have cost $100,000. That approach also gave a dozen university students the opportunity to experience community-based issues and to undertake primary research. In Waterloo, both models of community-campus engagement also reveal ways of using just a few resources to maximum effect through multiple synergies. The Meal Exchange-Ryerson interviews further back this point. On moving their campus-based food initiative forward, one student leader said:

> Be as inclusive as possible…try to incorporate as many different resources that already exist on campus and building positive working relationships for them because it definitely can't be one person's pet project, it needs to be a huge buy-in from the entire community (Interview 4).

Conclusions

This paper speaks to a number of challenges associated with community-engaged teaching and learning and seeks to help chart a new path forward. Among the challenges that we as practitioners, whether academic or community-based, need to address in building effective relationships include the power imbalances in community-campus engagement, simplistic assumptions about who the 'community' is, student placements embedded in a charity model, and the challenge of sharing scarce resources equitably so that all actors' needs are met. The insights we have drawn here add depth and nuance to the conversations on community engaged scholarship, and suggest guidelines for future practice. These guidelines would encourage practitioners (1) to carefully consider the needs and assets of all of the actors involved, remaining sensitive to the different cultures coming to the process; (2) to establish relationships around a shared vision first, and then (3) to negotiate teaching or research projects that are mutually beneficial; (4) to approach the work through the frame of contextual fluidity, which means seeing the relationships and the vision, rather than the project, at the heart of the work, and remaining flexible and open to emergent opportunities; and (5) to embrace a community capacity building model in working with collaborators to realize a shared vision.

This research has also identified additional areas where work is needed. We still need more study comparing models of community/campus relationship brokering undertaken by third parties (like the Region of Waterloo Public Health as well as university-based community engagement brokers), and clarifying how best to practice cross-cultural community- campus engagement. Recognizing the challenges reported by community partners, we see the need for evaluation of the impact of engagement in communities, including the full costs and benefits, and seeking ways to share research resources without putting additional burdens on civil society organizations. Further research must also involve an examination of ways to streamline all of the administrative aspects of such projects, including the university ethics processes. On the other side of the coin, we see the need to address biases in university reward structures—for example, tenure and promotion expectations—to increase faculty commitment to community engagement.

While these areas for further inquiry suggest that this work remains challenging, there are real rewards for both community and academic participants. As one community participant at the roundtable discussion in May 2013 said:

> This is a whole lot of fun! For community organizations, the fact is we are not getting anything else out of it - there is no money, no prestige, very little political traction a lot of the time—but we *are* having fun! (CAFS Roundtable, 2013).

We wish to end on this note, in order to encourage ongoing relationship-building and experimentation.

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Original Research Article

Against the odds: The survival of traditional food knowledge in a rural Albertan community

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Abstract

The globalization and industrialization of the agri-food system has been linked to declining knowledge and skills in the general population related to growing, preserving and cooking food. In rural communities, loss of this knowledge and associated culture and traditions has been further exacerbated by depopulation due to outmigration and the subsequent erosion of social and physical infrastructure. Counter to this trend of food deskilling, however, are the efforts of individuals who are actively working to maintain and perpetuate traditional food practices. The purpose of this research was to understand what factors motivate and enable the preservation of gardening, cooking and canning skills among a group of women and their children in a small rural community in Alberta. Qualitative research methods were used to gather relevant data, which were analyzed using a social practice theoretical lens. Findings from this study revealed four conditions influencing the continuation of these social practices among the research participants: the experience and history of scarcity; normative expectations; a close connection to family; and, development of a community of practice. This study illustrates the relevance of a social practice framework for examining food knowledge and skills, and points to the potential of this approach for understanding and promoting pro-environmental behaviour and sustainable consumption in the food system.

Key words: canning; cooking; gardening; deskilling; rural Alberta; social practice theory; traditional food knowledge.

Introduction

Over the past one hundred years, agriculture and food have undergone a radical transformation due to changes in technologies and techniques, increasing standardization and processing of food, and the globalization of commodities and markets (Goodman & Redclift, 1991). The restructuring of food and agriculture has dramatically increased the social and spatial distance between production, processing, and consumption, resulting in what some scholars have referred to as the 'disembedding' (Novek, 2003; Wittman, Beckie & Hergesheimer, 2011) character of 'food from nowhere' (Fonte, 2010). Consumers' adaptation to normative pressures for convenience, casualness and speed has significantly altered food habits, family life, and consumption rituals (Jaffe & Gertler, 2006; Shove, 2003). The subsequent deskilling of the general population has usurped the long-held knowledge, skills, values, and cultural traditions surrounding the growing, preserving and cooking of food (Bruckmeier, 2006; Fonte, 2010; Woods, 2005)—what we define in this paper as 'traditional food knowledge'. Loss of this knowledge has been exacerbated in rural communities by depopulation due to outmigration and the subsequent erosion of social and physical infrastructure (Epp, 2001).

Counter to this trend of food deskilling, resistance to the globalized agri-food system is increasing and can be identified, in part, in the efforts of individuals working to maintain and perpetuate traditional food practices. This research focuses on ten women based in the town and surrounding rural community of Stony Plain, Alberta, who are actively engaged in utilizing and mobilizing traditional food knowledge in the daily lives of their families and in their communities through gardening, cooking, and canning. Many current food studies examine separately the roles of producers and consumers. In this research we identified rural women whose food practices defy this dualistic analysis and who instead form a continuum from production to processing, cooking, and consumption. The type of knowledge that they embody mirrors goals of the alternative food movement to increase local capacity and self-sufficiency, in order to maintain or take back control over the food system.

This paper embraces 'the practice turn' in contemporary theory (Reckwitz, 2002) by going back to the garden and the kitchen to understand how traditional food knowledge has been utilized and maintained in a rural community despite the larger changes taking place in the agri-food system. This approach heeds Shove, Pantzar and Watson's (2012) call to find ways of describing and analyzing changing food practices while also accounting for more faithful, consistent forms of food skills reproduction. We not only seek to understand how practices shape and influence traditional food knowledge within a rural community, but we also aim, more broadly, to demonstrate how a social practice theoretical approach can make an important sociological contribution to food studies.

We begin with an overview of our research methods, followed by a review of the literature on social practice theory, traditional knowledge, deskilling, and its relevance to the study of food. This is followed by results and discussion of the findings. We conclude with a brief summary of the research results and a commentary on the contribution of a social practice theory approach to the sociological study of food.

Methods

We situated this qualitative research in the town and surrounding rural community of Stony Plain, Alberta due to its proximity and easy access from the University of Alberta in Edmonton, where we are based, and also because its rich cultural and agricultural heritage. Despite being within a 45-minute drive from the metropolitan, provincial capital of Edmonton, Stony Plain (population 15,000) maintains a small town atmosphere and has a well-established Heritage Agricultural Society[1] based in the Multicultural Heritage Centre[2], which runs a myriad of programs in the community, many with an agricultural or food focus. The Stony Plain Women's Institute[3] is also active in the community. Without prior connections in the community, the Women's Institute and the Multicultural Heritage Centre provided us with lists of potential research participants from the community who are still actively engaged in canning, gardening and cooking.

Participants were recruited utilizing both 'purposeful' (Maxwell, 2013, p. 97) and snowball sampling methods. Ten women between the ages of 50 and 70 were selected based on their willingness and desire to be a part of the project, and on their current food practices. Each participant had to be actively engaged in at least two of the three practices, however most had done all three throughout the course of their lives. The sample size is relatively small, but interviewees were considered to be experts in traditional food knowledge and practices, and as such, we were able to gather in-depth, descriptive data. However, given the small sample size and the specific context within this community, these results cannot be considered generalizable.

Data were primarily gathered through semi-structured interviews, averaging 60–90 minutes in length; these were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. Participant observation was also conducted at relevant events in the community: the annual Valentine's Day Tea, Women's Institute meetings; the Stony Plain farmers' market, and at the Multicultural Heritage Center. Following the completion of the interviews, we hosted a focus group with the participants to provide an opportunity for them to reflect further on their practices within a group setting, and also to provide the researchers an opportunity to follow up on interesting points that arose during the interviews.

These three qualitative research methods (interviews, participant observation, focus group) were used to explore the following dimensions determined as relevant to this research: food practices and traditions, past, present, and future; motivations and desires related to food practices; and inter-generational mobilization of knowledge and skills. These dimensions were identified as relevant based on themes in the literature on deskilling, traditional knowledge, and alternative food movements, as well as the researcher's own interests. Using QSR NVivo to code and analyze the data gathered, four key conditions were identified that foster and shape traditional food practices for the research participants: the experience of scarcity; strong normative expectations; close connection or relationship to a family member; and a cohesive community of practice.

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[1] The Heritage Agricultural Society of Stony Plain is a non-profit organization (est. 1974) dedicated to the preservation of the regional cultural heritage (http://multicentre.org/wp/has-board/heritage-agricultural-society).
[2] The Multicultural Heritage Centre consists of the restored Old Brick School and the Oppertshauser House, both provincial heritage buildings, as well as the Stony Plain Demonstration Farm (http://multicentre.org).
[3] The Stony Plain Women's Institute is a branch of the Alberta's Women's Institute (http://awi.athabascau.ca) which was developed to help rural women acquire home management and leadership skills, strengthen communities through active involvement, and build mutually beneficial social networks.

Literature review

Social practice theory

Social practice theory departs from traditional accounts of food system analysis that tend to emphasize social norms, structure, symbolism or agency as the problem, but instead describes the world as constructed and ordered by social practices (Johnston & Szabo, 2011). As Warde (2005) suggests, practices have a trajectory or history and that history is differentiated. The principal implication of a theory of practice is that the sources of changed social behaviour lie in the development of practices themselves. Thus, it is neither individual behaviour nor societal structures exclusively that affect behaviours, but rather everyday practices like cooking, driving, washing, shopping, or playing. As Giddens (1984) observed:

> [The] basic domain of study of the social sciences...is neither the ex-
> perience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal
> totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. (p. 240)

The performance of numerous social practices is thus seen as part of "the routine accomplishment of what we identify as 'normal' ways of life" (Shove, 2004, p.117). Practices are the source and carrier of meaning, language, and normativity (Schatzki, 2001). As Reckwitz (2002) argues, wants and emotions do not belong to individuals but—in the form of knowledge—to practices. In this view, attention is diverted away from individual decision-making towards the 'doing' of different social practices and the types of consumption they entail (Hargreaves, 2011). Importantly, practice theory emphasizes that it is through these engagements with practices that individuals come to understand the world around them and to develop a more or less coherent sense of self (Warde, 2005).

Recent developments in systematizing theories of practice (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki et al., 2001), and its application to the field of consumption, including food, (Halkier, 2011; Strengers, 2012; Warde, 2005) point out two distinct ways of understanding practice. *Practice as performance* (practice as immediacy of doing), and *practice as entity* (practice as a block or pattern, embodied, materially mediated, shared meaning), both having a recursive and co-constitutive relation (Truninger, 2011). According to Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) practice consists of three basic elements: materials (objects, infrastructure, tools, hardware, and the body itself); competencies (knowledge, skills, technique); and meanings (social and symbolic significance of participation). Practice as entity is held together by these heterogeneous elements, which are linked by practitioners when practices are performed. In this way, practices exist, persist, or disappear when the links between these three elements are created, sustained, or broken (Truninger, 2011). For example, preparing and partaking in a traditional Thanksgiving meal—that includes specific food dishes particular to a family or culture—will imply that one has the proper equipment to prepare the meal and physical ability to do so (the object); it will require some technical skills and knowledge to cook the food properly and make things taste delicious (the competencies); and it will also entail the motivational knowledge formed from the social and symbolic significance of eating particular foods with particular people (the meaning). These meanings and emotions could be about evoking the memory of traditions past, or the desire to sustain family bonds and identity, or to ensure certain serving and dining practices are reflected and normalized within the family unit (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991). An important

point here is to note that meanings and emotions do not emerge from self-contained individuals, but rather 'belong to' the practice (Røpke, 2009, p. 2492).

Traditional food knowledge and practices

Knowledge is a critical component of the competencies and meanings that are associated with food practices. Within the context of this research, the concept of 'traditional food knowledge' has been derived and utilized from the perspective that knowledge is much more than a mere accumulation of information and facts, but rather a process lived out through experience and passed from generation to generation, continually being readapted, reformed and influenced.

Fonte (2010) contends that traditional knowledge does not perform a specialized function in society, but rather embodies cultural values as an element integrated into a vast and complex set of beliefs and knowledge that is held collectively and transmitted both orally and through common practices, from generation to generation. Traditional food knowledge, then, represents the cumulative wisdom of many generations of people who have learned how to produce, prepare, store, and teach these practices of food provisioning. Traditional food knowledge also symbolizes the often unrecognized and undocumented work of these people (primarily women), their temporally accumulated knowledge, and the formal and informal sharing and education that ensures this knowledge is kept alive. Its scope also goes beyond the technical skills required to procure food, to include the specific cultural meanings and historical context that has shaped the particular types of food prepared and consumed within that community. Three separate but overlapping aspects of traditional food knowledge were examined in this research: food procurement in the form of gardening; food preparation in the form of cooking; and food preservation in the form of canning. These represent three broad categories of social practices within traditional food knowledge.

Deskilling and food practices

Anxiety over the 'impoverished state of domestic cooking' that is highlighted by the media, and more recently by celebrity chefs, has garnered significant public interest and academic inquiry over the last decade. In general, scholars have suggested that the erosion of skills held by previous generations was linked to the breakdown of traditional domestic divisions of labour associated with increased labour market participation by women and the effects of technologies—leading to both deskilling in the kitchen and distracting children from being in the kitchen to absorb tacit cooking skills (Meah & Watson, 2011; Short, 2006).

Studies suggest that food meanings and practices contribute to family identity and domestic life. DeVault (1991) identifies the household meal as a way to construct home and family around shared consumption practices. Food practices also influence social reproduction. For example, Beoku-Betts (1995) suggests that Gullah communities use food preparation and consumption practices to transmit cultural traditions, collective memories, and foster culturally prescribed skills related to self-reliance. Further, Wallendorf and Arnould (1991) found that in a Thanksgiving context intergenerational transmissions of recipes, stories about family identity, and serving and dining practices reflected class and gender norms.

In recent decades, there has also been a resurgence of interest in re-building local food systems (DeLind, 2006; Gillespie et al., 2007; Wittman et al., 2011), healthy home cooking (Oliver, 2007; Short, 2006), and restoring the knowledge and skills associated with canning and

other food self-sufficiency practices (Click & Ridberg, 2010). Scholars and food activists alike have been examining the contributions of re-socializing and re-localizing food to the development of a more sustainable and just food system. Canning and home fermentation, for example, are now often identified as a form of alternative food activism. In their study of practices and motivations for food preservation, Click and Ridberg (2010) argue that preservation presents an opportunity to move alternative food practices away from consumer-oriented politics to a politics based upon relationships to self, others, and the earth, upholding the goals of the alternative food movement while subverting the capitalistic logic of the global agri-food industry.

In the following section, we utilize a social practice lens to analyze the data gathered in this research. The results and discussion are divided according to the four conditions identified from the data that influence and shape the continuation of the traditional food practices of gardening, cooking, and canning among the participants in this research: experience of scarcity; normative expectations; strong familial relationships; community of practice.

Results and discussion

The practices of gardening, cooking, and canning among the women changed, as expected, as a result of changes in their lives over time and the structural changes occurring in the food system and society in general in recent decades. Some of the women interviewed continue to can, although not to the same degree they used to. With the exception of two, the women still thoroughly enjoy gardening and continue to hone and perfect their abilities each passing year. All of them remain committed to cooking most of their meals from scratch, avoiding processed and packaged food, and eating out only on some occasions. In the past, when disposable income was low, and there were small children to feed, the women viewed canning and gardening as a necessity and a core responsibility of being a mother. As years passed, incomes increased, children grew up and moved out, and they eventually became less physically able to spend the entire summer in the garden and the fall preserving it; hence, practices have inevitably changed.

Despite these changes, the women we interviewed continued to take part, in varying ways, in traditional food practices reminiscent of the past. In the following section we examine the key factors that have influenced and continue to shape the food practices of this group of women in the town of Stony Plain, Alberta.

The key characteristics we discuss—while important for the highly engaged group we interviewed—are not necessarily generalizable to similarly-sized rural communities. Despite our sample size being relatively small and homogenous, this research offers insights into ways we might begin to understand food practices as social practices, with a past, a present, and a future. The following four themes—experience of scarcity, normative expectations, influence of family and friends, and communities of practice—highlight the conditions that promote and uphold certain sustainable food practices in a rural Albertan community.

Experience of scarcity and going without

The experience of living on a limited income with large families to feed left a profound and lasting mark on the memories, attitudes and skills of most of the women interviewed. With restricted access to grocery stores and limited financial means to purchase food, many women of the older generation were almost entirely reliant on the harvest from their gardens and their

canning skills to sustain their young families through the cold prairie winters. Moreover, for many of these women, the firm resolve to live off the land and 'make do' had been modeled to them by parents, grandparents, friends, and neighbours. Despite the fact that living conditions have dramatically improved over the course of their lives, the impact of these experiences was lifelong. The experience of scarcity, coupled with a rural, agricultural upbringing has culminated in very particular skill sets and a deep respect and appreciation for food and how that food is used. Memory has been a powerful driver and sustainer of traditional food knowledge and its corresponding practices. As one participant commented:

> You'd have a hard time because you experienced poverty, you'd have a hard time seeing waste, throwing things out, a hard time not finishing your plate.

Another woman, who grew up on a farm and then farmed her whole adult life, spoke of learning how to "make do with what you had".

> I remember sitting at the table and just having a bowl of potatoes and there was a whole table full of us [my family], and there was a bowl of potatoes and she [my mother] brought it and put it on there, and that was it.

Attitudes towards what was considered waste and a strong aversion to wasting food were evidenced in almost every interview. The idea that food should never, under any circumstances, be wasted or thrown away, created part of the impetus for canning, but also for cooking soups and stews, where a variety of left-over ingredients can be used to make a healthy meal. This attitude also influenced other creative 'value-added' cooking tricks, as one woman explained:

> Well, I used to do 350 jars of [canning] every year. And that got us through. I made a lot of meals from nothing. But I always had a good supply in my pantry. I used to make whole wheat bread and I would save all my potato water and all my vegetable water all week and I'd throw it into bread so that I got some nutrition in there for my children.

Stories of thriftiness, simple and inexpensive cleaning tricks, ways to make the meat last for several meals, and savvy shopping skills were woven throughout many of the interviews.

> My aunt said that my grandma used to do anything and everything to make sure her five kids were fed, and my mom told me this, actually, when grandma would go down to the pantry to get a jar of peaches, she would take a quarter down and put it in the jar so by the time the next summer came, the money to buy the stuff for preserving was there. She didn't have to try and find it. And that would be like me: that would be something I would do.

For some, the impetus for gardening and canning seemed to be associated with fearful memories from the past. When asked if canning was a valuable skill to have nowadays, one participant remarked:

> Oh well, let's put it this way, those that don't know how to can and
> are instant buyers are gonna starve to death when hard times come.

The experience of scarcity in the past and a strong connection to their heritage, their families, and past social milieu demonstrated the deep and lasting impact of their childhood and young adult years.

> Both parents and grandparents came through two really ugly wars,
> so I think maybe that rubs off on you, too—your history, your
> family history.

The experience of scarcity is best described as what Shove et al. (2012) call an element of a practice. This element falls under the category of 'meaning' and is largely based on what Reckwitz (2002) describes as 'motivational knowledge'. The motivational memories, which have deep social and symbolic significance for the women, serve as a solid cornerstone for the basis of their traditional food knowledge practices, and represent the profound social and symbolic significance of the myriad of participants' past experiences. There is evidence of the many different elements: bodies, tools, infrastructure, social meanings, etc. but the motivational memory demonstrated here is significant and, we would argue, defining. It is also interesting to note that the motivation neither hinges on production or consumption per se—as many sociological explorations of food do—but rather on a collective, shared, and poignant experience from the past. Schatzki (2010) notes that what people do has a history and a context, and these doings are also future-oriented. Thus, both past and future are united in the current moment of performance. This unification of past and future in current performances of gardening, cooking, and canning is well illustrated in the research findings.

Normative expectations: "That's just what we did"

For women of the generations interviewed, having a garden, canning one's harvest, and cooking meals from scratch on a daily basis was essentially a given. This was modeled to them by their parents and grandparents, and reinforced through their own experiences of food scarcity. Consequently, for them, the reality was that there was no other way to do things.

> I remember my great grandfather grew a garden. 'You don't have
> land and not plant it', was his attitude. I grew up seeing food
> growing and…what you couldn't grow you'd have to buy and
> preserve it because winter is long.

> My mother and my grandmother always canned, my aunts, uncles,
> everybody.

> Well, my generation, gardening was a bigger thing. You had your
> property and your house, and then in your backyard you had your
> garden, so that's what I grew up with.

As a result of these particular socio-technical and economic landscapes, there also came a unique sense of pride and satisfaction that was attached to being 'self-sufficient', which also perhaps perpetuated the desire to perform certain practices, for example: growing the largest pumpkins; preparing the best 'dills'; producing the most potatoes, onions, etc.; or always bringing the best pie to a community potluck event.

> Everybody in the community gardened, so if you didn't garden,
> you were the odd one out. 'I grew this' and you could brag—
> bragging rights. 'Well I grew bigger tomatoes than you!' One year
> I had thirty-six tomato plants and we were hauling them out
> wheelbarrow after wheelbarrow.

The collective expectations were framed by particular socio-cultural, socio-technical and economic landscapes, and strongly shaped by motivational memory. By acknowledging the existence and influence of certain normative expectations that were placed on these women (living off the land, canning, being self-sufficient) and how those expectations manifested themselves (large gardens, cooking from scratch, taking pride in your harvest), it becomes evident that motivational memory and normative expectations are inherently linked. According to Shove et al. (2012), this is how practices are able to persist.

The socio-cultural and economic landscape (including the prevalence of scarcity in many of their lives) profoundly impacted how they were expected to procure, prepare, and preserve their food. This is not part of a practice in and of itself, but rather represents part of the framework or landscape for how certain practices emerged and evolved and the lasting implications this had on many of these women.

In her work on sustainable consumption, Shove (2003) asks how technologies and technical systems relate to the transformation of shared expectations, norms, and practices in environmentally sensitive domains, while arguing that prior structuring of users' expectations has a significant role to play in how certain innovations take root, or what is deemed 'normal practice'. The same might be said for certain food practices; we can look at how collective expectation shaped what was considered to be 'normal practice' with food. Some of the socio-technical and economic regimes and landscapes that shaped the older generations' practices included: severely restricted access to prepared and processed food; limited income; rural locality; access to land for gardening; readily available knowledge and mentorship from family members; ease of access to canning equipment and storage; and an economy recovering from war.

The strong presence and influence of family

When asked about their memories, traditions and habits around their food knowledge, both now and in the past, almost all participants had stories that inherently linked close familial relationships and related experiences to the creation and perpetuation of their food practices. The desire to garden, cook, and can was fostered, in part, by the presence of a strong and influential 'food role model' in the family. The conditions needed to create, sustain, and extend not only the technical skills, but the appreciation and enduring desire for fresh, homemade, inexpensive and unprocessed food were often created in the context of the home, together with a particular family member. For example,

> I first learned [to bake] from my aunt when I was 12. My mom
> never had time and never wanted to teach us, so my aunty did. My
> whole family loved my baking, so I think that's probably why I got
> into it.

Two women (a mother and daughter) boasted, as they proudly displayed their four hundred plus
jars of canned goods, that they now have three generations of canners in their family.

> Both of our granddaughters will help. Even our grandson, he's only
> ten, this last time he was peeling carrots and just lovin' it…so it's
> like a family thing. And then my husband will come home from
> work and he's in there like a dirty shirt…*we can as a family.*

Two research participants were sisters who had moved to Stony Plain from England over thirty
years ago. One fondly recalled instances growing up in England where special relationships were
built with their grandfather over food.

> My grandfather was always very easy to be around, I was very
> close to him…you know, if he was in the garden, I was in the
> garden with him. We'd come in and he'd make a pot of soup and it
> was always really good soup, and I'm thinking that's probably why
> I enjoy it to this day.

When speaking about why she chose to do so much baking around Christmas time, another
participant noted,

> Well, it's not just for eating; it's for making something special and
> for keeping up Austrian traditions. It's something that I'm proud of
> and feel it's important to do, and pass along, because it makes me
> think of my parents. Also the baking with my daughter is
> something that we do together and it's just a bonding thing, and
> you have some wine and you make some cookies: it's just a good
> social thing.

These heterogeneous elements—bodies, tools, infrastructure, technical know-how, and social
symbolism—are linked and culminate to influence and form the practices around traditional food
knowledge. What is noteworthy here is the prominence of the familial relationships and the
social and symbolic significance that it plays in contributing to the furthering of certain
food practices.

Food knowledge and communities of practice

A close connection to family members and strong communities of practice serve to support the
notion that practices require "changing populations of more or less faithful carriers or
practitioners" (Shove et al., 2012, p. 63). The social networks formed among carriers act as
crucibles in which practices are changed, re-produced, and transformed, as conduits through

which they flow and as containers that limit their diffusion and (Shove et al., 2012). It was evident that without the relationships and social networks formed in Stony Plain, many of the women would not be as active in their gardening, cooking, and canning as they are today. Communities of practice exist where there is a voluntary desire to share information, supplies, and knowledge among like-minded individuals (Wenger, 1999) and these different communities were very obviously an important part in the lives of the women we interviewed.

At one of the Women's Institute meetings, a large part of the evening was spent discussing thrifty and efficient ways of providing food for the local Christmas Craft fundraising bazaar that was being put on by the group. Some women of the older generation volunteer with the Multicultural Heritage Center's children's programs, such as teaching grade four and five students how to use local crab apples to make jams, jellies, and butters. Several of the women volunteer at the local community soup kitchen, where they would use their food preparation skills to make wholesome, nutritious meals for community members-in-need. The Stony Plain Farmers' Market was also a place where some of the participants prepared and sold their baking and canning to members of the community.

Besides these shared, larger community endeavours, many of the women talked of other relationships formed through friendships, religious groups, and community connections that reinforced their knowledge, ability and desire to garden, cook, and can.

> Because of our religious group women would get together and
> learn basic skills of homemaking…that's where some of my
> gardening and my cooking and my canning skills would also come
> from. We would gather together and learn some of these skills from
> other people.
>
> We used to have a baking day before Christmas when a bunch of
> ladies would bake each of their favourite Christmas cookies. It was
> like a big bake day, everybody would bring their own ingredients
> for their thing and at the end of the day we would divide it all up.
>
> We have close friends, they always want recipes from me, or they
> come and celebrate the same kinds of things or take over our
> traditions. I think it has two effects: you integrate things from that
> kitchen or household, but also you become more aware of your
> own and you want to show your traditions.

For many women, it became very difficult to speak of food without also speaking about relationships in any discussion that was had.

Communities of practice are "groups of people informally bounded together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise" that "share their experiences and knowledge in free-flowing, creative ways that foster new approaches to problems" (Wenger & Synder, 2000, p. 139–140). In arguing that "practices are…the property of a kind of community created over time, by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise" (Wenger, 1999, p. 45), Wenger arrives at the conclusion that community and practice constitute one another. Not all sharing of information and materials were to solve specific or acute large-scale problems, but were to help 'solve' smaller and more ordinary dilemmas such as how to make celery grow, how to improve one's

homemaking skills, or to make up for a shortfall in canning ingredients. These activities may seem inconsequential, but they all contribute to the continuation and habitual performance of traditional food knowledge among members of the community of Stony Plain.

Conclusion

Undeniable changes have occurred in agriculture and agri-food industry over the last five decades. Rural populations have been severely affected by these changes, particularly when it comes to deskilling and knowledge loss, which is a growing concern among academics, practitioners, and the general public alike (Meah & Watson, 2011; Novek, 2003; Epp, 2001; Jaffe & Gertler, 2006). The women in this study, on the other hand, represent an example of how food skills and knowledge are actively being preserved—without explicitly being part of the so-called 'alternative food movement'. Interestingly, they did not mention any resistance to the commercialization and commodification of food as motivation behind their practices of gardening, canning and cooking. Many of them expressed concern and dismay at the deskilling of their children and grandchildren's generation, but did not give reasons why they thought this was happening. They were not politically motivated, nor did they have any type of explicit activist leanings influencing their traditional food practices. One woman who sold jam at the farmer's market marketed her products as "free of the unpronounceable stuff", but this was as far as it went. Their reasons for doing what they did with food were tied to pragmatic, cultural, and emotional reasons, reflected in the links between materials, meaning, and competencies of their food practices. This demonstrates the multi-faceted ways that food practices are manifested and can be understood, particularly here, where they have a deeply embedded, rich history in the lives of the participants.

The purpose of this research was to understand what factors motivate and enable the perpetuation of traditional food knowledge and its associated practices in a rural community despite significant barriers and changes in the food system. To do this we used a social practice theory framework, which is a relatively under-utilized approach in studying the sociology of food. By situating this research within a social practice theory framework, we attempted to move beyond the oft-used dichotomies of 'producer' versus 'consumer' to understand traditional food knowledge as a set of recursive social practices. Social theories like the one used in this analysis may not always lead directly to prescriptions for action; however, they do allow for other ways of understanding social change as well as social reproduction. This understanding is relevant because it presents a new approach to examining social issues and framing relevant social policy, subsequently affecting how different kinds of intervention are deemed possible, plausible, and worthwhile. For example, policy making is typically informed by theories of planned behaviour and models of rational economic action, but often informed by developments in sociological theory (Shove et al., 2012).

If we are to take seriously the recommendations from environmental social scientists seeking ways to develop and foster more pro-environmental behaviour (Røpke, 2009; Shove, 2003; Shove et al., 2012; Spaargaren, 2012; Warde, 2005) taking a practice-based approach to studying food may be a helpful analytical tool. More specifically, looking at the linkages among elements of a practice enables us to give a more convincing account of change and order (Braun, forthcoming). It also presents ways of describing and analyzing processes while accounting for more faithful, more consistent forms of reproduction (Shove et al 2012). Such an approach has been attempted in this study by looking at the links between motivational memory and the

normative expectations that existed when women in a rural community learned to cook, garden, and can. In addition to these cornerstone elements, we can also see how other elements—the technical know-how and skill; the objects and infrastructure (land, equipment, mentors); and the social and symbolic meaning (taking care of one another, pride, self-sufficiency)—come together to ensure and extend practices of gardening, cooking, and canning in this rural community. This highlights the importance of all three elements of a practice needing to be linked together to ensure that the practice is sustained.

It is useful to understand how practices recruit and maintain other practitioners vis-à-vis communities of practice. In the research presented here, it is perhaps most striking that significant familial relationships, friendships, community networks and communities of practice served as important pieces in the creation and retention of practitioners who desire to garden, cook, and can. It is very difficult to talk about food, and all of its myriad components, without also speaking of relationships.

This research indicates that it is important to look beyond producer and consumer categories in the study of food systems. By looking in the home or in the community, we can identify how relationships and related knowledge and skills develop around food; as well as how stories, experiences, and knowledge might be realized, shared, and then utilized to recruit people into the practice. It may also involve looking at what current normative expectations are for food practices, how they were formed, and how they might be used to modify, re-make, or eradicate other practices. Rural communities often have rich agricultural histories that may serve as a starting point for rekindling interest in traditional food practices, or serve as a connecting point between past activities and present. Organizations like the Multicultural Heritage Center, for example, have programs such as the elementary school guided field trips to surrounding community farms, the 'Back to Basics' days, the Farmer Appreciation Festival, and increasing numbers of gardening programs. The Centre recruits community seniors to teach, share, and inform the younger generation of community members.

As Shove et al. (2012) point out, practices die out if links between their defining elements are broken, or if communities cannot recruit or maintain practitioners. This research shows that there are strong links between elements in the various food practices and a strong community that sustains and reproduces those practices today. Important consideration should be given to the memories, stories, relationships and traditions that mould and define food practices both now and in the future as food activists and scholars continue in their quest of creating more just and sustainable food systems for the future.

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Original Research Article

Spaces for farmers in the city: A case study comparison of direct selling alternative food networks in Toronto, Canada and Belo Horizonte, Brazil

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Abstract

The current focus of the Alternative Food Network (AFN) literature in the global North overlooks the reality of Southern AFNs and the potential contributions from studying Southern case studies. In this research, we used interviews and observation to determine how the differing valuations of 'local' food and farmers in two case study locations, one in the global North (Toronto, Canada) and one in the global South (Belo Horizonte, Brazil), affected the physical, economic, and political spaces in the city for farmers participating in the AFNs. The geographical concepts of scale, space, and place are central to understanding these networks. Drawing on work by Cook and Crang (1996) on 'geographical knowledges', we examined how farmers and customers reinforced and constructed different narratives of 'local' food, which was valued by affluent customers in Toronto but not by affluent customers in Belo Horizonte. In Toronto, farmers operated in physical spaces that put them in contact with affluent customers, and they were able to take advantage of pricing premiums at market and off-market economic spaces like specialty grocery stores and restaurants. In Belo Horizonte, farmers were relegated to marginal physical spaces, and had limited economic and political power. There were broader social justice implications related to whether the AFN operated mainly within affluent or marginal spaces. In agreement with the geographic literature, these case studies demonstrate that the social construction of scale, space, and place lead to the privileging of some actors over others in the AFN and within the city.

Keywords: Alternative Food Network, space, place, local food, direct selling, Canada, Brazil

Introduction

The desire to create more sustainable and just food systems has resulted in a broad array of alternative networks (particularly in the global North). The term *Alternative Food Network* (AFN) embraces different kinds of emerging networks of producers, consumers, and other actors (administrators, intermediaries, activists, proponents) that seek to organize relationships between producers and consumers in different ways than in the industrial food system (Renting et al., 2003). Among AFNs that focus on local food, a dichotomy of global versus local is common. Global is associated with the market economy, large scale, industrial processes that degrade the environment; while local is associated with the moral economy, small scale, natural processes that protect and regenerate (Hinrichs, 2003). Critiques of AFNs often center on social justice concerns.

Allen (2008) notes that rather than being a transformative change to the dominant food system, AFNs may provide a 'bleeder valve' where privileged people participate in alternatives, and as a result feel like they are doing their part, but are through their participation merely isolating themselves from the negative aspects of the dominant food system. She maintains that this may create a two-tiered system where privileged AFN participants are active within their local AFN, but politically complacent at a broader scale. Others assert that social interactions within AFNs have the potential to shape consumers' ways of knowing about food and the food system, and change their actions towards more sustainable ones (Kerton & Sinclair, 2010).

Most of the literature on AFNs has been developed in the global North, even though there are important insights to be gained from looking at AFNs in the global South (Abrahams, 2007). Looking at local levels, the false dichotomy of North and South is often exposed. Similarities exist between Southern and Northern AFNs, as well as local particularities, but to our knowledge, this type of comparison has not been documented. This study provides a unique opportunity to observe how one Northern and one Southern AFN are similar and different. With the paucity of case studies in the South, this case study cannot be assumed to be reflective of a broader trend or pattern, but it does provide a contribution from one Southern location.

The focus of this paper is on examining space, place, and the scale of the local from the perspective of farmers who interact with the city in various ways by participating in direct marketing, urban AFNs. Specifically, the cross-cultural case study comparison of two AFNs, one in Toronto, Canada and one in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, provides insight into how different valuations of 'local' food and farmers shapes the spaces for farmers in the city. This can help build our understanding of the implications of social constructions of scale, space, and place in AFNs in practice.

There were some key differences between the AFNs in Belo Horizonte and Toronto, including the consumer base size, selling location, and administrators; but there were also similarities, including a similar number of farmers participating, the focus on local food, and the structure of farmers selling produce directly in a major urban centre.

Case Study Background: Toronto and Belo Horizonte

Toronto, Canada

Toronto is the most populous city in Canada with 2.79 million inhabitants, and 5.5 million in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (City of Toronto, 2013). The city boasts an ethnically diverse

population, of which about half were born in a country other than Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Major food retailing trends in Toronto include the growth of 'local' food markets, increasing options for obtaining ethnic and culturally-appropriate food, and specialty foods such as organics and products for specific dietary restrictions (Friedmann, 2007). Eighty-five percent of all Southern Ontarians still buy their food primarily from supermarkets (Metcalf Foundation, 2008), which have responded to the above trends in various ways. For example, Wal-Mart has committed to stocking 30 percent Ontario produce (Ajayi et al., 2010). Parallel to the emergence of this new food economy, the GTA has seen a steady increase in food insecurity since 1995. During 2009, food bank use in Toronto rose by 14 percent from approximately 874,000 to 997,000 visits (Daily Bread Food Bank, 2010).

Toronto has an active group of organizations trying to address issues of food security, inequality and social justice. These include the Toronto Food Policy Council, The Stop Community Food Centre and FoodShare. The latter is a not-for-profit originally established in 1985 in order to co-ordinate and deliver emergency food services. In the late 1980s, FoodShare shifted its mandate to long-term systematic change (FoodShare website, no date). One of their initiatives is The Farmers' Market Network (TFMN), from which the case study markets were chosen. This network was initiated in 2006 with partial funding from the Project for Public Spaces (PPS). It includes a group of market organizers, whose markets:

> …operate independently, differing in size, style and requirements,
> but…share a focus on supporting sustainable agriculture and
> building strong communities. We work together to share
> information, farmer referrals, and best practices, to help new
> market organizers, to advocate for positive city policies, and to
> raise the profile of farmers' markets. (TFMN website, no date)

At the time of this study, the network involved six markets which are run weekly by community members or not-for-profit groups. Managers from four markets agreed to participate in this research. The Dufferin Grove Market is a year-round organic market in operation since late 2002. It is the most established of the markets in the network, and widely considered to be a model of a successful market. It is located in an area with a growing affluent population but with a mix of affluent, middle income, and lower income residents. Stonegate is a seasonal market (June to October) located in a church parking lot on the border of a prosperous neighbourhood and a low-income one. It has been running since 2005, with a stated goal to serve the needs of lower-income residents that live adjacent to the market. Withrow Park is a seasonal market (May to October) started in 2006 in a park of an affluent neighbourhood. The Stop's Green Barn Farmers' Market (Wychwood Market) started in 2007 with support from The Stop Community Food Centre as a seasonal market in a temporary location of a church yard, in a neighbourhood that is relatively affluent, yet also has a sizable low-income population. Shortly after the field research was concluded, the market moved and changed considerably in size and make-up. The fieldwork reflects the market prior to this change in location. The farmers interviewed for the Toronto-based research were all landowners, and excepting one farmer who owned hundreds of hectares of land, their land size ranged from two to 40 hectares.

Belo Horizonte, Brazil

Belo Horizonte is the largest city in and the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, with a population of approximately 2.4 million in the city proper, and nearly 4.4 million in the greater metropolitan area (Institute Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica [IBGE], 2011). The city is surrounded by agricultural land, and much of it is mountainous, difficult to farm, and farmed by small farmers. The population is highly segregated into high-income areas and low-income 'favelas' (slums), often adjacent to one another. In the affluent neighbourhoods, supermarket chains and international fast-food chains such as McDonalds and Pizza Hut are prevalent. Belo Horizonte is distinct from most other Brazilian cities due to the strong and persistent presence of small grocers. This has been attributed to the municipal government's 'Sacalão ABC' program where produce stores are set up and licenced by the government, and must have 21 fresh fruit and vegetables sold at a fixed price below market cost (Farina, 2002). Food insecurity is a major issue in Belo Horizonte. In the early 1990s, an estimated 20 percent of all children under three years in the city were malnourished, which became the catalyst for the development of municipal food security programs in 1993 (Secretaria Municipal de Abastecimento [SMAB], 1995). The Belo Horizonte AFN is working within the broader context of Brazil's national 'Fome Zero' (Zero Hunger Program, or ZHP) policy regime, introduced in 2002 by the federal government.

The comprehensive approach in Belo Horizonte has been lauded as a model for other urban food security programs in Brazil under the ZHP. Unlike the federal ZHP that was meant to increase food sovereignty and support smallholder farmers, the Belo Horizonte program is focused specifically on urban food security. A suite of programs aim to intervene in the market, ensuring that locally grown produce is sold at affordable prices for lower-income citizens (Mafra, 2004). The programs include a popular restaurant (where a healthy meal is affordably priced), a school nutrition program, community gardens and the Sacalão ABC. The Direto da Roça (Direct from the Farm or DR) program was included in the portfolio of the Department of Food Production and Commercialization Assistance (Gerência de Apoio à Produção e Comercialização de Alimentos, or GAPCO). The DR program involves single farmer stalls in various locations throughout the city of Belo Horizonte. Supporting farmers from areas outside of the municipal boundary is a desired benefit, but not the program priority.

Farmers work with GAPCO to identify selling locations and to work through the various city approvals (such as neighbourhood council and the municipal traffic and planning office). The locations vary from street corners in the city's business district to plazas in middle-to-lower income neighbourhoods. At the time of fieldwork in 2007, there were 18 small farmers involved in the program. Five were located adjacent to Sacalão ABC grocers, while the rest were spread around the city. Farmers had options: they could sell their own or another DR farmer's produce at a stall, they could sell by themselves or hire employees, and they could also sell at more than one location. The price of produce was controlled by SMAB through a set pricing chart, although at times of year when produce was less bountiful (notably in the wet season) farmers were allowed to set their own prices for certain products. The resources of farmers participating in this program varied. The largest two landowners both inherited over 20 hectares of farmland, while six farmers had insecure access (rented land or hired hand) to smaller plots of land under 2.5 hectares. Two farmers had participated in a land occupation and subsequently gained land tenure through an agrarian reform program.

Methods

Within AFN scholarship, qualitative methodologies have commonly been employed to understand the construction and practices of AFNs (e.g. Feagan & Henderson, 2009; Hinrichs, 2003; Jarosz, 2008, 2011; Kloppenburg et al., 2000; Lamine, 2005). Our research applied qualitative case comparisons to understand the experiences, processes, and outcomes for farmers in the case study AFNs. We used informal in-depth interviews with farmers, formal interviews with other relevant informants (including government officials, NGO employees, customers, and market organizers), and observations at market and on-farm.

Table 1 quantifies the sources and data collected using each of these methods. In both case studies, we attempted to get a complete sample of the produce farmers in each AFN. In total, 17 farmers were interviewed in the Belo Horizonte case study, and 14 in the Toronto case study. Some of these farmers were interviewed once, while those who agreed were interviewed two or more times. Methods were not standardized between case study locations because of the importance of developing rapport in each case study location. Of note, the Toronto interviews were conducted on-farm because of the busy nature of the market, while the Belo Horizonte interviews were conducted mainly at-market. Notably, the Toronto farmers were comfortable with a voice recorder and the interviews were conducted in English (the lead author's primary language), while the Belo Horizonte farmers preferred no voice recorder. In that case, hand-written notes were used to record the interviews, which were conducted in Portuguese (the lead author's secondary language). The second method was direct observation in both Toronto and Belo Horizonte, mostly at markets rather than farms; these observations were documented in a field diary during and after the visits.

Table 1: Method, type of and amount of data collected

Method	Data Collected		Amount of Data Collected (number of pages)	
	Canada	**Brazil**	**Canada**	**Brazil**
Interviews with Farmers	14	17	292 (typed)	380 (handwritten)
Observations at Market	~28 hours	~37 hours	47 (handwritten)	68 (handwritten)
Key Informant Interviews	7	12	26 (transcript)	46 (typed notes)

Constructing local food narratives

Although local place embeddedness is typically the defining characteristic of an AFN, the meaning of 'local' as a scale, and the related identification of places as the appropriate origin of food sold in AFNs, cannot be simply assumed or asserted. Geographers Ian Cook and Philip Crang (1996) provide a useful concept through which to explore such place-based constructions in their examination of 'geographical knowledges'. They note that "foods do not simply come from places, organically growing out of them, but also make places as symbolic constructs, being deployed in the constructions of various imaginative geographies" (p. 140). These knowledges are employed by farmers to promote certain commodities and by consumers to justify their

consumption (Morris & Kirwan, 2010). According to Cook and Crang (1996), three types of geographic knowledges around food are constructed for and by the consumer: the settings (the context in which they are used); the biographies (how they move about the food system); and the origins (where they come from). Direct marketing alternatives, connecting farmers to consumers, allow for a sense of 'authenticity' to be attached to the construction of place because of the trust that develops between the farmer and the consumer (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2004), leading to the construction of an 'authentically local' product. Comparing the different constructions and representations of 'local food' in each study highlights how place and scale are not a passive platform at which activities occur. Rather, they are defined by and are outcomes of these activities, and also create and enable these activities (Marston et al. 2009).

The place-based 'local food' narrative in each location was both reinforced and constructed by how food was presented in the physical space of the market. In North America, there has been a resurging interest in local food (Feagan 2007, Mount 2012), with self-proclaimed 'locavores' seeking out sources of local food and wanting to connect with local growers. Toronto farmers commonly drew on narratives that put their food directly in contrast to 'conventional' food when presenting it to customers. One farmer explained his thought process behind his 'straight from the farm' produce.

> I suppose I am kinda [sic] a straight off the farm, sorta [sic]. My style, people are accustomed to buying dirty things from me too. I mean I do wash some things, you know presentation is important, stuff looks, it looks good on the table … I don't lay out fancy blankets and I have some baskets that I put things up just because it contains it on the table but when you have 30-40 things on the table, you can't have a lot of presentation, so basically it is just right off the field.

Using Cook and Crang's (1996) idea of imaginative geographies, by leaving things 'dirty' and without 'fancy blankets' he is purposely invoking an image of the origins of the food (local—from his own farm), the biography (picked by him, picked fresh) and the setting (a 'real' market stand). In addition, he is drawing on the 'nostalgia' of entrenched traditional ideas of the farm, as Holloway and Kneafsey (2000) suggest.

In contrast, farmers in Belo Horizonte tried to evoke a different geographical imagining. In the context of growing supermarket competition in the city, frequented by middle- and upper-income consumers (Reardon et al. 2008), farmers made attempts to draw on similarities to supermarket fare, and surpass it with cleanliness and safety. They tried to profit from the value placed on the 'modern' and distance themselves from the devalued 'local' and 'traditional'. The modern supermarket narrative focuses on maintaining sanitary and sterile conditions rather than 'straight from the farm' narratives like in Toronto. The Brazilian farmers cleaned produce meticulously, sprayed with water frequently, and straightened their produce display throughout the day. Cleanliness, both on farm and at the stand, was a point of pride. One farmer said "I like to wash produce a lot; people come by and think my produce is better than every other Direto da Roça producer, but it is because I keep my stand clean and neat." The most common word used to discuss their produce was its 'beauty'. To maintain beautiful produce, farmers trimmed off any leaves or roots that they believed took away from the appearance. Customers also chose produce based on it being 'beautiful'. Both farmers and customers equated beauty to quality of produce,

and this produce was trimmed, clean, and well-displayed. The narrative of this geographical imagining is constructed by presenting its origin as 'sterilized'; its biography as a mixture of 'local, yet just as good as large farms'; and the setting for selling as 'just as clean and orderly as the supermarket'. In constructing a place-based narrative there was a tension between the farmer wanting the consumer to know the food was 'local' (from their farm) but also 'the same as supermarket' food (which may or may not be local).

Spaces for farmers in the city

These constructions and narratives of place and scale reflect deeper relations of power that govern the use and production of space for farmers in the city. Within AFN scholarship, space is given little consideration as a construct. Cox (1998) provides a useful conception of space where power can be exerted, using the idea of 'spaces of engagement' and 'spaces of dependence'. He defines spaces of dependence as "those more-or-less localized social relations upon which we depend for the realization of essential interests and for which there is no substitute elsewhere; they define place-specific conditions for our material well-being and our sense of significance", and spaces of engagement as "the space[s] in which the politics of securing a space of dependence unfolds" (Cox, 1998: p. 2). The differing valuations of local food led to specific spaces in each city open to farmers. In each case study, the AFNs opened new urban spaces for farmers: physical spaces (for markets or stands); economic spaces (at market and outside of the market); and political spaces (through engagement with urban citizens and institutions). Where these spaces opened, to what extent, and with what effect, varied greatly between the two case study locations.

Physical spaces for farmers

The opening of physical urban spaces for farmers is not widely discussed in the AFN literature. Perhaps this is because the site of a market is assumed to be merely a physical space, not as a representation of power. It is clear in these case studies that the physical market location has a profound impact for farmers, and space availability is related to how much power farmers have within both the AFN and the city.

The farmers' markets in Toronto are generally located where there is access to a relatively affluent population, providing physical access for farmers to consumers who can support them. The popularity of local food in Toronto is evident by new market spaces in recent years. In 2004, a guide to Farmers' Markets listed 11 markets in Metro Toronto (Toronto Star, 2004). By 2009, 33 markets were listed in Toronto (TFMN website, 2013). Barriers to opening and maintaining market space have resulted from conflicts with the City of Toronto Parks, Forestry and Recreation Department (PFRD), as mentioned by two market managers who operate in city parks. The demand for the markets from affluent urban residents has meant that these barriers are not true impediments, as they have continued to operate. The affluent consumer base exercises power in the city, for example, by contacting local city councillors to resolve issues with PFRD. Thus the valuation of local food has enabled farmers to access physical and social spaces in the city where they can connect to a powerful consumer base.

In contrast, in Belo Horizonte the physical spaces for farmers are in marginal areas, and the DR stands have mostly been kept out or removed from wealthy neighbourhoods. The city has a relatively affluent inner city core along the south end, commonly called the 'Contorno' area. A

government-based key informant said that in the early 2000s, the mayor's office directed GAPCO to limit the number of sellers in the Contorno area, resulting in a major shift in location for many producers in the program and a drop in the number of farmers involved. At the time of fieldwork in 2007, there were 18 small farmers involved in the program, as opposed to 36 farmers in 1999 (Rocha 2001). Many program farmers have sought permission to put stands in Contorno neighbourhoods that currently do not have any DR stands, but they have been denied. The farmers believe that the neighbourhood associations in these areas do not want them. As one farmer told me, "People think our stands are ugly and [for the] poor." The President of the Association of Farmers in Direto da Roça found this to be a significant issue:

> In the central [Contorno] region, farmers who are not already here cannot enter. There have been cases where locations have been taken away. The possibility of getting your space taken away is greater than the possibility of getting a space added [in this region]… It is tremendously difficult to create new spaces for selling. What is the difference between our stand and a newspaper stand like the one over there [across the street]? Why can't they make spaces for us just like for all the newspaper stands? Yes, there is [prejudice]. In every corner there is a newspaper stand. What is the difference between the space it occupies and the space I occupy here?

Since the primary goal of the program is to provide access to fresh produce for the urban poor, the focus on areas outside the Contorno is somewhat understandable. Yet, the exclusion of small farmers from this area is indicative of attitudes towards them. One program administrator admitted that five to six farmers left the program as licenses were revoked in the Contorno area. He explained that the city had promised to 'clean-up' the streets, which meant removing many vendors, including DR farmers. His statement that "first world cities don't have street vendors" reflects the view that street vendors do not belong in a 'modern' Belo Horizonte, as they reinforce an 'old fashioned' sense of place. The director responsible for DR, as well his supervisor, the Secretary for Food Sustenance and Food Security, both said that barriers with locating DR stands in the city centre come from other departments within the city, such as Transit, the Planning Department, and the Regional Council, suggesting reluctance to take responsibility for the decision to keep farmers out of the Contorno.

The exclusion of physical spaces has meant that most of the DR farmers removed from the Contorno area left the program, since they could no longer make a living. A long time DR farmer estimated that about 10 new farmers start the program every year, but they usually leave within a few months to a year because they are forced to locate in poorer neighbourhoods. The entire program is thus weakened.

Economic spaces for farmers

In Toronto, the valuation of local food and the physical access to affluent customers at market led to higher pricing for certain products, as was revealed by observation and interviews. The heirloom tomato was the most commonly mentioned example of this, and some farmers articulated their discontent with it:

> I don't want to be charging four dollars a pound for [heirloom]
> tomatoes, as an example, this is too much money for you. I know
> they shouldn't be priced that anyways. So, there is an element of
> elitism there that I have always opposed.
>
> We keep our prices, we're pretty good…It's a really good price, so
> we're not gouging people, never think of it as that, because I do
> know some people – some farmers, some vendors that—and you
> see the price boards and you're like "oh, what are you doing?"—I
> grow those [heirloom] tomatoes, I know you don't have to charge a
> million dollars!

The heirloom tomato was seen as more historically authentic, a part of the place-based construction of 'local'. Although there was no general consensus over pricing, the ability of farmers to set prices demonstrated a certain economic empowerment for farmers participating at the urban markets. Taking advantage of consumers' willingness to pay more at a market allowed these farmers to break free from the fixed prices normally received for wholesale or supermarkets. However, some farmers were worried about the effects on customers who could not afford higher-priced produce. At the Stonegate Market (located at the border of a higher-income and lower-income neighbourhood), the market manager was consciously trying to keep food prices more affordable. A farmer at this market shared that "I can't overprice myself, I try to keep things very reasonable" or, he believed, he wouldn't sell anything.

Farmers in Toronto were not limited to the economic space of the market. They found many other outlets for their produce, including Community Shared Agriculture (CSAs), new farmers' markets, small specialty grocery stores, and restaurants. Still, most of the farmers credited the market as the 'jumping-off' point for these other connections. One farmer remarked that the market and the other economic spaces were complementary. For example, almost all farmers in the Toronto market also sold to high end and often organic specialty stores. In one extreme case, a farmer estimated that only five percent of his total sales originated from the farmer's market (Stonegate), but because of the much larger percentage of sales made to specialty stores and restaurants in Toronto, he could still justify selling at market.

The opening of economic spaces outside of market allows for innovative partnerships. For example, a farming couple had formed a partnership to offer their CSA box at a retail location, saying "we're basically going to be their mobile produce department" once a week since the farmers have a refrigerated truck and the store has limited freezer space. A second example was a farming couple with a background in the restaurant industry who were taking advantage of connections with chefs, as another space that had opened for farmers in restaurants. The key to this relationship was their shared background, as they 'speak the same language'. Their estimated 70 percent of total sales to restaurants in Toronto meant that "we certainly make more doing restaurant deliveries than at the farmers' markets, so we never really pushed ourselves at these farmers' markets so much." They took requests to grow special crops for chefs, and based some of their planting on what chefs wanted and on what was popular on the *The Food Network* on television. They based their ordering and delivery system for restaurants, and oriented their future business for this market.

In contrast to the multiple economic spaces that opened up for Toronto farmers, Belo Horizonte had limited spaces for farmers, especially in wealthy neighbourhoods. Consumers in

the global South, including Belo Horizonte, are not as affluent as those in Toronto and other Northern AFNs (Abrahams, 2007). The DR program set prices for produce, and there was some discussion over increasing the cost of certain items. Yet, as one farmer said, "You can't increase prices, because then you won't sell as much, so you will come out making less." Similarly, the strategy to increase the price of produce such as heirloom tomatoes in Toronto would not be effective in Belo Horizonte. Here, the narrative around local food is devalued, including any type of 'traditional' produce, such as collard greens. Farmers noted that in recent years, collard greens had not been selling as much, and that their stalls mainly attracted older customers. This is in agreement with studies on supermarket versus farmers' market consumers elsewhere in Brazil (e.g. Hoppe et al. 2013). Yet, produce that was considered more 'modern' did not equate to value capture in Belo Horizonte. People generally chose the least expensive option. For example, given the choice among three types of lettuce—an iceberg-type lettuce (at 50 cents), Boston lettuce (at 75 cents) and Romaine (at $1.50)—most customers at one stand chose the least expensive option. According to the farmer, all of these were relatively similar in terms of inputs and labour, so the price difference was an attempt by him to capture some value, but he questioned if it was worth offering the Boston and Romaine lettuce varieties at all.

There was some limited economic empowerment in the DR program. The farmers effectively cut out the intermediary by selling directly, yielding a greater return. Farmers frequently stated that 'money in my pocket' (immediate payment) was a benefit of participation in the program. Nevertheless, they had little power to decide and set a fair price for their produce as the prices of inputs and on-farm factors changed. At certain times of year, farmers claimed that prices were fair. However, both weather and prices for inputs varied, and at times the fixed maximum price list rule was lifted by program administrators. During the 2007 field season in Belo Horizonte, there was a period of heavy rains that flooded many of the farmers' fields, and production suffered. Farmers were allowed to sell above the price list as a result, yet generally they chose not to. One farmer had to purchase his greens from another DR farmer during this period and was forced to sell at cost, since he was worried about losing customers if he did not have any produce or sold it at a higher price. Another farmer actually lowered her price during this same rainy period, despite the fact she had fewer greens to sell. She felt it was unfair to sell smaller, and in her words 'uglier', greens for the usual price. This demonstrates the linkages between the 'beauty' narrative prevalent in Belo Horizonte and the prices that farmers were able to capture. It may also speak to the differences with the Toronto consumer who may not mind buying 'uglier' greens to support the farmer during bad weather conditions, and the Belo Horizonte consumer who is looking only for the best economic value.

The one economic outlet outside of the market stall that Belo Horizonte farmers had some success with was restaurants. Unlike in Toronto, where restaurants purchased from local farmers because they were 'local', restaurants in Belo Horizonte purchased mostly for convenience and price. The space for farmers was again limited by the limited valuation of 'local' as a place construction. Five of the farmers sold to restaurants, and two of them estimated that this yielded 20 percent of their monthly sales. The rest, who sold minimally or not at all to restaurants, believed that the barrier was primarily their stall location, as most were located outside of the wealthy restaurant areas. Since local produce was not valued, chefs were not willing to go out of their way, nor pay a premium price, for DR farmers' products.

Another economic space in Belo Horizonte from which farmers are notably absent was the suite of programs associated with SMAB. Five farmers were located adjacent to Sacalão ABC (private public partnership) grocers, who were licensed and somewhat price-regulated by

the municipal government. In these cases, there were different informal agreements between the grocers and the farmers. For example, in one case, the Sacalão did not sell the same types of produce as the farmer, who limited his sales to agreed-upon produce. In another case, the grocer would buy produce from the farmer if the price was lower than other wholesalers. Other than these very limited arrangements, the DR farmers did not sell to other SMAB programs, such as the popular restaurant or the school programs. When asked about this, the Under-Secretariat agreed it was an issue; however, he noted that logistically it was easier to run the programs with lower costs if they sourced from larger wholesalers. He admitted that it would be ideal to support local small farmers like the DR ones, but that realistically SMAB is not set up to do so, since all of the departments and programs are run separately. The fact that even this economic space is closed, within the actual municipal department that is overseeing the DR program, demonstrates how few spaces have been opened for DR participants outside of the market stand.

Political spaces for farmers

Farmers in both case studies depended on income generated within the AFN to sustain their livelihoods; therefore the cities can be seen as 'spaces of dependence' (Cox, 1998) for them. In both Toronto and Belo Horizonte, farmers faced a situation where the majority of decisions about the AFN were made in the city, a space where they were political outsiders. City governments, responsible for setting policies and programs that affect the farmers, were primarily responsible to their own citizens. Therefore it was crucial that the farmers could depend on citizen support, especially those with connections and power in the city.

In Toronto, farmers were empowered by connections to affluent urban customers, who had influence in the city. The AFNs therefore open up 'spaces of engagement' for farmers (Cox, 1998). Weekly contact with this segment of society gave farmers the opportunity to share their concerns and experiences. The farmers in this study, when asked to describe their customers, used terms such as 'educated', and 'knowledgeable'. One farmer thought that, in Toronto, "most people are really aware. I think the average urban Toronto market consumer is pretty educated these days." Knowledge was shared informally at the market as well. Another farmer stated, "It's great, it's like a big interaction that's all about sharing and food is meant to be shared, right. And knowledge is meant to be shared." In addition to market space, farmers and market managers had access to affluent and educated consumers through the internet and email. Farmers' websites and market listservs, for example, informed consumers about what to expect at the market and what was happening on the farm, especially in times of extreme weather. The listservs also acted as a political space, to influence the affluent consumer. As one farmer explained:

> And what she [the market manager] does too if she's ever worried
> about what's going on, she runs direct to the customers. She'll send
> a mailer [on the listserv] and then people get right back to her with
> support, so there's a good support system there. I try not to get too
> political. I know lots of people—I think at [this market] and the
> markets we go to, we've got plenty of people that know how
> to talk.

They are not citizens of Toronto, however, and thus farmers' political space is still limited; but they have a conduit through their consumers. In one example, political power was exercised

when the city introduced new regulation wording in farmers' market permits in March 2008. The market managers feared this would lead to drastic changes in what farmers could take to market, or would make the markets ineligible for a permit. The managers were able to organize and gain support from their customers, so that no change was made to the Farmers' Market policy. Affluent customers are generally only in contact with a small contingent of farmers in an AFN, not all small farmers in the region, so their action reflects these interests.

Conversely, the farmers in Belo Horizonte lacked access to influential people within the city, and therefore lacked power within the city. Here, the city may be a space of dependence for farmers, but cannot broadly be interpreted as a space of engagement. The farmers had some support in the local government within the secretariat. However, as the Under-Secretariat of SMAB remarked, government's main priority was the citizens of Belo Horizonte, not farmers residing outside of the city. As discussed above, farmers removed from the Contorno area did not have the political power to stop this marginalization. This demonstrates how limited their influence is, and how decisions that affect them in the city are made without their representation or voice being heard.

In some rare cases farmers did have some power, such as the farmer whose community lobbied on her behalf in a low-to-middle-income area. A small grocery store located just down the street was actively trying to get rid of her market stand. The owner approached her as she was setting up her stand early in the morning, calling her names and threatening her, and finally lobbying the government to have her removed from the program. However, a group of her customers started a petition, and the local bakery and pharmacy also helped collect signatures for her to stay. The grocery store ended up leaving that location, and thanks to the engaged local community and their petition, her stand was not removed. This group was notably not elite, but they held influence within the boundaries of their low-to-middle-income neighbourhood.

Farmers in Belo Horizonte, because of their lack of political power, worry about the permanence of the both their individual stands and the broader program. Since it is a municipal program, and the municipal government is elected every four years, tension is particularly high around election time (although farmers cannot vote since they are not citizens in Belo Horizonte). One farmer worried that a change of political party in power might mean the end of the program. A new party may want to create their own legacy; DR is a part of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) legacy. Even with the PT government in power, during their two terms in office, the program weakened. As one famer said, "It is not like we can do anything about it, politicians have the power." One farmer believed that, "If there were a hundred farmers in the program, it would be a lot harder to remove." He felt that the weakening of the program related back to the removal of farmers from the public eye in the Contorno, equating the 'public eye' to the middle- and upper-class population living in the city centre.

Conclusions—space, place, and power in AFNs

One of the most striking differences in the experiences of the farmers in Belo Horizonte and Toronto was revealed through different narratives around local food. These showed very different social classes of consumers who participated in each AFN, and how this was associated with very different physical, economic, and political spaces for farmers in the city. Farmers in Toronto draw on the valuation of the 'local' scale, while in Belo Horizonte, the devaluation of the 'local' led farmers to divorce their produce from place-based narratives of local, and to recreate the 'placeless' food of supermarkets. As geographer David Harvey (1996) noted, 'local'

is a value-laden term, and an unreflexive localism (accepting the local without any thought as to how it is constituted) can lead to social exclusion of certain classes. He states: "the local' as a concept intrinsically implies the inclusion and exclusion of particular people, places and ways of life. The representation of the local and its constructs—quality, embeddedness, trust, care—privilege certain analytical categories and trajectories" (p. 461).

Clearly, AFNs must be profitable for participating farmers in order to attract and keep them in the city, and opening physical and economic spaces of privilege in Toronto does benefit farmers. Yet, there are broader social justice implications. The Toronto market spaces were targeted to more affluent customers, potentially excluding those with lower incomes. This agrees with other work in North America on farmer's markets (e.g. Alcon 2008, Slocum 2008). Work by Campigotto (2010) on the Wychwood Barns market found evidence of increased economic and race privilege after its re-location to the Green Barn market, creating an even more exclusionary space. Some market locations in Toronto may be acting as a 'bleeder valve' for the privileged few who inhibit the market space and are active on its behalf, limiting their political activity to a space of privilege (Allen, 2008). Other markets in Toronto, such as the aforementioned Stonegate farmers' market, showed configurations that potentially benefit farmers but may also be more socially just. This suggests that if the 'burden' of cost can be put on the high-end consumer through venues like specialty stores and restaurants, it can subsidize access to the AFN for the low-income consumer. In this scenario, the farmer can still earn the higher margins they need for more labour-intensive production, although less so than if combining specialty store sales with a more affluent market.

In Belo Horizonte, the lack of physical and economic space was problematic for farmers. The AFN aimed to improve access to lower income customers, and the government kept farmers physically distant from spaces of privilege. The devaluation of local food in Belo Horizonte, in contrast to the valuation of supermarket fare, meant less demand for DR stalls by the affluent population. Although keeping farmers in more marginal spaces and controlling prices may be just for the poor urban consumer, the result is closed economic and political spaces for farmers. If space in the Contorno were to be opened for farmers even for a limited time weekly, and if pricing were liberated there, the AFN could benefit from a model that would enhance spaces for local food in the city.

This study has provided an example of the multi-dimensional differences, for both consumers and small-scale farmers, between AFNs in the global South and North, as asserted by Abrahams (2007). The spaces for farmers in the city reflect the power of the class of customers with whom the farmers primarily interact. The spaces for farmers also reinforce urban class divisions by putting farmers 'in their place', whether it be in more affluent spaces in Toronto or in more marginalized spaces in Belo Horizonte.

A limitation of this study is that it the case studies cannot be generalized as representative of the AFN situation in the global North or South. However, the methodology of examining AFNs in terms of the physical, economic, and political spaces experienced by farmers and local residents can be replicated in other locations, thus broadening the evidence base on which to build further comparative analysis. Adopting a geographical perspective allows for a critical examination of how scale, space, and place are constructed and articulated in AFNs, in ways that are both reflective and constitutive of political and economic power.

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Field Report

Reflections of a food studies researcher: Connecting the community-university-policy divide…becoming the hyphens!

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Having recently completed a doctorate degree, and settling into my new identity as a 'food studies' sociologist, I have been thinking a lot about my role as an academic researcher. I have a past life that has combined front-line food security work, community-based research, and public policy analysis. This means that I am well acquainted with what I call the *community-university-policy divide.* I am particularly aware of how the separation of these worlds can be problematic for progressive social change on matters of concern for citizens. In my experience, social problems and the effects of public policy for individuals, families, and communities are often not well understood by academics, who may have the resources to bring them to light with documented empirical evidence. In turn, those responsible for evidence-based policy making have limited capacity for research, and knowledge transfer of relevant research from the academy to policy realms and community is weak, to say the least (Stocking 1995). The divide between policy making and the micro-effects of policy is by far the widest.

My doctoral research on the relationship between family food insecurity and infant feeding clearly documented this divide. For example, food insecure mothers, who were primarily responsible for feeding their babies and families, were disconnected from, and had little or no input into, the policies that support or impede such work. Do food researchers have a role to play in bridging the divide between such experience and policy, so that experiences might be more fully recognized and integrated into food policy debates? The following discussion details the methods used in my research on infant food insecurity and provides a methodological reflection on this question. Ultimately it is a reflection on an unintentional outcome of research: the role of the researcher as storyteller, a role that can serve as the 'hyphens' in the community-university-policy divide.

Infant food insecurity

My interest in the topic of infant food insecurity arose out of my years working as a coordinator of a Nova Scotia project called Great Beginnings in the 1990s. Great Beginnings was a project of the federally funded Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program (CPNP). Since 1995, CPNP has supported community-based projects throughout Canada to develop or enhance programs for vulnerable pregnant women, with the specific aim to "reduce the incidence of unhealthy birth weights, improve the health of both infant and mother and encourage breastfeeding" (Public Health Agency of Canada 2008). In this work I was confronted daily with the difficulties mothers experienced in maintaining breastfeeding and subsequently affording and having access to infant formula. In trying to feed, mothers and their babies were presented with problems of food production, food acquisition, food affordability, food safety, and food consumption. On the face of it, there was an apparent paradox: low-income mothers, who had difficulty affording infant formula, were the least likely to produce food via the breast. My job at the time was partially aimed at addressing this paradox, through targeted interventions, to increase breastfeeding rates to improve optimal infant nutrition. My frustrations in this job stemmed from a sociological awareness that this paradox was in fact not illogical. Low-income mothers faced a double burden when poverty conditions had an impact on breastfeeding success and optimal formula feeding. Years later, I conducted a case study to explore and unravel this paradox by examining the social, economic, and political relations that shaped food production via the breast and access to food for infants in general from the perspective of mother, as well as how infant food insecurity was conceived of and addressed by policy.

My approach to the study of public policy was integrative. I believe that the social world is best understood by exploring the interaction between micro-level experiences and objective social structures. I view the interconnections between public policy and experience in several key ways. First, policy as a component of the structures of governments and organizations shapes the social conditions within which we live. Second, while public policies are thought to be expressions of perceived social needs—created, enforced, and changing depending on these needs—they are in fact ideological. This means that public policy addresses and is shaped by dominant values held by the privileged in organizations of power, and can be part of the structures of inequality: serving to reinforce the current arrangements of society that benefit some at the expense of many. Policy is also created and enforced within the day-to-day working lives of policy enactors, leaving policy open to interpretation and various levels of compliance. Therefore, research on policy requires analysis of written and/or unwritten policies themselves (and the systems that support them) and an in-depth understanding of experience and perceptions of policy from a variety of perspectives. I suggest that such an integrative approach is ideally suited to food policy analysis. It has the potential to reveal the complexity of the social world and is a precondition to designing action for progressive change on food justice issues.

The case study: A mixed methods approach for exploring the public policy relations of infant food insecurity

I was interested in understanding the dynamics of the condition of infant food insecurity and the ways in which public policy does, does not, or could respond. I used a multi-phased, mixed methods research process to examine the everyday experiences of infant feeding under

conditions of deprivation and the multiple policy domains that intersect with and shape those experiences.[1]

Phase one: Exploring the everyday experiences of infant food insecurity

I began by exploring the everyday experiences of infant food insecurity through the use of interviews with mothers living in low-income circumstances throughout Nova Scotia who had at least one child of at least six months and up to two years. This specification was set to ensure an adequate time frame to reflect on infant feeding experiences from birth up to the introduction of solid foods. The maximum age of two years was set to increase the likelihood that mothers would remember details concerning their experiences. Twenty in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews took place from February to May 2011. Interview participants were selected in collaboration with projects of the Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program. In consultation with project coordinators, interviews were confirmed with twenty mothers living in twelve different communities in Nova Scotia. The exact settings of the interviews varied and were selected based on the preference of the interviewees. In all cases, family resource centres/projects were able to provide supports necessary to facilitate participation. Fifteen of the twenty interviews occurred within centres, where in-kind supports of transportation, childcare, and food were provided. Five interviews were conducted in the homes of interviewees at their request.

The interviews began with demographic questions such as age, number and age of children, schooling, family composition, income amount and source, and employment status. The majority of those interviewed were in their twenties. Seventeen mothers self-identified as white, two as aboriginal, and one as mixed. Two mothers had only one child, five had two children, and thirteen had three or more. Collectively the mothers had a total of sixty-one children ranging in age from five weeks to fifteen years. The median income of the group was less than $29,000 annually and only one mother was currently working outside the home in a part-time job. Two mothers were on maternity leave and seventeen were not working. Nine mothers were parenting alone and all of them were receiving provincial income assistance. Seventeen of the twenty mothers had been on income assistance at some point during their experience as mothers.

General exploratory questions about social practice, social conditions and possible related external social relations (such as policy or local traditions) that could be playing a role in the experiences of families were posed. Interviewees discussed how decisions concerning infant feeding practice were influenced, experiences of infant feeding and food insecurity, strategies employed to address food insecurity and the role that policy and practice of institutions and governments do and/or could play in shaping infant food security and insecurity. An interview guide was used; however, interviewees were free to discuss any other topics they felt important, and discussions concerning the challenges of both parenting and poverty were common. The analysis of the interview transcripts resulted in three overall categories of experience concerning infant food insecurity: 1. How mothers used breastfeeding to produce infant food security, 2. How breastfeeding was experienced as an insecure food system itself due to poverty environments and systematic barriers, and 3. How the unaffordability and inaccessibility of infant formula put infants at risk of food insecurity. Of particular interest was the analysis of the intersections between infant feeding experiences and household food insecurity. This phase of the research revealed how infant feeding, regardless of feeding method, was shaped by household food insecurity. Food access was compromised when lactation was shaped by mothers' material deprivation, institutional interference, and public attitudes against

breastfeeding. Compromised food access was also apparent in alternatives to breastfeeding as low-income mothers were unable to purchase food commodities, and public policy and food charity systems were ill equipped to respond accordingly.[2]

Phase two: Policy review

Phase two began with the creation of a visual mapping of policy areas identified by mothers. Four sub-categories of policy thought to be essential for infant food security were identified shown below in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Infant food insecurity policy map
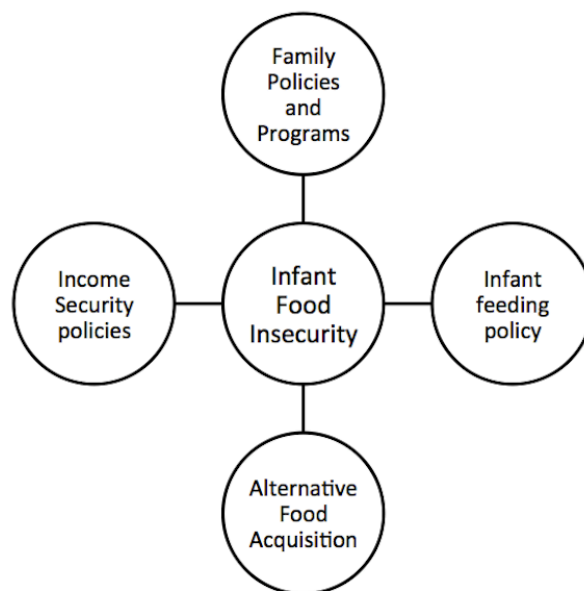
Document collection was conducted through the use of internet searches under the four headings of the policy map: family policies and programs; infant feeding/food policy and programs; alternative food acquisition; and income security. This process served as an environmental scan of relevant policies within the province of Nova Scotia. It also included relevant national policies and programs with an impact on Nova Scotians as well as wider international agreements in the keys areas of infant feeding and food security. After compiling electronic documents under the categorical structure of the policy map, each document was analyzed for specific relevance to infant food insecurity. In particular the analysis identified all intersections between infant feeding and the condition of food insecurity as well as noting if the policy had the potential to support food security or might lead to food insecurity for infants. Specific policies that were mentioned during the interviews were included, as were broader policy documents that were unknown and therefore not discussed by interviewees.[3] In all, policies were documented at the community level, provincial level (beyond Nova Scotia for comparative purposes), and the national and international levels (in regard to international agreements that Canada has signed). A summary document was created which contained information on each of the four policy areas

using three headings to record the following: key discussions from interviews; specific relevant policies (including a website address and excerpts of key importance); and policy-area cross references (identification of intersections among policy areas). Additionally, a detailed policy map was created to visually show the intersections between public policy that related to infant food insecurity, shown below in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Infant food insecurity policy map (detailed)
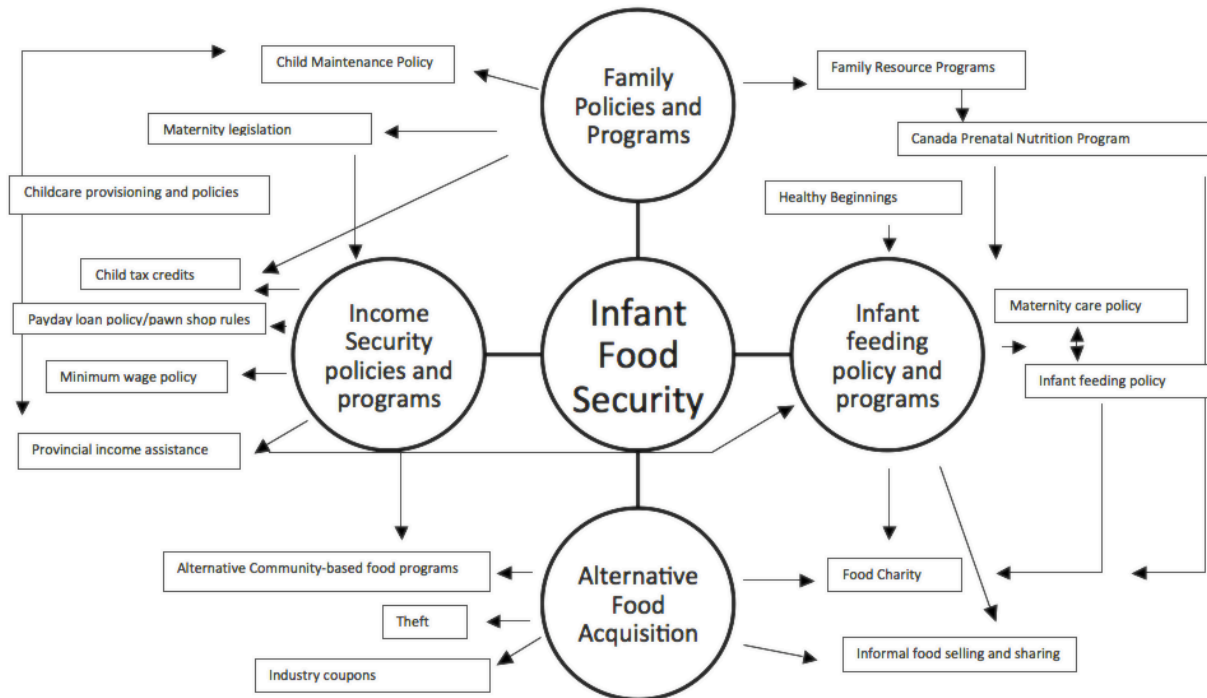
This summary document and the detailed policy map served as a tool for discussion and reflection during interviews with people in government and organizations with direct knowledge of the identified policy areas.

Phase three: Interviews with policy and program workers

Six formal interviews occurred between July and August of 2011 with staff in government and organizations with direct knowledge of the identified policy areas reviewed in phase two. Interviewees included three government employees (one provincial health and nutrition policy worker, one federal health policy worker, and one provincial community services policy worker) and three from community organizations working in the areas of family support, food security, and infant feeding.

Reflections on the policy interviews: data collection or story telling?

The original intent of the interviews with policy workers was to collect data on the subjective meanings that staff attached to policy intent, experiences of enacting policy, perceived outcome for infant food insecurity and suggestions for improvements in the areas identified by the mothers. In a sense I was interested in data extraction from an alternative perspective in order to broadly explore infant food insecurity. However, when these interviews were completed and I was reading and analyzing transcripts, I was struck by how different the dialogue was between me (as the interviewer) and the interviewees (policy and program workers), as compared to the dialogue of the interviews I had conducted in the past. Generally I am pretty good at saying very little while soliciting peoples' stories. However, in this circumstance, my interview transcripts were filled with interviewer text. So much so that my hired transcriber admitted to wishing I would just "shut up", as she had heard these stories over and over and was tired of typing them. I commiserated with her, as I was initially unsatisfied with the interviews myself for the same reasons: quite frankly, I was irritated that I had talked so much. Being a sociologist who teaches qualitative research methods and interviewing techniques, I encourage my students to strive for maximizing the text produced from the interviewee and minimizing their own text. What had I done wrong? Why was I continually telling a story while the interviewee was listening? And what was the outcome of all this storytelling?

After a good deal of reflection, analysis of the interview transcripts, and insight from the policy workers themselves, I have come to see this interview experience as essential in understanding my role as a food studies researcher. Even though it was unintentional, I had become the hyphens! (that is, the hyphens in the community-university-policy divide). Instead of playing the role of facilitating information *from* the policy interviewees, I found myself playing the role of storyteller, conveying the stories told to me by the mothers to the workers of program and policy realms. This was the case because the complexity of infant food insecurity as a food/health policy issue was largely unknown and un-conceptualized within written policy and by policy workers. The interviews served the purposes of knowledge transfer of the women's stories, as the interviewees continued to ask me questions about many things that had not occurred to them before. The disjuncture between the everyday world of mothers and the world of policy decision-making was evident and in so, my storytelling of the micro-effects of policy was serving to connect mothers to the policy realms.

The complexity of mother experiences of infant food insecurity

Interviews with mothers identified infant food insecurity as a complex phenomenon that related to public policy in four key areas, illustrated by Figure 1. As Figure 2 detailed, there was a great deal of overlap and interconnection between the identified policy areas. For example, income-security policy, such as provincial income-assistance policy, is a set of policies in which some are specific to income levels and others span issues of family policy (such as rules concerning child maintenance) or nutrition (such as entitlements for special diet requirements of infants and maternal nutrition allowances). Another example of overlap is seen in policies and programs that contribute to income security and that also constitute a position on family policy, such as the National Child Benefit or the Universal Childcare Benefit. Additionally, many policy discussions related to food charity rules (or payday loans or pawning) intersect with income security—but notably with the failure of income-security policy. Public policy also was

manifested in mothers' lives through programs in which they participated, such as the Canada Prenatal Nutrition Program and public health services, particularly those shaped by infant feeding and nutrition policy.

Other than the two interviewees working directly in family support services (workers that were deeply involved in the complexity of infant feeding within poverty conditions), infant food insecurity as a social problem was largely un-conceptualized by policy enactors. Prior to the interviews, the complexity of the issue had not been considered and interviewees were only knowledgeable about areas of policy relevant to their work. For example, one senior policy analyst from community services remarked that she was struck by the complexity of infant food insecurity as represented in policy. She said:

> So I was going through your chart, now, the Canada Prenatal
> Nutrition Program, that was a new one for me. I am familiar with
> Healthy Beginnings obviously, and I am familiar with infant
> feeding policy and those kinds of things, but there were things that
> I wasn't aware of. It appears, in some ways, that everything
> operates independent. If there could be more of the left hand knows
> what the right hand is doing, and maybe there is more happening
> than I know of because I do not know this in an in-depth kind of
> way, you know what I mean? If there could be more of a
> coordinated approach? …I wonder how much everybody knows
> what everybody else is doing?

Other policy interviewees were surprised to hear about policies in other jurisdictions that mothers described as contributing to infant food insecurity. For example, the following health policy worker was shocked by an income assistance policy, and the community services policy worker was stunned by a mother's experience of needing to pray with volunteers prior to being giving infant formula from a charity organization:

> **Health policy worker**: If I read that right, does that mean if I am a
> divorced mother and I am receiving child support from an ex-
> partner, and I am on income assistance, that child support is clawed
> back?
> **Researcher**: Yes, dollar for dollar, it is considered non-earned
> income, and comes off your total entitlement.
> **Health policy worker**: That is… I couldn't believe that, wow that
> is incredible. Personally it hit home for me, I just see that the rich
> get richer, and those that are already struggling are forced to grovel
> and beg.
> **Community Services policy worker**: I was reading about some of
> the information you had there about food banks and how some
> have formula and some don't.
> **Researcher**: Yes, food charity for babies was not anything mothers
> could rely on.
> **Community Services policy worker**: It is like you have to pray it
> will be there.

> **Researcher**: Well in some cases women actually did have to pray,
> literally.
> **Community Services policy worker**: Oh you mean *pray,* pray,
> really? Here in Nova Scotia, wow, that is a new one.

Another health policy worker (particularly in the area of infant feeding policy) was also unaware of informal food charity policies and practices concerning emergency formula provisioning within the community. Similarly the federal health policy worker was unaware of the status of food charity for infants. When asked, "do all of [food banks] stock formula?" I said:

> **Researcher**: No, there are public asks for formula on many food
> bank websites across Canada but some believe Canadians should
> rethink donating formula to food banks as it might create barriers to
> breastfeeding. For example, INFACT Canada issued a press release
> in 2005 concerning this.
> **Health policy worker**: You are kidding me? What right do they
> have to say that?

It was routine, as the interviewer, to answer questions about the state of infant food insecurity and the role policy played from the mother's perspective, particularly in the area of income assistance policy, family policy, food charity, and infant feeding—rather than the interviewee answering questions about the role of policy. This was most surprising when I attempted to secure an interview with the federal department responsible for the monitoring of Canada's Action Plan for Food Security. The written action plan outlines issues of food insecurity domestically and abroad with action priorities centered on improving food systems and food access. Infant feeding is briefly mentioned in this document as a food security concern, and the protection of breastfeeding is targeted as a key strategy for infant food security, particularly, but not only, in developing countries (Department of Agriculture and Agri-food 1998). When requesting an interview I was told that my interests were really a matter of infant feeding policy therefore regardless of the fact this department was responsible for monitoring Canada's Action Plan for Food Security, they would not have the expertise to discuss infant food insecurity. Clearly food insecurity was not conceptualized in the same way as it was by the mothers in my research. Although a formal interview did not take place, two civil servants from the department agreed to a phone call because they were interested to hear about infant food security policy from the perspective of mothers. In the conversation, they confirmed a lack of conceptualization of mothers' experiences of infant food insecurity, saying that they thought many government departments have not been made aware of the issue.

Disjuncture between experiences of infant food insecurity and policy realms

What is the connection between those who experience a social phenomenon and those who are tasked to shape, interpret, and implement public policy related to it? To begin, mothers' discussions about policy were very different than policy workers. The actual word *policy* was seldom used by the mothers interviewed. Rather, they talked about "rules" of various organizations' or government programs that they found either helpful or problematic. These were rules that were directly affecting them, and they tended to relate mostly to issues of income in a

very broad sense—from income-assistance policy, government cash transfers, payday loans, pawning, maternity leave, and employment income, as well as family policy such as childcare and child support. As well, rules concerning charity food access, and (largely informal) institutional and community rules concerning infant feeding were prominent. It is also important to note that not all policy was experienced in formal and written ways, but it was experienced nonetheless. Policies that did not have any noticeable influence on mothers' daily lives (for example, the Nova Scotia Breastfeeding Policy) were unsurprisingly not named in their discussions. International, national, and even provincial policies (which by and large are policy positions, as opposed to legislated policy) were never discussed, and if they were (an example being Canada Child Tax Policy or the Canada Food Guide); there was little recognition that these were national policies as opposed to local policy. Just as mothers did not use the language of policy, they also did not use the language of food security or insecurity, nor for that matter infant feeding. They talked about not being able to feed their children, food bank rules, formula and breastfeeding, nurses, and community workers—often by their first names. They talked about things that create barriers to getting their life done and the things that facilitate living well.

As I have said above, some policy workers were quick to admit they did not fully understand how mothers were experiencing infant food insecurity. In other instances, policy workers attempted to explain the rationale of policy that they were familiar with that might be a barrier to infant food security. For example, policy enactors involved with infant feeding policy across the province highlighted problems within the health care system itself, anti-breastfeeding cultural norms, and the power of big business in the marketing of formula as the biggest challenges in their work of promoting and supporting breastfeeding. A family resource worker said, "I could talk for hours about the inadequacies of breastfeeding support in communities and this country," and the provincial health policy worker indicated that from her perspective, formula companies were the greatest culprit in creating infant food insecurity, as they have endless resources to promote the use of their products as an alternative means of feeding babies. She thought that such marketing power created an uphill battle for those working in setting policy and for those working directly with families in supporting breastfeeding.

Despite policy and support efforts, particularly in low-income populations, mothers' stories detailed how they relied on formula to feed their babies when breastfeeding was unsuccessful, and that in regard to this, it was very difficult to find help. Unknown to mothers, there is a provincial resource titled, *How to Feed Your Baby with Infant Formula*. When a policy worker was asked about this resource, she indicated that the guide was not accessible on the government website and was only distributed after an informed decision to formula feed was made during home visiting by public health staff. None of the mothers interviewed had ever received the guide (85% of whom had used formula at some point). The guide tells you what you need to know to feed your baby as safely as possible and the approximate cost of formula. When I asked the policy worker if she felt that the timing (and method) of the distribution of this guide was effective in supporting mothers' needs, she said she "could argue both sides," meaning that it was effective in upholding the breastfeeding policy and in not bolstering the success of the formula industry, but that it had the potential to be ineffective if not readily available.

During my research, five staff members from four different family resource centres discussed the dilemma of providing support for formula feeding, a role they all described as a delicate balance of contradictions between breastfeeding policy, their own values as breastfeeding advocates, and the needs of low-income mothers. There appear to be contested ideas about how to respond to infant food insecurity within different policy and program realms.

Government-funded programs and provincial infant-feeding policy does not address the need for emergency provisioning of infant formula. Yet those working closest with mothers in need of formula found secretive ways to respond. A policy worker interviewed discussed worries about the provincial breastfeeding policy, stating:

> I do worry about the anxiety that the breastfeeding policy causes for the family resources centres and they do all they can to provide that supportive environment for women to try to breastfeed…, how do we support women for them to try on breastfeeding, if they don't want to do it, how do we help them get access to the proper developmental formula? We need to do both…. I think if the public health system is serious about going upstream then they have to be able to hear that and to be honest about what is really happening.

This same policy worker described this need to expose *what is really happening* due to a social disconnect between civil servants and citizens. For example, she felt an essential part of her own work was to listen to people's experiences and be a storyteller herself within government. She expressed how important is was for researchers to be sharing stories about what is happening on the ground, as she believed researchers provide credibility to her work in health equity policy. She said:

> There is a social disconnect between civil servants and what is happening on the ground. The biggest thing is health practitioners just don't know to address poverty as a determinant of health, they don't know what is happening and they can't empathize. I believe so strongly in trying to lessen that social disconnect. My strategy is to truly listen. I learn about most of the policies impacting the families that we are talking about through my community friends and even just talking to you; then what I try to do with my learnings is talk to other civil servants, because we need to be enraged about some of these policies. For those that can be moved, we need to keep telling stories, giving examples, and we need to keep solidarity among those that care about equity. We need to be working with folks like you that are doing important things to make things credible, connected to reality; you are our lifeline, too, because I have very limited power.

This particular conversation is the one that spurred my reflection on my role of a food studies researcher. The finding of this case study revealed how infant feeding represents an example of food production, acquisition, and consumption that is rendered vulnerable by household food insecurity. Infants' access to food depended on a lactating mother or a reliable and affordable alternative. Compromised food access was also apparent in alternatives to breastfeeding, as low-income mothers were unable to purchase food commodities. Regardless of infant feeding method, infants and their mothers were food insecure and public policy was partially at the root of this or was ill equipped to respond. If public policies are responses to social needs then we must fully understand what those needs are. The current disconnect between mothers'

experiences and the policy world will perpetuate this unknowing. An integrative approach to food studies research has the potential to make an account about what is really happening, and such accounts have the power to define what are considered real social problems. This is the precondition to designing action for progressive change on food justice issues, and why as a researcher "I just can't shut up."

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[1] I am indebted to the work of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith for informing my approach to sociological research, in particular her methodology of Institutional Ethnography, a research approach aimed at exploring the linkages between everyday experience and the extra-local social relations of organizations, governance and policy (See Smith, D. 2005. *Institutional Ethnography; A Sociology for People.* Lanham, MD: Altamira Press).

[2] The results from this phase of the research are reported in a forthcoming publication by UBC Press to be completed in the fall of 2014.

[3] This was particularly so for any policy-related material that did not have any direct impact on the lives of mothers. For example, an income-assistance policy that impacts a mother's access to funding, or a food bank policy that restricts food access, is known, but provincial, national or international policy documents tended not to be.

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Digital Work

Reflections on "As we fish and farm," a radio documentary

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Four years ago, I made my first trip to Bonne Bay, a remote fjord on Newfoundland's west coast, to begin my doctoral research at Memorial University about the local food and fishing system around Bonne Bay. The region of Bonne Bay has a population of about 3,000 people, situated in five communities along the north and south sides of the bay (see Fig. 1). Traditionally, the food system was based on a system of "occupational pluralism" in which residents provided for themselves as much food as they could through fishing for sale and subsistence and through home gardening (Ommer et al. 2007, 118). As Cadigan (2002) described, "the inshore fishery dictated that settlements were scattered along the rugged coastline, but gardens were just as important features of communities as were flakes, stages, and ships" (250).

Figure 1: Map of Bonne Bay

However, the food system around Bonne Bay has changed significantly over the past number of decades. The shift to a cash-based economy, the transition to wage labour in processing plants (instead of home-based fish processing), and the construction of new roads providing access to grocery stores, all led to changes in the local food system. Like many other
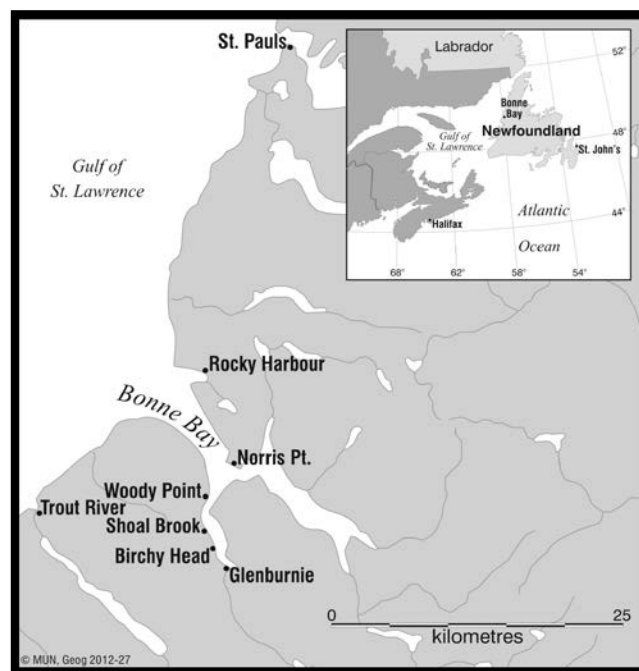
coastal communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, change in the Bonne Bay region has been particularly rapid since the early 1990s, when cod and other groundfish stocks were placed under moratoria. The collapse of cod stocks led to one of the largest industrial layoffs in Canadian history (Bavington 2010).

Today, while the fishing industry continues to be restructured, cod stocks have not been rebuilt, the number of fish harvesters and small processing plants are declining, and communities around Bonne Bay face high rates of out-migration, particularly among young people (Fisheries and Oceans Canada 2012; MacDonald et al. 2013; Walsh 2011). There has been a shift to shellfish harvesting and processing following the collapse of groundfisheries. Nonetheless, value from shellfisheries has not fully compensated for the lost income from groundfisheries, particularly for small-scale fish harvesters and processors (Ommer and the Coasts Under Stress Research Team 2007; Schrank 2005). Tourism has also assumed a more important role in the local economy, and many households—including those that fish—rely on seasonal tourism employment. Finally, a growing but undocumented number of local residents migrate for work elsewhere (MacDonald et al. 2013).

In this context my doctoral research sought to understand the implications of these changes for the food security of coastal communities around Bonne Bay. One of the ways I tried to capture the story of a changing food and fishing system was in the form of a short radio documentary. Entitled "As we fish and farm," the documentary features three individuals describing their challenges and hopes in fishing and farming around Bonne Bay today. I produced "As we fish and farm" during a radio documentary-making workshop in November 2012. The workshop was led by Chris Brookes, award-winning radio documentary producer,[1] and organized by the Community-University Research for Recovery Alliance (CURRA) at Memorial University.[2] I was one of a group of about ten participants that took part in the radio documentary workshop as a way of sharing results from the CURRA project with researchers, community partners, and the Bonne Bay community. The Voice of Bonne Bay (VOBB),[3] a small, volunteer-run community radio station that broadcasts throughout the Bonne Bay region and online, promoted and aired the documentaries developed in the workshop. For me, as an emerging scholar interested in community-based research, the radio documentary offered a creative venue for sharing my research. While I was already well into writing my doctoral dissertation at the time I started the documentary, putting the documentary together made me think more clearly about the main story my research told and reflect on its significance not only for an academic audience but for the people living in the region.

As you listen to "As we fish and farm" you will hear from three individuals whose stories are indicative of many others in the region who fish and farm: Ernie Decker, Marsha Crocker, and Mancel Halfyard. Ernie (see Image 1) has fished for nearly forty years out of Baker's Brook, just north of Rocky Harbour. This is the same place from which his father fished before him and from which his brother also currently fishes.

Image 1: Ernie Decker, fish harvester, Rocky Harbour

Marsha (see Image 2) lives with her husband and two young sons in Trout River, where she raises animals and fishes commercially with her husband.

Mancel (see Image 3) is nearly 90 years old and continues to garden the same plot of land he has been tending for over fifty years in Woody Point. He has among the largest and most productive gardens around Bonne Bay.

Image 2: Marsha Crocker's gardens, Trout River

Image 3: Mancel Halfyard, gardener, Woody Point

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[1] See www.batteryradio.com
[2] See www.curra.ca
[3] See www.vobb.org

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Food System Transitions Stream

Do trade agreements substantially limit development of local / sustainable food systems in Canada?

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Abstract

A common view in policy and business circles is that certain elements of trade agreements (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade rules, the World Trade Organization Agreement on Agriculture, and the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the Canadian Agreement on Internal Trade significantly limit the policy and program instruments available to support the development of local/sustainable food systems. This exploratory textual analysis of select trade articles, filtered through a local/sustainable lens, suggests that Canadian governments can put in place more substantial policy and program drivers without triggering trade disputes. Of particular note is that local/sustainable foods may not be considered equivalent to imported conventional ones, and therefore many provisions of the trade agreements may not be applicable. Equally important, the rules do permit certain kinds of support, there are numerous exemptions and thresholds for application of measures, and many current actors in local/sustainable implementation may not be subject to the agreements. Based on this textual analysis, pertinent instrument design features are proposed that would allow governments and other parties to support local/sustainable food systems without triggering trade disputes.

Keywords: local/sustainable food; trade agreements; instrument choice, Canada

Introduction

The shift from primarily locally to globally distributed foods is a longstanding process, dating back some 500 years in the European world (Coleman, 2008). Although much of the global food supply remains local (in 2004, only 8% of global agricultural and food products were exported [Anderson and Croser, 2010][1]), in the industrial world, production efficiencies have produced volumes beyond domestic food requirements. This has helped trigger a shift in many jurisdictions away from policies of domestic self-reliance in basic foods to international movement of goods. Agriculture was originally part of the trade rules established under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) but there were so many loopholes that it was effectively exempt until the 1994 Uruguay round agreement resulted in its full inclusion (what became the Agreement on Agriculture when the WTO was founded in 1995). Subsequent multilateral agreements have GATT rules at their core and have applied many of these rules to agriculture.

The role of the trade deals in food globalization is open to some debate (Bonnanno and Constance, 2008), but at a minimum they have helped cement the shift away from the local and regional supply chains that provided basic foodstuffs up until the 1960s (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989; Hendrickson and Heffernan, 2002). Although not the focus of this paper, food regime theory is useful to gain further understanding of the wider geopolitical and economic context of this process and whose interests it served (see AHV 2009 26(4), especially Pritchard, 2009).

Many still question the benefits of including agriculture in international trade agreements (Rosset, 2006; Smith, 2009; Burnett and Murphy, 2013). Some critics promote regional self-reliance and local food distribution as an alternative approach, in part because local/sustainable systems are thought to counter many of the negative effects of the industrial, global model, with enhanced regional economic development, environmental improvements, and a higher quality food supply the likely result (Bendavid-Val, 1991; MacRae et al., 2014a,b). This heightened interest in such food systems has analysts exploring the many policy obstacles and opportunities to enhance their development, including examining the role of trade agreements, both domestic and international (COG, 2007; Carter-Whitney, 2008; Friedmann, 2007). This paper focuses on the main agreements affecting Canada.

Canada appears committed to the trade agreements in the near term, since the federal government views their benefits, including economic opportunities for many agri-food firms and consumer choice, as vastly superior to the disbenefits (those firms penalized by the deals, including those engaged primarily in local/sustainable food supply chains, socio-economic and environmental perturbations). Canada's participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) represented a shift from a national state-assistance approach to agricultural development—the idea that agriculture had some exceptional characteristics requiring unique state interventions—to partial adoption of a neo-liberal paradigm (Skogstad, 2008). However, Skogstad (2008) cautions against viewing this as a paradigm change, arguing that it represents a shift, but not a rejection, of the state assistance model. And she argues that such shifts have not exclusively been a product of the trade arrangements, influenced as well by changes in policy communities, state budgets and other domestic factors. Given that the state assistance model has provided some protection for domestic food production, processing, and

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[1] Note that this estimate excludes intra EU trade.

distribution, the retention of that paradigm may afford some support for local/sustainable systems.

A commonly expressed view in policy and business circles is that some trade articles and disciplines do significantly limit the range of policy and program instruments that can be applied by governments[2]. The trade articles selected for examination (in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade [GATT], several WTO agreements, including the AoA, and in the North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA]) are those commonly named by Canadian government officials as reasons not to support local procurement and domestic producers interested in transitioning to sustainable practices and marketing (Carter-Whitney, 2006). An additional component of this discussion concerns the role of the Canadian Agreement on Internal Trade (AIT), a domestic agreement complementary to Canada's international trade arrangements (Doern and MacDonald, 1999) and also potentially constraining to local/sustainable food systems.

This is a very preliminary textual analysis because no trade case law exists (e.g., WTO disputes) that directly relates to the research question (see discussion below), and trade texts are ambiguous and open to interpretation. There are numerous ways to examine the texts, including policy analysis (Hajer, 2003), through the lens of economic and political globalization (Coleman et al., 2004), food regime theory (Pritchard, 2009; Otero and Pechlaner, 2010), analyzing economic risks and benefits across food chain actors (Kerr and Gaisford, 2007), and trade deals as "roll back" neoliberalism, or the use of neoliberal concepts and actions to rollback certain dimensions of social progress (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The approach taken here, however, is modelled after Swinbank (2006) and Daugbjerg (2012) who both addressed related questions (animal welfare and organic food, respectively) in trade agreements. Because the loss of instrument choices is commonly identified as the reason why the state cannot support the evolution of local/sustainable systems, I read select trade articles through a local/sustainable food system lens (see the discussion below on the parameters of such a lens) to identify how they might impact instrument choice for Canadian governments[3]. I rely on triangulation from different sources and face validity, convergent or discriminant validity, catalytic validity, and whether the work is useful and illuminating (Reason and Rowan, 1981)[4].

I offer an argument that Canadian governments have far more instrument latitude than is typically acknowledged, and, although there are restrictions, more substantial drivers can be put in place than currently exist without triggering trade disputes. In other words, the trade agreements are not entirely restrictive for a variety of reasons related to partial adoption of neo-liberal ideology, the challenges of finding common ground amongst so many nations that also have to attend to domestic voters, associated current disagreements over pertinent issues, and the enormously complicated nature of food supply chains and their governance. It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine why the federal government persists in arguing that it cannot act

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[2] The author has heard this argument put forward for years in meetings with government officials and agri-food firms and organizations.

[3] Note that it is not the purpose of this study to determine the merits of local/sustainable systems, nor to identify the winners and losers should such systems be widely adopted.

[4] Face validity (whether it looks right to the discriminating observer); convergent or discriminant validity (defined by Reason and Rowan [1981:240] as .. "when a number of measures which purport to measure the same thing all point in the same direction"); contextual validity (how any piece of data fits in with the whole picture); catalytic validity (allowing individuals or groups to take action based on the study results); whether the work is useful and illuminating (providing some clarity on a topic that was not previously apparent).

without violating trade agreements, but current institutional and economic arrangements and ideological commitments admittedly make overt implementation of such local/sustainable support measures unlikely in the short term. It may be important for advocates of such systems to be well informed on the trade agreements should they wish to make their case in the mid to long term.

The analysis suggested here is an intermediate line of inquiry because much of the current opposition of local/sustainable food advocates to trade regimes in Canada focuses on the need to withdraw from them, or to substantially alter their construction, and these are clearly long term agendas. For example, the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC, 1994) used food security, community health and agro-ecological frameworks within Hill and MacRae's (1995) Efficiency-Substitution-Redesign transition frame to set out how trade agreements need to be redesigned if health and sustainability are the ultimate public policy objectives. While this is an important line of reasoning, this paper has more modest ambitions. In the short to medium term, can local/sustainable food systems be supported within the current trade environment? Can efficiency-stage initiatives be proposed that still comply with trade arrangements?

The state of local/sustainable food system development in Canada

Although some attention is given to localization and sustainable production independently, it is less common for integrated local/sustainable systems to be considered. The driving idea behind integrated local/sustainable food systems is to maximize the environmental, social and economic benefits that can accrue with a greater emphasis on regional food systems that are environmentally sustainable (MacRae et al., 2014 a,b). Such benefits are more robust than those associated with just local or sustainable systems.

There is, of course, much debate about how to define local/sustainable foods. For this analysis, it is sufficient to categorize local as sub-national food supply chains, conforming to provincial boundaries or smaller regions (Louden and MacRae, 2010), that employ sustainable production meeting the following definition (MacRae et al., 1990):

> Sustainable agriculture is both a philosophy and a system of farming. It has its roots in a set of values that reflect a state of awareness of ecological and social realities and of one's ability to take effective action. It involves design and management procedures that work with natural processes to conserve all resources, minimize waste and environmental impact, while maintaining or improving farm profitability. As well, such systems aim to produce food that is nutritious and uncontaminated with products that harm human health. In practice such systems have tended to avoid the use of synthetically compounded fertilizers, pesticides, growth regulators, and livestock feed additives. Instead, sustainable agriculture systems rely on crop rotations, crop residues, animal manures, legumes, green manures, off-farm organic wastes, mechanical cultivation, and mineral-bearing rocks to optimize soil biological activity, and to maintain soil fertility and productivity. Natural, biological and cultural controls are used to manage insects, weeds, and diseases.

The local/sustainable food sector in Canada is significantly understudied, with limited data on its scope and scale. While some data exist on the adoption of environmental Best Management Practices (Eilers et al., 2010), there is little information on the adoption of sustainable farming systems consistent with the above definition, except for certified organic production and processing. The certified organic sector in Canada covers a wide range of raw and processed foods but remains small, 1–2% of land use and retail markets (Macey, 2010). A significant amount is exported and the percentage produced for and distributed in local markets is poorly understood.

Equally unclear is the general state of local food production and distribution, even when not combined with sustainability criteria. In broad strokes, Agriculture and Agri-food Canada (AAFC, 2011) reports that roughly 70% of Canadian consumption is met with domestic production and that 50% of domestic production is exported, particularly live animals, bulk grains and oilseeds. There are reports on local food initiatives, largely direct sales (COG, 2007), but limited information on how much food flows through sub-national supply chains. AAFC (2003) also reported a decade ago that only about 1% of retail food sales were direct marketed, but direct marketing is a small subset of local distribution. Even if those numbers have doubled in the past decade, it still represents a small part of the Canadian food system. Canada's supply managed commodities (primarily dairy, eggs, chicken and turkey) are largely organized provincially, with restrictions on cross-border trade. However, only a very small percentage of production is certified organic (Macey, 2010). British Columbia (BC) estimated that its producers provided 48% of the food consumed in the province but what percentage would also qualify as sustainable is unknown (BCMAF, 2006). Undoubtedly the sector is larger than these statistics suggest, but its exact size remains obscure.

Although also understudied, the potential of local/sustainable approaches seems significant. There have been a few studies addressing the theoretical potential for self-reliance in Canada and some of its regions, though without assessment of the national and international policy context (Warkentin, 1976; Warkentin and Gertler, 1977; Van Bers, 1991; Van Bers and Robinson, 1993). Subsequent to a largely qualitative inquiry, Warkentin (1976) concluded that Canada would need to make substantial changes to land use to ensure a sustainable agriculture scenario, but would always require significant imports of fruits and vegetables. This study did not address, in detail, associated changes to the Canadian diet and food demand. Warkentin and Gertler (1977) drew similar conclusions, particularly regarding the need for land reallocations.

The most comprehensive national work, though dated, was carried out by Van Bers (1991). She examined changes in Canadian demographics to the year 2031, optimal changes to the Canadian diet for health promotion (as defined by Canada's Healthy Eating Guidelines), and sustainable food production systems. Her assessment revealed heightened levels of self-reliance nationally and regionally in all major categories, calculated by the percentage of optimal consumption supplied from domestic production. Overall, Canada could still be exporting grains, pulses, oilseeds and potatoes. Due to changing human dietary patterns, the domestic need for animal products could be met, but some importation of fodder crops would be required. Production deficits would still exist for vegetables, fruits, and apples. Desjardins et al. (2010) followed a similar approach to Van Bers in a regional study, and concluded that there were significant opportunities to expand local/sustainable production in the Waterloo Region of Ontario.

Canadian governments are currently playing a relatively modest role in the evolution of local/sustainable food systems. While environmentally-friendly agriculture production is rhetorically a priority, federal environment pillar provisions under the Agricultural Policy Framework (APF) and Growing Forward represent a relatively small percentage of total federal transfers to farmers (AAFC, 2013). Little of the programming in this pillar links agri-environmental improvements to fully integrated regional food supply chain approaches. Jurisdictionally, local and regional systems are primarily a provincial domain. The provinces do participate in environment pillar programming, in addition to offering grant programs for local infrastructure development, and many offer generic 'buy local' marketing and occasional procurement programs, but few of these initiatives link local with sustainable production.

A 2009 survey identified only 24 local food procurement policies implemented by public institutions and local governments across the country, some of which also prioritized organic food purchases (CCA, 2009), but the number of programs was likely underreported given the challenges of such inquiries and they have likely expanded considerably since then. The nature of local/sustainable food procurement at sub-national levels is particularly interesting. Provinces and the Municipal, Agency, Schools and Hospital (MASH) sector typically procure through food service operators. When in place, the requirement for local/sustainable food is usually only a small part of the tendering process and does not have much impact on which firm wins the bid. Given the current limited state of local/sustainable development, setting high procurement targets is unrealistic because of insufficient supply, further reducing the overall significance of these provisions on the bid outcome.

Significant roles are being played by private and NGO actors, and sometimes private and para-public foundations (COG, 2007). Sometimes these actors are collaborating with governmental or para-governmental agencies.

Even more poorly understood are the levels of sustainable food imports. There are reports that 60–85% of the organic foods consumed in Canada are imported (MacRae et al., 2009), but very limited data exist on foods meeting other definitions of sustainability. Organic imports may represent less than 1% of all imported foods. The vast majority of imported foods would thus be produced conventionally.

Shifts in instrument choice

The trade agreements have reduced instrument choice, though not consistently and coherently (Guthman, 2008; Hatanaka et al., 2012). In Canada, many pre-AoA programs directly associated with increased production intensity have been altered in part because of trade agreements (Skogstad, 2008). These include income stabilization schemes that were deemed production distorting, such as the Western Grain Stabilization Program and provincial meat stabilization programs[5], regional production supports and development schemes, and subsidies to specific production sectors that were deemed underdeveloped or prime export opportunities (Wiebe and Wipf, 2011). Associated with these program changes have been overall reductions in support to producers (as defined by the Producer Support Equivalent) since the mid-80s (AAFC, 2013). These instruments were part of the state assistance paradigm that somewhat protected agriculture from market forces and indirectly supported local food systems. Such instruments, if they still existed, would now likely be categorized as red or amber box by the WTO Agreement on

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[5] See Schmitz (2008) for a history of shifts in federal and provincial stabilization programs.

Agriculture (AoA) and restricted (see below). Instead, the favoured tools for the federal and provincial governments are tripartite-funded business risk management programs, sectoral contribution agreements, and information programs to drive market development. The contribution agreements are not typically framed around very specific program parameters, but rather serve multiple purposes. These measures typically qualify as blue, green, and amber box (see below), and are therefore more acceptable to AoA signatories. As measured by two indices, Canadian policies are only very modestly trade-distorting compared to most other industrialized countries (Anderson and Croser, 2010), again reflecting the reconstruction of state interventions to comply with trade agreements.

A review of trade articles and agreements, and their implications for local/sustainable supply chains

Given the instrument choice focus of this analysis, this section provides a review of key trade articles and agreements of the GATT, NAFTA, WTO and AIT viewed through a local/sustainable lens. The focus is on currently favoured instruments, and those proposed by local/sustainable proponents, including public procurement, private and government voluntary eco-labelling schemes, government-funded programs, and direct payments to farmers. For example, a government might wish to impose local/sustainable food purchasing targets in food service contracts. A government-NGO partnership might certify local/sustainable farmers and processors and have a label that alerts buyers to the different attributes of the products to differentiate them from conventional products. Governments might construct direct payment schemes for farmers to encourage them to shift to sustainable production practices and sell their products to local purchasers. Such instruments generally fall into the WTO categories of market access and domestic support/subsidies (see below), though numerous complications arise for this analysis from having many instruments affected by multiple trade provisions. This will be highlighted through the rest of this section.

GATT Articles (and associated WTO agreements and disciplines)

Many GATT rules remain the foundation of trade agreements. They are given 'discipline' by many subsequent agreements developed under the aegis of the WTO. Although many rules were first enacted when agriculture was de facto exempt, they were applied to agriculture with the GATT Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture, then institutionalized within the WTO when that body was created in 1995. Two GATT articles are particularly pertinent to this discussion.

GATT 1947 Article III (and the WTO Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) agreement)

Article III of the GATT is based on the idea that 'like products' have to be treated similarly, regardless of source. This article is referenced in many WTO documents to support its provisions.

> The contracting parties recognize that internal taxes and other
> internal charges, and laws, regulations and requirements affecting
> the internal sale, offering for sale, purchase, transportation,

distribution or use of products, and internal quantitative regulations
requiring the mixture, processing or use of products in specified
amounts or proportions, should not be applied to imported or
domestic products so as to afford protection to domestic
production. (Article III (1)) (GATT, 1947)

Governments cannot apply a wide range of instruments—including taxes, charges, or non-tariff
trade barriers (NTBs)—to imported products to support their domestic industry. Historically,
country disputes regarding this rule have been triggered when such tariffs, charges and NTBs are
involved. They include those measures currently used and proposed to support local/sustainable
foods.

But are local/sustainable products 'like' with imported conventional products?[6] Neither
GATT articles nor WTO agreements explicitly define 'like' (Vranes, 2011). Extending
Swinbank's (2006) discussion of like products and animal welfare, when products have
ecological and ethical values embedded as credence characteristics in the minds of consumers,
then GATT's concept of 'like' is not so clear.

Vranes (2011, p.11), a trade legal scholar, stated: "Article III should be understood as
being primarily concerned with products that are in ... a *competitive relationship"* and further
added that other articles and notes focus on those products that are also substitutable. Swinbank
(2006, pp.697–8) recounted that a 1970 GATT working party proposed four criteria for case-by-
case assessment of like: "the product's end-uses in a given market; consumers' tastes and habits,
which change from country to country; the product's properties, nature and quality; and the tariff
classification of the product". By these measures, the first three criteria would have different
expression for local/sustainable compared to conventional product. As well, these criteria
suggest that consumer perceptions of likeness are important, much more so than regulator ones
(Vranes, 2011). Vranes (2011, p.10) also argued that the relevant provisions of the WTO
Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) agreement (which gives discipline to Article III) reflect the
same purpose as the GATT articles. It can be argued that local/sustainable products are not
closely competitive with imported conventional and therefore not actually 'like'. They appeal to
different market segments, often have different supply chains, and serve different economic and
environmental purposes. They are also not substitutable.

Trade experts have named at least four WTO disputes (WTO, undated) as somewhat
pertinent to these questions, although none of them address local/sustainable production and
distribution directly. The absence of pertinent disputes suggests some latitude for governments.
In the dolphin-safe tuna dispute between Mexico and the US (ds381) and then later the EU, an
example of how instruments can be affected by multiple provisions, the dispute panel did not
rule on Mexico's claims of violation under Article III, but this dispute ultimately left open the
possibility that Article XX(b) and (g) (see below) could be used to craft a WTO compliant
measure (Swinbank, 2006)[7]. In the Canada-EU dispute over the approval and marketing of
biotech products (ds292), most of the dispute centred on articles of the Sanitary and
Phytosanitary (SPS) agreement. This dispute was resolved among the parties so Article III was
also not addressed by the dispute panel. A trade market dispute between the EU and Australia on

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[6] Note that the arguments that follow do not apply when comparing local vs. imported sustainable products.
[7] Swinbank (2006) also reported in the shrimp and sea turtles case that Article XX(g) might also be invoked if the
environmental legislation was suitably constructed.

geographic indications (ds290) did find that the procedures of establishing such indicators did not accord national treatment to countries outside the EU and was therefore a violation of GATT III:4. However, the panel concluded that overall there was no substantial violation of WTO obligations. The EU agreed to make some amendments to their legislation and such designations remain permitted. In the Country of Origin Labeling (COOL) dispute (DS384,386) between the US and Mexico and Canada (with others as participants), the original panel and subsequently the appeal panel, concluded that US COOL legislation was according less favourable treatment to imported livestock (beef and pork) than to like domestic livestock and required that the US alter COOL. This dispute continues to be active as the US has failed, in the eyes of the complainants, to comply with the WTO decision. This case only addresses local, not local/sustainable, but would appear to support the view that bundling local with sustainable affords protections that are not available when measures are just designed to support local production and processing.

Additionally, paragraph eight of Article III allows for exemptions for government procurement of products for government purposes without resale. This might cover, for example, food purchased for hospitals, prisons, and in some cases government employees. However, recent dispute panel rulings on Ontario's Green Energy Act suggest a close reading might be required to determine how to structure the language of provisions in these cases so as not to trigger a complaint (Bell-Pasht, 2013).

Another arena under discussion that is potentially pertinent to the question of 'like' is process and production measures that are non-product related (npr-PPMs).   Much of the architecture of 'like' revolves around physically similar products and product-related process and production measures (PPMs). Some analysts argue that non-product related PPMs, for example sustainable production practices that do not affect a product in obviously material ways, are grounds for discriminating between products, i.e, using npr-PPMs as a way to distinguish products in the market place would not violate Article III (Vranes, 2011; see also Daughbjerg, 2012). However, this issue remains largely unresolved in both trade and academic circles[8] (see the next section for additional dimensions of this debate).

If not deemed 'like', then Article III would not be broadly applicable to instruments supporting local/sustainable foods, however the argument would not apply in cases where governments might be favouring domestic sustainably produced foods over international sustainably produced ones. Currently, that scenario might only arise around certified organic foods.

GATT 1947 Article XX (and the Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) and Technical Barriers to Trade (TBT) agreements)

This article sets out exemptions from the GATT, including measures "relating to the conservation of exhaustible natural resources if such measures are made effective in conjunction with restrictions on domestic production or consumption." Such measures must not be applied in a way that "would constitute a means of arbitrary or unjustifiable discrimination between countries where the same conditions prevail, or a disguised restriction on international trade" (Article XX, GATT, 1947). This exemption is a basis for imposing environmental requirements that must be met by both domestic and international producers.

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[8] Note that Vranes (2011) has concluded from a legal interpretation of the pertinent texts that PPMs, whether npr or not, do not per se represent discriminatory treatment.

Article XX is enforced through the SPS agreement, but it only deals with process and product measures (PPM), not npr-PPM (Daughjberg, 2012). Consequently, the SPS agreement is unlikely to address issues of sustainability, including organic trade, since these are generally viewed to be npr-PPMs. Similarly, the TBT agreement is intended to cover technical standards, and it is clear that it does cover PPMs, but less clear that it was designed to address npr-PPMs. Vranes (2011) argues that it does, but that the TBT agreement does not per se find them discriminatory. Canada has argued similarly, but many countries do not agree and there is also debate in the academic literature. An additional interpretative complication is that the TBT does not specifically name the exception provided by Article XX, though Vranes (2011) believes it is in effect. This situation suggest that using Article XX to justify supports for local/sustainable food is permissible.

The SPS and TBT agreements use international standards, many set by Codex Alimentarius, to bring rigour to their articles. For example, Article 2.4 of the TBT Agreement states:

> Where technical regulations are required and relevant international standards exist or their completion is imminent, Members shall use them, or the relevant parts of them, as a basis for their technical regulations except when such international standards or relevant parts would be an ineffective or inappropriate means for the fulfilment of the legitimate objectives pursued, for instance because of fundamental climatic or geographical factors or fundamental technological problems.

According to Daughberg (2012), however, it remains unclear how WTO rules relate to private standards, especially when they are not under consideration by Codex. Codex is not apparently developing standards for sustainable production and processing systems other than organic. In Canada, other than certified organic standards and regulations, sustainability standards are largely private, with limited state facilitation and enforcement. The implication is that private standards for local/sustainable, given the lack of attention from Codex, are in a grey zone (Swinbank, 2006). Programs with standards often also have eco-labels and according to Swinbank (2006), labelling for quality attributes, including npr-PPMs, is highly contentious within the WTO and currently unresolved.

WTO Agreements

Under the WTO, several agreements have been adopted that affect local/sustainable food development. This section focuses on two, the Agreement on Agriculture and the Agreement on Government Procurement.

Agreement on Agriculture

With the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), governments are supposed to remove barriers to trade. The agreement emerged out of GATT rules and agreements, including the Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM) Agreement. The SCM was a component of GATT 1947 rules, and defined a subsidy as a transfer of funds to private firms and beneficial to that firm. In cases,

however, where the benefits are society-wide, as with subsidies for environmental improvements beyond the farm, and where the subsidy only covers part of the farms costs associated with implementing environmental improvements, there is a legitimate question about whether it would be considered a farm subsidy. These questions appear to have coloured the structure of the domestic support provisions in the AoA (see below). The SCM agreement also prohibited export and import substitution subsidies, but interestingly, the WTO AoA, which further developed rules against export subsidies (see below), does not explicitly mention import-substitution subsidies.

The Agreement has a somewhat tortuous negotiating history. The Doha Round that commenced in 2001 to update the original rules has never actually been completed. Negotiations were stalled until very recently[9], and the AoA is still operating largely under rules agreed upon in 1995. The three guiding pillars of the AoA are:

- Market access: elimination of import quotas and non-tariff trade barriers (NTBs), replaced with tariffs that are progressively reduced. Of particular significance, Canada reduced tariffs on supply managed commodities by 36% in the 1995-2000 period.
- Export subsidy (red box) reductions: each country had different reduction targets depending on volume or value. The original intent was to eliminate the red box, but this has yet to happen, even though the US and EU have proposed it at the negotiating table since 2004.
- Domestic support reductions (sorted into three categories: Amber, Blue, and Green).

Regarding market access, much of the focus of the agreement is on import quota and tariff reduction, which could affect supply managed commodities, but many currently proposed supports for local/sustainable food systems would likely be considered NTBs. However, the structure of the AoA appears to offer numerous opportunities to exempt such supports or position them as non-distorting. The agreement does not specifically apply to the Municipal Agencies, Schools and Hospitals (MASH) sector. Nor does it say anything about non-governmental organizations. Multi-actor programs, a common feature of current development efforts (as described above), might not then be covered by the agreement, even if the state was part of the partnership. However, as Vranes (2011) cautions, under GATT rules, the activities of non-state actors can be attributed to the state, when influenced by state incentives and disincentives.

Export subsidies are not directly applicable to this discussion, but domestic supports are very pertinent. Under the agreement, green box (or environmental measure) support is permitted, so it is feasible to design local/sustainable programming for this category, since if properly constructed, such measures can also generate significant environmental improvements. Even if local/sustainable provisions fall into the amber box, governments are allowed to provide a considerable amount of subsidy, but not exceed the limits imposed by the AoA. The federal government's spending on amber box programs has been substantially below the agreed upon limit for much of the 2000s (Holden, 2005). Canada's most recent domestic support notification to the WTO (deposited in 2012 and covering 2009) reveals that spending was only about 32% of its commitment level for the period in question (WTO Committee on Agriculture, 2012). In part, this is because when a specific program costs less than 5% of total farm income in the targeted

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[9] The Bali mini-deal of December 2013 has some significant features, but does not affect the arguments presented here (http://wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/mc9_e/tempdocs_e.htm).

commodity area, it is not counted, known as the *de minimus* provision (Brink, 2009). Many small support programs are, thus, not counted as part of the commitment.

WTO Agreement on Government Procurement (AGP)

Canada is one of a limited number of signatories to this agreement that applies to central agencies and provincial governments and their affiliated agencies. It is in effect for central government contracts valued at over CAD$204,750 (Sept. 23 2013 SDR/CAD$ exchange rates) and sometimes higher for sub-central agencies. This agreement is primarily about tendering procedures, supplier qualification and selection, and awarding of contracts, and may limit the choice of supplier for a contract, but the AGP does permit proposals with technical specifications regarding performance (as opposed to design or descriptive characteristics), particularly when based on international standards, national technical regulations, or recognized national standards (Bell-Pasht, 2013).

The AGP, as with many agreements, has a general exception for public interest measures to protect human, animal or plant life or health and Canada has exempted procurements with set-asides for small and minority businesses or contracts for agricultural products that further agricultural support programs or human feeding programs. Some sub-central agencies are also exempt if the procurement relates to regional development and environmental quality objectives. The provisions cover many provincial departments, but equally many MASH entities and NGOs are exempt, depending on the province.

NAFTA

A deal between Canada, the USA and Mexico, NAFTA was actually the first free trade agreement to apply GATT-like rules to the agriculture sector (Doern and MacDonald, 1999). Its provisions for food and agriculture are generally aligned with GATT and WTO requirements (tariff reduction, elimination of export subsidies), except that it is largely silent on the kinds of domestic support measure restrictions set out in the AoA (Konforti, 2010). It did, however, largely protect the supply managed industries. The agreement also regulates government procurement (Chapter 10), largely also aligned with GATT non-discriminatory rules. The procurement rules between Canada and the US, however, are still only applicable at the federal level for goods valued at more than USD$25,000. Provisions were originally non-binding at the municipal and provincial levels (Carter-Whitney, 2008) but provinces are now subject to the rules of the WTO AGP. Municipal procurement remains excluded under NAFTA.

Agreement on Internal Trade (AIT)

This agreement governs trade between Canadian provinces, and is designed to remove barriers to the movements of people, goods, and services within the country. It was consistent with the free trade visions of the late 80s and early 90s, and was inspired by the view that provincial governments were exercising excessively interventionist policies that needed to be curtailed (Doern and MacDonald, 1999). It came into effect in 1995, with some revisions enacted over time (the latest approved in 2007). A general principle of the AIT, similar to GATT Article III, is reciprocal non-discrimination,

> Subject to Article 404, each Party shall accord to goods of any
> other Party treatment no less favourable than the best treatment it
> accords to:
> (a) its own like, directly competitive or substitutable goods; and
> (b) like, directly competitive or substitutable goods of any other
> Party or non-Party (Article 401.1, AIT).

The agricultural and food goods provisions are concerned primarily with establishing common standards and removing technical barriers to trade, including requirements that provinces not use sanitary and phytosanitary provisions as disguised trade restrictions. The barriers negotiated included such technical matters as provincial regulation of margarine colouring, grading of potatoes, standards for imitation dairy products, and bulk shipment of fruits and vegetables (Doern and MacDonald, 1999).

There are a number of exceptions/exemptions to the AIT under which local/sustainable food procurement might fall. First, the aforementioned Article 404 (Legitimate Objectives) states (AIT, undated):

> Where it is established that a measure is inconsistent with Article
> 401, 402 or 403, that measure is still permissible under this
> Agreement where it can be demonstrated that:
> (a) the purpose of the measure is to achieve a legitimate objective;
> (b) the measure does not operate to impair unduly the access of
> persons, goods, services or investments of a Party that meet that
> legitimate objective;
> (c) the measure is not more trade restrictive than necessary to
> achieve that legitimate objective; and
> (d) the measure does not create a disguised restriction on trade.
> (Article 404, AIT)

If local/sustainable development is properly framed to meet provincial environmental and regional development objectives, then it may qualify under this provision.

Second, the procurement provisions of the AIT are about the processes of tendering contracts and who is eligible to win the bids. They are designed to reduce the possibility that governments will favour bidders from their province, including using local content rules to favour local suppliers. Local/sustainable requirement technical provisions in the tender and subsequent contracts can, however, be constructed so they are not discriminatory to the bidders.   Note that it is permissible to establish Canadian content rules, as long as they are consistent with Canada's international obligations (Article 504). Also important is the procurement exemption for regional development (Article 508) and environmental purposes (Annex 502.4) (Carter-Whitney, 2008; Shrybman, 2009).

Third, any good being resold to the public is not covered by the AIT (Article 507). Since the food purchased by food service companies is typically resold to the public, it would appear to be exempt.

Fourth, NGOs are typically exempt, unless the state has delegated them legal authority to conduct specified activities (Article 102). Thus, most of the work currently conducted by NGOs

to promote local/sustainable procurement would not appear to be explicitly covered. Certain components of the MASH sector may be covered, but even so, are typically exempt for contracts under $100,000 (Annex 502.4). For both NGOs and exempt MASH entities, governments are encouraged to ensure compliance with the spirit of the agreement, but it is not mandatory.

Shrybman (2009), a legal analyst and lawyer, has argued that it is feasible for municipalities to craft local food procurement provisions that are entirely consistent with the spirit of the AIT and its contract dollar value thresholds. Presumably, local/sustainable procurement measures could be similarly consistent. And, ultimately, if Article III of the GATT is not applicable, as discussed above, then local/sustainable products would not be considered 'like' with conventional foods from other jurisdictions.

The Canada – EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)

The recently announced signing of CETA adds potentially new dimensions to this discussion, but many deal details have yet to be worked out or released. The agreement in principle[10] builds on existing agreements but has some features that might affect the line of argument presented here. The text:
- does have a sustainable development and trade section, a trade and environment section, and a trade and labour section, and CSOs are to participate in monitoring the provisions when worked out;
- calls for a ban on export subsidies pending tariff reductions;
- proposes collaborating on regulatory measures, including animal welfare, and technical; standard equivalency through the TBT process;
- sets out immediate EU tariff elimination on some foods, mostly processed;
- sets out quota duty free access for certain goods to each other's market;
- has no changes to supply management, except increased cheese and milk proteins access for European producers.

The procurement provisions are perhaps the most significant. Gerry Ritz, the minister of agriculture, had indicated earlier that he saw nothing in the negotiations that would jeopardize buy local programs (CBC News, 2011) and news reports prior to the announcement implied that some protections would continue to exist for local purchasing (Clark et al., 2013). Shrybman (2010) had argued, from earlier released drafts, that the CETA would go beyond the WTO AoA and AIT in changing municipal procurement provisions which could then also shift rules around food. Access to sub-national purchasing provisions was thought to be a prime interest of EU negotiators (Sinclair, 2011). The procurement provisions of the agreement in principle:
- are broadly based on the WTO-GPA;
- maintain a nation's ability to set technical standards and social and environmental criteria and favour eco-labels;
- provide broad exceptions for key concerns regarding human, animal, plant life, and health;
- allow Canada to maintain exclusions for regional economic development, health care and other public services, and agricultural goods as part of food programs;
- cover federal, provincial, and municipal governments, an expansion of application beyond many aspects of the WTO-AGP;

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[10] http://actionplan.gc.ca/sites/default/files/pdfs/ceta-technicalsummary.pdf

- set varying thresholds for contracts to which rules are applied: high value contracts at
  $560,000; federal, crown, and arms-length contracts at $205,000; the provinces and
  MASH sector at $315,000 (these thresholds are higher than the AIT);
- put in place some restrictions on geographic indications (GI) to protect EU GIs.
  How agricultural goods are defined and whether food resold to the public will be covered
under procurement provisions are open questions.   Although provinces have indicated
preliminary agreement, the adoption process will likely take several years and could be fractious
(Clark et al., 2013). Numerous Canadian municipalities have already passed council resolutions
seeking exemptions from CETA provisions (Council of Canadians, 2011). Because the EU has
used exemptions provided by the AGP on which to base Fair Trade and regional development
initiatives (Rourke, 2011; Bell-Pasht, 2013), and has a 20-year history of supporting in more
substantial ways than Canada adoption of sustainable food production and distribution measures,
it may not want to settle on final language that compromises current initiatives, leaving Canada
also freer to support local/sustainable food systems development.

Efficiency-stage strategies to support local/sustainable food systems

In the Hill and MacRae (1995) framework, efficiency-stage strategies would be feasible within
the confines of existing trade rules. This analysis identifies several avenues for promoting
local/sustainable food, presented as program and policy design elements. These elements are
structured around current rules, permitted exemptions and ambiguities in trade text language. As
this analysis has shown, a bundling of local and sustainable food systems is critical because it
reduces the likelihood that such foods will be considered 'like' with conventional foods.
Broadly speaking, the two main opportunities for supporting local/sustainable systems are
targeted support programs and procurement rules and processes.

Targeted support programs

Canada appears to have subsidy opportunities under the WTO AoA. The heightened scrutiny of
red and amber box measures appears to create some space for environmental supports because
red and amber measures are both trade distorting and they intensify conventional production and
associated environmental problems. This occurs sometimes directly because of the subsidy and
sometimes indirectly because the subsidy exists within a policy environment where
environmental regulations are typically poorly designed, enforced or adopted (Mayrand et al.,
2003). It appears that Canadian governments could impose increasingly demanding
sustainability requirements on producers and supply chain actors to protect Canadian resources,
beyond current environmental programming.
      To minimize the likelihood of a trade challenge, any measure would ideally have several
of the following design elements.
- It should adhere to the green box criteria, with framing based on GATT Article XX that
  identifies exemptions for farmer support programs that deal with conservation of natural
  resources. To do this properly means linking environmental measures along the supply
  chain so that the product benefits are enhanced by their regionality. For example, the
  environmental benefits of Integrated Pest Management (IPM) or organic adoption in fruit
  and vegetable production are augmented by shortening supply chains with innovative
  distribution, reducing cooling and refrigeration requirements, and reducing supply chain

waste (Lynch et al., 2011). An integrated strategy allows for additional GHG reductions and energy use efficiencies. In fact, such supply chain improvements can exceed the on-farm environmental benefits and also those of longer-distance supply chains (MacRae et al., 2013).

- If the measure is categorized as amber box, it should cost less than the *de minimus* threshold; however, even more expensive programs could still be designed and counted in Canada's permitted amber box commitment because spending is significantly below the established limit, as long as a large number of expensive measures were not adopted at the same time.
- It should explicitly be an import substitution program, possible because the AoA does not explicitly prevent them, likely making them permissible Amber Box measures under the AoA.
- It should involve a wide array of state and non-state actors in program execution, but with attention to the degree to which the state might be viewed as the facilitator of the initiative, making all other NGO activities accountable to trade disciplines. For many disciplines, sub-national governments and para-governmental agencies may be exempt, so initiatives with these organizations in the lead may be acceptable.
- It should incorporate the additional discipline of necessity. Even when a measure is non-discriminatory, is it the most effective way to produce a desired outcome? (Vranes, 2011). In other words, the more effective the measure is at accomplishing its objectives, the less contested it may be.
- It should rely on private standards to drive change, which may be more suitable than state standards, unless an international body such as Codex is developing an international version. Vranes (2011), from his legal analysis of relevant trade texts, advises against use of mandatory eco-labels, but suggests that voluntary ones are not per se discriminatory.

Procurement

Regarding procurement, the AGP does permit tenders to outline technical specifications regarding performance (as opposed to design or descriptive characteristics), particularly when based on international standards, national technical regulations, or recognized national standards. Many EU member states support the expansion of local/sustainable food systems, and the EC appears to be supporting this through its Rural Development Strategy and other policy recommendations (European Union, 2011; Bell-Pasht, 2013). In the US, states have used language associated with exemption provisions for child feeding to favour local product in procurement contracts. This approach is not directly linked to sustainable performance requirements, in contrast to the European approach (Bell-Pasht, 2013). Key elements of this approach include:

- Using technical specifications of procurement contracts, related to the performance of the product or the process by which it was produced, to favour local food systems development, not broad principles and instruments, and to redefine value for money within procurement processes to include wider environmental and social benefits (Clark, 2011). For example, freshness criteria could be imposed that would make it difficult for long-distance goods to meet the requirement (Konforti, 2010). Other possibilities include specifying varieties of crops that do well regionally, or distance travelled and environmental performance.

- Using the principles underlying an eco-label as technical specifications rather than using a label itself. European states are advised not to rely on eco-labels since they may be viewed as discriminatory.
- Dividing food contracts into smaller lots to facilitate access by smaller producers. Certification of performance is encouraged but not the only performance measure considered (Bell-Pasht, 2013).
- Creating procurements with set-asides for small and minority businesses or contracts for agricultural products that further agricultural support programs or human feeding programs. The AGP general exception for public interest measures to protect human, animal, or plant life or health has permitted Canada to undertake such approaches.
- Exploiting exemptions for government procurement of products for government purposes without resale. This might cover, for example, food purchased for hospitals, prisons, and in some cases government employees. However, a close reading might be required to determine how to structure the language of provisions in these cases so as not to trigger a complaint.
- Given thresholds in many agreements, designing programs to fall under thresholds, and paying particular attention to which units are covered by the agreements.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there would appear to be numerous ways to promote local/sustainable food system development without running afoul of trade agreements. Bundling local and sustainable production together may create new opportunities for exemptions and re-categorization of initiatives to non-discriminatory status. Sub-national governments, para-governmental agencies, and NGOs are often exempt, an important consideration in an era of increasing regulatory pluralism (Koc et al., 2008), though the design of initiatives must be mindful of how non-exempt entities may be facilitating the initiative.

Ultimately, innovative ideas to promote local/sustainable food that do not fall under existing categories or clauses may not attract attention because they are not sufficiently significant to trigger a dispute. However, given the ambiguity described above, advocates will need to argue that the political risks of interventions of the type outlined here are minimal.

Acknowledgements

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Book Review

Growing Resistance: Canadian Farmers and the Politics of Genetically Modified Wheat
Emily Eaton
University of Manitoba Press, 2013: 208 pages

Review by Taarini Chopra (Canadian Biotechnology Action Network)

The short history of genetically modified (GM) crops in Canada has been defined by controversy, debates about health and environmental concerns, and deeply entrenched corporate control. The past fifteen years have seen numerous approvals of new GM crop varieties, while just a handful have been stopped from reaching the market. One of these unusual cases is the subject of Emily Eaton's new book *Growing Resistance*.

In this compelling volume, Eaton questions why the introduction of GM wheat was met with such strong opposition from Canadian farmers, while GM canola had been widely adopted just a decade earlier. Her analysis goes beyond a cost-benefit assessment of the two crops to include their biological differences, and dig into the rich historical and cultural role that wheat has played for Prairie farmers. Taken together, Eaton argues, these factors explain the fervent public opposition to the introduction of GM wheat in the Prairies, and Monsanto's consequent decision to withdraw its request for government approval of herbicide tolerant wheat and discontinue its research and breeding program.[1]

Eaton is an assistant professor of Geography at the University of Regina, who specializes in political economy. Her book is based on her doctoral dissertation, and much of the information in it came from interviews with the various groups involved in opposing GM wheat, as well with scientists, industry organizations and government officials.

Eaton begins with an outline of the historical contexts of wheat and canola, and follows this with an explanation of biotechnology regulation in Canada. She then moves on to a fascinating section that reveals how both crops have shaped the agrarian and rural identity in this country just as much as that identity has in turn shaped the evolution of canola and wheat

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[1] The company did, however, re-launch research on GM wheat in 2009.

cultivation. These chapters set the stage for the next two, in which Eaton examines the ways in which the central coalition of organizations that opposed GM wheat effectively shaped their narrative.

Eaton argues that producer concerns, such as access to export markets and agronomic viability were prominent in the campaign, but were articulated through issues often thought of as being consumer-driven. Her own stance is perhaps most evident in her exploration of the ways in which the coalition countered the idea put forward by GM wheat proponents, that consumers should have decision-making power over the fate of GM wheat by voting with their dollars in the marketplace. In what is perhaps the strongest section of the book, Eaton discusses the differences between collective decision-making and neoliberal ideas of individual choice in relation to 'governmentality', and specifically farmer engagement in political processes as active actors instead of merely consumers.

Each chapter begins with a summary of the relevant theoretical literature, drawing on geographers, sociologists, political economists and historians, and then goes on to explain Eaton's analysis. Her arguments are sprinkled with quotes from interviews, news articles from the Canadian farm press, and testimonies to parliamentary standing committees.

Eaton's analysis is particularly interesting in the context of a parallel struggle in the current Canadian agricultural and political landscape: Farmers' efforts to keep Roundup Ready Alfalfa off the market. Despite the many similarities between the two crops, and fierce opposition to the introduction of GM alfalfa from both farmers and consumers, it has been approved and registered, and may well be commercialized in the very near future. Eaton foreshadows such decisions towards the end of the book, when she recognizes a number of elements that make it improbable that the rejection of GM wheat can be reproduced with equal success in the case of other crops. The most important of these elements is the continuing threat posed by growing corporate control of the seed supply and agriculture, and Eaton emphasizes the need for future struggles against GM crops to focus on this central and influential factor.

The book is written in refreshingly clear and jargon-free language, without losing the nuances of a set of very thoughtful arguments. Eaton draws on a range of theoretical backgrounds while still being firmly rooted in the empirical story she is studying. This book is a must-read for students and researchers, as well as anyone interested in the history of agrarian questions in Canada, the changing role of producers and farmers in our society, and the various dimensions of the debates around GM crops in Canada.

While most of the book explores the political and economic situation in 2001, the conclusion jumps forward to 2009, when Canadian flax shipments were rejected by the European Union because they were found to be contaminated with GM flax. This incident had severe impacts for flax farmers in Canada, and underlined the risks of GM contamination and its threat to market access.

Though too recent to be included in the book, this risk has recently played out in a way that is even more closely related to Eaton's story. In July 2013, a US farmer found GM wheat growing in his field in Oregon. This was surprising for a couple of reasons. One, there is no GM wheat being commercially grown in the US, or for that matter, anywhere in the world. Two, the last time this variety was field-tested in the US was in 2005. Neither the US government, nor Monsanto, the company that owns the GM wheat variety, were able to explain how that contamination occurred. Export markets in Asia temporarily shut their doors to US wheat, and the price of wheat took a hit after the news, adding a grim layer of reality to the farmer concerns Eaton captured in her book some years earlier.

Although *Growing Resistance* focuses largely on a story that played out over a decade ago, it clearly remains both relevant and timely, and is a valuable contribution to a debate that is far from over.

Taarini Chopra is a researcher and campaigner with the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network. She is also the publications coordinator at Seeds of Diversity Canada, a researcher with the Global Food Politics Group at the University of Waterloo, and the co-chair of the Waterloo Region Food Systems Roundtable. Her graduate research compared two policy decisions on GM crops in India – the resistance to, and consequent rejection of GM eggplant, and the approval and widespread adoption of GM cotton.

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Book Review

The Industrial Diet: The degradation of food and the struggle for healthy eating

Anthony Winson
UBC Press, 2013: 352 pages

Review by Julie Pilson (Carleton University)

Anthony Winson, a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph, has written or co-authored several books that explore agriculture, food and the food system in both North and Central America. These books include: *Coffee and Democracy in Modern Costa Rica* (1989), *The Intimate Commodity* (1993), and *Contingent Work, Disrupted Lives: Labour and Community in the New Rural Economy* (2002, with Belinda Leach). His most recent book builds on his previous analysis of the food industry by exploring the political, social, economic and technological factors that shape and influence the human diet—and have led to the proliferation of a nutritionally compromised human diet at a global scale. *The Industrial Diet: The degradation of food and the struggle for healthy eating* is a book best suited to an educated—though not necessarily academic—audience. Anybody with an interest in the current food industry, human health, diet and nutrition, or in the fascinating history of the food system, will find something of interest.

Winson's research and subsequent book are partially in response to the apparent crisis in human health referred to as the overweight and obesity epidemic. Winson seeks to expose the main causes of the degradation of our food supply and link these changes to human health and disease. He also examines the potential for action and the available solutions that could change our current food system. He identifies changes that could promote a food system that sustains the health of the population instead of simply the financial health of the food industry.

In order to provide readers with the necessary background information, the book begins with a history of human diets and "dietary regimes", including a discussion of the factors that have influenced dietary changes from Paleolithic times into the present day. The author explores the environmental, political, social, economic and technological conditions and innovations that have influenced the food supply throughout human history. Winson then explores more recent changes in food production that have resulted in the ongoing decline in nutritional health of our food supply, and the resultant health implications for the human population. To highlight the

changing nature of the food supply and the impact of technology and social innovations—like mass marketing—on our food, Winson presents a historical examination of a number of different industries and their processes, including flour milling, meat-packing, and canning. The book also delivers well-researched information about current food production practices—such as confined animal feeding operations or the reduction in agricultural varieties—that have negatively impacted the nutritional quality of our food in the interests of capital accumulation and profit generation.

Winson asserts that many of the world's largest and most powerful food producers and distributors are American and they have played a pivotal role in the global proliferation of the "American Diet". As a result, the book focuses primarily on the United States and its significant influence in the area of food and dietary transformations during the 19th and 20th centuries. Chapter 9 however, describes the spatial colonization of pseudo foods—foods high in sugar, fat and salt and low in nutritional value—in Canadian grocery stores. This chapter is based on research conducted by the author and several research assistants in 2001–2002 in Ontario, and clearly shows the extent to which pseudo foods have infiltrated the grocery industry. Many of the foods available in our grocery stores, convenience stores and restaurants are created by the food industry through a variety of industrial processes using a mix of chemical and natural ingredients. Throughout the book, the author refers to these processed foods, snack foods and menu items as "edible commodities". The use of this particular terminology says something not only about the nature of the food, but also about the influence of a capitalist economy on an item that should more accurately be defined as a human need rather than as a market commodity.

The final section of the book provides a brief look at some of the ways in which individuals, organizations and governments try to create new food systems that acknowledge the importance of things such as human health, animal welfare, environmental health and social justice—as opposed to corporate profits. Chapter 13 is devoted to case studies of *Marin Organic*, an organization in California that seeks to link up local, organic farms with area schools for the purpose of procurement; and *FoodShare*, an organization in Toronto that operates a vast number of programs focusing on community food security and social justice.   These two organizations have been instrumental in creating access to healthy food in schools and in creating healthier food environments. The book also discusses the potential role of health practitioners and government policy makers in the development of a more health-based food system.

One of the best and most powerful aspects of this book is the broad range of social, political, environmental and economic factors that the author has included in his analysis of the current situation. The book deals with a very complex system, occasionally making the presentation of clear timelines a challenge, but for the most part the author presents the material in a very well researched and accessible manner. While the many and complex influences on the human food supply can lead to dense language and revisited subjects, Winson has presented a very complicated system in a fairly manageable and understandable way. Overall, I found this book to be both engaging and informative, and I highly recommend it to anyone who eats!

Julie Pilson is an MA Candidate in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa. Her thesis research involves a case study of the Good Food Markets in Ottawa – community-run, volunteer-driven, pop-up markets that offer affordable fruits, vegetables and dried goods in lower-income areas of the city. Julie is also a Research Assistant with the Eastern Ontario Node of the Nourishing Communities: Sustainable Local Food Systems Research Group.

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Compte-rendu du livre

Gastronomie québécoise et patrimoine
Sous la direction de Marie-Noëlle Aubertin et Geneviève Sicotte
Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2013: 274 pages

Compte-rendu par Gwenaëlle Reyt (UQÀM)

Comment le Québec est-il passé d'une identité culinaire quasi inexistante à une valorisation sociale importante de sa cuisine? Comment le pâté chinois et la poutine, l'agneau de Charlevoix et la volaille Chantecler de tradition ou encore le temps des sucres sont-ils devenus des emblèmes gastronomiques? Au travers de différentes pratiques et produits, l'identité culinaire québécoise s'affirme de plus en plus. Cette gastronomie est en mutation et elle se construit en se dotant de valeurs patrimoniales. C'est sur ce processus de patrimonialisation que se focalise l'ouvrage *Gastronomie québécoise et patrimoine.* Dirigé par Marie-Noëlle Aubertin, doctorante au programme de muséologie, médiation, patrimoine à l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) et Geneviève Sicotte, professeure agrée au Département d'études françaises de l'Université Concordia, ce livre est le fruit d'une réflexion pluridisciplinaire autour de la gastronomie québécoise.

La majorité des textes de ce recueil proviennent du colloque *Lectures du patrimoine alimentaire. Pour une étude de la gastronomie québécoise* qui s'est déroulé pendant le 79ᵉ Congrès de l'ACFAS en 2011 à Sherbrooke. Ainsi, les auteurs cherchent entre autres à comprendre pourquoi certains plats ou produits sont identifiés par la population comme étant plus québécois que d'autres? Comment ce patrimoine culinaire se construit-il? Par quels processus et quels acteurs est-il soutenu?

Pour répondre à toutes ces questions, cet ouvrage collectif aborde plusieurs thèmes permettant une approche large de la gastronomie, de l'identité culinaire et de la patrimonialisation de la gastronomie québécoise. Divisé en cinq parties, théorique, historique, littéraire, sociale et pratique, l'ouvrage propose de nombreuses pistes de recherches. En introduction, Aubertin et Sicotte tentent une définition très inclusive de la gastronomie, soulignant par la même occasion la complexité de cette notion lorsqu'elle est abordée sous un angle théorique.

La première partie du livre traite justement des fondements théoriques et des concepts. David Szanto, doctorant en gastronomie à l'université de Concordia à Montréal, offre une lecture abstraite et quelque peu complexe du patrimoine. Son approche permet toutefois d'entrevoir la gastronomie et par prolongement le patrimoine alimentaire comme un phénomène construit et en perpétuelle évolution. Dans un registre nettement plus concret, Rémy Lambert et Fabien Jouve, respectivement professeur et professionnel de recherche à la faculté des sciences de l'agriculture et de l'alimentation de l'Université Laval, s'intéressent au processus de valorisation de certains produits agricoles par les appellations réservées. En s'appuyant sur l'exemple de la volaille Chantecler de tradition, ils démontrent le caractère innovant de ce processus de reconnaissance et sa contribution à la formation d'un patrimoine alimentaire québécois. D'un point de vue plus général, le texte de Mathieu Dormaels relève avec pertinence les questions que soulève la notion de patrimoine alimentaire tout comme leur reconnaissance en tant que patrimoine immatériel de l'humanité. À ce propos, il s'appuie sur les exemples déjà inscrits, dont ceux de la France et du Mexique, pour exposer la complexité de ce processus et souligner l'improbabilité d'une inscription québécoise.

Dans la deuxième partie, les habitudes alimentaires au Québec sont analysées sous un angle historique. L'historienne Annie Chouinard s'intéresse à l'alimentation bourgeoise à Montréal au XIXe siècle. En analysant les livres de compte de l'épicerie Walter Paul Fine Grocery, elle met en lumière les habitudes alimentaires de la famille Van Horne. Cette étude de cas, bien que limitée, permet tout de même de dresser un premier portrait de la disponibilité des aliments à Montréal à la fin du XIXe ainsi que des pratiques liées à l'alimentation d'une certaine catégorie de la population. Éric Giroux, historien et responsable de la recherche et des collections à l'Écomusée du fier monde à Montréal, reprend quant à lui, la thématique du lait. En se basant sur l'exposition intitulée « *Run de lait* », présentée à l'Écomusée du fier monde entre 2010 et 2011, l'auteur retrace l'histoire de la bouteille de lait et du métier de laitier à Montréal. Il pose ainsi un regard sur une pratique qui a disparu dans la métropole et qui a façonné le quotidien de la population.

La troisième partie du livre est axée sur la littérature québécoise. Geneviève Sicotte s'intéresse à trois auteurs du XIXe qui décrivent des scènes liées au mangeur, au producteur et au cuisinier. Selon elle, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie et Joseph-Charles Taché au travers de leur œuvre respective apportent un regard ethnographique sur des représentations alimentaires porteuses de sens et au caractère patrimonial. Sophie Marcotte et Julie Bergeron Proulx quant à elle, s'intéressent à la portée du fait alimentaire dans des œuvres plus contemporaines. Elles arrivent toutefois à des conclusions différentes. Marcotte en se focalisant sur le roman « tout public » québécois du XXe siècle souligne l'absence du repas familial en tant qu'élément socialisant, alors que Bergeron note une forte fonction socialisante du fait alimentaire dans la littérature du XXIe siècle destinée aux adolescents. Son questionnement sur la place du patrimoine gastronomique québécois dans cette littérature ainsi que son rôle semble totalement pertinent et reflète la problématique de production contemporaine d'un patrimoine alimentaire québécois.

La quatrième partie traite des normes, croyances et symboles en lien avec l'alimentation. Le doctorant en sociologie à l'Université du Québec à Montréal, Jean-Philippe Laperrière traite des recettes dans les magazines féminins et leur rôle normatif sur les pratiques alimentaires. Dans un autre ordre d'idée, Olivier Bauer, professeur de théologie et des sciences de la religion à l'Université de Montréal et quelques membres du groupe de recherche qu'il dirige sur l'alimentation et la spiritualité (GRAS), propose une analyse originale de réinterprétations

québécoise de *La Cène* de Léonard de Vinci comme moyen d'inventaire du patrimoine alimentaire au Québec. Au travers de trois œuvres, ils arrivent à la conclusion que la pizza et les rondelles d'oignon, entre autres, font partie du patrimoine alimentaire québécois. Hormis cette conclusion qui nous semble discutable, les auteurs entament une réflexion sur l'usage du mot patrimoine qui devrait selon eux être remplacé par matrimoine alimentaire.

Finalement, la dernière partie du livre comporte deux entrevues menées par Marie-Noëlle Aubertin auprès de professionnels. L'auteure explore tout d'abord l'aspect créatif du métier de chef en interrogeant la chef Diane Tremblay du restaurant Le Privilège à Chicoutimi. Puis, elle dialogue avec la nutritionniste Julie Aubé afin de défaire certains préjugés sur la profession.

Gastronomie québécoise et patrimoine est donc un ouvrage au large spectre qui tente d'ouvrir de nombreuses pistes de recherche autour des notions de gastronomie et de patrimoine. L'intérêt est certainement d'avoir mis en avant la pluridisciplinarité de ce sujet et la complexité qu'il amène. Les auteurs ont donc le mérite d'avoir dressé la table pour une réflexion qu'il faudra de toute évidence poursuivre et approfondir.

Titulaire d'un master en sciences politiques de l'Université de Lausanne (Suisse), Gwenaëlle Reyt a entamé une carrière de journaliste pour le quotidien Le Temps *(Genève), puis pour* Le Devoir *(Montréal) et autres magazines.*

Elle a notamment dirigé la section gastronomie du journal Voir *et elle a supervisé l'édition de son guide de restaurants. Elle a également participé à l'élaboration du* Dictionnaire des femmes créatrices *(Éditions des femmes) en écrivant sur les femmes qui ont marqué la gastronomie québécoise. Titulaire d'un certificat en gestion et pratiques socioculturelles de la gastronomie (UQÀM), elle entreprend actuellement une maîtrise en études urbaines (UQÀM) durant laquelle elle aborde la thématique des restaurants et de l'identité culinaire québécoise.*

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Book Review

Food
Jennifer Clapp
Polity Press, 2012: 218 pages

Review by Christopher Yordy (Carleton University)

The economic shocks witnessed at the time of the global food price crisis of 2008 were a stress test for governance mechanisms in the global food economy. As the decisions at the top of the largest transnational food corporations are often shrouded in secrecy, the associated patterns of governance have typically remained a matter for speculation for all but the most seasoned agribusiness and trade experts. Jennifer Clapp's *Food* succeeds in exposing some of the primary forces behind the food economy, and maps the relationship between government, private industry, and the international institutions involved in food regulation. Through a compelling narrative, she offers a simplified view of the ascent of transnational corporations within this triumvirate, revealing their sources of power through a number of policy processes. Clapp's work is essential reading for the contemporary food studies researcher, offering a stern forewarning that high food prices are likely to remain a permanent feature of the world food economy if no regulatory changes are made.[1]

Chapter 1 traces the journey of a product on its way from farm to fork, and sets the stage for the rest of the book by defining the *world food economy*. This term is used to imply the global nature of food markets—that they are no longer bounded by any single country but subject to global forces, with more food travelling through globalized supply chains than ever before. Chapter 2 tells the story of the rise of a global industrial food market with a heavy emphasis on food aid. An elaborate discussion of unequal trade rules with a focus on the historical context is presented in Chapter 3, followed by a pithy critique of transnationals in Chapter 4. The book culminates with a rich explanation of the financialization of food in Chapter 5. This last section is especially salient to the current situation of food price volatility on world markets.

Of particular focus for Clapp in her research framework are the 'middle spaces' that exist between producers and consumers, where transnational actors influence the rules of the game. When the concept is first introduced, middle spaces are defined as spaces within which "norms,

practices and rules that govern the world food economy are shaped by the very forces that are leading to its expansion" (6). This definition is somewhat ambiguous. The term 'middle spaces' resurfaces at various points, but with slight variations each time. It therefore might remain unclear whether the middle spaces are defined primarily as the nodes of a given commodity supply chain in the private sphere—at the centre of the hourglass between producers and consumers—which can be influenced by the public sphere (97–98), or whether they are instead primarily a cluster of public sector actors that regulate finance, trade in commodities, and quality standards, and which are acted upon by private sector interests. A third possibility is that the middle spaces require a constant negotiation of power sharing between government and industry. Clapp might further explain at the outset of her study how power is coopted, shared, and manipulated within global food supply chains, which would help to clarify the degree to which private sector influence from transnational corporations is measurable.

Furthermore, when defined as the midpoint of supply chains, a second problem arises, which is that it might be inappropriate to call these 'middle spaces' if the *locus* of power lies somewhere other than the middle of the value chain. In fact, food retailers may be driven by changing consumer tastes and preferences much more than by the desire to exercise control over the middle zones of a given commodity supply chain. A more nuanced argument could be provided if Clapp were to examine the different types of agro-industrial power in the individual hemispheres of the supply chain hourglass rather than merely at the bottleneck (97). Depending on the type of industry we are referring to, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, the proximity to consumers matters greatly in determining the level of revenue of a given firm. For this reason, one may imagine that retail giants Wal-Mart and Tesco would in future compete with other food companies on the basis of more than GMOs and food labelling issues (113).

A quick look at the data shows a substantial power asymmetry between the food and beverage industry and all others (112). In fact, the ETC data that Clapp presents is likely to be underestimated. As of 2010, the food and beverage economy was valued at $3.8 trillion dollars as compared to animal feed companies ($263 billion), animal processing companies ($672 billion) and input suppliers ($227 billion) (estimates based on USDA data, 2014). The gist of this observation is that supermarkets and some retail food vendors may indeed have more money to throw at the big agri-lobby than do the ABCD companies.[2, 3] This is an important clarification because both food retailers and the ABCD companies may derive power from the supply chains for different reasons: (a) through economies of scale and the elimination of transactions costs or (b) for a simple gain in market share which arises from the concentration of industry. The changing market presence of retail food companies in each of these market segments warrants further attention.

On the whole, Clapp provides some of the most stimulating market information to date on the world food economy. She succeeds in bringing together important critiques of TNCs with her own unique perspectives on the financialization of food. This is no small feat. Clapp's work succeeds in speaking simultaneously to food activists with a spiritual grounding in the food movement and to economists who seek to evaluate power structures in the food industry.

Chris Yordy is a PhD student in the School of Public Policy and Administration at Carleton University. Prior to his studies at Carleton, he worked as a barefoot economist in several countries of the Middle East and Africa. His main interest has been food systems research in Egypt since the revolution, including studies on the livelihoods of sugarcane workers with the International Development Research Centre, and nutrition policy with the Food and Agricultural

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[1] Clapp, Jennifer. 2012. *Food*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.19. Further references to this text will appear as page numbers in parentheses.

[2] Among the largest food processors are Archer Daniels Midland (ADM), Bunge, Cargill and Louis Dreyfus—hence the initialism derived from their names. Their reaction against tighter limits on speculation is indicative of the middle spaces where ABCD companies are strongly affected by changes in place at the US Commodity Futures Trading Commission (Meyer, 2014).

[3] Meyer, G. (2014, February 9). Commodities traders take aim at rule to limit speculation. *Financial Times*. London, UK. Retrieved from http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/63553066-904a-11e3-8029-00144feab7de.html#axzz2w7L1pBvM

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