Farmers' Markets: Connecting Citizens with Local Agriculture in B.C.

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Abstract

A spatial analysis within a political ecology framework is used to assess policies associated with farmers' markets in British Columbia. In this light, I examine farmers' markets with two objectives in mind: decreasing energy throughput and dispersing institutional power. I develop four categories of policy recommendations for supporting farmers' markets as a component of alternative food systems: 1) support for the development and management of farmers' markets, 2) support for local agriculture, 3) support for civil society initiatives bolstering food security, and 4) provision of educational opportunities. Within each category, I provide specific recommendations for both provincial and local/regional policy implementation. These need to be implemented with respect to an overall framework that ensures that all farmers' markets lead to reduced and circular throughput and power. Farmers' markets are an example of a component of alternative food systems that should be supported by provincial, regional and local policy.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Urban Areas

For any dialogue on sustainability, attention to urban areas is important. Firstly, urban areas are where the bulk of humanity lives. World-wide, 50% of people live in urban areas.[1] In Canada, 79.4% of the population lives in urban areas.[2] Secondly, urban areas contribute largely to increasing ecological, social and economic problems of the world.[3] Sixty-four percent of economic production/consumption and its corresponding pollution are associated with rich cities.[4] The ecological footprint of cities is much larger than the area of cities themselves. For example, the Lower Fraser Valley requires an area 5.75 times its size for food production.[5] Cities are dependent upon their hinterlands, and could not survive without constant inputs from outside of their boundaries. Cities cover 2% of earth's surface, yet consume 75% of its resources. The distance, however, between production and consumption leaves most urban dwellers unaware of their dependence on distant resource bases and "renders [them] blind to the degradation that results from their... lifestyles."[6] Many environmental and social problems, both locally and world-wide, stem from cities.

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[1] Rees, W. 1997(b). Why Urban Agriculture? Notes for the IDRC Development Forum on Cities Feeding People: A Growth Industry. Vancouver, B.C.: International Research Development Centre.
[2] Statistics Canada. 2002. A profile of Canadian population: where we live. URL: <http://geodepot.statcan.ca/diss/highlights/index_e.cfm> (February 28, 2003). An urban area was defined as an area with more than 10,000 people. According to the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Canada is one of the most urbanised nations in the world.
[3] Rees, W. 1997(a). Is "sustainable city" an oxymoron? Local Environment 2:303-310.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Wackernagel, M., & Rees, W. (1996). Our Ecological Footprint. Gabriola Island: New Society, pp 15. The figure of 5.75 was derived from statistics provided about the Lower Fraser Valley, a region of 4000 km^2 thats food production requires an area of 23,000 km^2.
[6] Rees (1997a), Supra note 3.

Food Systems

Food and food systems, with their associated production, distribution and consumption, also have an integral role to play in contributing to problems related to rural and urban areas in both the global south and north.

The term 'food systems' is used to describe the whole range of activities and linkages between the production of food to its final consumption. It refers to the "highly integrated systems that includes everything from farm input suppliers to retail outlets, from farmers to consumers."[7] It is referred to as food systems – in the plural – because many different types of food systems (relationships between production and consumption) exist and can exist concurrently. Food systems can only be understood by examining the relationships between the different elements of which it is composed.[8] According to Tansey (1995):

> "The food systems link three different aspects of life: biological (the living processes used to produce food and their ecological sustainability); economic and political (the power and control which different groups exert over the different parts of the systems; [and] social and cultural (the personal relations, community values, and cultural traditions which affect people's use of food.)"[9]

Food and food systems are very important for multiple reasons: personal health and nutrition; local food security; maintenance of rural communities and local economies; environmental degradation from farming and transportation of food; and the control and ownership of food resources.

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[7] Kneen, B. 1993. From land to mouth: understanding the food system (2nd ed). Toronto: NC Press Ltd., pp 18

[8] *Ibid* at pp 19.

[9] Tansey, G. and T. Worsley. 1995. The Food System: A Guide. London: Earthscan, pp 2.

Food Systems Problems

The dominant food production and distribution systems are neither environmentally nor socially benign. Contemporary issues of concern include the challenge of feeding a growing global population in an environmentally and socially just and sustainable manner – something we are currently failing to do. Although the dominant food system has many successes, including the feeding of millions of people and the availability of a wide variety of food items, problems are numerous.

The dominant food systems are energy intensive, especially in the connections between production and consumption. Only about 10% of the fossil fuel energy used in the world's food system is used in production; the other 90% is used for distribution and marketing – for example, in transporting food long distances or in expensive, non-recyclable packaging.[10] In North America, the average distance for food to travel before it is eaten is 2000 kilometres.[11] This distance of food travel has only occurred recently; in the 1960's, 70% of supermarket stock was purchased from within a radius of 120 miles.[12]

Problems of food security plague both Northern and Southern cities. Food security can be defined as the "dignified access to food which is safe, nutritious, and culturally appropriate, and which has been produced in a manner which is environmentally, and

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[10] *Ibid* at pp 223.
[11] Rees (1997b), supra note 1.
[12] Goodland, R. 1997. Environmental sustainability in agriculture: diet matters. Ecological Economics 23(3): 189-200.

socially sustainable." [13] The Toronto Food Policy Council uses a definition of food security which includes:

a) "The availability of quality foods – a variety of nutritious foods are available to residents in sufficient quantity and in accessible locations.

b) The assured ability to acquire personally acceptable food – residents have sufficient resources to acquire those foods that they wish to consume.

c) The assurance of a viable and sustainable food production system – farmers are able to produce food in a manner that assures both an adequate income and the long-term sustainability of the resources required for food production."[14]

Fewer and larger corporations control the dominant food systems. The control of Canada's food supply is increasingly being concentrated in the hands of a few large corporations, and away from the hands of citizens and farmers. Canada has the most oligopolistic food systems in the western world, with just four companies controlling greater than 40% of the food economy.[15] These four major chains are Safeway, Overwaitea/Save On, Great Canadian Superstore, and Costco.[16] This lack of competition results in higher prices of food than there would be with more diversified control of the food economy.[17]

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[13] Kneen, B., McDougall, C., & Kneen, C. 1997. A Baseline for Food Policy in British Columbia. Vancouver: FarmFolk/CityFolk.

[14] Cosgrove, S. 2000. Food Secure City: Toronto Food Policy Council submission to the Toronto Official Plan. Toronto: Toronto Food Policy Council.

[15] Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC). 1994. Health, wealth and the environment: the impacts of CUSTA, GATT and NAFTA on Canadian food security (Discussion Paper #2). Toronto: TFPC.

[16] Kneen et al. (1997), supra note 13.

This increasing concentration of control results in decreased environmental and social sustainability and less control in the hands of citizens / farmers. Food is used as a means of generating profit, as opposed to something contributing to health and nutrition.

The current food system is the industrial model, which increases volume by increasing the scale of production with bigger farms, more high yield varieties, more use of mechanical energy and increased energy-intensive inputs. Fewer and larger companies replace small food businesses.[18] Wealth and power is concentrated at the "apex of a pyramid, but it is antithetical to the goals of community, co-operation, local control, and personal responsibility that are part of the original inspiration of the movement for sustainable agriculture."[19] Market-based criteria drive the food system, not goals that are nutritional, environmental, or for social justice.[20] As "bigness is selected for, community values are inevitably left behind."[21] Hereafter, I will refer to the current food system as the "dominant food system."

The dominant food system has been supported by both supply- and demand-side forces, as well as by subsidies to non-renewable resources. Governmental policies focussing on increased productivity have resulted in the food supply exceeding

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[17] Warnock, J. W. 1978. Profit Hungry: The Food Industry in Canada. Vancouver: New Star Books. & Winson, A. 1992. The Intimate Commodity: food and the development of the agro-industrial complex in Canada. Toronto: Garamond.
[18] Tansey and Worsley, supra note 9, at pp 225.
[19] Reynolds, P.C. 2000. Organics at the crossroads: future for runaway industry is community-level systems. Acres USA 30(9): 1, 8-11.
[20] Tansey and Worsley, supra note 9, at pp 225.
[21] Reynolds, supra note 19.

demand.[22] Simultaneously, as incomes increase, a decreasing proportion of money is being spent on food while farmers receive a smaller return from their products.[23] Enormous subsidies of non-renewable resources, such as fuel, and the externalisation of environmental and social costs also support the dominant food system.[24] Externalised costs include negative environmental impacts such as water pollution and soil degradation. Farmers using agricultural techniques which support ecological conservation internalise more of their costs. All of these factors result in the favouring economically of larger-scale agriculture over smaller-scale agriculture.[25]

Importance of Connecting with Local Agriculture

Given that many problems exist with the dominant food system, a need exists to identify alternative food systems and explore ways in which they can be encouraged and their viability increased. Much work has been done that points us in the direction of food systems which provide alternatives to the current dominant industrial model. The importance of connecting people with local agriculture has been drawn out as an important step toward food security from many different sources, including the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (BC MoAFF), the B.C. Heart Health Coalition, the B.C. Dieticians and Nutritionists' Association, Farm Folk / City Folk, the Toronto Food Policy Council, and local food policy activists.

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[22] Pierce, J. 1994. Towards the reconstruction of agriculture – paths of change and adjustment. Professional Geographer 46(2): 178-190.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] Pierce, J. 1990. The Food Resource. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
[25] Pierce, J. 1993. Agriculture, sustainability and the imperatives of policy reform. Geoforum 24(4): 381-396.

Under the NDP government, the B.C. MoAFF acknowledged that due to potential threats to the global food supply, the need exists to cultivate a strong agricultural base in the province. According to the MoAFF, B.C. currently produces 60% of its food needs.[26] However, the "60% probably overestimates actual local self-reliance as it is based on wholesale values and includes exports and some non-agricultural products."[27] The NDP B.C. MoAFF had a stated goal of achieving 75% self-reliance in 25 years. This is echoed by the B.C. Dieticians and Nutritionists' Association, which also recommends local self-reliance, with local sources providing 50 – 75% of food.[28]

The B.C. Heart Health coalition recommends the development of a provincial food policy that would, among other things, develop policies to preserve and protect B.C.'s food supply.[29] The "food security and nutrition advocacy committee", part of the B.C. Heart Health Coalition, examines the four determinants of nutritional health: nutrition behaviour and skills, nutrition services, food supply, and food access.[30] The rationale behind the Heart Health Coalitions issue of the importance of food supply is that food safety is threatened by, among others, the "presence of new technologies, pesticides, additives, and processing that may increase health risks, and... changes in agri-food production and distribution that could reduce the availability of fresh, nutritious food

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[26] B.C. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. 1995. Securing our food future: An Agri-food policy for British Columbia. Victoria: Ministry of Agiculture, Fisheries and Food.
[27] B.C. Dieticians' and Nutritionists' Association. 1994. Position of BCDNA on use of local foods. Vancouver: BCDNA.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] MacGregor, L. and R. Levy-Milne. 1997. Feed Our Future, Secure Our Health: A Plan to put B.C. at the forefront of food and nutritional health in Canada. A Submission to the Government of British Columbia by the Hearth Health Coalition, at pp 7. The B.C. Heart Health coalition is made up of 30 member agencies working collaboratively on issues relating to heart health.

supply for British Columbians."[31] They also have concerns about the "role of large-scale, export-oriented farming on sustainability."[32] Some of these concerns can be reduced through strengthening the base of and access to local agriculture within the province.

Brewster Kneen et al. (1997), in "A baseline for food policy in British Columbia," also emphasises the importance of local agriculture, where a just and sustainable food system is defined as one that:

- "protects the land which produces the food;
- supports the local economy through local production, processing and distribution;
- empowers communities through self-reliance, and gives them increased food system security;
- enhances community well-being through increased health, decreased illnesses; increased sense of community;
- and increases environmental health because of reduced transportation of food."[33]

Local food policy and food issue organisations recognise the importance of food security and sustainable food systems. The Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC) recommends that Toronto improve its food security by establishing a food system that is just and ecologically sustainable. Components of this would include protecting local agricultural land, providing access to alternative food sources, and the further development of urban agriculture initiatives.[34] Farm Folk/City Folk (FFCF), a food issue organisation based out of Vancouver, has the goal of more people eating local, fresh agricultural products that have been grown using farming practices that

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[30] MacGregor and Levy-Milne, supra note 29.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Kneen et al. (1997), supra note 13.
[34] Cosgrove, supra note 14.

contribute to the health of the planet. FFCF recommends the integration of community-based, small-scale agriculture in the development of sustainable provincial agri-food systems.[35] This would include a larger market buying BC products and increased support and understanding between producers and consumers.[36] Herb Barbolet, founder of Farm Folk/City Folk, believes we must support local, alternative food systems due to the current threat to our food security in BC.[37] Visioning alternatives and then actualising them can demonstrate the feasibility of alternative food systems. However, alternatives are needed that illustrate all components of food systems including production, processing, distribution and consumption.

Often, the organic sector is looked towards for an example of alternative, sustainable food systems. This sector, however focuses primarily on the modes of food production, not on distribution, processing, consumption, or control of food systems. While organic food production is clearly beneficial to decreasing energy inputs of farming, the trend of increasing corporate control is also occurring in the organic food sector. The organic food sector, which started out being primarily locally oriented and small-scale, is becoming increasingly industrialised. As the scale of production increases, ownership shifts to control by large corporations which are recognising the growing importance of organic products in the marketplace. Many say that the organic agriculture movement is currently at a "crossroads" with two paths before it.

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[35] Farm Folk/City Folk. 1998. Response to BC Ministry of Agriculture Food Economy and Ideas Discussion Paper. Vancouver: Farm Folk/City Folk. URL <http://www.ffcf.bc.ca/archive/white_papers/mafresponce.html> (March 3, 2001).

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Barbolet, H. 1996. Get Real About Food Politics. Common Ground. October.

As the organic movement continues to grow, the question is whether it will go the way of industrial agriculture, with increasing concentrations of power and control, or continue with increasing capacity at the local level:

> "Until recently, community values, food integrity, and food security were ensured by the marginality of organic producers and resellers. As an embattled minority, organic farmers developed a strong sense of community among themselves, while unpredictable supply encouraged organic distributors and retailers to maintain good working relationships with farmers. More importantly, the dollar value of the organic industry was too small to attract serious predators."[38]

With organic sales growing rapidly and natural food stores being consolidated into big chains: "organic farms are scaling up in production on an industrial model to meet the increased demand."[39] As Reynolds says (2000):

> "In short, as organic food becomes more popular, it is being incorporated into the systems of finance, management, and distribution that prevail in conventional agriculture. In the long run, industrial models of mass production and distribution threaten the future of sustainable farming and its vision of community."[40]

If the mode of production, then, is not the sole criteria for sustainable food systems, another framework is needed to identify what the criteria would be for sustainable food systems. A political ecology framework, with its emphasis on materially based structures of power and the resulting control over nature and community, provides us with a suitable lens. It reveals that, in addition to mode of production, the types of connections between producers and consumers are crucial. With its excellent agricultural land and a large percentage of family-owned farms, BC has many

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[38] Reynolds, supra note 19.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*

opportunities for forging connections with local agriculture and is ideally suited to be a leader in support for components of alternative food systems.

Agriculture in B.C.

Within British Columbia, 21,835 farms exist, directly employing 33,300 people. Indirectly, the B.C. agriculture and fisheries sector employs 250,000 people, and produces 60% of the province's total food requirements.[41] B.C. produces 200 agricultural commodities. The availability of these food items varies throughout the year by seasonality, with the majority of fresh produce available from June through November (Appendix 1).

Ninety-seven percent of B.C. farms are family owned. Fifty-six percent of B.C. farm households depend upon off-farm income as their major source of family income. Over half of B.C. farm revenues come from the Fraser Valley, which also has more than half of B.C.'s farms. The major commodities in the Fraser Valley are dairy products, poultry, eggs, hogs, berries, vegetables, floriculture, and nursery products. The climate within the Fraser Valley is suitable for growing a broad range of crops; the Fraser Valley has some of the best agricultural land within B.C.[42] It is also located near processing facilities, transportation links, and near dense urban markets.[43] Herrin and Gussow (1989) demonstrate that it is possible to create nutritionally

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[41] B.C. Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries. Fast Facts at pp 2.
[42] McFadden, M. and R. Wittenberg. 1981. Agriculture Report, South Coastal. ARDSA Project No. 271024 under Canada, B.C. Subsidiary Agreement on Agriculture and Rural Development. December, 1980. Co-published by Government of Canada, Regional Economic Expansion. ISBN 0-7719-8721-8.
[43] *Ibid.*

adequate menus year-round from local, seasonal food in a climate harsher than that of the Fraser Valley.[44]

Economically, the B.C. agriculture and food sector generated $16 billion in total sales in 1996, with international exports worth $1.7 billion in 1996. The B.C. farmgate value is valued yearly at $1.6 billion. B.C. agriculture contributes $2.2 billion to the GDP, which is similar to that of mining industry. B.C.'s food system is, however, firmly entrenched in the "dominant" systems of agricultural production and marketing. "Alternative" connections between producers and consumers are weak; to remedy this imbalance will demand an enabling policy environment.

Food Policy

By supporting connections between citizens and local agriculture, policy – especially at the level of local government – plays an important role in contributing to the viability of alternative food systems. "Food's power to keep it simple is made to order for local governments. It lets [local governments] bolster close relationships with citizens instead of being limited by low budgets and weak legislative powers."[45] As Rees states, "policies [are needed] to protect the integrity and productivity of

[44] Herrin, M. and J.D. Gussow. 1989. Designing a sustainable regional diet. Journal of Nutrition Education 21(6): 270-275. Herrin and Gussow used Montana, with an average of 110 frost-free days per year, as their case study. To contrast with average BC climates, south-western BC, Kelowna and the Bulkley Valley have, respectively 180, 140 and 100 frost-free days per year. Therefore, the Bulkley Valley has a harsher climate than the one used in the case study.

[45] Roberts, W., MacRae, R. and L. Stahlbrand. 1999. Real food for a change. Toronto: Random House.

local/regional ecosystems and to decrease the ecological load imposed on distant systems."[46]

Currently, no comprehensive policy for food systems exists within British Columbia, although food is a basic need for survival, and issues affecting food systems can be found within many sectors of government, as well as at many political levels (international, national, provincial, regional, local). Without policies being addressed in light of a comprehensive framework, our food systems are shaped indirectly, largely in response to the dictates of economic power. Governmental sectors which impact food policy include health, education, agriculture, environment, and transportation. However, a unified approach to food systems is not on the policy agenda.

Scope of Thesis

Many problems with the current dominant food system exist, and comprehensive policy addressing local production and consumption is underdeveloped for food systems; alternative food systems that address problems of the dominant food system point to strengthening local agriculture. Through this thesis, I will examine barriers and opportunities to connecting people with local agriculture. The objectives of this study are to examine alternatives within food systems that do not contribute to or reinforce the increasing concentration of control of food – particularly farmers' markets – and to identify policy barriers to the alternatives. Such alternatives would decrease the distance between producers and consumers as well as shift the locus of

[46] Rees (1997a), supra note 3.

control from the hands of large corporations into the hands of citizens / farmers. This study will examine policy barriers and opportunities for the alternatives.

For this study, local agriculture is defined as produced within B.C. Using a finer scale, local agriculture is food produced within the same bioregion. For example, food grown in the Fraser Valley is in the same bioregion as Vancouver. Both scales of local agriculture will be addressed. The focus of the thesis is on British Columbia, with emphasis on Vancouver within the Georgia Basin, and Smithers within the Bulkley Valley.

Many opportunities exist to enhance linkages between local agriculture and local consumers. However, distribution channels used by dominant food systems are not available/appropriate for getting local products. "Local products, no matter how spectacular, can only be successful if a market is found for them."[47] Many avenues currently exist that do connect people with local agriculture. These include farmers' markets, farm gate sales, U-picks, some organic delivery boxes, some retail stores, some fruit/vegetable trucks, community supported agriculture, some restaurants, some institutions – such as schools or prisons which use local agricultural products in their food services – and urban agriculture. Critical questions are, however, firstly, which of these avenues have characteristics that make them stand apart from the industrial model food system and provide substantive alternatives? Secondly, what

[47] Barbolet, H., A. Murrills, and H. Pritchard. 1998. Farm Folk City Folk. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre. pp 2.

are examples of policies which support the revitalisation of local control, production and consumption of food products?

In the next chapter, I discuss methods used for this study. In chapter three, I develop and describe the analytical framework for this study – political ecology with a focus on spatial analyses – and two objectives which will be used for examining food systems. In chapter four, I use the two objectives to examine dominant and alternative food systems and farmers' markets as a component of alternative food systems. In chapter five, I present two farmers' markets case studies and two profiles of farmers to show examples of issues facing farmers' markets and farmers who sell their produce locally. In chapter six, I discuss policy for farmers' markets and emerging issues. Finally, in chapter seven, I present recommendations for farmers' markets.

Chapter 2. Methods

Introduction

I used a variety of different methods to do my research for this thesis. All can be seen as part of ethnography. Ethnography is a form of qualitative social research where the researcher participates in some way in people's lives, and uses data from multiple sources to illuminate the research question.[48] Methods I used included field research, through participant observation, direct observation, and unstructured interviews. I also undertook extensive document analysis including peer-reviewed literature and resources from organisational and governmental documents. I used multiple methods for the purpose of triangulation, which is using a variety of methods and collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings to increase the accuracy of my analysis.[49]

I used a political ecology lens as my framework for analysis. Using this framework, I developed two objectives that can be used as an analytical tool to be applied to any number of issues or sectors. I used value-focussed policy analysis and a panel workshop on food systems to develop and discuss a range of alternatives within the food systems sector and to develop performance measures for the sector. These performance measures were adapted to the political ecology framework and the corresponding objectives. I then analysed farmers' markets using the framework's objectives and the performance measures. Finally, interviews with informants were

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[48] Hammersly, M. and P. Atkinson. 1995. Ethnography: Principles in Practice (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

[49] Maxwell, J. 1996. Qualitative research design: an interactive approach. London: Sage Publications, pp 75.

used to draw out barriers and opportunities to the selected alternative: farmers' markets.

In this chapter, I will first discuss my field research methodology. Secondly, I will describe my integration into my community of study. Thirdly, I will outline the food systems workshops. Finally, I will discuss my interview techniques.

Field Research

My field research resulted in qualitative data through methods of participant observation and direct observation. Field research is more than a data-collecting activity; it is also used for developing theories, as the researcher tries to draw inferences about ongoing processes.[50] My main field research methods were participant-observation coupled with unstructured interviews. Participant-observation is when the researcher acts as a participant during the data gathering process.[51]

Many ways exist of differentiating various levels of participation and observation. These include complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer.[52] My role as a field researcher is best described as falling somewhere between participant-as-observer, where one "participates fully in the group, but... [making] it clear that you were also undertaking research," and observer-as-participant, "one who identifies... as a researcher and interacts with the

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[50] Babbie, E. 1992. The Practice of Social Research (6th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., pp 285.
[51] Kirby, S. and K. McKenna. 1989. Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins. Toronto: Garamond Press. pp 76
[52] Babbie, supra note 50.

participants in the social process but makes no pretence of actually being a participant."[53] This combination of the middle two roles is one of the most common strategies because it allows the researcher to be involved with a group's everyday routines, while simultaneously maintaining the necessary detachment of an observer. Ultimately, however, as Babbie (1992) states "anything the participant observer does or does not do will have some effect on what is being observed; it is simply inevitable."[54]

Researcher's Interaction with Local Agriculture Community

Upon embarking upon my research, I endeavoured to situate myself within the local agriculture communities present in both of my study areas: Vancouver in the Georgia Basin, and in Smithers in Northern British Columbia in the Bulkley Valley. Within both Smithers and the Vancouver case studies, the sampling method was chosen to "achieve representativeness or typicality of the settings."[55] In exploring the situation in both Smithers and Vancouver, I was able to "capture the heterogeneity"[56] of food systems by examining the range of variation present. In addition, I had lived and worked extensively in both communities and, as such, was already familiar with the areas and had many contacts, making further integration into the local agriculture community easier. In both Smithers and Vancouver, I interviewed many different people from different community organisations, government levels, businesses, and people involved in local food systems. For more, see section below "Interviews".

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[53] *Ibid* at pp 289.
[54] *Ibid* at pp 289.
[55] Maxwell, supra note 49 at pp 71.

In Vancouver, I began working, both as a volunteer and a paid employee, at a local demonstration garden for urban agriculture and composting. I delivered worm composting workshops, composted community organic kitchen waste, participated in urban organic gardening, worked on a composting hotline, and did other miscellaneous tasks in the garden, such as helping to build a stone retaining wall.

In Smithers, I volunteered my assistance to help local organic growers harvest their crop, and produced an informational brochure about a community gardening initiative being started by a local resident. My efforts to integrate myself into the community were not unnoticed. Several people whom I interviewed would call me up to give me more information. My participation and research into the local agriculture community even was printed up in the Interior News – the newspaper for the Bulkley Valley.

Through my work as a graduate research assistant with the Sustainable Development Research Institute's (SDRI) Georgia Basin Futures Project (GBFP), I organised and participated in a workshop on local food systems in the Georgia Basin (see more below in section on workshop series). The guest list for the food systems workshop was noted as very pleasing by several participants and the workshop itself was called a "golden" opportunity for discussing these issues. Workshop participants also advocated for the creation of a local organisation which would facilitate cooperation between non-profit and academic sectors on community-based sustainable agriculture initiatives.

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[56] *Ibid.*

Food Systems Workshop

Through my work as a graduate research assistant with the GBFP, I organized and participated in a workshop on local food systems in the Georgia Basin.[57] The food systems workshop was part of a workshop series organised in collaboration with other members of a research group I was involved with -- Policy Analysis and Community Engagement (PACE), which was part of the GBFP.[58]

The workshop series was composed of individual workshops covering the transportation, forestry, housing, waste management, and food systems sectors. The purposes of the workshop series were to engage GBFP partners in providing sectoral-specific input to GBFP research and projects; create opportunities for dialogue between different actors within each sector; provide an opportunity to learn more about collaborative workshops and the use of critical thinking; and satisfy personal research objectives of members of the GBFP team.[59]

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[57] SDRI is an interdisciplinary research institute at the University of British Columbia which undertakes research on sustainable development. The GBFP is a project of SDRI that explores how, in the next 40 years, citizens can learn to live within the limits of natural ecosystems, while improving human well being in the Georgia Basin region on the west coast of British Columbia. The project aims to increase the level of understanding of how complex ecological, social and economic systems interact and to discover new ways of achieving a sustainable future for the region. The GBFP is intended to engage the interested public of the Georgia Basin in a series of discussions about their future over the next 40 years, partly through the use of QUEST, a computer simulation that enables people from all walks of life to construct alternative futures of the Georgia basin and view the trade-offs and consequences of their choices.

[58] The PACE group was composed of 6 graduate student research assistants, including myself, with support from a post-doctorate fellow and several co-investigators / senior researchers at the GBFP.

[59] Moore, J. and VanWynsberg, R. October 2000. "Mutual Learning for Sustainability. Listen, Telling and Creating Stories: An Engaged and Facilitated Workshop Process on Archetypal Pathways to Sustainability in the Georgia Basin" Draft publication. Sustainable Development Research Institute.

Prior to the food systems workshop, working with the PACE group and using value-focussed policy analysis, we developed an analytical matrix to describe food systems. Value-focussed policy analysis is a decision-making tool useful when multiple stakeholders are balancing conflicting objectives.[60] The first steps in value-focussed policy analysis are to develop a range of objectives for the outcome from the decision and to develop a range of possible alternatives to achieve the objectives. Drawing upon value-focussed policy analysis, the matrix included, as the x-axis, a range of alternatives for modes of production and consumption - and relationships between the two - within food systems and, as the y-axis, a list of objectives and performance measures for sustainable food systems (Table 1). This analytical matrix was used as a baseline for the food systems workshop.[61]

[60] Gregory, R. and R. Keeney. 1994. Creating policy alternatives using stakeholder values. Management Science 40(8): 1035-1048.

[61] The analytical matrix was prepared in collaboration with Asoka Mendis and Ross Smith from the PACE group.

Table 1. Food Systems Analytical Matrix

Objectives	--- Modes of Production ---				--- Modes of Consumption ---					
Alternatives	Small organic selling locally	Conventional family farm under contract to agri-business	Agri-business	Urban Agriculture	CSAs	Organic Food Box	Organic Stores	Farmers' Markets	Farm Gate Sales	Suburban Supermarket	Neighbourhood Grocers
Mode					Production & Consumption						
Support local economies / minimise degradation of rural communities											
Promote local production and											
Provide farmer, farm workers and family with living wage											
Maximise control / ownership in hands of citizen / farmer											
Local, on-farm decision making											
Enhancement of food security											
Minimise steps in distribution chan											
Minimise negative environmental impacts of farming and distribution of food											
Minimise use of agro-chemical and energy inputs											
Low-impact farming											
Minimise distance between production and											
Maximise productivity[64]											
Minimise use of											
Maximise access to safe and low-risk food[63]											
Minimise risk of food (max. organic, min. GMOs, min processing) high risk – low risk											
Food costs[62]											
Educate/inform											
Consumer proximity											

[62] It should be made explicit that food costs are, due to externalisation, artificially low when food is produced industrially.

[63] In this context, "low-risk" is used to call for the precautionary principle. For example, GMOs must be demonstrated to be safe to qualify as "low-risk" and not the reverse – that their risk has to be demonstrated to be called "high risk".

[64] Productivity is the ratio of Energy Out of the farm to total Energy Inputs to the farm. For example, a typical industrial-model agri-business has a very large Eout, but also a very large Ein. A small, organic farmer would have a smaller Eout, but a much higher ratio of Eout to Ein and, therefore, higher productivity.

The workshop consisted of eight panelists representing a cross-section of the food systems sector including people from non-governmental organisations, government, academia, and local farms. The participants made up a panel of "people who are uniquely able to be informative because they are expert in an area or were privileged witnesses to an event."[65]

During the food systems workshop, participants had the opportunity to discuss and expand upon the objectives, performance measures and alternatives presented in our prepared analytical matrix. As part of this, participants worked together to choose two independent variables which, when combined, described the largest degree of variation within the food systems sector and the broadest range of food system alternatives, i.e. the extremes of both the dominant and alternative food systems. The two variables chosen were a) degree of locality and b) degree of naturalness or mimicking of nature (Figure 1).

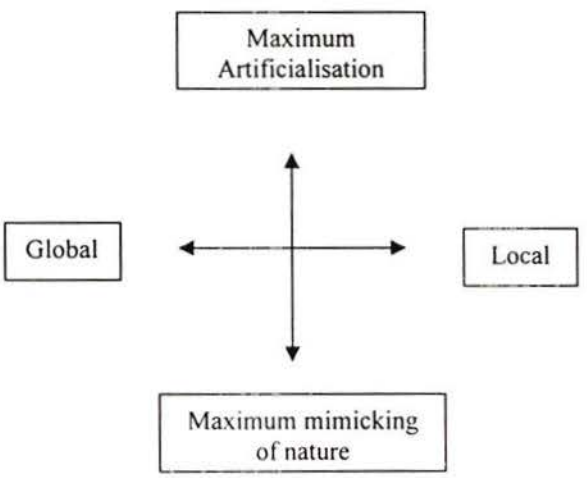

Figure 1. Two variables which represent a range of food system alternatives.

[65] Weiss, R. S. 1994. Learning from strangers: the art and method of qualitative data analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. pp 17.

Interviews

Twenty-eight people were involved in the study, either through interviews or through their participation in the food systems workshop. Individuals came from many different backgrounds and professions and were from both the Bulkley Valley and the Georgia Basin. These included government workers (agiculturalist, health inspector, provincial land inspector), small businesses (organic box delivery service, small-scale vegetable brokers), academic researchers (agriculture and food security), local farmers (hothouse grower, organic farmers), corporations (grocery store manager), and representatives from the non-profit sector (participants in community economic development projects through sustainable agriculture, community-supported agriculture and community garden organiser, farmers' market organisers, and food-based organisations).

I chose my informants using quota sampling, snowball sampling, and purposive sampling. A quota sample includes "persons representing all different participation categories."[66] I thus interviewed a broad spectrum of informants with diverse experiences within the food systems sector. Snowball sampling is beginning the sample with a few people from a certain group, and expanding the sample after the preliminary interviews.[67] I used snowball sampling when people I interviewed would recommend me to others that they thought would be applicable. Purposive sampling is selecting a "sample of observations you believe will yield the most comprehensive

[66] Babbie, supra note 50 at pp 292.
[67] *Ibid.*

understanding of your subject of study."[68] I used purposive sampling by choosing informants, based on my observations and reflections, that would most contribute to my understanding of the situation.

In my interviews, I used an unstructured approach which is generally a more appropriate interview technique than a structured survey or questionnaire.[69] In an unstructured interview, the researcher does not have a specific set of questions, but a general plan of inquiry that creates a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent.[70] Using this form of inquiry, the answers evoked by initial questions should shape subsequent ones.[71] Although not the same as regular conversation, in unstructured interviews the researcher has areas of topics or questions to be covered and will guide the conversation to those ends; the interview is a guided conversation, the goal of which is to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials.[72] The interview questions asked by the researcher are not the same as the research questions the researcher has – there is no way to logically or mechanically convert research questions into methods.[73] Rather, interview questions and conversations are led in such a way as to elicit understanding of the answers to the research questions: interview questions are judged not by whether they resemble the

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[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid* at pp 293.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid* at pp 294.
[72] Lofland, J. and L.H. Lofland. 1995. Analysing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis (3rd ed.) University of California, Davis: Wadsworth Publishing Company. pp 12.
[73] Maxwell, supra note 49 at pp 74.

research questions, but by whether they provide the data that will contribute to answering these questions.[74]

I would initiate the interviews by making first contact either by phone or by email. After briefly explaining my interest, I would request an interview. Of all the people I requested an interview this way, only 2 refused: one because of time constraints (Kispiox Market Garden), and another due to what I perceived was a reluctance to being interviewed (Smithers health inspector). Upon meeting my informant for the interview, my plan would be to explain more fully the nature of my research and, using a Human Research Ethics Consent Form, explain the nature of their informed consent. After that, I planned to begin the conversation. However, in practice I found that it was difficult to get an opportunity to fully explain my research question. Informants typically were very enthusiastic about the interview and began talking as soon as we met and would continue until they had run out of their main points (usually about 1.5 hours.) Aside from guiding the conversation in a direction useful to my question, I would have had little opportunity to fully explain my purpose, unless I had cut into their comments to do so – something I was unwilling to do fearing it would jeopardise the information I was gathering. In one example where I went to the informant's house, my informant began telling me useful information as I was greeted outside, before we had even entered the house or sat down. The informant then continued with information even after we had agreed to end the interview and I was heading out the door to head home! To ensure confidentiality, informants are referred to with pseudonyms. Interviews were used to develop the

[74] *Ibid.*

case studies on the East Vancouver Farmers' Market and the Smithers Farmers' Market and the two profiles of farmers, to identify issues relating to farmers' markets, as well as to develop recommendations.

I will continue with an examination of the theoretical framework of analysis – political ecology – why it was chosen as the framework, and what insights its application brings to the study. Through political ecology, we will see how farmers' markets contribute to alternatives to the dominant food system. After highlighting farmers' markets case studies and farmer profiles, I will examine farmers' markets with respect to policy barriers and opportunities.

Chapter 3. A Political Ecology Framework of Analysis

In this chapter, I will discuss a political ecology framework for analysis, and describe spatial analyses. A spatial analysis within a political ecology framework can be used as a tool for meta-analysis that transcends cultural barriers, and can be applied equally well in both highly urbanized areas, as well as rural hinterlands.[75] Using spatial analysis theory, I develop two objectives which indicate a shift from centrist hierarchies to territorialist non-hierarchies. In chapter four, I use these two objectives to assess dominant and alternative food systems, and I discuss farmers' markets as a part of alternative food systems and with respect to the two objectives. In chapter five, I present two farmers' market case studies and two farmer profiles. In chapter six, I examine policy for farmers' markets and issues related to farmers' markets, and, finally, I develop recommendations for farmers' markets.

Political ecology is an expansion upon both political economy and environmental economics by adding an understanding and explanation of how all socio-economic activity is ultimately based upon nature. Any manufactured commodity is the result of a combination of labour and natural resources. Labour itself, as well, is based on natural resources, as it could not exist without nutrients, air and water.[76] As stated in the report to the Club of Rome (1995):

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[75] M'Gonigle, R.M. 2000. A Dialectic of Centre and Territory: The Political Economy of Ecological Flows and Spatial Relations. In: Gale, F. and R.M. M'Gonigle (Eds.) Nature, Production, Power: Towards and Ecological Political Economy. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

[76] Dasgupta, P. 1991. The Environment as a Commodity. In D. Helm (Ed.), Economic Policy Towards the Environment . Oxford: Blackwell, pp 25.

> "Imports of biologically based commodities like food and timber are, indirectly, imports of land, water, air, nutrients, and the other components of ecological capital needed to produce them. Many countries would not be able to support anything like their current population and consumption levels were it not for trade. In principle, there is nothing inherently unsustainable about one nation relying on another's ecological surplus. The problem, however, is the widespread perception that all counties can exceed their carrying capacities and grow economically by expanding manufactured and industrial goods at the expense of natural capital – paving over agricultural land to build factories, for example..."[77]

A political ecology perspective recognises the existence and importance of limits to the environment and uses an understanding of ecology to further enlighten and challenge assumptions on which political economy and environmental economics are based. A goal of political ecology is to demonstrate how the formal economy depends upon the informal economy, and how both are dependent upon the environment.[78] Further, it is used to examine structures of power with an understanding that political economic activity is nested within and dependent upon the ecosystem. A political ecology perspective adds to political economy and environmental economics the understanding that nature is the basis for all socio-economic activity.

Adding Nature to Environmental Economics

Although nature plays a central role in economic activity, its importance is not often acknowledged in economic discourse.[79] In environmental economics, economic

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[77] Van Dieren, W. (Ed.). 1995. Taking Nature Into Account: A Report to the Club of Rome. New York: Copernicus, pp 56.
[78] Barry, J. 1999. Rethinking Green Politics. London: Sage, pp 169.
[79] Dasgupta, supra note 76.

values or prices are assigned to species and ecosystems.[80] Market forces then control the use or abuse of environmental components. However, if the cost of protecting an endangered species, for example, is less than the economic benefit of not protecting it, then, using principles of environmental economics, the endangered species will not be protected. Mis-pricing of environmental values is often identified as a cause of environmental degradation. The market is not an appropriate means of ensuring environmental protection, as it is used for the goal of increasing profit by means of maximising throughput: "the very soul of capitalism is the requirement for economic growth and the substitution of less profitable for more profitable regardless of environmental or social consequences."[81]

With ecological economics, the relationship between economics and ecology is expanded beyond simply pricing ecological species and systems (as in environmental economics) – it attempts to combine principles governing the human-made economic world with those governing the natural world.[82] Ecological economics holds that the basic factors of production are materials and energy. Materials and energy can neither be created nor destroyed; they can only removed from the environment and returned in various forms.[83] For example, raw materials are extracted from the earth and returned as waste. During the transition from raw materials to waste, entropy, a measure of chaos, increases. This increase in entropy is permanent and irreversible. The flow of materials and energy to waste is called the throughput. Capitalist-driven

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[80] Barry, supra note 78.
[81] Atkinson, A. 1991. Principles of Political Ecology. London: Belhaven Press, pp 5.
[82] Harris, J. M. 1995. Overview Essay. In: Rajaram Krishnan et al. (Eds.), A Survey of Ecological Economics. Covelo, CA: Island Press, pp 49.

unlimited growth depends upon this throughput. Constantly increasing throughput is not possible, as resources are limited. According to Daly: "the physical scale of the economy and its supporting throughput cannot increase indefinitely."[84]

Adding Nature to Political Economy

Political economy is a field that examines the political/economic/cultural systems and structures through which societies create wealth. The field considers a wide array of interactions between the individual, the state and society. In the process, it closely examines the structure, organisation and operation of the market, corporations, the state and public agencies.[85] It highlights the "root causes" of social problems from a perspective of understanding the institutional and material forces of political and economic life. How these forces interact points to how human culture controls the production and distribution of wealth. Of particular concern is how any concentration of power affects this control.[86]

Historically, political economy has been based on the assumption that nature and natural resources were limitless.[87] Adding an understanding of the finite character of

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[83] First Law of Thermodynamics. Daly, H. 1999. Ecological Economics and the Ecology of Economics: Essays in Criticism. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp 97.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Perkins, John H. 1997. Geopolitics and the Green Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 9.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] Political economy, as explained by the progenitors of the field, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, is based on the assumption that nature is "robust, unlimited, and an object of human transformative action." Nature is seen as important for either its exchange value (Smith) or its anthropomorphic character (Marx). For Smith, exchange value of a commodity (including natural capital) is determined through human demand, and nature is seen as a "cornucopia... [without] natural limits to its exploitation." Marx's view of nature is that it, as an object, has value only when it is of use to humans, and is, in itself, "limitless... [with] no natural barriers to the production of an increasing number of useful

nature to political economy acknowledges that both environmental resources and functioning ecosystems are central to wealth creation. Without intact, functioning ecosystems, wealth can not be created indefinitely.[88] In contrast to an ideology of limitless growth and continuous accumulation of commodities, political ecology acknowledges the inherent limits of resources and energy.[89] As a result of the awareness of limits, political ecology necessarily also addresses the importance of social justice and equity. It highlights the "concern for the effects of uncontrolled competition upon the integrity of the biosphere as well as upon social justice."[90] A political ecology analysis points to the need to address social (not just individual) choices, and shows that all these "choices" are, in fact, also choices in relation to nature.[91] Ultimately, the student of political ecology acknowledges that changes are required in the social and political structures that form the matrix of everyday lives.[92]

As we have seen, the acknowledgement of nature as the underpinning to all economic activity is crucial to understanding political ecology. This understanding provides an awareness of the underlying forces that direct our society. As Harvey (1993) states:

> "... all ecological projects (and arguments) are simultaneously political-economic projects (and arguments) and vice versa. Ecological arguments are never socially neutral any more than socio-political arguments are ecologically neutral. Looking more closely at the way ecology and politics interrelate then becomes

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goods." Gale, F. 1997. The Greening of Political Economy: An Ecological Political Economic Approach to Production and Consumption. Discussion Paper D97-5. Victoria: Eco-Research Chair of Environmental Law & Policy.

[88] Perkins, supra note 85.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] Atkinson, supra note 81, at pp 3.

[91] *Ibid,* at pp 171.

[92] *Ibid.*

> imperative if we are to get a better handle on how to approach environmental/ecological questions."[93]

To summarise, a political ecology perspective is useful for examining socio-political structures with respect to the inherent limits of the environment and the resulting implications for limiting throughput.

The framework provided by political ecology, with its understanding of entropy and throughput, is used to challenge the assumption that unlimited economic growth based on increasing throughput is inherently good, to question decision-making in a linear, top-down manner, and to scrutinise the functioning of the market. A political ecology perspective does not lead to the conclusion that the market system *per se* is inappropriate; rather it reveals that markets and prices are not sufficient for moderating the links between the environment and the economy.[94] As Barry states:

> "... green politics is anti-capitalist in the sense that [1] the imperatives for capital accumulation as expressed in the imperative for economic growth and the operation of the global market economy are incompatible with the green assertion of ecological limits to growth and the importance of socially re-embedding the economy by democratically managing it... [2] the way in which values are reduced to prices... [3] [it is] suspicious of ecological and political effects of large multinational corporations in the global economy."[95]

Using neo-classical environmental economics, the current market system is not disputed as the appropriate tool for managing environmental resources.[96] A political ecology framework is used to question the market system as it currently stands, and to

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[93] Harvey, D. 1993. The nature of environment: the dialectics of social and environmental change. In R. Miliband & L. Panitch (Eds.), Real Problems, False Solutions: Socialist Register. London: Merlin Press.

[94] Barry, supra note 78 at pp 159.

include non-market criteria as valuable in the economy. In the traditional capitalist market system, only exchanges which generate financial accumulation are considered to be productive. By using either the market or price as the only criterion, environmental protection becomes a function of wealth. A political ecology perspective expands the view of production to include work that results in a service or a product.[97] This follows work from many social movements, including the feminist movement. For example, child rearing – which generates no profit when done by a parent – is not productive in a capitalist market system, whereas in a non-capitalist market system, it would be a valuable contribution to the economy. Similarly, household gardening, valued at $18 billion (US) worth of fruit and vegetables annually in the United States, is part of the informal economy and is largely ignored.[98] Since traditional market systems are not sufficient for appropriately linking the economy with other social or environmental values, alternative market systems are needed. I will use a spatial analysis within political ecology to identify overarching criteria for alternate systems.

Spatial relationships and Political Ecology

As we have seen, political ecology is an analytical tool used to examine the interplay between the ecological sphere and the human socio-economic sphere which is dependent on the biophysical world where ecological limits are manifest. It "situates human actions within the processes of the natural world, and... legitimizes them to

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[95] *Ibid* at pp 160.
[96] *Ibid* at pp 146.
[97] Reid, Margaret. Cited in: Waring, Marilyn. 1988. If women counted: a new feminist economics. San Francisco: Harper and Row, pp 26.
[98] National Gardening Association (NGA). 1989. National Gardening Fact Sheet. Burlington, VT: National Gardening Association.

the degree that they can co-exist in balance with that world."[99] Political ecology can be used to examine human actions with respect to the spatial relationships of both the distribution and flow of energy and power.

Through political ecology, we can uncover the spatial relationships of energy and power. During the process of economic throughput, when products are manufactured, transported, and purchased, energy and power are removed from somewhere, and concentrated elsewhere. This can be explained through a spatial interpretation that uses the concepts of *centre* and *territory,* terms which "highlight the relationship between the character of institutionalised space and the physical flows of energy through that space."[100] Centre is manifest in large corporations and centralised governments with their concentrations of power. Territory is where power, through the centre's exploitation of energy and resources, originates. These patterns are called *centrist hierarchies.*[101] According to M'Gonigle (2000), these dynamics are part of a universal political ecology analysis which transcend differences of culture and religion, and apply equally well to both urban and rural experiences:

> "Many of these conflicts – competition between the great religious 'civilizations' (such as Islam and Christianity), nationalist and ethnic wars, global environmental decline, and Southern poverty – are actually larger than the historical conflict between capitalist and socialist ideologies. Indeed, they pose a variegated challenge to the global trajectory of the whole 'Western' mode of historical and cultural development."

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[99] M'Gonigle, M.R., 1999. Ecological economics and political ecology: towards a necessary synthesis. Ecological Economic 28 (11-26).
[100] M'Gonigle (2000), supra note 75.

A political ecology analysis is used to describe relationships between society and nature.[102] It is used to examine the simultaneous seizing of both labour and materials and their transference into accumulation by more dominant groups.[103] This appropriation is based on social relations of production and exchange between groups.

Energetically, political ecology examines the ecological source, throughput, and destination of materials and energy as they are transferred spatially through processes of production and consumption. In centrist hierarchies, materials and energy flow from the territories, which, in today's increasingly globalized world, generally encompass the global south, to the global north, but also include flow from rural to urban areas within the global north. Materials and energy flow through the system in a linear, unidirectional manner. They are depleted but not renewed, and discarded but not recycled, leaving the world with irreversibly increased entropy. To contrast, in a *territorialist non-hierarchy* the throughput of materials and energy is reduced, redirected, and tends towards greater sustainability. For example, materials or energy removed from a system are replaced by corresponding inputs. The flow, as opposed to linear and uni-directional, would be circular and self-sustaining.

Political ecology shows how material/economic power is concentrated in centrist hierarchies, particularly in urban-controlled corporations and bureaucratic governments. From a policy perspective, control by centrist hierarchies can be

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[101] *Ibid.*
[102] Walker, P. 1995. Politics of Nature: An Overview of Political Ecology. University of California, Berkeley: Department of Geography. URL: <http://cruzio.com/~cns/syllabus/walker2.html>
[103] Hayward, T. 1994 (Spring). The Meaning of Political Ecology. Radical Philosophy 66:11-20.

contrasted to self-management by territorially-based communities, where power, instead of being eroded, would be revitalised, and materials and energy, in the form of local resources, would tend to be locally produced and maintained.

Criteria of Territorialist Non-Hierarchies

To summarize, a political ecology framework is based upon the understanding that all socio-economic activity is based on nature and natural resources by way of the flow of materials and energy, called throughput, through these systems. Political ecology can be used to question linear flows of power, materials and energy in "idealized" terms of moving from structures of territorial power into structures of centrist power. This characterization helps to clarify the nature of "alternative" systems where the flow of resources is more circular and egalitarian as opposed to linear and hierarchical. These alternatives I will refer to as *territorialist non-hierarchies*, which are more self-reliant, build equitable social and community relations, and are ecologically stable.[104] Political ecology points to the need for alternative policies that "support and protect rather that erode" territorial forces by increasing reliance on nature's own circular processes (flows of resources) as well as on community-based relations of power.[105] This is in contrast to the status quo which increasingly strengthens the "growing dominance of hierarchical institutions that are sustained increasingly by distant resources."[106] With this understanding, a dominant principle of

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[104] M'Gonigle (2000), supra note 75.
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] *Ibid.* at pp 6.

political ecology is to reduce distance between production and consumption.[107] Political ecology justifies action at local and regional levels.[108]

Facilitating territorialist non-hierarchies would reduce concentrations of social power and physical energy. Power would not be centralised and concentrated, but dispersed throughout communities that have greater control over their own destinies. The throughput of materials and energy would be reduced by replacing linear systems that are based on maximizing throughput with alternate systems that are more "circular, self-maintaining, [and] place-based."[109]

Using a spatial analysis within a political ecology framework, two objectives, which indicate a shift from centrist hierarchies to territorialist non-hierarchies, can be elucidated:

1) Decreasing throughput: minimizing ecological footprint by means of reduced linear flows of materials and energy, and by fostering more circular flows in production and consumption; and

2) Dispersal of power: providing egalitarian social relationships and power structures (circular flows of social power).

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[107] Barry, supra note 78 at pp 177.
[108] Roussopoulos, D. I. 1993. Political Ecology: Beyond Environmentalism. Montreal: Black Rose Books, pp 87.
[109] M'Gonigle (1999), supra note 99 at pp 22.

These objectives can be applied to the analysis of multiple sectors and issues. Many examples already exist where these objectives are being achieved to some degree. These include some green market systems.

Green market systems are generally those that operate at the local level and are decentralised, self-reliant, and self-determining. There are many examples of green market systems such as local employment and trading systems (LETS), community economic development strategies, co-operatives, and alternative producer-consumer relations such as farmers' markets. These all have in common that they are community-based.

Community-based processes are often excluded from traditional decision-making processes as it is the "state and its agents, rather than citizens, which determines the content of environmental management through the manipulation of price mechanisms."[110] State-centred bureaucracies make decisions with only minimal contribution by citizens.[111]

There are many benefits to be had from local initiatives. As local autonomy increases, and other factors remain constant, energy consumption is reduced.[112] The power that decisions have also increases as they are made closer to the level at which they take effect.[113] According to Gerald Frug: "Cities, when they did not base their

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[110] Barry, supra note 78 at pp 146.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Naess, Arne. 1994. Deep Ecology. In: Carolyn Merchant (Ed.) Ecology: Key Concepts in Critical Theory. Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, pp 123.
[113] Eisen, Joel. 1995. Toward Sustainable Urbanism: Lessons from Federal Regulation of Urban Stormwater Runoff. Washington University Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law 48:85, pp 75.

power merely on economic strength, rested it on their role in the daily lives of their citizens."[114] Having a small, local focus for decision-making reduces the number of stakeholders that need to be involved in the process and, thus, provides opportunities for simplification: "the larger the regional focus... the more institutions and interest groups must be included in problem-solving, thus intensifying institutional conflicts and political rivalries."[115] Initiatives that are successful start from grassroots action and work upwards. A "top-down" level of planning has failed to result in sustainable cities.[116] Governance, like ecological systems, functions better in a circular rather than linear manner. Linear governance is hierarchical with orders coming from a higher chain of command and being executed below. Circular governance, however, involves feedback and consensus decision-making by all affected parties. It is in this way that farmers' markets challenge the way that we govern.

The importance of locally based initiatives can be understood through a political ecology analysis. Such an analysis goes beyond a neo-classical environmental economic analysis because it incorporates an understanding of power and its relation to the "real" world of nature and community. In the process, it directs our attention to how "place-based" initiatives, such as farmers' markets, lead to a more equitable distribution of power and resources, and redirect and redefine the functioning of the market and the economy. In these ways, power is fundamentally shifted away from large corporations, and towards local, community-based movements. With such an understanding of power and place, one can address in new ways market-based and

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[114] Frug, G. 1980. The City as a Legal Concept. Harvard Law Review 93(6): pp 1125.
[115] Eisen, supra note 113, at pp 76.

regulatory measures by assessing how they do or do not challenge traditional, hierarchical processes that reinforce centrist growth and accumulation, in order to foster (or not) territorialist alternatives.

In the next chapter, I will use the objectives elaborated from a political ecology spatial analysis to describe dominant and alternative food systems and I will evaluate farmers' markets, as a part of alternative food systems, against these objectives as well. Then, case studies and farmer profiles will be presented. Finally, policy and issues for farmers' market will be examined; this examination will lead to recommendations.

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[116] *Ibid*, at pp 83.

Chapter 4. The Political Ecology of Food Systems & Farmers' Markets

> "It's not true, is it, the horror stories of our histories? That your food was full of poisonous chemicals, nitrites, hormone residues, DDT, hydrocarbons, sodium benzoate – that you ate food saturated with preservatives? ...But to burn your compost! To pour your shit into the waters others downstream must drink! That fish must live in! Into rivers whose offshore whose estuaries and marshes are links in the whole offshore food chain!"[117]

> "'Where's your kitchen?' 'Huh?' 'Where you cook food?' 'Cook it?' Gildina led her to a corner by the outside door, which looked like a bank vault's... A drawer opened automatically when a button was pressed, to dispense transparent packets. Gildina demonstrated for her. She opened one with a hiss of inrushing air that seemed slowly to soak through the mass inside. She was surprised to see it begin steaming... 'It's made from coal and algae and wood by-products... [from] out in the Roughlands, big corporate factory-farms. They mine it, you subscribe, and it gets delivered every week.'"[118]

> "We raise chickens, ducks, pheasants, partridges, turkeys, guinea hens, geese. Goats, cows, rabbits, turtles, pigs. We of Mattapoisett are famous for our turtles and our geese. But our major proteins are plant proteins. Every region tries to be own-fed... Self-sufficient as possible in proteins."[119]

Novelist Marge Piercy, in her 1976 book *Woman on the Edge of Time*, presents a compelling view of futuristic utopias and dystopias regarding food systems, as well as a view of our current food systems. Her dystopia shows a world where people are distanced from their food, which is created in corporate factories of highly processed materials. Her utopia shows a world where local regions are self-reliant for food, and excess is traded. Piercy's extreme dichotomies of food systems are echoed in the academic literature on dominant and alternative food systems.

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[117] Piercy, M. 1976. Woman on the Edge of Time. Toronto: Random House at pp 54-55.
[118] *Ibid* at pp 295-6.
[119] *Ibid* at pp 70.

Dominant Food System

Our dominant food system has many different monikers: the global commodified food system, the agro-food complex, the agro-industrial food system, the internationalized agro-industrial food economy and the globally based food system to name a few.[120] The dominant food system is made up of several sectors: production of food; food processing industries (preservation and preparation); wholesale distribution and retail (including transportation, distribution, marketing and storage); institutional food industry; input and service industries providing agricultural inputs (pesticides, herbicides, seed companies etc...) and processing inputs (packaging, food additives, processing equipment etc.); food use and consumption; disposal and recycling of wastes; and regulatory structures.[121] Several themes about the dominant food system are present in the literature.

According to Brewster Kneen (1993), distancing, uniformity and continuous flow characterize the dominant food system.[122] Distancing refers to both the physical distance between production and consumption of food, as well as to the changes from raw state through processing to the final food product which is eaten. Uniformity is used to refer to modes of production, such as agricultural monocultures, which strive to produce products of standardized size, shape, and colouring. Continuous flow

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[120] Kneen (1993), supra note 7; Winson, A. supra note 17; Kloppenburg Jr., J., Hendrickson, J., and G. W. Stevenson. 1996. Coming in to the foodshed. In: Vitek, W. and W. Jackson (Eds.) Rooted in the Land: Essays on Community and Place. New Haven: Yale University Press.

[121] Winson, supra note 17; Dahlberg, K. A. 1993. Regenerative food systems: broadening the scope and agenda of sustainability. In: Allen, P. (Ed.) Food for the Future: Conditions and Contradictions of Capitalism. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

[122] Kneen (1993), supra note 7.

refers to the flow of materials and power which supports capital accumulation and centralization of control.

Kloppenburg et al. (1996), with their analytical tool of the "foodshed,"[123] discuss our dominant food system as characterized by intense commodification, where food is treated as a commodity and exchanged through free-market relationships, and by accelerating distancing, where food "comes from a global everywhere, yet from nowhere [people] know in particular."[124] People are separated, or distanced, from knowledge of where, by whom, and how their food is produced, distributed, and processed.

Harriet Friedmann (1993) identifies the control of food as a means to centralize power, through the control of both land and labour of which food is the link.[125] She sees the principles of the dominant food system to be distancing and durability, enforced by the self-regulating market system. Through distance and durability, food becomes independent of both space and time. Distancing of production and consumption makes place irrelevant, as the "location of production may change as quickly as market conditions change."[126] Durability allows food to withstand long-distance travel and storage, and to be sold at the place and time which maximises

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[123] The Foodshed term was first coined by Getz in 1991. Getz, A. 1991. Urban Foodsheds. Permaculture Activist 24 (October): 26-27. Kloppenburg et al. (supra note 120) slightly modified Getz's usage of the term 'foodshed' to use it to refer only to the potential of alternative food systems. Getz's usage defined foodshed to include the entire supply area which could cover the globe. Kloppenburg et al. explicitly distinguish foodshed to refer to the *local* foodshed.

[124] Kloppenburg et al., supra note 120.

[125] Friedmann, H. 1993. After midas's feast: alternative food regimes for the future. In: Allen, P. (Ed.) Food for the Future: Conditions and Contradictions of Capitalism. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.

[126] *Ibid.*

profits. Maximising profits depends on this distancing and durability, and as each factor is increased or enhanced, more opportunities for profits exist. Corporations, whose profits depend on this distance and durability, mediate the further separation of production and consumption of food.

Throughout the literature on the dominant food system, emerging themes are those of distancing, durability, commodification, uniformity, and continuous flow. This is supported as well by extremes of the two axes that represent the dominant food system developed in the food systems workshop: distance and artificialisation.[127]

Dominant Food Systems as a Centrist Hierarchy

Using an ecological political economy lens to view our dominant food system, we see that the dominant food system is an excellent example of a diverse set of centrist hierarchies. Power and control are concentrated in the hands of a few, with the goal of unlimited growth through the maximization of the throughput of materials and energy. The literature shows many examples of this.

Concentration of Power

Again, referring to Friedmann, power over the food system is centralised by the control of both land and labour used to produce food.[128] The separation of production and consumption – or distancing – at each step of the food system provides

[127] See above section "Food Systems Workshop."
[128] Friedmann, supra note 125.

opportunities for the extraction of money, and, therefore, power from the food system by corporate actors who control it.[129] At each stage, both value and, therefore, profit opportunities are added to food. Although individual consumers may pay less for their food, farmers also earn less, with the majority of profit going to corporations which control the links between production and consumption.

Many examples exist of concentration of power and control over the food system at all of its stages. In agriculture in general, production is being concentrated as farm numbers are reducing and farm size is increasing.[130] Simultaneously, the control of processing is being concentrated.[131] Contract farming, where producers have contractual agreements with food manufacturers, is an example of vertical integration or coordination of the food system and is increasing in Canada. Vertical coordination is the allocation and concentration of resources across successive stages food systems, and is accompanied by a transfer of control from farmers to corporations.[132] Evidence has shown that these contractual linkages result in the loss of producer autonomy and control of basic on-farm production decisions and give control to corporate processors where, "at its most extreme, it may reduce the farmer to a wage owner on his[/her] own land – a pieceworker who provides his [/her] own tools and

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[129] Kneen (1993), supra note 7.
[130] Buttel, F., Larson, O. and G. Gillespie. 1990. The Sociology of Agriculture. New York: Greenwood Press.
[131] Heffernan, W. 1994. Agricultural profits: who gets them now and who will in the future? Paper presented at the fourth annual conference, sustainable agriculture: people, products and profits. Ames, IA: Leopold Centre for Sustainable Agriculture, Iowa State University.
[132] Martinez, S. and A. Reed. 1996 (June). From Farmers to Consumers: Vertical Coordination in the Food Industry. Food and Consumer Economics Division, Economics Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Agriculture Information Bulletin No. 720.

works under supervision to produce commodities which he [/she] does not own."[133] Farmers sell their labour and do not have control over production decision-making.[134] The produce sector is an excellent example of this vertical integration, because often one corporation controls products throughout all stages of the food system: from seed to table.[135] This control by corporation over farm decisions often extends beyond simply what product is grown, but also includes production practices (such as planting dates and agricultural techniques), seed source, and agricultural inputs.[136] Welsh (1997) uses an index to reflect the movement of decision-making control off the farm over time in the United States.[137] A score of zero indicates higher farm-level control, while a score of 3 reflects 100% vertical integration. The poultry industry, where almost all birds are owned by processors instead of the grower, received a score of 2.12. The fresh vegetable and vegetable processing industries received scores of 1.7 and 1.94 respectively.

A further example Winson notes is in the increasing numbers and concentration of ownership of food retailers in Canada.[138] As the numbers of retailers increase, they increase their control and power over the food system. The key determinant in power over the food system in retailers, though, is the concentration of power by a few dominant retailers. In Canada, the control of food is concentrated in the hands of four

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[133] Cited in Winson pp 140 from Davis, J.E. 1980. Capitalist agricultural development and the exploitation of the propertied labourer. In: Buttel, F.H. and Newby, H. (Eds.). The rural sociology of the advanced societies. Montclaire, N.J.: Allenheld, Osmun. pp 142.
[134] Welsh, R. 1997. Vertical coordination, producer response and the locus of control over agricultural production. Rural Sociology 62(4): 491-507.
[135] Lacy, W. B. 2000. Empowering communities through public work, science, and local food systems: revisiting democracy and globalization. Rural Sociology 65(1): 3-26.
[136] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.
[137] *Ibid.*

companies which control more than 40% of the food sector.[139] The concentration of corporate control over food systems in Canada is higher than in most other industrialised nations.[140] This refers to the control of markets for both supplies and sales and includes vertical as well as horizontal integration.[141] Looking at the retailer concentration on the local or regional level, three firms control 82% of all grocery stores in the city of Vancouver.[142] This trend is seen in major cities throughout Canada. Evidence has also shown that this retailer concentration results in higher prices paid by consumers for food products.[143]

The dominant food system results in the concentration of power. Within this food system, power is concentrated not in the hands of communities or even of government, but in the hands of corporations. As it concentrates power, the controlling actors in the dominant food system are also causing the flow of energy, in the form of food and the resources used to produce and transport the food, to be maximised. This has a spatial component, as we have seen, both in distancing and in de-territorialising the industry.

Maximising Throughput

Dahlberg (1993) characterises industrial processes, such as the dominant food system, as large, enormous linear systems made up of extraction (mining, harvesting...),

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[138] Winson, supra note 17.
[139] Rees (1997b), supra note 1.
[140] Lacy, supra note 135.
[141] *Ibid.*
[142] Winson, supra note 17.
[143] *Ibid.*

refining, manufacturing, distribution, consumption, and discarding.[144] These systems have enormous throughputs of energy and materials at each stage, each with accompanying waste, pollution and social disruption.

The dominant food system is energy intensive.[145] For example, in transportation alone, 10 calories of energy are needed to deliver 1 calorie of food.[146] In North America, food travels an average of 2,000 km before it is eaten.[147] This distance has also been referred to as "food miles" – the distance that food travels between producer and consumer.[148] The ease of transportation and cheap oil allow the continued expansion of the dominant food system.[149] This massive movement of food is maintained through subsidies to transportation, which allow food to be transported great distances before it is eaten. As Herman Daly states (1993):

> "...the cost of transporting goods [such as food] internationally must not cancel out the profits. Transport costs are energy intensive. Today, however, the cost of energy is frequently subsidised by governments through investment tax credits, federally subsidised research, and military expenditures that ensure access to petroleum. The environmental costs of fossil fuel burning also do not factor into the price of gasoline. To the extent that energy is subsidised, so too is trade. The full-cost of energy, stripped of these obscuring subsidies, would therefore reduce the initial gains from long-distance trade, whether international or interregional."[150]

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[144] Dahlberg, supra note 121 at pp 85.
[145] *Ibid.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Rees (1997b), supra note 1.
[148] Powell, J. 1995. Direct distribution of organic produce: sustainable food production in industrialised countries. Outlook on Agriculture 24(2): 121-125.
[149] Lacy, supra note 135.
[150] Daly, H. 1993. The perils of free trade. Scientific American 269(5): 50-57.

The concentration of power and energy is also facilitated through "national and international policies that encourage and subsidize trade, as well as ever-more intensive and industrial agriculture, food processing and food retailing."[151] Through trade agreements and organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs (GATT), and the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), barriers to imports of food products, such as tariffs, and quotas, have been reduced.[152] The result of this is that small farmers, both in the global north and global south, lose.[153] In the United States, only four cents of every dollar spent on food goes to the farmer, the other 96 go to intermediaries.[154] The goal in encouraging alternative food systems is not to eliminate trade, but rather to strengthen and diversify communities while reducing the unnecessary transport of food.[155]

A political ecology framework can be used to challenge the current system of food production and consumption as well as point to alternatives and new modes of production and consumption. As we have seen, our dominant food system can be described as a range of centrist hierarchies, with corresponding concentration of power and energy in centers, at the expense of the territories. Using a political ecology framework, alternatives to the dominant system would be territorialist non-hierarchies.

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[151] Norberg-Hodge, H. 1998. Think Global - Eat Local! Delicious Ways to Counter Globalization. The Ecologist 28(4) : 208-214.
[152] Rosset, P. 1999. Small Is Bountiful. The Ecologist 29(8) : 452-456.
[153] *Ibid.*
[154] Norberg-Hodge, supra note 151.
[155] *Ibid.*

Alternative Food Systems

The prevalent literature on sustainable agriculture focuses on ecological production at the farm level through, among other techniques, reducing external inputs such as in organic agriculture.[156] However, a need exists to examine all stages of the food system, not just that of production, in the discussion and description of alternative food systems. Distribution, consumption and exchange need to become a focus of attention.[157] Allen (1991) argues that the sustainable agriculture movement has, thus far, been non-political in its primary focus on farm-level technology without explicitly addressing issues of social and economic factors leading to capitalist accumulation and conditions of non-sustainability.[158] This focus on farm-level activity does not address equity in the distribution of benefits from sustainable agriculture technology.[159] Attention needs to be paid to consumption, distribution and exchange with an examination of social relations with the focus being transformation of human-human interactions in addition to human-nature interactions.[160] Alternative food systems have the potential to address all of the stages between production and consumption.

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[156] Allen, P. and C. Sachs. 1993. Sustainable agriculture in the United States: engagements, silences, and possibilities for transformation. In: Allen, P. (Ed.) Food for the Future: Conditions and Contradictions of Capitalism. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons.
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] Allen, P. 1991. Sustainable agriculture at the crossroads. Capitalism, Nature, Socialism 2(3): 20-28.
[159] Altieri, M. 1988. Beyond agroecology: making sustainable agriculture part of a political agenda. American Journal of Alternative Agriculture 3(4): 142-143.
[160] Allen (1991), supra note 158.

Alternative food systems are referred to in many different ways: as regenerative food systems, sustainable food systems, or the "new agriculture,"[161] to name a few. Dahlberg (1993) prefers the term *regenerative* as opposed to *sustainable*, because of the multiple interpretations existing for the term "sustainable" development (Box 1). Regenerative, as it is used for food systems, is described by Dahlberg (1993) to mean "adaptive reproduction and regeneration of individuals, populations, habitats, social knowledge and systems under the selective pressures of changing environments."[162] For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the terminology of "alternative" food systems to refer to the range of food systems which are alternative to the dominant food system, in terms of the political ecology framework described in the previous chapter.

Box 1. Various Interpretations of the Term Sustainability

Sustainability can be broadly understood in three different ways. Firstly, the Bruntland usage has been equated with sustained *economic* growth. The World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) defines sustainable development to be "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."[163] It goes on to clarify that "Meeting essential needs depends in part on achieving full growth potential, and sustainable development clearly requires economic growth..."[164] This use, clearly, is not in line with a move towards territorialist non-hierarchies which would have reduced economic flows and minimised growth. Secondly, the "three stool" approach describes sustainability at being equally dependent upon the

[161] Hamilton, N. 1996. Tending the seeds: the emergence of a new agriculture in the United States. Drake Journal of Agricultural Law 7: (7-29).
[162] Dahlberg, supra note 121 at pp 99.
[163] World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). 1987. Our Common Future. Oxford: Oxford University Press, at pp 43.
[164] *Ibid* at pp 44.

ecological, economic and social imperatives.[165] This perspective does not acknowledge that the basis for society and economy is nature and natural resources. The third approach can be described using embedded circles. Humanity, including the economy and society, is both a part of and dependant upon nature.[166] This description of sustainability is closest in approach to one that could be used for describing territorialist non-hierarchies.

If our dominant food system can be characterized as a set of centrist hierarchies with linear flows of power and resources from territories to centres (using a spatial political ecology framework) or as a system based on distancing, durability, commodification, uniformity, artificialisation, and continuous flow, then alternative food systems could be described as the converse of these terms (Table 2). Characteristics, then, of alternative food systems include supporting a move towards territorialist non-hierarchies, locality and seasonality; proximity, diversity, and balance; embedded within a local foodshed; and local and mimicking of nature.

Table 2. Characteristics of dominant and alternative food systems

Source	Dominant Food System	Alternative Food Systems
Political Ecology Analysis	Centrist hierarchies	Territorialist non-hierarchies
Friedmann	Distancing and durability	Locality and seasonality
Kneen	Distancing, uniformity, continuous flow	Proximity, diversity and balance
Kloppenburg et al.	Distancing, commodification	Embedded within a local foodshed
Food Systems Workshop	Distance, artificialisation	Local and mimic nature

[165] Robinson, J. and J. Tinker. 1997. Reconciling Ecological, Economic and Social Imperatives: A New Conceptual Framework. In Schrecker, T. (Ed.) Surviving Globalism: The Social and Environmental Challenges. New York: St. Martin's Press.
[166] Wackernagel, M. 1997. Framing the sustainability crisis: getting from concern to action. SDRI Discussion Paper Series 97-1. October.

The concept of a foodshed, as developed by Kloppenberg et al., is a useful tool for analysis in describing alternative food systems. It draws upon work within ecosystem-based management and the level of watershed-based planning. Watershed based planning acts at the level of freshwater ecosystems and integrates natural resource and socio-economic systems.[167] A foodshed analysis is useful for planting food firmly within the social and ecological components of a local landscape. It also fits well with a bioregional perspective, the development of a land ethic, and local land-based economies.[168]

The foodshed analysis has five major principles.[169] Firstly, the foodshed is embedded within a moral economy, which is based on the valuing of food for its contribution to attaining explicit social and ecological goals, as distinct from the dominant food system which is based on maximising profit. Within the foodshed, food is more than just a commodity to be exchanged through market relationships. Rather, food, with its centrality to life, provides an opportunity to build extra- or non-market relationships between people and organisations to reinvigorate civic culture.[170]

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[167] Naiman, R., Bisson, P., Lee, R. and M. Turner. 1997. Approaches to management at the watershed scale. In: Kohm, K. and J. Franklin (Eds.) Creating a Forestry for the 21st Century: The Science of Ecosystem Management. Washington, D.C.: Island Press. pp 239-253.

[168] For examples of Bioregionalism, see Andruss, V., Plant, C., Plant, J., and E. Wright. 1990. What is bioregionalism? In: Andruss, V., Plant, C., Plant, J., and E. Wright. (Eds.) Home! A Bioregional Reader. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers. For a description of a land ethic, see Leopold, A. 1966. A Sand County Almanac with Essays on Conservation from Round River. New York: Ballantine Books. For a discussion about the importance of local, land-based economies, see Berry, W. 1996. Conserving communities. In: Vitek, W. and W. Jackson (Eds.) Rooted in the Land: Essays on Community and Place. New Haven: Yale University Press.

[169] The concept of the "marketscape" is analogous to the foodshed analysis. Lyson, T. and J. Green. 1999. The agricultural marketscape: a framework for sustaining agriculture and communities in the Northeast. Journal of Sustainable Agriculture 15(2-3): 133-150.

[170] Kloppenburg et al., supra note 120 at pp 115.

Secondly, foodsheds are shaped by communities and "encompass sustainable relationships both between people (those who eat together) and between people and the land (obtaining food without damage)."[171] Kloppenburg et al. use the term "commensal communities" to describe this aspect of foodsheds, which refers to recovering social relationships, beyond those of the market, in the production, exchange, processing and consumption of food. Derived from the ecological term *commensalism*, which describes the relationship between two species where one benefits from the other without either harming or helping the one from which it derives help,[172] *commensal* refers to those who eat together. The commensal community provides opportunities to move beyond the farm-focussed sustainable agriculture movement and to address issues of hunger and poverty by increasing decision-making by marginalised and disempowered groups. The commensal community also includes respect for nature and the protection and regeneration of the natural resource base.

Thirdly, the foodshed is based upon self-protection, secession and succession: *self-protection* of emerging components of alternative food systems; *secession*, or withdrawal, from participation in the dominant food system; and *succession* through continuous and incremental substitution of dominant food system activities for alternative food system activities.

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[171] *Ibid.*

[172] Starr, C. 1991. Biology: Concepts and Applications. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company at pp 508.

Fourthly, a foodshed is based upon local and regional proximity of food and includes developing food self-reliance. Self-reliance is not the same as self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency can be described as self-contained, autonomous, or independent.[173] Self-reliance, however, does not indicate self-containment. It implies reducing dependence upon external inputs, without excluding the benefits of trade relationships.[174] It includes strengthening connections between producers and consumers through diversification of local economies.[175] It is based on principles of bioregionalism and community-building. Local food systems are adapted to reflect local environmental and community health priorities.[176] It means having the capability of taking care of oneself, while still being involved in reciprocal and equitable trade relationships, as Kneen (1993) says "feed the family and trade the leftovers."[177] Benefits of self-reliance include increasing diversity of experimentation; improving efficiency and, therefore, reducing waste and pollution; increasing internal recycling of money; and improving decision-making as decision costs and benefits are not separated over long distances.[178]

Finally, the foodshed is nested within a social space, which in turn is embedded within the natural environment of a specific place. The nature of the local environment provides both ecological limits to be respected, as well as a measure of

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[173] Kneen (1993), supra note 7.
[174] Kloppenburg et al., supra note 120.
[175] Roseland, M. 1998. Toward Sustainable Communities: Resources for Citizens and their Governments. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.
[176] Feenstra, G.W. 1997. Local food systems and sustainable communities. American Journal of Alternative Agriculture 12(1): 28-36.
[177] Kneen (1993), supra note 7 at pp 192.
[178] Morris, D. 1990. The ecological city as a self-reliant city. In: Gordon, D. (Ed.) Green Cities: Ecologically Sound Approaches to Urban Space. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

possibilities and opportunities to be explored. These include embracing a local and seasonal diet that celebrates the local bioregion.

According to Pretty (1998), in moving from dominant to alternative food systems, the need exists to "take back the middle."[179] The 'middle' refers to the steps in the distribution chain between growing and eating food, which are, in dominant food systems, controlled by agricultural input companies and those who retail and transport food. Power and money are concentrated and controlled at each step of the distribution chain, including grading produce, packing, shipping, handling, brokering, wholesaling, distributing, and retailing.[180] Connecting farmers directly with citizens is one way of taking the middle back.[181]

With respect to a political ecology framework, alternative food systems would have reduced and circular flows of both energy/resources and power/control. The pervasive theme within the literature on alternative food systems indicates the importance of *local* food systems.[182] The potential exists for local food systems to develop enough economic and political power to mute the social and environmental destructiveness ever present in the global marketplace.[183] One example of a

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[179] Pretty, J. 1998. The Living Land: Agriculture, Food, and Community Regeneration in Rural Europe. London: Earthscan.
[180] Myers, C. 1991. What's ahead for Farmers' Markets? Small Farm News. Small Farm Centre, March/April: 1-3.
[181] Pretty, supra note 179.
[182] Friedmann, supra note 125; Kneen,, supra note 7; Kloppenburg et al., supra note 120; Dahlberg, supra note 121; Feenstra, supra note 176; Hamilton, supra note 161; La Trobe, H. and T. Acott. 2000 (December). Localising the global food system. International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology 7(4):309-320; and Daly, H. and J. Cobb. 1989. For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future. Boston: Beacon Press.
[183] Lyson and Green, supra note 169.

component of local food systems – and of taking back the middle – is farmers' markets.

Introduction to Farmers' Markets

Farmers' markets are the oldest forms of direct-farm marketing.[184] Direct-farm marketing encompasses the methods by which farmers sell their produce directly to consumers. Through direct-farm marketing, farmers are able to bypass intermediaries, which gives the farmer an increased portion of selling price.[185] Direct-marketing is one way to transfer control of agricultural decisions from corporations to on-farm producers.[186] Other examples of direct-farm marketing include farm gate sales, roadside stands, U-Picks, and community-supported agriculture (CSA).[187]

Farmers' markets are producers' markets where the vendors at the market are the people who personally grew or produced the items for sale (Box 2). Generally, farmers' markets are places where local farmers and other local producers or craftspeople regularly gather to sell their products directly to the consumer: "you make it, grow it or bake it."[188] Farmers' markets are usually not on agricultural land,

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[184] Andreatta, S. and W. Wickliffe. 2002. Managing farmer and consumer expectations: a study of a North Carolina farmers' market. Human Organisation. 61(2): 167-176.
[185] Reynolds, supra note 19.
[186] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.
[187] Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), sometimes also referred to as Community Shared Agriculture, is a direct relationship between a local farmer and several consumers where the consumers pay the farmer a set amount in advance of the growing season for weekly deliveries of produce from the farmer for the entire season. The risk of farming is shared by all of the consumers, who receive weekly boxes of produce from their farmer, but are not guaranteed anything due to the unpredictable nature of, among other factors, weather and crop failure. CSAs vary in their management, but often include opportunities or obligations for participating in farming activities with the farmer. The farmer receives a guaranteed income for the season, and consumers receive fresh, local produce and the opportunity to connect directly and regularly with the source of their food.
[188] Leach, Tom, Cranesbill Acres. Personal Communication. August 2000.

but in cities or urban areas.[189] This contrasts with farm gates sales and roadside stands, which are generally located in rural areas.[190]

Box 2. Definition of Farmers' Markets

Although many definitions exist of farmers' markets, the B.C. Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries generally defined farmers' markets as "a common area where farmers and other producers gather on a regular basis to sell a variety of fresh fruit and vegetables, baked and processed food, and local handicrafts directly to consumers" and, more specifically, as places where:

- "vendors grow, make, bake or raise the products they sell;
- a majority of the vendors produce and sell BC farm products;
- processed food products should be made in BC and key ingredients should be BC grown;
- craft items should be made in BC and where possible BC products used; and
- a market must have at least 6 vendors and must operate for a minimum of 3 consecutive hours for 16 market days per calendar year. And:
- sale of used goods or flea market items by vendors are prohibited, and
- sale of products from distributorships or resale of products purchased wholesale are excluded."[191]

It is important to distinguish farmers' markets from other types of markets. Brown (2001) has identified a range of sites which are sometimes mistakenly confused with

[189] Warner, B. June 15, 1999. Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Fisheries. Transcripts of proceedings (Hansard). Issue No. 14.

[190] Farmers are allowed to sell their products at their gate or at roadside stands. Seventy percent of the goods sold must have been grown on the farm, 30% of the goods can be brought in from off of the farm. According to the Agricultural Land Commission guidelines, farms on ALR land are entitled to put up a farm stand that can be up to 100 m^2. This allows farmers to have the opportunity to sell, for example, T-shirts or bananas, and get extra income. The rationale for this policy is to help farmers survive and make a living on the farm (Warner, supra note 189).

[191] B.C. Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries. 2002. Farmers' Market Program. URL <http://www.buybc.gov.bc.ca>.

true farmers' markets.[192] These include public/municipal markets, terminal markets, farm shops, farm stands, curb/tailgate markets, flea markets, and swap meets.[193] An example of a public market is the Granville Island public market in Vancouver. The Granville Island public market has full-time vendors that are involved in year-round retail sales, but it is not a farmers' market.[194] The public market vendors are not farmers or producers – much of the goods they sell have been bought wholesale. However, Granville Island does have a component of a farmers' market, as every Thursday farmers come in to sell their products directly to customers. Flea markets, unlike farmers' markets, are places where used merchandise, discounted new merchandise, and collectibles are sold.

Currently, 80 farmers' markets exist in B.C. (Appendix 2). Of these, 55% (44) are located within the Georgia Basin. The numbers of farmers' markets are growing; in the early 1990's, only 20 farmers' markets existed in B.C.[195] Ontario has seen the numbers of farmers' markets grow from 60 in 1990 to 120 in 2000. An Ontario study found that Ontario farmers' markets attract 800,000 shoppers annually generating $487.7 million in sales with an estimated economic impact on the province of $1.5 billion.[196] This is due to backward linkages to local suppliers of goods for the farmer (such as tools or items needed in preparing value-added foodstuffs), as well as increased circulation of money within local economies as farmers spend their earnings locally. The trend of growth of farmers' markets is also occurring in the

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[192] Brown, A. 2001. Counting farmers' markets. Geographical Review 91(4) October: 655-674.
[193] *Ibid.*
[194] Warner, supra note 189.
[195] Chorney, B. (National Director of Farmers' Markets Ontario). 2002. *Quoted in* Market Fresh. Aginfonet. URL <http://www.aginfonet.com/aginfobits/royalbk_marketfresh.html> (August 28, 2002).
[196] *Ibid.*

United States, where farmers' markets have increased by 64% between 1994 and 2000, with a total of 2,863 farmers' markets operating in 2000.[197] Farmers' markets are experiencing an upswing. Currently, the demand for produce at farmers' markets outstrips the available supply.[198] A 1998 study investigated the characteristics of farmers who sell at farmers' markets.[199] It found that the farmers' businesses were either at the beginning stages, growing, or mature – not declining.[200] The majority of farmers at farmers' markets are planning to continue to sell at the farmers' markets.[201]

Farmers' markets benefit both farmers and customers, as well as providing benefits for an entire community. The direct contact between the growers and the consumers also helps to foster support for local agriculture and provides opportunities for non-farmers to better understand the realities of farming.[202] The community gains by the opportunities for education and promotion about agriculture.[203] Farmers' markets help in building a sense of community.[204] Farmers' markets are also very popular with tourists.[205] Often, crafts sold at farmers' markets are made from local resources; this

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[197] United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). 2001. 2001 Farmers' markets facts. URL: <http://www.ams.USDA.gov/farmersmarkets/facts.html> (February 17, 2003).

[198] Stephenson, G. and L. Lev. 1998. Common support for local agriculture in two contrasting Oregon cities. Oregon State University Agriculture Extension Service. URL <http://smallfarms.oregonstate.edu/techreports/techreport1.pdf > (February 17, 2003). & Supra note 171.

[199] Govindasamy, R., Zurbriggen, M., Italia, J., Adelaja, A., Nitzsche, P., and R. VanVranken. 1998c (June). Farmers Markets: Producers Characteristics and the status of their business. Rutgers: New Jersey Agricultural Research Station P-02137-6-98.

[200] *Ibid.*

[201] Lyson, T., Gillespie, G. and D. Hilchey. 1995. Farmers' markets and the local community: bridging the formal and informal economy. American Journal for Alternative Agriculture 10(3): 108-113.

[202] Thompson, B. by Fleming, J. June 14, 1999. Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Fisheries. Transcripts of proceedings (Hansard). Issue No. 14.

[203] *Ibid.*

[204] *Ibid.*

[205] Havard, Dave, Retired market gardener. Personal communication. August 2000.

adds value to resources within the community, and more money stays within the community.[206]

Farmers' markets can aid in economic development of the community by drawing customers to areas and providing more business for local businesses.[207] Local businesses can gain by people buying goods that are not available at the farmers' market.[208] Research has indicated that local retailers do not exhibit tension towards presence of a farmers' market and potentially increased competition.[209] In fact, some grocery stores have encouraged farmers' markets to the extent of allowing them to operate in their parking lots.[210]

Analysis of farmers' markets

Throughout the literature, farmers' markets are shown as an example of a component of alternative food systems.[211] Using a political ecology approach shows how farmers' markets contribute to decreasing throughput and increasing dispersal of

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[206] *Ibid.*

[207] Govindasamy, R., Zurbriggen, M., Italia, J., Adelaja, A., Nitzsche, P., and R. VanVranken. 1998b (June). Farmers Markets: Managers Characteristics and Factors Affecting Market Organization. Rutgers: New Jersey Agricultural Research Station P-02137-8-98.

[208] Havard, D., supra note 205.

[209] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207.

[210] Festing, H. 1998. Farmers' Markets: An American Success Story. Eco-logic Books: Bristol.

[211] See, among others, Gottlieb, R. and A. Fisher. 1996. "First feed the face": environmental justice and community food security. Antipode 28(2): 193-203; Lacy; supra note 135; Hinrichs, C.C. 2002. Embeddedness and local food systems: notes on two types of direct agricultural market. Journal of Rural Studies 16: 295-303.; Welsh (1997), supra note 134; Fairholm, J. 1999. Urban Agriculture and Food Security Initiatives in Canada: A Survey of Canadian Non-Governmental Organisations. Cities Feeding People Report 25. LifeCycles: IDRC; Pretty, supra note 179; Kneen (1993), supra note 7, Kloppenburg et al., supra note 120; Riches, G. 1997. Hunger in Canada: abandoning the right to food. In: Riches, G. (Ed.) First World Hunger: Food Security and Welfare Politics. New York: St. Martin's Press.; Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184; Feenstra, supra note 176; Hamilton, supra note 161; and La Trobe and Acott, supra note 182.

power. Nested within these and using theory developed for alternative food systems, farmers' markets also contribute to the development of local foodsheds.

Farmers' Markets and Reducing Throughput

Farmers' markets, in comparison to the dominant food system, decrease throughput by localising food and by decreasing the steps in the distribution chain. Farmers' markets localise the consumption of food. When local production and consumption are encouraged, as they are with farmers' markets, flows of materials and energy are reduced. Farmers' markets sell produce locally, with greatly reduced transportation. Food is transported less when it is sold by a farmer at a farmers' market. It travels directly from the farmer to the local farmers' market, and then from the farmers' market to a person's home. One study found that farmers travel an average of 87 kilometres round trip when travelling to farmers' markets.[212] This is a great reduction in the average transportation of food. With farmers' markets, food is grown on the farm, transported a short distance to the farmers' market and sold directly to the consumer.

Farmers' markets minimize steps in the distribution chain as a direct link exists between the farmer/producer and the consumer with farmers' markets. Multiple steps in a distribution chain do not exist, as they do within standard food systems. By reducing steps in the distribution chain, throughput is being reduced, because each step of the distribution chain has associated energetic requirements. Farmers' markets

reduce the dependence on physical imports needed for both processing and transporting produce. Produce sold at farmers' markets is unprocessed. Farmers' markets are also a venue for organic food. In one study of farmers' markets, 23% of farmers sold organic produce with 15% planning on switching to organic techniques in the future.[213] In the same study, 64% of farmers reported that customers requested organic produce.

Farmers' Markets and Power Dispersal

Farmers' markets provide direct links between farmers and consumers. This increases control of food systems for both the farmers and the consumers. The control of power shifts from corporations – who control all of the steps in the distribution chain in conventional food systems – directly to citizens: farmers and consumers. By bypassing wholesalers, distributors, retail outlets, marketing boards, and processing facilities, farmers are able to get a better price for their products, while consumers know the source of their food and are able to meet the grower. Direct marketing arrangements, such as farmers' markets "repersonalise food production and consumption to the benefit of farm-level workers and food buyers."[214] By providing the opportunity for linking informally organised production with local markets, farmers' markets are an avenue where the formal and informal economic sectors are bridged.[215]

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[212] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.
[213] *Ibid.*
[214] Fieldhouse, P. 1996. Community shared agriculture. Agriculture and Human Values 13: 43-7.
[215] Lyson et al. (1995), supra note 197.

Though small farmers find it very difficult to compete with industrial agriculture at both the domestic and international levels, their small scale and direct contact with citizens allows them to more quickly respond to consumers' preferences.[216] Farmers are able to monitor market demands and use their knowledge about local growing conditions to choose which crops they plant; they are not under contract to agri-businesses.[217] This gives farmers the opportunity to use heritage varieties of seeds and develop niche markets, which gives consumers options that are not available in conventional stores. This provides small farmers with an advantage, as mass markets are not able to meet all demands for specialised products.[218]

There is a growing importance of the "relative locus of control over agricultural production decisions."[219] Direct marketing arrangements, such as farmers' markets, are often based on maintaining producer control over on-farm decisions.[220] A study by Welsh (1998) indicates that non-corporate ownership arrangements, such as farmers' markets, increase the net cash return to farmers as compared to corporate ownership arrangements.[221] Farmers who sell at farmers' markets generate a large proportion of their income there.[222] In addition, farmers' markets provide people with an opportunity to gain supplementary income.[223] Farmers can make 40-80% more

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[216] Govindasamy, R., Zurbriggen, M., Italia, J., Adelaja, A., Nitzsche, P., and R. VanVranken. 1998a (June). Farmers Markets: Consumer trends, preferences and characteristics. Rutgers: New Jersey Agricultural Research Station P-02137-7-98.
[217] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 180.
[218] Lyson et al. (1995), supra note 201.
[219] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.
[220] *Ibid.*
[221] Welsh, R. 1998. The importance of ownership arrangements in U.S. agriculture. Rural Sociology 63(2): 199-213.
[222] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184.
[223] Havard, D., supra note 205.

profit selling at a farmers' market than through retail establishments – normally 70 cents out of every dollar of produce sold goes to intermediaries for produce grading, packing, shipping, handling, brokering, wholesaling, distributing, and retailing.[224] The farmers' markets, on average, provided 37% of the farmers' income, and the majority were satisfied or somewhat satisfied with the profit margin.[225] With farmers' markets, all of the money paid for by the consumer goes directly to the farmer, skipping all other steps in the distribution chain. This fundamentally shifts power from the control of corporations into the hands of citizens and farmers.

By buying locally produced food products, local economies are supported. As local production and consumption are increased, more resources flow circularly through the economy, with money going directly to farmers and being reinvested within the community. A dollar spent on local foods moves throughout the local economy, and generates a further $1.81 to $2.78 for the community by being spent in other businesses.[226] Conversely, a dollar spent at a multiple chain store generates less than half the value to a surrounding community than the same amount spent at a local food outlet.[227]

Providing farmers with a living wage ensures that people will remain in farming as well as enter the profession and, as such, maintain the capacity in terms of knowledge and experience to keep local agriculture viable. By supporting local decision making,

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[224] Myers, supra note 180.
[225] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.
[226] Passmore, S. 1987. Hendrix turns to Akansas produce. Akansas Gazette. June 10. Cited in Daly and Cobb (1989).

flows of power are more circular, with local power not being eroded by distant decisions. By supporting local farmers, farmers' markets contribute to the maintenance of rural communities.

Farmers' markets can be seen as fundamentally contradictory to capitalist goals of accumulation. Decrease in throughput and dispersal of power can be found in many different green movements/ideologies today that focus on changing political-economic processes. Changing political-economic processes means addressing types of decision-making. Opportunities for combating larger political-economic problems can be found in local-level decision-making by place-based actors at the expense of the non-grassroots and traditionally powerful actors, such as states, large businesses and multilateral institutions.[228] Farmers' markets inherently have local, place-based decision-making. A change to a different type of decision-making structure often involves shifting power relations from a hierarchical model to an increasingly decentralised, community level. However, many policy barriers exist to encouraging and supporting farmers' markets. In the next chapter, two farmers' markets case studies and two farmer profiles will be presented to show examples of the issues facing farmers' markets. Then, in chapter 6, farmers' markets are examined with respect to policy and emerging issues, and, finally, recommendations are presented.

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[227] Simms, A. 2003 (January 9-15). 'Local' is more than just a marketing buzz word. The Guardian Weekly 168(3): 21.

[228] Bryant, R. L. & S. Bailey. 1997. Third World Political Ecology. New York: Routledge, at pp 4.

Chapter 5. Farmers' Market Case Studies and Farmer Profiles

Case Study: East Vancouver Farmers Market[229]

Now located in the parking lot of a community centre, the East Vancouver Farmers Market has been running since 1995. It was started by 9 individuals, using volunteer labour, most of whom attended a public forum in February 1995 on farmers' markets. They formed a non-profit society, the "East Vancouver Farmers Market Society," and wanted to start an urban farmers' market with the following goals:

- "To improve the economic viability of the small farm owner by providing ready markets and creating a long term opportunity for retail activity and direct relationships with consumers.
- To support local growers in turn protecting the ALR and local food supply.
- To Establish Farmers' Markets as a permanent part of our food supply system in the eyes of both the agricultural community and the urban consumer.
- To become a reliable retail outlet for farmers, as well as a known, predictable event for urban shoppers who can incorporate the market into their regular shopping patterns."[230]

They received seed funding from both VanCity Community Partnership Fund and the United Church VanDusen Fund, and set their goal of opening a farmers' market four months later in June. Other farmers' market organisers told them that it was an impossible task, that it needed a minimum of 9 months preparation. However, in July, five months later, the first East Vancouver Farmers Market opened. They faced, and continue to face, many hurdles. These included: difficulty in finding a donated location; a lack of understanding of what a farmers' market is and how it would be of benefit to farmers; and bureaucratic impediments.

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[229] Kahn, Devorah. Personal Communication July 7, 2000. Please note that in the name of the East Vancouver Farmers Market there is no apostrophe, as the market belongs to the community, not to one or several farmers.

[230] Kahn, D. 1999 (December 2). Putting Food First. Presentation to the Agri-Food Select Standing Committee.

Location

Finding a location was "very, very difficult."[231] Many locations initially offered were too small. Parking lots at both the Trout Lake Community Centre and the Croatian Cultural Centre were not initially approved for use by their respective boards. Eventually, through direct communication with the director of the Croation Cultural Centre, they gained the approval of the director, but could not convince the board, which had concerns about it being a flea market. Eventually, after making a presentation directly to the board, the East Vancouver Farmers Market was allowed to use the space for a trial period of 4 weeks. They ended up staying for 2 years.

Farmers

Initially, farmers were not interested in participating in the farmers' market. Their reasons included thinking that it would not be a success, that it was too late in the season, and that their crops were already committed. The society searched everywhere for interested farmers, and finally found seven who said they would try it the first week. News of the initial success spread among the farming community; the second week the farmers' market was open, 14 farmers – twice as many – arrived to sell their wares.[232] In 1999, the market had a maximum of 42 different vendors per market day.[233] Farmers come to sell the produce at the farmers' market from throughout south-western BC, including from the Fraser, Okanagan and Pemberton Valleys; Shuswap; Lytton; and the Gulf Islands. Many of the farmers operate small family farms which have less than 20 acres. According to Kahn (1999), "For many of

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[231] Kahn (2000), supra note 229.

[232] East Vancouver Farmers Market Society. 1999 (December 14). The East Vancouver Farmers Market Society: A History. Available from 3242 Woodland Dr., Vancouver, B.C. V5N 3R2.

[the] farmers, the income earned at [the farmers'] market has made a significant contribution towards their economic well being, creating a steady, secure income."[234] Now there is a waiting list for vendors.

City Hall

When the farmers' market organisers went to city hall to receive approval for the farmers' market, they were told that a permit did not exist for a farmers' market. Vancouver bylaws were such that it was illegal to sell fruits and vegetables from trucks.[235] There was also no part of the city that was zoned to allow a farmers' market to run.[236] They were told that they would have to speak to the health department because food was involved, and would also need a special license to sell food in open air. They began asking specific city departments for permission, and were denied permits from all of them.

They had a personal contact with the medical health officer, who arranged a meeting with the city manager, who was working on increasing access to city hall. At the meeting, department representatives all said that nothing in their regulations allowed for a farmers' market. For example, the health department was concerned about food safety: not being able to inspect people's homes who were selling prepared goods, and concern about how farmers produced their agricultural goods. The traffic department was concerned about where people would park and about potential

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[233] Kahn (1999), supra note 230.
[234] *Ibid.*
[235] East Vancouver, supra note 232.
[236] *Ibid.*

complaints from residents. They were "excuses for the sake of excuses."[237] City staff suggested a special event committee, that could approve a single one-day only event. They met with another committee with people from fire, police, engineers, permits, and health etc. The cost would be in excess of $200/day – for paying city engineering, blocking off streets, providing a port-a-potty – and it would have to be on public property, while they already had a private space available (the Croatian Cultural Centre).

The "solution" still didn't seem appropriate, so they went the political route and approached their city councillors, almost all of whom supported the idea. Farmers market organisers made a presentation to council, which had many concerns, but said they would allow them to run the market for a year. The council granted a by-law relaxation for the first year, at which point they would evaluate the concerns about impact on parking, traffic and other vendors.[238] The market opened a week later. Since then, the market has been running 5 months of the year on Saturdays from 8a.m.to 1p.m. There are new bureaucratic obstacles to be overcome regularly, such as problems with zoning and approval processes for selling more diverse food items (prepared foods, meat, dairy…), but the East Vancouver Farmers Market Society has persevered.

Selling Prepared Foods

For the first year, baked goods were not allowed unless prepared in a commercial kitchen. This meant that small-scale producers and individuals who wanted to sell,

[237] Kahn (2000), supra note 229.

for example, jams or cookies, were not allowed to do so unless they were able to rent space in a commercial kitchen. After meeting with the health department, a special FoodSafe course was designed specifically for people who wanted to sell prepared foods at the farmers' market which they had prepared at home. All vendors needed to take the three-hour course, which was offered once per year, if they wished to sell prepared foods at the farmers' market. This was an ingenious way for smaller-scale producers to be able to market their processed wares without the need of access to a commercial kitchen. Upon completion of the course, participants were legally able to sell their home-processed goods at the market.[239] Since then, prepared food guidelines have changed, and vendors are now required to have a Level 1 Food Safe certificate, which can be obtained by successfully completing a one-day training course. The three-hour course became an orientation to becoming a vendor, and now does not occur anymore. Currently, vendors selling low-risk foods (jams, jellies, preserves, and baked goods) are able to sell products they've prepared at home, as long as they display a sign stating that the Vancouver Coastal Health Authority does not inspect the premises where home-made food products are made. For dairy products and anything that needs to be refrigerated, the products need to have been prepared in an approved commercial kitchen. In addition, the health department needs to approve all vendors who sell at the farmers' market.

Selling Meat and Dairy

By the third year, when the location of the farmers' market changed to its current site in the parking lot of the Trout Lake Community Centre, meat and dairy were still not

[239] East Vancouver, supra note 232.

allowed to be sold at the farmers' market. Local meat sellers who had 100 people per week driving out to Aldergrove to buy their product were not allowed to sell their meat at the farmers' market. The market manager spoke directly to the medical health officer, who said that there was no health risk in the sale of inspected, frozen meat sold out of the freezer. Many other jurisdictions existed where the sale of such meat was allowed at farmers' markets, such as in Coquitlam. The medical health officer said he would support the market with the sale of such meat. The farmers' market took the risk of allowing the sale of the meat, but without the permit. After three weeks the health inspector caught them, but the issue was resolved after communication with the medical health officer. The health inspector ended up writing a letter to council supporting both the sale of meat and cheese at the farmers' market. After making a presentation to the council, the only question received was "when can we come to the farmers' market to do our shopping?"[240] Now the market is permitted to sell honey, eggs, meat and cheese.[241]

Local Impacts of the Market

Local businesses have not complained about having the farmers' market in their neighbourhood. It is only open for a total of 100 hours per year (5 hours each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m., 20 weeks per year), and brings people into the community to do other shopping. Even for local produce stores, the farmers' market offers a different product. Indeed Capers, an upscale grocery store which sells organic produce, offered to let the West End farmers' market use their parking lot.

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[239] Kahn (2000), supra note 229.
[240] *Ibid.*
[241] East Vancouver, supra note 232.

In the first year of the farmers' market's operation, 900 people per day attended the market. In 1999, this number had swelled to 5,000 people per 5-hour day in the high season of the market.[242] Farmers and other vendors are also receiving a monetary benefit from this consumer popularity: 1999 sales at the farmers' market average $23,000 for each 5-hour market. This is 12 times the sales of the first year's market, and shows the success of urban farmers' markets, as well as the potential for other farmers' markets.

In the second year, a partnership between REACH community health centre and the "Healthiest Babies Possible" program of the Vancouver Health Department developed the "Farmers' Market Nutrition Project."[243] This project provided high-risk pregnant women with coupons exchangeable for fruits and vegetables at the farmers' market. The project currently continues funded completely by "Healthiest Babies Possible." The farmers' market has also become the venue for a toy exchange, an annual salsa-making competition, nutrition tours, and cooking demonstrations.[244]

Future of the East Vancouver Farmers Market

Now, the regular barriers presented to the farmers' market are seen merely as formalities that routinely need to be resolved. At present, the farmers' market is outgrowing its current space at Trout Lake. Parking is at a premium, and there is not enough space for the growing market. However, there is no alternative space available for a new location. Complications still exist regarding zoning – no zoning

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[242] Kahn (1999), supra note 230.
[243] East Vancouver, supra note 232.
[244] *Ibid.*

exists in Vancouver for open-air markets, and it is illegal to sell produce off the back of a truck.

Future options for farmers' market in Vancouver include creating individual farmers' markets to meet neighbourhood demands, or creating one large market centrally located. Other markets have already been started as spin-offs from the East Vancouver Farmers Market. The society, with interested residents, started a farmers' market in Coquitlam in 1997. In 1999, due to demand of farmers for another market (the wait list for the East Vancouver Farmers market was over 30 farmers), a farmers' market was started in Vancouver's West End.

Case Study: Smithers Farmers' Market

In contrast with Vancouver, Smithers is a small town located in Northern British Columbia, 1200 kilometres north of Vancouver by road.[245] The largest neighbouring cities are Prince George to the east 371 kilometres and Prince Rupert to the west 352 kilometres. Located in the Bulkley Valley, Smithers has a population of approximately 6,000 people, and acts as a regional service centre for approximately 20,000 people located in the surrounding areas.[246] Forestry is the main industry in the region, but the Bulkey Valley also has a significant base of dairy farmers, as well as mining operations and provincial and federal government service centres.

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[245] Smithers District Chamber of Commerce. 2000. Community Profile. Available from Smithers District Chamber of Commerce, Box 2379, 1411 Court Street, Smithers, BC, V0J 2N0.

[246] Surrounding areas include Telkwa, Houston, Moricetown, the Hazeltons, and the Bulkley-Nechako Regional District Census Sub-Division "B."

The Smithers farmers' market started in 1993. Fifteen people had met to discuss the idea; after the meeting one individual tried to run the farmers' market as a business for a few years, but it failed. In 1995, a few more people met with the desire to have a non-profit farmers' market. Working together, they began looking for a site.

They found a site adjacent to the highway on property owned by the Ministry of Transportation and Highways. The town council was very supportive and encouraging of the farmers' market, and the building inspector has helped to start two other farmers' markets. They have had no problems at all with local government.

The definition of farmers' market is important in Smithers. No used items are allowed for sale, and the general rule of thumb is "you make it, grow it, or bake it."[247] Farmers are also allowed to sell a few items produced by other small, local growers. The Smithers farmers' market uses B.C. produce only. However, farmers' market managers have been unable to keep fruit trucks from selling at the market, even though they often sell produce which is wholesale or not from BC. The majority of the sellers at the Smithers farmers' market come from between 150 kilometres to the east in Burns Lake to 150 kilometres to the west in Terrace.

The farmers' market started with 6-8 vendors. Now it usually has 15-25 vendors. Regulars can book space, otherwise it's first come first served. Legitimate vendors are never turned away; only vendors wishing to sell inappropriate products (i.e. used

[247] Leach, T., supra note 188.

goods) are not allowed to sell at the farmers' market. The farmers' market attracts many tourists, and often offers entertainment with local musicians.

The farmers' market supplies the tents, and the stalls are temporarily erected and then taken down each week. The farmers' market is open from 8 am to 12 noon, on Saturdays from May to September, and indoors in October. It is only open 6 month of the year, and this is a bit of a stretch because of the climate. In total, the farmers' market is open 96 hours per year.

The Smithers farmers' market has also not met with difficulties from other local merchants. Management of both the local grocery stores has supported the farmers' market. Most businesses do not see the farmers' market as large competition.[248]

The farmers' market is growing and will soon need to move to a new location. One concern with the site is that it is very small and, as such, parking is at a premium. Ideally, it would be able to be located in a permanent structure which would allow the market to run year-round.[249]

The farmers' market is one of the few places for local farmers to sell their produce. Because wholesalers control grocery stores, farmers cannot sell their produce there. When wholesalers notice that grocery stores are not ordering certain supplies, they ask questions and demand that they carry the produce they supply. A Burns Lake

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[248] VonSeydlitz, Walter. Personal communication. August 2000. Leach, T., supra note 188. Havard, D., supra note 205.

farmer grew cucumbers and sold them to a local Vanderhoof store. The wholesaler, noticing the decline in cucumber orders, threatened to not sell them anything if they did not buy cucumbers from them.[250] In Atlin, a very clean and efficient egg producer was selling eggs to stores and supplying the whole community. The wholesaler noticed the drop in egg orders and required the stores to buy their eggs. Because of this, the egg farmer ended up going out of business.[251] Even if Safeway, for example, consented to sell locally grown food, it would have to be shipped to and from Calgary first, because all items sold at Safeway stores in western Canada, according to Safeway policy, have to be shipped through Calgary.[252] Grocery stores find it more convenient and cheaper to buy from wholesalers. It is more convenient because stores can purchase all of their products from one wholesaler; they "don't want to mess around with bits and pieces. They want to load the truck up."[253] Wholesalers provide produce at very cheap prices; they "give cabbage away almost for free because the cereal is paying for it."[254]

Very little institutional support exists from the MoAFF for small-scale vegetable growers in the north. Only two agricultural extensionists serve the Skeena region encompassing most of north-western BC. Their role is to provide information and education to farmers about on-farm management of production and marketing, and to address agricultural issues in land and resource management plans (LRMPs). In the 1960s, a now-defunct agricultural research centre operated in Smithers. No

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[249] Havard, D., supra note 205.
[250] Johnstone, Graeme. Personal communication. August 2000.
[251] *Ibid.*
[252] Havard, D., VonSeydlitz, W., supra note 205, and 248 respectively.
[253] Johnstone, G., supra note 250.
[254] *Ibid.*

government programs exist to help farmers grow and market their produce: "people get set-up with their own money... it's not fair for the government to help the competition."[255]

An issue facing the farmers' market is the lack of sufficient growers and vendors: there are "not enough people growing food for the market."[256] For the farmers who do sell their produce at the market, it is only open 6 months of the year, and the farmers need a living for the other half of the year. Farmers can not make a living wage just growing vegetables; they need another source of income.

For local farmers, a large barrier they face is in marketing their produce, and this is where a farmers' market really helps the local, small-scale farmer.[257] Vegetables are a lot of work to grow, require a high capital investments, and yield irregular financial returns: their price "goes up and down like a yo-yo."[258] Graeme Johnstone, retired agriculturist, sees farmers' markets and, depending on the farmer's location, road-side stalls to be the few viable options for vegetable growers to market their wares. Many farmers in the Smithers area depend upon the current farmers' market for selling their produce.

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[255] Informant A. Governmental employee. Personal communication. August 2000.
[256] Leach, T., supra note 188.
[257] Johnstone, G., supra note 250.
[258] *Ibid.*

Profile: Smithers Market Gardener[259]

Dave Havard lives on a 60 acre farm with 10 acres of fertile soil amenable for vegetable production. He worked as a provincial land inspector and agronomist, but always wanted to grow vegetables and be a farmer. In 1963 after 12 years of work at the age of 40, he quit his job and started market gardening. He only lasted one year because he wasn't able to make enough money to support his family, which included four children. He worked again until 1969 when his wife began teaching again. At this point, Havard started market gardening again, and continued until 1998. His wife worked for ten years from 1969 until 1979. For the next 19 years, Havard continued to farm and was able to make enough money to support the family, with the addition of his wife's pension.

Havard grew many different vegetables and was one of the few local growers selling vegetables. It was labour intensive work. He never borrowed money; he financed his market garden with the proceeds from what he sold. It was always a financial struggle and he was never able to make much money. However, when he sold his farm he was debt-free.

He is very particular about the quality of his produce, and believes that the Bulkley Valley has the climate and soil needed to grow high quality produce. You "can grow good stuff here... once locals got acquainted with local produce they wouldn't buy anything else." In 1990, Havard entered his potatoes in the Royal Toronto Winter

[259] Havard, D., supra note 205.

Fair, where they came in second place nationally. There is abundant good land near the town, yet most of it is used either for hay, or for people who want to live in the countryside but do not want to farm.

Over the years he has sold his produce in a variety of ways: from home, with ads in the paper, on the radio, at the farmers' market and, in years before the farmers' market started, in town with his truck set up on the sidewalk. He sold lettuce directly to local restaurants until slugs became a problem and he stopped growing lettuce. In the 1970s he sold head lettuce to grocery stores in town. These however, had a 100% mark-up price and did not pay him much for his produce. The produce managers would generally have standing orders for lettuce from their wholesalers, and wanted continuity of supply. However, if Havard provided advance notice about his produce availability, grocery stores would take it because of the superiority of his produce. All surplus produce he would give away to the food bank, retirement homes, or the women's shelter.

For him, selling at the farmers' market was the easiest way to sell his produce, and it was even easier to sell if there were more farmers, because that attracted more people. People at the market appreciate good quality food. Generally, prices at the farmers' market are approximately equal to prices at the stores. Havard would always sell his produce at the same price or a bit cheaper. He sees the farmers' market as bringing more than the opportunity to sell and buy local produce and give farmers a

supplementary income, but also as a social event, a tourist draw, a chance to sell local value-added crafts, and, most importantly, a way to keep money in the town.

For Havard, farming was more a way of life than an income. He sees growing as an instinct and a way of having a life that is better physically and healthier. He could have increased his production, but to do that he would have needed to go into debt – a prospect he was not in favour of. He would not have been able to be a market gardener if his wife had not worked to supply the family with a steady income.

Havard sees the potential for local farmers to be able to provide produce for the whole town through the winter until May and June if there were adequate storage for cole crops[260] and retail opportunities for selling produce in the winter. Cole crops and root crops (potatoes, carrots, and beets) can be stored over-winter in root cellars. Simple root cellars can be made in an affordable manner; however, the cost of installing a "state of the art" root cellar can be prohibitive. Havard sees the potential for making sufficient money in selling storage vegetables throughout the winter and into the spring. This opportunity exists for someone who is a good grower, a good manager, and for someone with money available for start-up costs or willing to take the risk of going into debt initially. He also sees opportunities to sell produce to Prince Rupert (at one point, Havard traded his potatoes there for fish). He sees the biggest barrier, however, to be the lack of growers.

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[260] Cole crops are generally cold-tolerant plants from the genus *Brassica* such as cabbages, collards, brussel sprouts, cauliflower, kale, broccoli, turnips, rutabagas, parsnips, kohlrabi, and mustard. Cole crops can be successfully stored over-winter in root cellars. Other crops which store well over-winter include potatoes, carrots, and beets.

Havard sees that agriculture, in general is getting huge, towns are disappearing, and farms are falling apart. Farming is going into the hands of corporations. In the Bulkley Valley, there is not large enough acreage to support industrial-scale agriculture and large machinery; however, local growers need to compete with industrial agriculture in price. Local produce is highly competitive in quality, but most people do not know the difference and have never tried local produce. Havard feels that there is a future in farming, but it needs people who are knowledgeable about agricultural techniques and have an instinct for farming.

Profile: Smithers organic farmer – Silvertip Organic Farm[261]

Walter VonSeydlitz is a local farmer who grows organic produce; grows hay; raises chickens, ducks and geese for eggs and meat; and raises cows for breeding stock and meat. He cites freshness, enhanced flavour, and lower chemical inputs as the key advantages of local products. His emphasis in growing is on root crops. He typically sells his entire supply of potatoes, carrots, parsnips and beets by Christmas, and also sells surplus beans, peas, brassicas (i.e. cauliflower, broccoli, kale, etc.), lettuce and Chinese cabbages not required for personal use.

VonSeydlitz must rely on other sources of income in addition to farming. During the winter VonSeydlitz works as a timber-faller in the forestry industry. Financially, if vegetable production is not mechanised, he cannot compete with prices for produce

[261] VonSeydlitz, W., supra note 248.

from California farms that employ cheap labour. If he doesn't account for the time spent farming, he can get a good return, but farming is labour intensive. His entire family helps with the farm (two adults and two children). He cannot afford to hire help, because the minimum wage is too expensive. He would need to get much bigger before he would be able to hire someone, and that would then increase his own workload tremendously.

He sells his vegetables at the farmers' market and with "Gail's Green Grocer" – the local organic vegetable box delivery company. He is selling all of the produce that he grows; he could be selling even more potatoes and carrots, but he doesn't have enough time to grow them. He sells his eggs and meat directly from the farm (the only marketing avenue available to him, since he is not able to get his eggs or his meat graded or inspected).

His vision for the future of farming in the Bulkley Valley is that the majority of the produce consumed in the region is grown in the region. This would cut down on unnecessary transportation of food and, through organic agriculture, preserve non-renewable resources. However, he knows that achieving this vision will not be easy. People, with their dependence on packaged food, don't even know how to cook or use vegetables. People need education on the benefits of local agriculture.

Chapter 6. Farmers' Markets, Policy and Emerging Issues

As we have seen, farmers' markets are a part of alternative food systems. The connections forged between production and consumption through farmers' markets lead to decreased throughput and increased farmer/citizen control of the food system. However, several critical questions and concerns exist regarding farmers' markets. Can the number of farmers' markets grow to make them a viable option for either a majority of citizens, or for a substantial minority? If the number of farmers' markets does continue to grow and eventually makes up a significant portion of the market share, will farmers' markets be able to continue to support local farmers or will there by increased pressure to allow non-producers to participate at farmers' markets? Policy is needed *now* for farmers' markets. Firstly, policy is needed to support and facilitate the growth in numbers and accessibility of farmers' markets. Secondly, policy is needed to ensure that as this growth occurs, criteria – using a political ecology analysis – necessary for a shift from centrist hierarchies to territorialist non-hierarchies still exist: reduction of throughput and decentralisation of power and control of the food system.

In Canada, agricultural policy and rudimentary nutrition policy exists, yet food policy is grossly underdeveloped.[262] Comprehensive policy related to food and food systems is needed to support local food economies.[263] It can facilitate and create linkages with local farmers, encourage entry-level farmers, and support local food processors

[262] Welsch, J. and R. MacRae. 1998. Food citizenship and community food security: lessons from Toronto, Canada. Canadian Journal of Development Studies 19: 237-255.
[263] Feenstra, supra note 176.

and food-related businesses.[264] Food policy is established by multiple government organisations at various levels, and it influences issues such as trade, safety, consumer information, production techniques, quarantine measures, pricing and much more.[265] As Timmer et al. (1983) state:

> "Food policy encompasses the collective efforts of governments to influence the decision making environment of food producers, food consumers, and food marketing agents in order to further social objectives."[266]

Although international policies contribute largely to the dominant food system and its character as a centrist hierarchy, much can be done, and needs to be done, at the local level. According to Norberg-Hodge (1998):

> "also needed are hundreds of small, local initiatives that are as diverse as the cultures and environments in which they take place... these small-scale steps require a slow pace and a deep and intimate understanding of local contexts, and are best designed and implemented by local people themselves."[267]

Farmers' markets are an example of locally based initiatives where producers and consumers are talking the control of the food economy into their own hands. Farmers' markets have much potential for expansion; however, their expansion is limited by the rate at which they can be established.[268] Policy is an important factor in enabling the expansion of farmers' markets. In this chapter, I will example local, regional, and provincial policy, as well as emerging issues related to farmers' markets.

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[264] *Ibid.*
[265] Tansey and Worsley, supra note 9 at pp 201.
[266] Timmer, C. P. Falcon, W. P. and S. R. Pearson. 1983. Food Policy Analysis World Bank. Baltimore MD: John Hopkins University Press, pp 9.
[267] Norberg-Hodge, supra note 151.
[268] Powell, supra note 148.

Local, Regional and Provincial Policy

Provincial Governmental Support of Farmers' Markets

In September 2002, the current Liberal provincial government transferred the "BuyBC" program to an independent organisation, the Agriculture Council of B.C. Through the BuyBC program, the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries (MoAFF) under the New Democrat Party supported farmers' markets. The year 2000 was the first year of the MoAFF BC Farmers' Market Program; the program was a marketing and promotional tool to increase customer awareness of BC food items. The program was relatively limited in scope, providing farmers' markets with banners, advertising posters, erasable price cards, and recyclable plastic bags. Now, under the Agriculture Council of BC, fees have been implemented make the Buy BC program "user pay", and the extent of the program has been greatly reduced and no longer includes the farmers' market program.

Agricultural Land Reserve

The Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) was established by regulation in 1973 to protect and preserve agricultural land in BC, and has acted as an effective urban growth boundary protecting against urban sprawl.[269] It is administered by the Agricultural Land Commission (ALC), which is responsible for the Agricultural Land Commission Act. The ALR is an area where agriculture is the priority use, and other uses are controlled.[270] Only 5% of BC's land is suitable for agriculture, with only 1%

[269] SmartGrowth BC. 2003. Agriculture Fact Sheet and Background. URL: <http://www.smartgrowth.bc.ca/index.cfm?group_ID=3404> (July 7, 2003).
[270] B.C. Agricultural Land Commission. 2003. About the Agricultural Land Reserve. URL: <http://www.alc.gov.bc.ca/alr/alr_main.htm> (July 7, 2003).

of BC land considered prime agricultural land. The ALR covers 4.7 million hectares,[271] and includes large sections of the Fraser Valley and the Bulkley Valley. Prime agricultural areas, which include the Fraser Valley and the Okanagan, are also areas containing high urban populations and face threats from development.

Since the creation of the ALR, it has been highly successful in protecting agricultural land in BC from development. While the ALR has protected land, it has not, however, facilitated agricultural economic development (the Buy BC program is one example of a way to protect agricultural economies). Recent changes by the provincial government regarding decision-making by the ALC have delegated the role of the commission to six regional departments to negotiate directly with councils. This has resulted in increasing pressures to remove land from the ALR.[272] Keeping land within the ALR is critical for maintaining a land-base for local agricultural food production.

Food Regulations Pertaining to Farmers' Markets

Regulations governing food are applicable as soon as food items enter the public marketplace. For direct marketing of locally produced food, this distinction is important. This means that farmers who sell their goods at roadside stalls or through farm gate sales are not subject to regulations because it is not considered to be within the public marketplace. Farmers' markets, however, are within the public marketplace, and all regulations apply to the food sold there.

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[271] *Ibid.*
[272] Smart Growth B.C., supra note 269

The provincial "Food Premises Regulation" under the "Health Act" is applicable to farmers' markets.[273] Under this regulation, a farmers' market is defined as a "food premises", which is "any place where food intended for public consumption is sold, offered for sale, supplied, handled, prepared, packaged, displayed, served, processed, stored, transported or dispensed."[274] Under the umbrella of food premises are "food service establishments." These are "food premises in which food is (a) processed, (b) served or dispensed to the public, and (c) intended for immediate consumption, but does not include food premises in which (d) only prepackaged food that is not potentially hazardous food is served or dispensed to the public, or (e) unpackaged food that is not potentially hazardous food is served or dispensed to the public if the service or dispensing does not result in the risk of a health hazard occurring."[275]

Fresh, unprocessed, fruit and vegetables are not potentially hazardous foods. As such, the sale of these products must abide by the regulations for "food premises", but not for "food service establishments." However, for the sale of any food item above and beyond fresh fruits and vegetables, different rules apply. Other types of potential food for sale at farmers' markets include value-added prepared foods such as breads; jams, jellies and other preserves; eggs; milk and milk products; meat; hot, ready-to-drink beverages such as coffee and tea; and ready-to-eat hot foods such as those sold at concessions. For these foods, many health regulations exist; however, because of these regulations, larger food industries are favoured over smaller-scale producers.

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[273] B.C. Government. 1999. Health Act. Food preparation regulation. Reg 210/99.
[274] *Ibid.*

Often, because of high start-up costs required for meeting the standards, the applicable regulations favour larger businesses and make it proportionately more difficult for small farmers or individuals to market their foods and to meet the health standards required for the food items to be sold at a farmers' market.

Prepared foods such as breads, jams, jellies and other preserves must be prepared in a special facility; food preparation is not allowed at home.[276] This is an example of a health regulation which results in the favouring of larger operations over smaller enterprises. Individuals with an excess crop of, for example, raspberries, would not be able to prepare jam at home for sale at a farmers' market. They would need to gain access to a commercial kitchen for the preparation of their jam.

Meat must meet provincial regulations governing slaughterhouses and meat cutting. If local slaughterhouses are not available, processing and trasportation costs increase for meat producers. For example, in 1998 the Langford Lilydale Food Products Plant, the only chicken processing plant on Vancouver Island, closed. Consequently, chicken producers on Vancouver Island must ship their chickens to the mainland for processing if they wish to sell their birds within the public marketplace, which includes farmers' markets. The Canadian Food Inspection Agency (CFIA) has a Meat Inspection Act; this act, however, is only applicable for the import and export of meat, or for inter-provincial trade in meat products.[277]

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[275] *Ibid.*
[276] *Ibid.*

Milk products, such as cheese, must follow the milk act and regulations. To ensure consistent health standards, only graded eggs may be sold at the retail level (which includes farmers' markets, but does not include roadside stalls). Eggs must meet federal regulations regarding grading.[278] Eggs can be graded only at a CFIA registered and inspected grading station.[279] The Canadian Egg Marketing Association (CEMA) manages the production, promotion and consumption of eggs in Canada.[280] There are approximately 1200 regulated egg producers in Canada, producing an average of 16000 hens. Smaller egg producers fall outside of CEMA's jurisdiction because of their size.[281] It is very expensive for a small egg producer to have their eggs graded. The cost is prohibitive enough to make it nearly impossible for any small producer to sell their eggs anywhere beyond the farm gate.

Support for Local Agriculture in Local and Regional Plans

B.C. is divided up into 28 regional districts, which were created in 1965. The purpose of these local government units is to allow municipalities to provide common services on a shared basis, and to provide service to citizens living outside of municipal boundaries. Regional districts provide a political and administrative framework for projects/services across or between municipalities; serve as a political forum for issues affecting region as a whole such as economic development, water supply, sewerage disposal, and solid waste management; and act as local government

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[277] Canada Government. Meat Inspection Act. (R.S. 1985, c. 25 (1st Supp.))
[278] Informant B. Governmental employee. Personal Communication. August 2000.
[279] Canada Egg Marketing Agency (CEMA). Who we are and what we do. URL <http://www.canadaegg.ca/english/facts/facts2.html> (January 16, 2003).
[280] *Ibid.*
[281] *Ibid.*

for areas not contained by municipalities.[282] Nine regional districts are located within the Georgia Basin, with 63 municipalities in total.

Under the Local Government Act[283], municipalities have the authority to regulate a variety of uses for public space and activities that can or cannot occur in designated specified areas.[284] Activities it covers include public shows, exhibitions, carnivals, sidewalk or street vendors, dance halls, and other places of amusement.[285] At the local level, the Official Community Plan (OCP) is the primary planning tool and is used for long-term strategy related to the form and character of current and future land use, development and servicing. Legally, an OCP is implemented through a zoning bylaw. As defined under BC's Local Government Act, an OCP is a general statement outlining broad objectives and policies of local government and must include anticipated housing needs, schools, service requirements, public facilities, location and requirements for commercial, industrial, agricultural and other land uses, and restrictions on lands that are environmentally sensitive or hazardous. The Regional Growth Strategies Act has resulted in regional districts developing plans to provide a regional framework to guide land use decisions.

Local and regional plans throughout the Georgia Basin were examined for the existence of policies or practices related to food systems and/or agriculture. A total of 86 different planning documents were reviewed, and comments related to food

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[282] B.C. Government. A primer on regional districts in British Columbia. URL <http://www.marh.gov.bc.ca/LGPOLICY/MAR/content.html> (January 9, 2003).
[283] B.C. Government. Local Government Act. Queen's Press. RSBC 1996. Chpt. 323.

systems/agriculture were noted (Appendix 3). Of the plans examined, eleven (13 %) contained references to supporting local agriculture and local markets/consumption for agriculture (Table 3). Farmers' markets were mentioned explicitly twice. Forty plans, almost half of those examined, had no mention of agriculture or food systems at all, even though the Georgia Basin has some of the most fertile land for agriculture within B.C.

Table 3. Georgia Basin Policies Supporting Local Agricultural Production/Consumption

Plan Source	Plan Comments
Parksville	To preserve, where feasible, designated agricultural lands for the promotion of local food production and economic diversification.
Powell River RD / South Regional District OCP	Agricultural programs and practices intended to upgrade and sustain the productivity of agricultural land and otherwise to increase the viability of small-scale agricultural enterprises in the planning area are encouraged, including the processing and marketing of agricultural products grown locally.
Texada Island	Expansion of small-scale agricultural activity is considered both possible and desirable as a means to diversify the local economy, providing at least a supplementary income to some residents.
West Howe Sound	To provide for agricultural activities, including the opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products.
Elphinstone	To provide for agricultural activities, including the opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products.
Egmont/Pender Harbour	To provide for a greater variety of agricultural activities, including the opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products.
Roberts Creek	To provide for a greater variety of agricultural activities, including the opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products
Maple Ridge	Encourages private and public sector businesses to purchase and employ locally, and will promote the diversification of the range of goods and services available in the community for that purpose. Supports the increase of home-based businesses and hobby farms... to encourage diversification. Will encourage self-reliance in food production. Will promote community education in self-sufficiency.

[284] Bish, R.L. 1990. Chapter 10. Regulation and Land Use Control. *Local Government in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBCM. pp 109-118.
[285] *Ibid.*

Surrey	Support and encourage agricultural... uses in the City and the processing, production, distribution and sale of locally grown products. Support the Agricultural Land Commission policy for farm retail operations in the ALR to encourage a moderate level of retail activity associated with farms for the direct sales of farm products.
Rural Langley	Investigating the feasibility of developing a farmers' market in the township.
Kensington Cedar-Cottage	Park design, appearance, and activities should be more varied in order to serve the diverse population, [in ways such as] farmers' markets.

Operational Support for Farmers' Markets from Local Government

Lack of institutional support and bureaucratic barriers have been identified as obstacles to starting farmers' markets (see East Vancouver Farmers' Market case study). The literature has also identified that municipalities play a key role in both starting and providing on-going support to farmers' markets. The lack of municipal support has been a problem for initiating farmers' markets.[286] Without city support, markets cannot exist.[287] Challenges presented by municipalities include the acquisition of permits and licenses needed for opening a market.[288] Markets also experience impermanence depending on the whim of local governments due to temporary zoning and locations that are only temporarily approved.[289]

Local Governmental Departments

An examination of departments at both the GRVD and the City of Vancouver shows that evidence of planning related to food systems or food security is conspicuously absent. The GVRD has six functional/operational departments: air quality, engineering and construction, operations and maintenance, policy and planning,

[286] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207.
[287] *Ibid.*
[288] *Ibid.*
[289] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.

regional housing, and regional parks. The City of Vancouver offers multiple services including animal control, bylaws, business licensing, cultural affairs, dog licensing, garbage/recycling, graffiti management, health, heritage, housing, parking, parks, police and transportation. Food security is conspicuously absent, while "graffiti management" is mentioned explicitly. Local and regional governments do not explicitly address either issues or benefits of food security, including farmers' markets, within their policy, planning, or operational departments.

Market-Level Regulations

From the literature as well as through the interviews, the need to set criteria for defining farmers' markets was identified as important. One way farmers have been re-claiming control over production decisions from off-farm corporations is through organising direct marketing links, where rules exclude non-producers from participating.[290] True farmers' markets have market managers, and controls on what is sold at the market.[291] In general, market managers to not have discretionary power to determine market-level controls. Governmental regulations or the organisation running the farmers' market generally determine controls at farmers' markets. These controls themselves are sometimes controversial, because of the view of farmers' markets providing two functions: (1) to support local farmers and (2) to provision

[290] Welsh (1997) supra note 134. Other methods farmers have employed to maintain/re-claim decision-making power include filing suits, and producer organising to mediate the loss of control (these include forming bargaining units, petitioning government for intervention, and formation of producer networks).

[291] Select Standing Committee on Agriculture, Food and Fisheries. 1999 (June 15) Transcripts of proceedings (Hansard). Issue No. 14.

customers.[292] Relative weighing of these functions leads to disagreement about what types of products can be sold at farmers' markets. Those who argue that the primary function of farmers' markets is to serve the customer argue that controls on what is sold at farmers' markets is "protectionist" and often favour deregulation. However, if a market allowed produce not grown locally, it might "undercut the price of locally grown produce [and put local]... farmers at a competitive disadvantage."[293] Farmers at farmers' markets have cited a concern about vendors who do not follow rules about what may be sold at the markets.[294] An important aspect of farmers' markets is that they provide an alternative to industrial food production, processing and distribution because they exclude participation by non-producers.[295]

Examples of Market-Level Farmers' Markets Regulations

In California, certified farmers' markets (CFM) exist. The CFMs are places where genuine farmers sell their crops directly to the public.[296] The locations have been approved by the county agricultural commissioner, the farmers are certified, and they sell only agricultural products that they have grown themselves.[297] The California Department of Food and Agriculture established these regulations in 1977.[298] As well as being certified by the agricultural commissioner, the CFM, considered a food

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[292] Todd, A. 2000. A brief statement concerning the regulation of farmers' markets in the United States. URL <http://www.openair.org/cyjour/amyfarm.html>
[293] *Ibid.*
[294] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.
[295] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.
[296] California Federation of Certified Farmers' Markets. What is a certified farmers' market? URL: <http://farmersmarket.ucdavis.edu/docs/about.html> (February 28, 2003).
[297] *Ibid.*
[298] *Ibid.*

facility, must have a health permit.[299] The CFM must have rules regarding the type and number of producers, the type and number of products, and their selling methods.[300] A certified farmer may sell goods from up to 2 other certified farmers if the regulations of the market in question allow it. The benefits to the certified farmers is that they are able to sell the products without the usual size, standard pack and certain container labelling requirements.[301] Farmers become certified from the county agricultural commissioner by submitting the types of crops grown and their acreage.[302] Farmers may also sell processed foods such as fruit and vegetable juices, shelled nuts, jams and jellies, and wine that are derived from plants produced by the farmers.[303] However, the processing and storage of these products must be under regulations from the local environmental health authority.[304]

The regulations are even more specific in Davis, California where a municipal ordinance regulates sellers at farmers' markets, whose products must be " grown upon land which the person controls in the case of fruits, nuts, vegetables and other plant products or other processed agricultural products or bred, raised, cultivated, or collected , in the case of animal, poultry, viticulture, vermiculture, aquaculture, eggs, honey or bee products."[305]

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[299] University of California Small Farm Centre. 1993. A Guide to Rules and Regulations Selling at Certified Farmers' Markets. URL <http://www.sfc.ucdavis.edu/pubs/sfnews/archive/93012.htm> (February 28, 2003).
[300] *Ibid.*
[301] *Ibid.*
[302] *Ibid.*
[303] *Ibid.*
[304] *Ibid.*
[305] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.

Regulations for New York City farmers' markets, managed by "Greenmarket," are very specific about what can be sold and by whom: "produce/product sold must be grown/produced by the principal farmer/producers... for meat, 100% from animals raised from weaning by you. Animals may be butchered or smoked off farm, provided mead is from your animals. For milk/dairy: milk form your herd, managed and milked by you. Cheese and other dairy products must be made by you."[306]

Emerging Issues

The farmers' market case studies and farmer profiles provided a preview of issues and challenges related to small farmers and farmers' markets. Through examination of the literature, current policy, interviews, case studies, profiles and the food systems workshop, many emergent issues were identified related to farmers' markets and local food systems. These issues are examined in turn below.

Marketing

Farmers' markets are one of few marketing options available for small farmers. For farmers, the markets offer an opportunity for direct sales of farm products, which is especially important for farms located in low-traffic areas.[307] Farmers such as these are not easily able to access revenue opportunities from farm gate sales.

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[306] *Ibid.*

[307] Thompson, supra note 202.

Conventional marketing systems are not accessible by small farmers, because conventional systems operate on a much larger scale.[308] Farmers' markets help small- and medium-sized farmers, who might otherwise be unable to access other marketing opportunities because their limited production makes them too small to sell to mainstream grocery stores.[309] According to Kahn (1999), "They offer an alternative to the increasing level of competition that small farm operators face in the global marketplace."[310] Small farmers did not sell their produce to grocery stores because of control by wholesalers, lack of a steady/predictable supply, and very low profit for small farmers because of the grocery store mark-up. Farmers' markets emerged as one of the primary marketing channels for small-scale growers.

Throughout the course of the interviews, marketing was mentioned repeatedly as the biggest challenge for the small farmer. As Graeme Johnstone stated: "growing is hard, but harder still is getting the product from the ground to the store."[311] Direct marketing, such as farmers' markets and roadside stands, emerged as the primary venue available for small farmers to sell their produce.

A USDA study, which sent 1,755 surveys to farmers' markets and received 772 applicable responses, found that 49% of the farmers at farmers' markets use the farmers' market as their sole place for selling their products.[312] A New Jersey study

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[308] Powell, supra note 148.
[309] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184; and Burns, A.F. 1997. Research Summaries Farmers' Markets: a Survey. Family Economics and Nutrition Review 10(4) pp 58-9.
[310] Kahn (1999), supra note 230.
[311] Johnstone, G., supra note 250.
[312] Burns, A.F. and D. Johnson. 1996. Farmers' Market Survey Report. Washinton, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture / Agricultural Marketing Service / Transportation and Marketing Division.

of farmers' markets found that other locations farmers at farmers' markets used to sell their produce included, in order of use, permanent roadside stands, temporary stands, greenhouses, U-Picks, self-serves, nursery/garden centres, packing houses, CSAs and farmhouses.[313] Other avenues available for small farmers include vegetable box schemes and small-scale vegetable brokers.

Farmers' markets can help entrepreneurs start without having to pay large start-up costs.[314] In this way, farmers' markets contribute to entrepreneurialism and contribute to local economic development.[315] Through economies of scale, farmers' markets also allow reduced marketing costs such as insurance, and advertising for farmers.[316]

Niche Marketing

Farmers' markets also provide opportunities for mid-level entrepreneurs to access customers. The Fraser Valley is host to a wide diversity of competitive, successful producers operating with high environmental standards who take advantage of the proximity to urban populations and markets. Farmers' markets offer a venue for speciality items and contribute to opening up the market for other producers.

Marketing Boards

Marketing boards and their regulations apply to several agricultural products in BC, including eggs, milk, cranberries, mushrooms, tree fruits, vegetables, chickens, hogs, and turkeys. Marketing boards use principles of supply management and sell quotas

[313] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.
[314] Havard, D., supra note 205.
[315] Lyson, et al. (1995), supra note 201.

to farmers, which guarantees the farmer the sale of a certain amount of their product at a specific price. These provide farmers with the benefits of stability, flexibility, and a fair return on their labour. However, for organic products and small-scale producers, the current quota system is not always effective. Organic farming is fundamentally different from conventional agriculture in terms of farming techniques and scale.[317] For example, it is virtually impossible to buy quota for small (i.e. 500) numbers of chickens, when quota for chickens is usually managed in units of tens of thousands. In addition to the rights to sell their eggs, a small-scale farmer may want chickens for the use of their manure for vegetable production.

Consumer Preferences

A recent study by Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002) indicates that the top reasons customers frequent farmers' markets are for freshness (88%) and the availability of local food (64%).[318] Both the products and the atmosphere attract customers (62%).[319] The top purchases are of vegetables (91%) and fruit (76%).[320] People were not shopping at farmers' markets looking for cheap food.[321] Atkinson and Williams (1994) concur: citizens shop at farmers' markets for choice, atmosphere, quality and home-grown foods, not for convenience or price.[322] A further study by Govindasamy et al. (1998) shows that consumers expect quality and freshness; a wider variety and

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[316] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184.
[317] Doherty, P. 1999. Report to the Standing Committee on Agriculture on the State of the Organic Industry in B.C. URL: <http: www.certifiedorganic.bc.ca/News/> (November 15, 2000).
[318] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184.
[319] *Ibid.*
[320] *Ibid.*
[321] *Ibid.*
[322] Atkinson, M. and J. Williams. 1994. Farmers' markets. Public Management. 76(1): 16-21.

selection than at grocery stores; and cheaper prices at farmers' markets.[323] Consumers cared about the origin of the food they purchased and agreed that freshness and direct contact with farmers was what drew people to farmers' markets.[324] Shoppers at farmers' markets have been found to prefer domestic to imported goods, and local goods to domestic goods.[325]

Farmers' market customers are generally regular shoppers at farmers' markets, and are loyal to the farmers' market.[326] Farmers' markets have a relatively small trade area and depend upon local residents.[327] Shoppers at farmers' markets generally live within an 11 kilometre radius of the farmers' market.[328] To consumers, markets offer fresh produce, a social event, and opportunities for direct contact between farmers and community members.[329]

Reasons people did not shop at farmers' markets were because no farmers' markets were located near them, they did not know that farmers' markets existed, and that it was inconvenient to shop at farmers' markets.[330] Farmers have recommended increased advertising of markets to draw in more customers.[331]

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[323] Govindasamy et al. (1998a), supra note 216.
[324] *Ibid.*
[325] Stepheson and Lev, supra note 198.
[326] Mason, D. 1994. Spatial and cultural aspects of the Greensboro, North Carolina, farmers' market. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers. San Francisco, California.
[327] Atkinson and Williams, supra note 322.
[328] Pretty, supra note 179.
[329] Burns (1997), supra note 309.
[330] Govindasamy et al. (1998a), supra note 216.
[331] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.

Education

Lack of education of farmers, citizens, and bureaucrats was identified as an issue related to farmers' markets and local food systems and food security. This issue emerged from analysis of interviews and was identified by more than five informants. Citizens, in general, are not educated about local agriculture and its benefits; what can be grown locally; and issues of food security and its importance. Consumers creating a demand for locally produced food can help bolster farmers' markets.[332] Bureaucrats are not aware of the importance of farmers' markets and of food systems. Information and agricultural extension services are not easily available for farmers about what to grow and how to market their product, especially about direct marketing. Educational opportunities about small farming and how to start small farm businesses are lacking.

Poverty and Hunger

An urban focus is important as it has the potential to expand the concept of local food systems to include the poor.[333] Rising costs of food are often cited as a problem for food access and food security. With rising costs of oil and declining productivity, food prices probably will rise; however, local production and consumption has the potential to off-set some of the rise: "... if that food is produced near at hand and sold through local farmers' markets, the many savings involved may counterbalance that added cost."[334] Examples of ways farmers' markets can explicitly address problems of hunger and food insecurity include implementing farmers' markets in low income

[332] Hamilton, supra note 161.
[333] Feenstra, supra note 176.

neighbourhoods, farmers' market nutrition programs and food stamps redeemable at farmers' markets.[335] Farmers' markets have been shown as one of the few available sources of fresh, healthy, high quality produce for low-income urban dwellers.[336]

Farmers' Market Development / Management

Many issues exist regarding the implementation, development and management of farmers' markets. From the case study of the East Vancouver Farmers' Market, difficulties faced in establishing the market included navigating bureaucratic regulations and requirements; finding an appropriate location;[337] and having enough farmers – both for start up as well as for meeting consumer demand (as was also noted at the Smithers farmers' market). The problem of attracting sufficient farmers was also noted in the literature.[338]

Market managers' roles include recruiting farmers, supervising the market during selling hours, promoting and advertising the market, and acting as a liaison between municipalities, farmers, and local retailers. A 1998 survey of farmers' market managers found that 38% were hired by cities, townships or counties; 29% were volunteers; 29% were hired by downtown revitalisation groups, special improvement organisations, farmers' market societies, business associations, the chamber of commerce, and non-profit organisations; and 4% identified as being self-employed.[339]

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[334] Daly and Cobb, supra note 182 at pp 279.
[335] Feenstra, supra note 176.
[336] Burns and Johnson, supra note 312.
[337] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207. Important factors in choosing a site include: proximity to downtown, visibility, sufficient parking, accessibility and traffic flow, and enough space for farmers' stands.
[338] *Ibid*
[339] *Ibid*

77% of the market managers worked full-time, with their duties of running the market being one of their many responsibilities. The survey also revealed that most (84%) managers had no previous farming experience and did not visit farms (91%) to ensure either the quality or locality of the products sold at the market. A gap was identified between farmers and managers regarding a lack of understanding of farmers and their reality by managers.

Community Economic Development

Community economic development (CED) theory and practices are useful for informing the benefits that farmers' markets provide to communities. CED refers to activities which bring more money and employment into communities, increase community control, and increase resiliency to external changes.[340] Markey and Vodden (2000) identify several factors which provide favourable conditions for successful CED and which contribute to increasing human, social, economic and ecological capacity.[341] Table four identifies several of these success factors and their indicators which farmers' markets contribute to. This type of CED is very applicable to farmers' markets and is useful for describing farmers' markets.

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[340] Markey, S. and K. Vodden. 2000. Success factors in community economic development: indicators of community capacity. Working paper. Burnaby, BC: Community Economic Development Centre. URL: <http://www.sfu.ca/cedc/forestcomm/fcbackfile/pprworking/sfactors.htm#back> (July 7, 2003).

[341] *Ibid*

Table 4. Indicators of factors for CED success to which farmers' market contribute.

Success Factor	Indicator
Human Capacity	
Civic engagement	Support for local retail
Entrepreneurial spirit	Local ownership of local firms and resources Local examples of successful entrepreneurs Number of new business start-ups
Social Capacity	
Sense of community	Community celebrations / events
Community organisations	Provision of local services
Economic Capacity	
Economic health	Multiplier Local purchasing Value added
Local control	Number and range of locally owned enterprises Evidence of local buying Local access to, and control of, land and natural resources
Location	Proximity to urban / larger centre
Cultural and service amenities	Range of retail and service businesses
Ecological Capacity	
Natural resources	Agricultural capability and practices Value-added activities

Chapter 7. Recommendations and Conclusions

Food security and supporting linkages between local production and consumption of food should be a stated goal at the local, municipal, regional, and provincial levels, and should be addressed in an integrated manner within and between different levels of government and departments within each level. An integrated approach is needed which includes all components of alternative food systems. Policy is needed which supports a range of components of alternative food systems, including farmers' markets. These components include protecting agricultural land and the ALR, facilitating the economy around agriculture including organic agriculture, and assisting the development of components of alternative food systems such as urban agriculture, community-supported agriculture, community kitchens, and food-buying co-ops.

Drawing upon an examination of emerging issues, current policy, farmers' market case studies, and farmer profiles, I developed five policy recommendations:

1) Develop a framework for defining farmers' markets,
2) Support civil society initiatives bolstering food security,
3) Support local agriculture,
4) Support the development and management of farmers' markets, and
5) Provide educational opportunities.

Combined, these recommendations provide a baseline for the bolstering of connections between farmers and citizens with a resulting decentralisation of power and reduction of throughput. Each recommendation is discussed below, with

examples for their implementation at the provincial and local/regional governmental levels.

Recommendation 1: Develop a Framework for Defining Farmers' Markets

A first step in developing a comprehensive policy package for farmers' markets is the development of a framework from which to build upon. The active, working definition of farmers' markets is key to ensuring that the markets contribute beneficially to alternative food systems. An appropriate definition of farmers' markets will ensure that farmers' markets support an arrangement that leads to reducing linear systems and facilitating circular alternatives.

The farmers' market – including the physical space as well as the rules regulating the use of the space – is an important component in structuring the connection between food consumers and food producers.[342] Effective and appropriate regulations governing farmers' markets are needed to ensure that the benefits associated with farmers' markets are achieved. Provincial regulations and policies directly influence market managers when they make decisions regarding local-level markets.[343]

Farmers' markets often have administrative rules that exclude non-producers from participating, or specify that farmers can only sell crops which they have produced.[344] These rules are central to these actually being "markets of farmers." Existing boards

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[342] Andreatta and Wickliffe, supra note 184.
[343] *Ibid.*
[344] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.

of farmers' markets, local farmers, and the provincial government should together develop definitions for "farmers' markets" and "local." Further, these actors should establish regulations specifying minimum thresholds for the percent of locally produced and raw (i.e. not value-added / processed) products available at farmers' markets. Regulations should also specify minimum requirements for farmers to be physically present at their stalls. Once regulations are in place, market managers, supported by the provincial government, would then ensure the standards of what is sold: its local character, freshness, and quality. This would ensure that farmers' markets support local agriculture, while also responding to consumer preferences for high quality produce from farmers' markets.[345]

Recommendation 2: Support Civil Society Initiatives Bolstering Food Security

An overarching guiding framework / policy reorientation is needed to facilitate the shift from dominant food systems, as part of centrist hierarchies, to alternative food systems which reflect territorialist non-hierarchies. This reorientation would facilitate the transfer of power to citizens, while decreasing throughput of materials and energy. The first step in this shift is providing support to community members, citizens and farmers for active engagement in food security and food systems issues. This can be achieved by supporting civil society initiatives which bolster food security. This can best be implemented at the local and regional levels through the adoption of Food Charters and the support of Food Policy Councils.

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[345] *Ibid.*

Recently (2002), responding to local community groups, the City of Saskatoon adopted the "Saskatoon Food Charter."[346] It calls for commitment to enhancing food security through its relation to production, justice, health, culture, and globalisation. Through the Saskatoon Food Charter, the City of Saskatoon committed to working towards food security, including promoting farmers' markets.[347] In implementing the charter, the City of Saskatoon will:

- promote an annual report card on Saskatoon's food security,
- support nutrition education in communities and schools,
- protect agricultural land,
- encourage urban agriculture,
- adopt and promote model food purchasing practices,
- champion food security for all residents, and
- promote programs supporting urban-rural food linkages.[348]

The only other city in Canada to have a food charter is the City of Toronto, which developed theirs in 2001.[349] Food charters can act as a baseline for food security initiatives.

In 1991, the City of Toronto created the Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC), which operates as a sub-committee of the Toronto Board of Health.[350] The TFPC forms partnerships with businesses and community organisations to develop policies and facilitate programs promoting food security. Currently, throughout B.C., local

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[346] Archibald, K. (Community Hunger Education Program; Saskatoon Food Coalition). November 9, 2002. Personal Communication.
[347] Saskatoon Food Coalition. 2001. Saskatoon Food Charter. Available through the Saskatoon Food Coalition at 306-384-7041.
[348] *Ibid.*
[349] Food and Hunger Action Committee. 2001 (Adopted March). Toronto Food Charter. Toronto: City of Toronto. URL <http://www.city.toronto.on.ca/food_hunger/food_charter.pdf> (January 14, 2003).
[350] City of Toronto. Food Policy. URL <http://city.toronto.on.ca/health/tfpc_index.htm> (January 14, 2003).

advocates are working at developing citizen-lead food policy councils. These efforts need to be supported institutionally.

Recommendation 3: Support Local Agriculture

Following the support for meaningful civic engagement, local, regional and provincial governments need to support local agriculture: local food production for local consumption. Many specific actions can be taken at both the provincial and the local/regional levels of government. The provincial government has many opportunities to support direct-marketing, local product recognition, agricultural land, and small-scale producers. Firstly, the province should support the initiation of direct-marketing local food enterprises, and provide micro-credit for start-up of small-scale farmers to help support direct-marketing expenses.

Secondly, the province should initiate and/or support local/regional labelling/branding. Where local labels exist, they should be further supported; regions without local branded labels should develop a local label.[351] Examples of local labels include the "Fresh from the Island" label supported by the Island Farms Alliance on Vancouver Island. "Buy BC" is a label for agricultural products grown in BC. No regional label exists for products from the Fraser Valley. A local label needs to be developed and marketed for agricultural products from the Fraser Valley.

[351] Govindasamy et al. (1998c), supra note 199.

Thirdly, there should be provincial support for local procurement policies at all governmental funded institutions that provide food services. These include schools (primary, elementary, secondary, and post-secondary), health-care centres (hospitals, care facilities etc.), and at jails. Currently, the Public Sector Purchasing Policy (PSPP) and the Comprehensive Value-added Procurement Framework (BC Max) support the purchase of local goods and services. However, in a recent discussion paper from the provincial government, recommendations indicate that these policies will be replaced with open procurement legislation/policy which would not support local food products.[352] Policies supporting local procurement should be retained and bolstered, specifically regarding the purchase of food.

Fourthly, the integrity of the ALR needs to be maintained. Despite recent changes in the ALC, municipal councils and the public should ensure that the amount of development in the ALR is minimised. The provincial government should also develop a broad economic strategy to support the ALR and facilitate the ability of farmers to make a living wage. This could include tax incentives for producers who farm on the ALR and sell their products locally. Finally, different forms of quota distribution, such as communal quota, for small-scale producers, need to be investigated.[353]

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[352] B.C. Government. February 2002. Procurement Reform Discussion Paper (Draft). Procurement and Supply Services Division. Ministry of Management Services. URL <http://www.pc.gov.bc.ca/data/docs/procurement%reform%discussion%paper.pdf> (February 17, 2003).

[353] FarmFolk/City Folk. 2003. Growing Green for Sustainable Food Systems: Food, Law, Policy and Reform. URL: <http://ffcf.bc.ca/Growing%Green/supply_mgmt.htm> (July 7, 2003).

Local and regional governments can support local agriculture by supporting urban agriculture, encouraging composting, and supporting community-based food security initiatives. Urban agriculture includes community gardens, rooftop food gardening, and backyard food gardening. Through zoning, urban agriculture needs to be defined as a legitimate use of urban space. Composting, and the use of the resultant compost for local food production, needs to be integrated into solid waste management. This can be achieved by discouraging the disposal of organic material into the waste stream, implementing curb-side pick-up of organic waste, and developing community-based composting facilities. Community-based systems of production and distribution which address local food security, such as the "Good Food Box,"[354] community kitchens, and food buying clubs, need to be supported by local governments.

Recommendation 4: Support the development and management of farmers' markets.

Provincially, many opportunities exist for the MoAFF to provide more assistance to farmers' markets. Under the Buy BC program, the extent to which the MoAFF helped farmers' markets was quite limited, but the transferral of the Buy BC program away from the provincial government inhibits progress towards sustainable food systems. The province of B.C. should reverse the devolution of the BuyBC program from the public sector, reinstate the farmers' markets program, and enhance the support the program offered to farmers' markets. Methods for providing this support

[354] The Good Food Box is a non-profit food-buying club. Run primarily by volunteers, the Good Food Box provides inexpensive boxes of produce with an emphasis on supporting local farmers and low-

include assisting with the start-up of markets, providing outreach to farmers, advertising markets, providing benefits to municipalities with farmers' markets, and supporting networks and associations of farmers' markets.

The provincial government should assist in starting more markets in areas without markets by developing a "how-to" manual for starting and running farmers' markets, designing best layouts for new markets,[355] providing "best practices" for making markets better and more profitable,[356] and creating staff positions to work proactively in farmers' market development.[357] By developing and maintaining a provincial database of all farmers, the provincial government would be able to perform outreach to farmers to participate in markets.[358] The provincial government should professionally advertise farmers' markets to increase their profile. To encourage municipalities to support farmers' markets, the provincial government should provide financial incentives for municipalities with farmers' markets located in low-income communities.

The provincial government can support networks and associations of farmers' markets in several ways. Firstly, they can support the development and maintenance of farmers' market councils, and communicate new ideas and suggestions for farmers' market councils.[359] Secondly, the provincial government should support the BC Association of Farmers' Markets. This society, founded in 2000, has 22 farmers'

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income citizens.
[355] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207.
[356] *Ibid.*
[357] Kahn (1999), supra note 230.
[358] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207.
[359] *Ibid.*

markets as members and reduces the costs of liability insurance, participates in policy development, and provides a website to list farmers' markets. Many opportunities exist to expand the scope of this association, such as: regulation of farmers' markets; facilitation of communication between vendors and organisers of farmers' markets; provision of educational opportunities; and performance of monitoring activities. Thirdly, the provincial government must ensure that representatives from farmers' markets participate in agricultural advisory boards.[360]

At the local government level, although support for local agriculture is identified as an issue in many Official Community Plans, support for farmers' markets as a component of alternative food systems does not exist operationally. Many opportunities exist for municipal and regional governments to support farmers' markets, including assisting with location, providing staff support, and implementing economic incentives. Local governments can assist with farmers' market locations by identifying potential sites for farmers' markets to ensure wide distribution of farmers' markets, supporting farmers' markets' abilities to be situated within low-income communities, including farmers' markets within zoning, and providing free space to farmers' markets. Support in terms of human capacity can provide assistance by directly managing farmers' markets or hiring managers for farmers' markets, as well as by providing staff positions for working proactively on setting up farmers' markets. Economically, local governments can provide tax incentives for properties and/or businesses with farmers' markets on their parking lots.

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[360] Kahn (1999), supra note 230.

Recommendation 5: Provide Educational Opportunities

Occurring parallel to the first four recommendations, educational opportunities are needed for citizens, bureaucrats, farmers, and market managers. For the public, education is needed about local products their seasonal availability, about the importance of local food and agriculture, and about urban food production. Agricultural education should be implemented as part of public school curriculum. Local labels should be advertised, and citizens educated about their meaning. Public education should be provided at farmers' markets.[361] Governmental staff need training on the importance of local agriculture and of encouraging farmers' markets within cities. Small-scale farmers need improved extension services with information on marketing opportunities, growing techniques, new varieties, packaging information, and guidelines for dealing with the public. Finally, market managers need workshops and seminars to provide opportunities for information dissemination and sharing.[362]

Conclusion

A spatial analysis within political ecology is a useful framework for examining food systems. It addresses flows of material/energy (throughput) and power through a system with respect to an examination of increasing throughput and concentration of power in centrist hierarchies, and decreasing throughput and dispersing power in territorialist non-hierarchies. This analysis reveals the inherent un-sustainability of

[361] Govindasamy et al. (1998b), supra note 207.

centrist hierarchies. I developed two criteria to indicated a shift from centrist hierarchies to territorialist non-hierarchies: 1) decreasing throughput by fostering reduced and circular flows of materials and energy, and 2) dispersing power by providing egalitarian social relationships and power structures.

Using the two criteria to examine food systems, our dominant food systems are revealed as centrist hierarchies exhibiting distancing, commodification, and artificialisation. Characteristics of alternative food systems which support a move towards territorialist non-hierarchies include locality, seasonality, mimicking of nature, and embeddedness within a local foodshed.

Farmers' markets are places where farmers regularly gather to sell their crops directly to consumers. Farmers' markets are a good example of a component of alternative food systems that contribute to decreasing throughput and decentralisation of power. They achieve this by decreasing the physical distance that food travels and by increasing the direct connections – both financial and interpersonal – between farmers and consumers. The definition of farmers' markets as places where farmers sell their own products locally, and the implementation of the definition are key to ensuring that farmers' markets contribute to a shift towards territorialist non-hierarchies. Farmers' markets provide an avenue for urban dwellers to access local agricultural products. Locally grown food is not otherwise easily available for people in cities.

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[362] *Ibid.*

Farmers' markets are one component of alternative food systems. At present, farmers' markets "cannot be expected to... replace the traditional food marketing systems...[However, they can...] give people an alternative if the system does not."[363] Farmers' markets are also one component of a way to revitalise rural economies and facilitate CED. Along with a range of alternative initiatives present, farmers' markets can constitute a viable component of alternative food systems that together contribute a shift towards increasing food security while decreasing throughput and dispersing power. Farmers' markets have the potential to mobilise non-farm people – farmers' markets are increasing despite their seasonal operation, less-processed food, and incomplete selection.[364]

Currently, farmers' markets are increasing in numbers, but they lack the support of a comprehensive policy framework which values food security. The province of BC has been withdrawing its support for farmers' markets. Within local and regional governments, farmers' markets are rarely identified as important, food security is not a prominent issue of concern, and many barriers exist for starting and running farmers' markets. However, a role exists for the state in supporting a move towards the decentralisation of power and an alternative economic vision.

In this thesis, I developed five broad policy recommendations: 1) develop a framework for defining farmers' markets, 2) support civil society initiatives bolstering food security, 3) support local agriculture, 4) support the development and

[363] Hamilton, supra note 161.
[364] Welsh (1997), supra note 134.

management of farmers' markets, and 5) provide educational opportunities. The majority of the recommendations are regulatory in nature; however, a few do provide economic incentives. For each recommendation, I provided specific recommendations for their implementation at the provincial and local/regional levels. Implementing these recommendations can contribute to an increase in the number and viability of farmers' markets within B.C.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Seasonal Produce Chart[365]

Product	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
APPLES	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
APRICOTS							X	X				
BASIL							X	X	X			
BEANS							X	X	X	X		
BEETS						X	X	X	X	X	X	
BLACKBERRIES								X	X	X		
BLUEBERRIES							X	X	X			
BROCCOLI						X	X	X	X	X		
BRUSSELS SPROUTS										X	X	X
CABBAGE	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X
CARROTS						X	X	X	X	X	X	
CAULIFLOWER						X	X	X	X	X	X	
CELERY							X	X	X	X		
CHERRIES						X	X					
CHINESE VEGETABLES						X	X	X	X			
CHIVES				X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
CILANTRO						X	X	X	X	X		
CORN								X	X	X		
CRANBERRIES										X		
CUCUMBERS							X	X	X	X		
CURRANTS								X	X			
EGGPLANT								X	X	X		
GARLIC								X	X	X	X	X
GREENS, COOKING						X	X	X	X	X	X	
KALE							X	X	X	X		
LETTUCE						X	X	X	X	X	X	
LEEKS									X	X	X	
MELONS								X	X			
ONIONS (SWEET)							X	X	X	X		
ONIONS (COOKING)									X	X	X	
PEACHES								X				
PEARS	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X
PEAS						X	X			X	X	
PEPPERS							X	X	X	X		
PLUMS								X	X			
POTATOES						X	X	X	X	X		
PUMPKINS									X	X		
RADISH					X	X	X	X	X	X		
RASPBERRIES							X	X	X			
RHUBARB				X	X	X	X					
ROSEMARY	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SAGE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
SALAD GREENS						X	X	X	X	X		
SHALLOTS								X	X			
SPINACH				X	X	X	X	X	X			

[365] Adapted from: B.C. Association of Famers' Markets. 2002. B.C. Seasonal Product Chart. URL <http://www.bcfarmersmarket.org/shopper/productchart.xml > (February 17, 2003). and Nathan Creek Organic Farm. 2001. 2001 Crop Plan. In Nathan Creek Organic Farm: Community Supported Agriculture 2001 Season. Available from 5443 Rand St., Abbotsford, B.C., V4X 2P4.

STRAWBERRIES				X	X	X	X				
SUMMER SQUASH					X	X					
SWISS CHARD					X	X	X	X			
TOMATOES					X	X	X	X			
THYME				X	X	X	X	X	X		
TURNIPS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
WINTER SQUASH							X	X	X	X	

Appendix 2. Farmers' markets in B.C., including the Georgia Basin[366]

Farmers' Market	Location
South Cariboo Farmers Market Society	100 Mile House
Old Courthouse Square Market	150 Mile House
Armstrong Farmers' Market	Armstrong
Bella Coola Valley Farmers' Market	Bella Coola
SFU Farmers' Market	Burnaby *
Campbell River Downtown Market	Campbell River *
Cedar Farmers Market	Cedar
Chilliwack Public Market	Chilliwack *
Coquitlam Farmers Market	Coquitlam *
Comox Valley Farmers Market	Courtenay *
Cumberland Community Market	Cumberland *
Dawson Creek Farmers Market	Dawson Creek
Ladner Village Market	Delta *
Cowichan Valley Market	Duncan *
Downtown Duncan Farmers Market	Duncan *
Duncan Farmers Market	Duncan *
Kingfisher Farmers Market	Enderby
Errington Farmers Market	Errington
Falkland Country Market	Falkland
Fort St. James Farmers Market Association	Fort St. James
Fort St. John Farmers Market	Fort St. John
Gabriola Agricultural Association Farmers Market	Gabriola Island *
Grand Forks Farmers Market	Grand Forks
Quadra Island Farmers Market	Heriot Bay *
District of Hope Farmers Market	Hope *
Hornby Island Farmers Market	Hornby Island *
Jaffray-Baynes Lake Farmers Market	Jaffray
Kamloops Regional Farmers Market Society	Kamloops
Kelowna Farmers and Craft Society Market	Kelowna
Langley City Farmers Market	Langley *
Lower Fraser Valley Farmers Market	Langley *
Our Farmers Market	Langley *
Williams Lake Farmers Market	Lone Butte
McBride Farmers Market	McBride
Nicola Valley Farmers Market	Merritt
Metchosin Farmers Market	Metchosin *
Mission City Farmers' Market	Mission *
Mt. Lehman Country Market	Mt. Lehman *
Nanaimo Downtown Farmers Market	Nanaimo *
Oliver Farmers Market	Oliver
Whistler Upper Village Farmers Market	Pemberton *
Pender Island Farmers Market	Pender Island *

[366] Adapted from B.C. Association of Famers' Markets. 2002. B.C. Market Directory. URL <http://www.bcfarmersmarket.org/marketlist.xsp?sec=shopper> (January 9, 2003).

Penticton Farmers Market	Penticton
Port Alberni Farmers Market	Port Alberni
Powell River Open-Air Market	Powell River *
Prince George Farmers Market	Prince George
Quadra Island Farmers Market and Bazaar	Quadra Island *
The Village Square Market	Quadra Island *
Qualicum Beach Farmers Market	Qualicum Beach *
Queen Charlotte Island Farmers Mkt	Queen Charlotte City
Quesnel Oldtime Farmers Market	Quesnel
Revelstoke Farmers Market	Revelstoke
Penninsula Country Market	Saanichton *
Salmon Arm Regional Farmers Market	Salmon Arm
Shuswap Farm and Craft Market	Salmon Arm
Fulford Farmers Market	Saltspring Island *
Saltspring Island Market in the Park	Saltspring Island *
Sechelt Farmers and Artisans Market	Sechelt *
Smithers Farmers Market	Smithers +
Sooke Country Market	Sooke *
Sorrento Village Farmers Market	Sorrento
Summerland Country Market	Summerland
Surrey Farmers Market	Surrey *
Rosswood Farmers Market	Terrace
Skeena Valley Farmers Market	Terrace
Tlell Farmers Market	Tlell
Texada Island Farmers Market	Vananda *
East Vancouver Farmers Market	Vancouver *+
Granville Island Farmers Truck Market	Vancouver *
West End Farmers Market	Vancouver *
Your Local Farmers Market	Vancouver *
Nechako Valley Farmers Market	Vanderhoof
Vernon Farmers Market	Vernon
Vernon Friday Night Farmers Market	Vernon
Fernwood Street Market	Victoria *
Highlands Farmers Market	Victoria *
James Bay Community Market	Victoria *
Metchosin Farmers Market	Victoria *
Moss Street Community Market	Victoria *
White Rock Farmers Market	White Rock *

* Indicates that the farmers' market is located within the Georgia Basin
+ Case study performed on the farmers' market in this study.

Appendix 3. Issue Identification for local/regional plans in the Georgia Basin

Regional District*	Official Community Plan / Municipal Plan / Regional Plan	Summary of Mentioned Food/Agriculture Issues
GVRD	Vancouver City Plan	None
GVRD	Vancouver By-laws	Maintain / encourage semi-rural nature / limited agriculture
CRD	Framework for our Future	Encourage green/blue spaces; protect and maintain.
GVRD	Liveable Regions Strategic Plan	Mention of problems of people living on ALR; need for stewardship of ALR; Risk of urban development; Increase planning for agriculture
NRD		None
PRRD	Southern Regional	Increase viability of small scale agriculture including

	District	processing and marketing of agricultural products grown locally
FVRD		Preservation of rural character and agricultural capability. development away from farmland
SLRD	Electoral Area C	None
	Lanford	None
	Texada Island	Presence of market gardens to serve local consumers. Increase small-scale agriculture to diversify economy.
CRD	Central Saanich	Supports agriculture near residential areas.
CRD	Colwood	Agriculture is a principal use in areas designated as parks or open space. Education regarding harm of fertilisers, pesticides, and herbicides.
CRD	Esquimalt (West Bay)	Suggests establishment of community gardens. Suggests establishment of shared private gardens.
CRD	Highlands	Encourage land use consistent with rural character.
CRD	Metchosin	Developments must be consistent with maintenance of rural character. Agriculture and rural landscapes to be preserved and enhanced.
CRD	North Saanich	Restrictions on uses that are not compatible with current or future agricultural activities.
CRD	Oak Bay	None
CRD	Saanich	None
CRD	Sidney	None
CRD	Sooke	Agriculture is one of the main uses for open space and recreational areas.
CRD	Victoria	None
CSRD	Campbell River	None
CSRD	Chemainus	None
CSRD	Comox	Not necessary to provide additional opportunities for rural lifestyle because there as adequate ALR in Comox.
CSRD	Courtenay	Support active use of farmland for farming.
CSRD	Cumberland	None
CSRD	Duncan	None
CSRD	Ladysmith	None
CSRD	Lake Cowichan	None
CSRD	North Cowichan	Presence of agricultural lands in suburban areas.
CSRD	North Cowichan (community health and safety)	Mention of food security.
CSRD	Rural Comox Valley	Maintain rural character. Support agriculture. Regional plan for agriculture encouraged. Allow commercial composting programs. Buffer between agriculture and other uses. Agriculture on "country residential" lots only allowed if lots are larger than 1 acre. Agriculture is permitted in "residential" lots.
FVRD	Brookswood / Fernridge	None
FVRD	Dewdney – Hatzic Lake	Preservation of agricultural land for present and future food production.
FVRD	Gloucester	None

FVRD	Harrison Hot Springs	None
FVRD	Hope	Encourage compatibility of agriculture and other land uses.
FVRD	McConnel Creek, Hatzic Prairie	Decrease conflict between intensive agricultural and non-agricultural uses.
FVRD	Mission	Preserve agricultural capability in present and future food production. Discourage urban encroachment because of incompatibility. Discourage composting near residential areas.
FVRD	Murrayville	Preserve agricultural land. Decrease conflict between agricultural and non-agricultural uses.
FVRD	SE Gordon	None
FVRD	Walnut Grove	None
FVRD	Walnut Grove Redwoods	None
FVRD	Walnut Grove towncentre	None
FVRD	WG Stag 1, 3, 5, 7, 4	None
FVRD	Willoughby	None
FVRD	Willowbrook	None
FVRD	Yorkson	None
GVRD	Aldergrove	None
GVRD	Anmore	None
GVRD	Belcarra	None
GVRD	Chilliwack	Retain rural character Strengthen distinction between urban and agriculture. Values agricultural resources. Support agricultural land. Decrease conflict between urban / rural uses.
GVRD	City of North Vancouver	None
GVRD	Coquitlam	None
GVRD	Coquitlam SW town Centre	Colony farm is an agricultural use.
GVRD	Delta	Agriculture present Decrease conflict between agricultural and urban residential uses.
GVRD	District of North Vancouver	Maplewood Farm is a special attraction. Provide for increasing interpretive program.
GVRD	Dunbar (Vancouver)	Community gardens in parks. Neighbourhood compost demonstration.
GVRD	Fort Langley	None
GVRD	GVRD electoral area C	Home occupation use shall not create a nuisance of sound, sight, or smell. No boarding, breeding of keeping of animals in residences.
GVRD	GVRD Electoral Area C	None
GVRD	Kensington Cedar-Cottage (Vancouver)	Community gardens in unused street allowances, under skytrain. Community greening action: Van Dusen and FFCF program Demonstration gardens Neighbourhood plant swaps Education / incentives for tenants to garden.

		Increase usable parks and school grounds. Community gardens. Community activities i.e. Farmers Markets.
GVRD	Langley Town Centre	None
GVRD	Langley Township	Integrate rural / agricultural characteristics into communities. Protect agricultural lands and encourage production.
GVRD	Maillardville	None
GVRD	Maple Ridge	Use public policy to promote agriculture. Residents concerned about maintaining rural character and lifestyle of community. Purchase and employ locally. Encourage diversification of agriculture Increase home-based businesses and hobby farms. Rural – urban fringe issues Diversity of agricultural products includes those form part-time / hobby farms. Conflicts exist between rural and non-farming neighbours. Edge (agricultural / urban) boundary issues. Promote buffering between land uses. Encourage self-reliance in food production. Community education in self-sufficiency. Urban development could negatively affect agricultural landscape.
GVRD	NE Coquitlam	Encourage opportunities for community-based food production. Explore and develop opportunities for local community gardens.
GVRD	New Westminster	None
GVRD	NW Coquitlam	Protection of green zone which includes farmland to define urban growth boundary.
GVRD	NW Langley	None
GVRD	Pitt Meadow	Enhance viability of agriculture. Agriculture a priority.
GVRD	Port Coqutilam	Development of Colony Farm must be consistent with its designation as part of the regional green zone. Agricultral uses allowed in: residential, park reserve, agricultural, urban reserve, and special study areas. Agriculture has declined with increase of urbanization. Agricultural areas are facing pressures of urbanization.
GVRD	Port Moody	None
GVRD	Rural Langley	Investigate feasibility of developing a farmers' market in township. Facilitate communication between township and rural areas. Strengthen agricultural economy and education. Decrease conflict between rural and urban areas. Rural farm markets at edge of urban areas decrease impact and do not contribute to sprawl; need to sell 75% BC products. Develop brochure on farm gate sales. Encourage and assist in the development of farm tours.
GVRD	Surrey	Protect agricultural viability. Buffering between agricultural and urban residential uses. Encourage retail of farm products. Increase public awareness of farming practices and

		importance of agriculture.
GVRD	West Vancouver	None
NRD	Nanaimo	None
NRD	Parksville	Acknowledge conflict between urban areas and rural agriculture with truck traffic, pesticides, noise, odours. Preserve agricultural land for promotion of local food production and economic diversification. Decrease conflicts.
NRD	Qualicum Beach	None
PRRD	Egmont / Pender Harbour	Provide for agricultural activity and opportunity market locally produced agricultural products.
PRRD	Elphinstone	Provide for agricultural activities, including opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products. Protect agriculture from conflicts.
PRRD	Gibsons	Balance maintenance of ALR with some conversion to urban areas.
PRRD	Halfmoon Bay	None
PRRD	Lund	None.
PRRD	Port Mellon	No lands with present/future food growing capacity, therefore no provisions.
PRRD	Roberts Creek	Provide for agricultural activities, including opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products. Protect agriculture from conflicts.
PRRD	West Howe Sound	Provide for agricultural activities, including opportunity for marketing locally produced agricultural products. Protect agriculture from conflicts.
SLRD	District of Squamish	None
SLRD	Duffey lake Corridor	None
SLRD	Pemberton	Respect agricultural ambience of the community.
SLRD	Pemberton Fringe Area	Ensure viability of agricultural lands.
SLRD	Resort Municipality of Whistler	None
SLRD	Squamish	None
SLRD	Upper Bridge River Valley	None
SLRD	Whistler South	None

* GVRD = Greater Vancouver Regional District; FVRD = Fraser Valley Regional District; SLRD = Squamish-Lillooet Regional District; PRRD = Powell River Regional District; CRD = Capital Regional District; NRD = Nanaimo Regional District; CSRD = Comox-Strathcona Regional District

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