Farmers' Markets as Political Spaces

by

Carly Lewis
B.A, University of Victoria, 2010

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Political Science

Supervisory Committee

Farmers' Markets as Political Spaces

by

Carly Lewis
B.A., University of Victoria, 2010

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Warren Magnusson, (Department of Political Science)
Supervisor

Dr. James Lawson, (Department of Political Science)
Departmental Member

Abstract

Supervisory Committee

Dr. Warren Magnusson, (Department of Political Science)
Supervisor

Dr. James Lawson, (Department of Political Science)
Departmental Member

As conceptions of citizenship and the political evolve, alternative modes and sites of political engagement can be identified. The definition of citizenship has evolved from limited civil and political rights to include social, environmental, and individual responsibilities. Modes of political participation have similarly evolved from voting and political party activity to also include a broad array of individual actions, such as voluntary work. Therefore, this thesis argues that the location of politics and citizenship has shifted away from traditional state institutions toward alternative spaces, such as farmer's markets. Drawing on Engin Isin's (2002, 2009) analyses of citizenship as constructed norms and identities, and the political as a challenge to those dominant norms, this thesis uses interviews with farmers' market participants in the Greater Victoria Region to explore how farmers' markets can be seen as political, both in the motivations of participants and the associated values of broader food movements.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

I would first like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Warren Magnusson, for his unwavering support and guidance throughout this process. Your patience and encouragement are endless and it has been an honour to be your student. To Dr. Jamie Lawson, for your insightful comments and gentle direction, thank you. I would also like to thank Dr. James Rowe for agreeing to be my external examiner despite an undoubtedly busy schedule.

This thesis was completed with the financial support of a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship: Master's. For this generous scholarship, I would like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

And finally, thank you to my family and friends for your unconditional love and for always, always making me laugh.

Introduction

Farmers' markets are quaint. Nostalgic, some might say. A person can meet authentic, weathered farmers and hippie crafters, enjoy a freshly brewed coffee and piping hot cinnamon bun, and purchase some token groceries or crafts, all the while feeling good about supporting the local community. But is there more to these markets than simple aesthetic pleasures? Is there a larger purpose behind these local spaces?

In this thesis, I aim to explore farmers' markets as political spaces, where certain values are expressed, identities are constituted, and norms are challenged. The origins of this thesis began with a consideration of the recent decline in voter turnout in Canada, and the idea that perhaps this doesn't reflect the growing apathy toward politics that it seems to suggest; instead, people may be making their political claims in alternative ways and spaces. If election ballots are no longer a primary space for political claims, and people make their claims in alternative spaces, then it is important to recognize those spaces and those claims.

The idea of locating politics in alternative spaces is reflected in John Dewey's consideration of the school and the education curriculum. Dewey (1903, as cited in King, 1912) believes these institutions are political in their ability to develop citizens who can sustain a successful democratic community. Dewey (1939, as cited in Macpherson, 1977) sees citizenship as a "way of life" and believes it cannot then "depend on political institutions alone…but in every phase of our culture – science, art, education, morals, and religion, as well as politics and economics" (p.75). This thesis uses the implications of

this idea to suggest that, like the school, other spaces can be similarly political – such as the farmers' market.

Understanding these spaces as political requires an expanded view of political participation and citizenship. According to scholars such as Engin Isin (2002, 2009) and Chantal Mouffe (1992), citizenship is made up of constructed identities and norms which determine certain ways of being political. A narrow definition of citizenship, as an institutional and legal concept, considers political acts to be limited to actions such as voting and joining a political party, and political sites to be state-centered. But as conceptions of citizenship and political participation expand, this enables alternative acts and spaces to be considered political, such as the farmers' market.

Using Engin Isin (2002) and Hannah Arendt's (1977) definitions of the political as a challenge to the dominant form of citizenship (and its constructed norms and identities), I propose that farmers' markets are sites of diverse challenges to the dominant food system that represent political claims. Accordingly, I interview various farmers' markets managers and vendors to understand their motivations and how they view their participation in the markets. Their responses indicated some common actions and values that reflect certain patterns of politics, or ways of challenging the dominant norms of citizenship.

Chapter One describes the recent international decline in voter turnout, suggesting that modern political participation may instead be found in alternative actions and in sites other than traditional government institutions. This chapter shows how ideological influences have altered the dominant modes and sites of political engagement, pointing specifically to New Left and neoliberal influences. These ideologies emphasized the

multiplicity of dispersed political demands and the individualization of political acts, and thus shifted the locus of politics from its formerly state-centered position. Correspondingly, the definition of citizenship evolved from a formerly state-centered definition as civil and political rights, to a concept that incorporated social rights, to a concept with a neoliberal stress on individual responsibilities. As the definition of citizenship has evolved, it has subsequently defined and redefined what constitutes an accepted political act.

Chapter Two uses some key academic interpretations of the political and citizenship to understand the shifts in the modes and sites of political engagement. By understanding citizenship in terms of constructed norms and identities, and understanding the political as an attempt to reconstitute these identities and negotiate new norms, this thesis aims to identify politics in new sites – in particular, at the farmers' market. By recognizing the political implications of challenging and re-establishing the dominant norms of citizenship, the multiplicity of actors and motivations that do not conform to dominant norms become more significant. Therefore, this thesis explores how the various motivations and goals of farmers' market participants interact with dominant norms and identities.

Chapter Three provides a brief history of farmers' markets and the context of food movements in which they developed, before proposing ways that the markets might be seen as political. Farmers' markets were nearly extinguished with the growth of industrial agriculture and the corporate supermarket, particularly after the 1950s. As the market for the production of industrial inputs (such as grain to feed animals or make various corn products) expanded, family farms were often either transformed into industrial mass

production sites or forced into bankruptcy. At the same time, a growing system of global trade networks and agreements, driven by an increasingly pervasive neoliberal emphasis on free-market strategies, encouraged supermarkets to import a variety of products year-round from numerous countries, thereby reducing the attraction of the seasonal produce offered at farmers' markets. As a result, the current dominant food system is based on corporate power, driven largely by neoliberal norms and an ethic of individual responsibility and consumerism. These norms, therefore, reflect the established, dominant form of citizenship, which determines specific acts and identities.

Since the late 1980s, various resistance movements in North America (such as the Fair Trade, organic food, and local food movements) have acted against this global corporate retail system and attempted to re-establish the principles of local food (including its taste, health, and social and economic benefits). Correspondingly, recent years have seen a dramatic resurgence in farmers' markets across North America. Umbrella organizations and networks have formed to promote and facilitate communication between markets, and various government policies have been introduced to support local food initiatives. In many cities, not only are there numerous farmers' markets and temporary pocket markets, but various urban agriculture initiatives (such as community gardens) and food security organizations are also connected to, and often act to promote, local farmers' markets. In this way, farmers' markets may be evidence of a broader movement that is driven by underlying motivations to change the dominant food system. To this end, I conclude this chapter by suggesting various ways that farmers' markets might be seen as political, based on both narrow and broad interpretations of the political.

In Chapter Four, I analyze the results of six personal interviews with people who are active in the farmers' market scene in the Greater Victoria Region of British Columbia to see if their answers correspond with my suggestions. I categorize the interview responses into four categories that indicate resistance to dominant norms, and thus represent political acts. These categories include lobbying the state, creating a sense of community, providing education, and promoting an alternative lifestyle. In addition, I include an additional category of responses that *reflect* dominant norms: this category contains responses that view the market as an opportunity for business development, and therefore reflect the entrepreneurial and individualist spirit of neoliberal ideals.

After the interview responses have been categorized, I attempt to discern some overall patterns from the interviews. What I found were two surprisingly contradictory patterns: on the one hand, responses indicated a pragmatic view of farmers' markets as operating independently from government or corporations and simply existing as an additional space for food sales. On the other hand, many of the responses pointed to underlying political principles.

Participants often emphasized their involvement with food as reflective of their values and lifestyles. In other words, they seem to be living a different lifestyle and engaging with politics in a way that is different, and often antithetical, to dominant norms. Furthermore, they often referenced other movements that supported their values and lifestyles – in particular, reference was often made to the food security, urban agriculture, and local food movements. In this way, the farmers' market can be seen as a site of multiplicity, linking various political movements, motivations, and challenges to citizenship norms and identities. This multiplicity is echoed in other forms of political

action as well, such as the recent Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street protests. This thereby encourages consideration of the acts and sites of the political that can be accounted for with an expanded definition of citizenship.

Accordingly, by understanding citizenship in terms of constructed norms and identities, and understanding the political as an attempt to reconstitute these identities and negotiate new norms, this thesis aims to identify politics in alternative acts and spaces – in particular, at the farmers' market.

Chapter One: Practices of Citizenship and the Political

Declining Voter Turnout

In recent years, many claims have been made about declining public interest in politics and a growing distrust of government actors and institutions, particularly in North America (Jenkins, 2008; Blais, Johnston & Howe, 2005; Valpy, 2011; Harper, 2011). These claims often refer to declining voter turnouts and small party memberships as evidence of decreasing political participation. As a result, much of the literature on political participation focuses on how to explain and resolve the problem of low voter turnout, especially among specific socioeconomic groups in society where low turnout is most obvious (such as among youth, visible minorities, and women, and low-income classes). Correspondingly, valuable research has been conducted on the individual characteristics of these groups that contribute to low voter turnout. For instance, it has been found that the likelihood of voting increases with age and education levels, that women are less likely to vote than men, and that those with lower household incomes are less likely to vote than those in higher income brackets (Blais, Gidengil, Nevitte, & Nadeau, 2004).

To be sure, low voter turnout among these demographics is a problem. But to some extent, this is not a new problem. What is more recent and perhaps more concerning is that the *overall* rate of voting, both within those specific demographic groups and amongst the general public, is steadily declining. In an analysis of Canadian Election Studies conducted between 1968 and 2000, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte, and Richard Nadeau (2004) found that the propensity to vote declined by

about three percentage points in all demographic groups of registered voters over the 32-year period (p.221). More dramatically, the three elections before 1990 had an average voter turnout of 74%, while the three elections after 1990 had an average of only 67% voter turnout (Blais et al., 2004, p.222). This indicates a clear trend of decreasing levels of voter turnout, particularly since the 1990s. This trend has continued even after Blais et al.'s (2004) study: the 2004 election saw a turnout of 60.9%, the 2006 slightly higher at 64.7%, and the 2008 election hit an all-time-low of 58.8% voter turnout (Elections Canada, 2011). The most recent 2011 federal election had only slightly higher turnout than this, at 61.1% (Elections Canada, 2011), meaning that the four most recent elections have had an average of only 61.4%.

The pattern of declining voter turnout is evident among all demographics, and is exacerbated in those unlikely to vote in the first place. As Paul Howe (2003) puts it, "Younger Canadians have always (or at least since 1968) been less likely to vote than older Canadians, to the tune of some 15 per cent. But the tendency not to vote has intensified among young Canadians born since 1960" (p.74). In other words, the youth of today are voting less than the youth of the 1960s – and this is similar among various demographics and in various contexts.

These downward trends in voter turnout are echoed in other countries as well. In fact, most "established democracies" (which Arend Lijphart (1999, as cited in Pintor & Graschew, 2002, p.85) defines as countries that are democratic now and have been for twenty years, according to Freedom House's definition of democracy) have witnessed similar declines in voter turnout since the 1970s (Pintor & Gratschew, 2002), although the decline is especially sharp after the mid-1980s. In the UK, voter turnout dropped from

78% in 1992 to 59% in 2001; in Norway, it dropped from 82% in 1989 to 73% in 2001; in Finland, turnout dropped from 77% in 1987 to 65% in 2003 (Milner, 2005, p.10). Furthermore, party memberships dropped dramatically after the 1980s in many of these countries: from 1980-1998, party memberships in the UK declined by 50%, and in Norway by 47% (Mair & van Biezen, 2001, p.13).

Of course, there are "established democracies" that maintain high turnout rates – Australia, Malta, and Belgium to name a few (Franklin, Lyons, & Marsh, 2004). Similarly, Spain and Greece, as exceptions to the general pattern, have seen an increase in party memberships since the 1980s (Mair & van Biezen, 2001). Furthermore, in the countries that do not fall within the "established democracy" category, the rate of voter turnout actually increased during the 1970s, due to the 'democratization' of many of these countries (Pintor & Gratschew, 2002). However, after peaking in the 1970s, the voter turnout rate has since declined in these countries to below the average rate for established democracies (Pintor & Gratschew, 2002). Overall, therefore, a general trend of declining voter turnout seems to be evident, and has sparked much research in an attempt to identify the causes of this trend.

Some point to the general lack of political knowledge and education in today's society as reason to discourage voting. Paul Howe (2003) argues that "people born in the 1960s and on are exceptionally ill informed, and will, at best, only partially close the knowledge gap as they age" (p.80). This lack of political knowledge, he claims, engenders a lack of political interest – the combination of which presents a lack of motivation to vote (Howe, 2003). Similarly, Henry Milner (2005) proposes that many voters do not have the basic information needed to make the choice to vote, and has thus

suggested adding civics education to school curricula as a solution. Rather than blaming schools, others blame the media for failing to properly educate citizens about their voting choices, or for focusing on superficial conflicts and candidates rather than fundamental political issues (Norris, 2000).

Some blame the decline in voter turnout as an expression of voter frustration with certain institutions. For example, André Blais and Kees Aarts (2006) argue that voter turnout is generally higher in systems of proportional representation than in other electoral systems (such as Canada's first-past-the-post system, for example), indicating that frustration with election results in certain systems may cause voters to abstain from voting. Mark N. Franklin, Patrick Lyons, & Michael Marsh (2004) argue that increasingly non-competitive elections in recent decades failed to draw newly-enfranchised voters and thus failed to instil a habit of voting among younger generations. Rather than looking to electoral systems, Andrea Perella (2009) argues that the long-term economic decline and restructuring that has occurred since the 1970s in Canada (among other countries) has negatively affected turnout rates among voters. In particular, she argues that working-class individuals without post-secondary education, whom she argues suffered the brunt of the worsening economic conditions, have increasingly more negative attitudes towards the political system and are more likely to favour non-mainstream parties, if any at all (Perella, 2009).

These attitudes, however, may point to a shift in values that is larger than simply responses to institutional frustrations. Many have drawn on Ronald Inglehart's (1977) ideas of postmaterial values, which he argues have proliferated because post-war generations have grown up in an era of economic affluence and therefore no longer

depend on government for economic security; as a result, citizens are more likely to display higher levels of individualization and less deference to authority (as cited in Nevitte, 1996, p.12). These factors have in turn negatively affected voter turnout. For example, as Blais et al. (2004) claim, younger, post-baby boomer generations are less likely to vote out of a sense of civic duty or moral obligation (and thus, defer to authority) than older generations. Another result of postmaterial values is that partisan attachments are weaker, and political parties based on traditional hierarchical organization are losing their appeal to more educated voters who value opportunities for meaningful input (Nevitte, 1996). Voters have become less trusting of government and more likely to engage with either transnational or sub-national organizations than with traditional government institutions (Nevitte, 1996).

Perhaps the world has changed in ways that make electoral politics less important and other modes of participation more relevant. Certainly, circumstances have changed significantly from the 1960s, when it is proposed that citizens were more likely to vote and otherwise engage in civic and political life. Citizens of different countries have become increasingly connected to one another through technological advancements in transportation and communication, global trade networks that facilitate the exposure to foreign goods and cultural products, and supranational organizations that link citizens in support of similar causes. As a result, citizens may no longer see the relevance of national governments and are more likely to identify with cosmopolitan identities (Nevitte, 1996). Furthermore, Achterburg (2006) argues, the rise of new political issues and movements (such as environmentalism and the gay rights movement), have encouraged the entry of issue-specific parties and organizations that replace traditional political parties and

traditional left-right debates. From grassroots associations to private corporations to supranational nongovernmental organizations, it appears that the state is no longer the only site, or even the most prominent site, for civic engagement.

Whatever the cause, the lack of voter participation indicates a failure to engage in the traditional democratic institutions of a state. The legitimacy of the government in power, the laws that it sets, and the policies it introduces rely on the idea that the government has been democratically elected and is supported by at least a plurality of its citizens. But if less than a plurality has even voted, can a government truly claim this representativeness? Furthermore, if certain demographics (such as older generations) are voting disproportionately, the vote may be skewed in a way that benefits those demographics and leaves others without proper representation. For example, Michael Valpy (2011) says that if under-45-year-old Canadians had voted in the same numbers as those over 45-years-old did, the government elected in the 2011 federal election would not have been a majority Conservative government, but an NDP-led coalition. In a vicious cycle, this chronic underrepresentation only serves to further youth's frustration with and disinterest in electoral politics. This cycle is echoed in the underrepresentation of various other minority groups as well; for example, Jun Xu (2004) describes how past state policies of racial discrimination have caused Asian Americans to withdraw from mainstream government and politics, and turn toward individual education and development instead. This frustration among voters leads to the concern that generational replacement will eventually yield a disinterested and disengaged public who do not actively support the government in power. The fact that the elected government may not

represent the majority's wishes in turn undermines the institutions of government and threatens the legitimacy of democracy.

It is therefore important to consider the role for democratic politics in light of these developments, and to consider whether political participation can, or should, be thought of in ways other than through the traditional institutions of electoral and party systems. Many of the arguments described above assume that declining voter turnout necessarily indicates increasing voter apathy toward government and politics. But these claims (and their proposed solutions) are rooted in the conception of conventional political participation through traditional government institutions (such as electoral or party politics). This thesis proposes that if political engagement is conceived in a different way – a way that emphasizes nonconventional forms of political participation – these claims of apathy may not be entirely accurate. Just because people resist acting through the traditional institutions of government does not necessarily mean they are less interested in politics. Instead, it may mean that the modes and sites of political participation are changing, rather than overall political engagement declining. As Zukin et al. (2006) argue, citizens may simply be "participating in a different mix of activities from in the past, [so that] citizen engagement has not declined so much as spread to other channels" (p.3). The impact of this change in participation must therefore be empirically measured and accounted for, so that citizens who are engaging politically (albeit in nonconventional sites) are democratically represented.

Therefore, this section has suggested that rather than focusing on voter turnout, political engagement should be measured in a different way – a way that recognizes that the location of participation has shifted away from traditional state institutions. In the

next section, I argue that this shift has been driven by ideological influences that have challenged and transformed dominant values and supported new political institutions and practices.

Ideological Influences

This section will explore how ideological influences have shifted political ideals and the location of politics, thereby recognizing new issues and altering the dominant modes of political engagement. These ideological shifts have been driven by critiques of the state from both the left and the right, and represent political challenges to established norms.

In the early to mid-twentieth century, the orthodox leftist critique of the state (often referred to as the 'old left') focused mainly on class inequalities and the relations of domination that accompanied capitalist systems (Wood, 1995). Following Karl Marx, these leftist political thinkers criticized capitalism for its exploitation of workers (the proletariat) by capitalists (the bourgeoisie). Since the bourgeoisie controlled the means of production (the resources necessary for production, such as land and capital), the industrial workers were forced to sell their labour to those bourgeoisie in the 'free' market. In turn, this labour could be exploited to increase profits. Marx encouraged revolutionary action to overthrow the capitalist state and eventually establish a stateless, classless political system. He believed this revolution would come from the working class, and thus endorsed organizations such as trade unions that would help the workers to realize their common interests and revolt against the capitalist class.

Within the Marxist tradition, as Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau (1985) argue, "the subjects are social classes, whose unity is constituted around interests determined by

their position in the relations of production" (p.111). In other words, the 'working class' (or proletariat) is conceived of as a unified entity with the sole purpose of achieving liberation from capitalist oppression. But this constitution, as Mouffe and Laclau (1985) argue, obscures the heterogeneity and interaction of interests among those subjects, and limits the subjects to a single identity with a single purpose/demand. For example, the assumption that all industrial workers have the ultimate interest of overcoming capitalism through total liberation represents an attempt to unite and reify the demands of an objective entity (Mouffe & Laclau, 1985). This construction marked a reductionist and totalizing project that signifies the core of old left politics (Wood, 1995).

The recognition of these obscured interests and the multiplicity of political demands initiated a transition toward a new style of leftist politics, termed the 'New Left.' In 1956, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita Kruschev, condemned the oppressive and violent policies of his predecessor, Joseph Stalin, thereby exposing divisions within the seemingly united Soviet communist front and validating dissension within leftist politics (Lynd, 1969). In England in 1959, the transition from the class-focused old leftism to 'New Left' politics was marked by the establishment of the *New Left Review*, an academic journal that brought together various leftist opinions which differed from 'old left' politics and recognized new political debates (Lynd, 1969). In particular, New Left politics indicated a shift away from the traditional focus on class struggle and labour divisions toward a multiplicity of new emancipatory struggles (Wood, 1995). In North America, the transition was marked by the emergence of various social movements and protests. For example, the American civil rights movement, a domestic struggle against racially discriminatory laws and racial

violence, was connected to international struggles against imperialist oppression and colonization in Africa and other parts of the "Third World." These anti-imperial sentiments were echoed in massive anti-Vietnam war protests, primarily led by university students, and further struggles for equality among other oppressed groups, such as women and gays and lesbians.

An example of how the recognition of multiple political struggles was actualized can be found in Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, an organization formed to protect and advocate for social, political and economic equality (Rainbow Push Coalition, 2011). Jesse Jackson, a Baptist minister and civil rights activist, was perhaps one of the most symbolic figures of the civil rights struggle in the United States, despite the fact that he lost both of his campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988. In 1984, he formed the influential National Rainbow Coalition, which focused on expanding voting rights, developing social programs, and supporting the socioeconomic groups (particularly black people and minorities) disadvantaged by President Ronald Reagan's neoliberal economic policies (Rainbow Push Coalition, 2011). Therefore, the Coalition was diverse by nature, including such groups as racial minorities, gays and lesbians, working mothers, youth, and the poor and unemployed. In this way, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is symbolic of the changes in leftist politics during the late twentieth century – rather than focusing on the single, central struggle of capitalist class exploitation, New Left-inspired movements recognized the diffuse interests and struggles against the state and aimed to build coalitions among those interests and groups.

The solution for these multiple problems, according to New Leftists, lay in the use of participatory democracy, where individuals could have a direct say in decisions

that impacted their lives. This came in response to the perceived lack of citizen input in government decisions (such as decisions regarding the publicly unpopular Vietnam War, for example) and the increasing complexity of bureaucratic processes that evolved with the professionalization of the state. In the United States, the demand for participatory democracy was led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), an organization formed in 1960 that became a prominent organizational base for the New Left. In particular, the SDS criticized the bureaucratic, paternalistic and hierarchical organization of the state, calling instead for participatory democracy and citizen consultation (Lynd, 1969). But the SDS did not call for more participatory democracy and citizen input just within traditional government venues; rather, the organization advocated for participation in alternative venues as well, including universities and corporations (Lynd, 1969). This indicates a conception of politics (and participatory democracy) as dispersed among various locations, often outside the state.

The slogan often cited by New Left supporters that embodied these ideas was *Power to the People,* which was used in anti-war protests and anti-racist rhetoric during the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, and has since been adopted by various political campaigns internationally. Similarly, women's liberation movements in the 1960s used the slogan, *"The Personal is the Political"* to indicate that women's personal issues should be considered political issues. This phrase was coined by feminist activist Carol Hanisch in 1969, and became synonymous with 'second-wave feminism,' the phase of feminist protest in which women campaigned for legal and social equality. Issues such as domestic and childcare responsibilities, access to health care, and protection against sexual assault became prominent issues of debate, and thus what were formerly

considered private concerns were now issues of public concern. In this way, Rose (1999) says, the women's movement of the 1960s "disrupted the conventional divisions between the political and the personal and between the public and the private" (p.2).

In legitimizing a multiplicity of political struggles, the New Left movement recognized the diffusion of political power (within the left). Organizations such as the Rainbow Coalition and the SDS, as well as more broadly defined groups of citizens such as women or minorities, were recognized as legitimate political actors. By recognizing the simultaneous claims being made against the state, the New Leftists recognized that individuals were oppressed in multiple ways, rather than simply by the capitalist system of relations (as old leftism claimed). This also led to the idea that the state was, at least in some ways, the *source* of these problems rather than the solution (as the welfare state philosophy had claimed).

At the same time, a parallel critique from the right, in the form of neoliberalism as a political ideology, also recognized the state as a source of these multiple problems, and thus proposed the free market as a solution. The neoliberal ideology emphasizes the principles of individualism and free market competition, and hence encourages the use of market mechanisms as modes of social and economic governance. David Harvey (2005) describes neoliberalism as

> a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (p.2).

In practice, this has meant the commodification and privatization of public resources and space, the weakening or elimination of regulations on business operations, and significant reductions of public expenditures; together, these strategies work to place more

responsibility on entrepreneurial individuals (Guthman, 2008). Furthermore, as Janine Brodie (1996) argues, neoliberal discourse seeks to expand the private realm and represent the market-driven economy as self-regulating and inevitable.

By the late 1980s, neoliberalism had been adopted by most western democratic governments, incorporating some of the New Leftist politics. These critiques discredited the idea of state intervention in the economy, and the idea of less, and smaller, government was promoted in all spheres. As Harry Boyte (2005) argues, citizens were conceived and treated as clients or consumers who were served by experts, and who subscribed to an individualist, rights-based culture. As neoliberal programs were implemented and values promoted, public attitudes (particularly in North America) shifted toward supporting free enterprise, promoting individual responsibility, and valuing market competition (Nevitte, 1996). Neoliberal-minded individuals gradually assumed the responsibility and the right to pursue their own various political (and economic) ambitions (thereby echoing the New Leftist recognition of the multiplicity of political demands). At the same time, the neoliberal state consolidated its roles, offloading many responsibilities to corporations and entrepreneurial individuals. This resulted in the dispersal of political claims among various sources, including private companies, entrepreneurial individuals, and grassroots voluntary groups. In this way, the neoliberal shift toward market regulation lessened both the need and the demand for government – and thus, perhaps its relevance.

The dispersal of power, as well as the emergence of new organizations and interactions that affect politics, has shifted the location of politics. Rose (1999) describes how a shift from focusing on the state and government has changed to a focus on

governance (or what he calls "the self-organizing networks that arise out of the interactions between a variety of organizations and associations" (p.17)). An example of these networks might be co-operative business organizations, or nonprofit groups. Rose (1999) claims that these networks

> are of particular significance today because recent political strategies have attempted to govern neither through centrally controlled bureaucracies (hierarchies) nor through competitive interactions between producers and consumers (markets), but through such self-organizing networks (p.17).

In other words, governing strategies have evolved through bureaucratic regulation and free market competition to reach a new point of governance, where politics occurs in the exchanges and relations among public, private, and voluntary organizations, without a clear sovereign authority (Rose, 1999). He argues that a new form of politics has emerged "which refuses the idea that politics is [solely] a matter of state, parliament, election, and party programme" (Rose, 1999, pp.2-3).

Similarly, Boyte (2005) describes a recent shift from a state-centered conception of politics to one that recognizes citizens as horizontal partners in participatory, democratic societies. He argues that this shift represents

> a shift in the meaning of democracy, from elections to democratic society. In the paradigm of democratic society, government is a crucial instrument of the citizenry, providing leadership, resources, tools, and rules. Yet officials are not the center of the civic universe, nor is government the only location for democracy's work (p.537).

In this way, Boyte is arguing that a new conception of politics allows for new acts to be considered political. Moreover, these acts can be performed by actors other than elected officials and can occur in locations other than solely within government institutions.

This section has outlined how recent ideological shifts have contributed to the recognition of multiplicity and the individualization of political acts. The next sections

show how these shifts have been reflected in the changing definitions of citizenship and typical modes of political participation. As new conceptions of politics and citizenship develop, this enables new acts to be considered political; likewise, the recognition of new activities as political may reflect an entirely different definition of citizenship. In this way, citizenship signifies the dominant ways of acting politically and therefore determines what constitute accepted political acts (Isin, 2002).

The Evolution of Canadian Citizenship

This section will show how the dominant definition and understanding of citizenship and its entailed rights and responsibilities have evolved with shifts in dominant values and attitudes, driven by ideological influences.

The formal, legal definition of citizenship is used to define an individual's relationship to a nation-state. For example, in Canada, a person gains citizenship status either by birth in the country, by descent (one or both parents is a Canadian citizen who was born or naturalized in Canada), or by naturalization (through an application after having lived as a permanent resident in Canada). Citizenship guarantees certain rights to its official members (citizens) – rights granted by the state and enforced by laws. For example, all Canadian citizens are able to vote or run for political office (after reaching the age of 18). In turn, the citizen assumes the duties of citizenship (which include active participation in designing and upholding those laws). For example, a Canadian citizen is required to fulfill jury duty if selected (though there are numerous grounds on which a person may be excused). Based on these formal requirements, the term 'citizenship' is most often used to refer to the rights and duties of membership within a nation-state.

However, conceptions of what constitutes these rights and duties have changed significantly over the years.

The *Naturalization Act, Canada, 1881*, was a British Imperial Act applied to the Dominion of Canada. It was adapted from and reflected the same principles as the English *Naturalization Acts, 1870 and 1872*. In these Acts,

> British Statesmen and writers [used] the term "citizen" as the equivalent of the term "subject," from which it may be inferred they understand that there are no substantial rights or liberties incident to citizenship in a republic, that are not attached to the character of subjects under a monarchy with free representative institutions and responsible government (Howell, 1884, p.12).

In other words, the *Naturalization Act, 1881,* equated the rights of a subject of the British monarchy with the rights of citizenship. A subject, at that time, was required to show faithful allegiance and obedience to the state and its laws, and in return the state was to govern and protect its subjects (Howell, 1884). Prior to the 1881 Act, the principle of indelible allegiance had declared, by law, that every person, who by birth or naturalization earned the status of citizen, could never resign nor lose his/her citizenship without the consent of the sovereign. The *Naturalization Act, 1881* made it possible for citizens to voluntarily renounce their citizenship and allegiance if they chose to become naturalized in a foreign country. Therefore, the early definitions of and debates about citizenship focused on the legal requirements and status of citizens.

In 1946, Canada introduced its first *Citizenship Act,* which represented the first legal recognition of *Canadian* citizens (as opposed to British subjects). Up to that point, the three pieces of legislation that dealt with citizenship (the most recent Naturalization Act of 1914, the Canadian Nationals Act of 1921, and the Immigration Act of 1910), contained ambiguous and contradictory definitions of 'Canadian nationals' (Knowles,

2000, Chapter 5). In 1947, just before the *Citizenship Act* legally came into force, George Tamaki (1947) wrote,

> True, there exists in practice a status of "Canadian nationality" which is analogous to nationality and which is clothed with many of the attributes of nationality with respect to certain specific purposes. Thus "Canadian citizenship" is the term used with regard to immigration and deportation, and the definition of "Canadian nationals" under the Canadian Nationals Act of 1921 has been used as a criterion for the issuance of Canadian passports, as the effective scope of Canadian statues having extraterritorial effect, and of Canadian treaties and conventions. However, there is no general legal term which describes a person who is identified with the Dominion of Canada as being a member thereof for all of the above purposes, as well as for all other purposes which may be served by a status analogous to nationality in the case of other states (p.72).

This passage seems to indicate that citizenship was coming to be interpreted as more than simply holding a passport and pledging allegiance to a state. Instead, Tamaki indicates that there are 'other purposes' for which the status of citizenship may be relevant. For instance, Tamaki (and the *Citizenship Act, 1946*) seem to emphasize citizenship as a source of identity and belonging, rather than simply a legal status or obligation. In this way, rather than considering citizenship as a right, the *Citizenship Act, 1946* considered citizenship to be a privilege, granted only to those who met certain qualifications (such as age and length of residency in the country) (Knowles, 2000).

This changed, however, with the revised *Citizenship Act, 1977*. Not only did this Act declare that citizenship was a right for all qualified applicants, but it expanded the eligibility for citizenship by shortening residency requirements, reducing the minimum age to apply for citizenship, and allowing citizens to hold dual/multiple citizenship. In many ways, this Act reflected the growing acceptance of immigration and the promotion of Canada as a multicultural and diverse country (Knowles, 2000). For example, the Act removed the preferential treatment given to immigrants from other Commonwealth

countries and explicitly stated that all citizens (native-born or naturalized) have equal citizenship rights and obligations (Knowles, 2000).

Debates about multiculturalism and Canadian citizenship continued to grow during the 1980s, especially surrounding the constitutional debates concerning the implementation of the *Constitution Act, 1982*, and its Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In 1994, the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration released a report titled *Canadian Citizenship: A Sense of Belonging*. This report contained the recommendation for a new oath of citizenship, an oath that individuals are required to pledge before their naturalization as citizens. Written in 1946, the current oath still very much reflects an attachment to the Queen, as head of the British constitutional monarchy:

> I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfill my duties as a Canadian citizen (1946, as cited in Young, 1997, section G).

After a formal review by a Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, as well as hearings by the Citizenship and Immigration Canada department, a new oath was proposed, one that would read:

> I am a citizen of Canada and I make this commitment: to uphold our laws and freedoms, to respect our people in their diversity, to work for our common well-being and to safeguard and honour this ancient Northern land (Young, 1997, section G).

Although the new oath was never adopted (apparently there was not enough appetite for a controversial revision (Young, 1997, s.G)), the proposed changes reflect a new discourse and interpretation of citizenship – one that recognizes traditional legal and civil rights but also emphasizes the values of multiculturalism, social belonging, and environmental responsibility.

The same principles are reflected through the Citizenship and Immigration Canada department, which was established in 1994, the same year *Canadian Citizenship: A Sense of Belonging* was released. The department, which was established in an attempt to "promote the unique ideals all Canadians share" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011b), is responsible for issues of citizenship, immigration, and multiculturalism. It also releases a study guide to help individuals who are writing the citizenship test in application for naturalization (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a). This study guide, entitled *Discover Canada: The Rights and Responsibilities of Citizenship*, was last updated in March 2011. Among other things, the guide lists the responsibilities of citizenship as (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a, s.4):

- Obey the law
- Serve on a jury
- Voting in elections
- Take responsibility for oneself and one's family (by getting a job)
- Helping others in the community (by volunteering)
- Protecting and enjoying our heritage and environment

The first three rights listed here seem to refer to traditional conceptions of citizenship (civil and political rights). However, the addition of economic, social, and environmental responsibilities seems to indicate a shift in the values and conceptions of citizenship. These same principles can be seen in the proposed new oath of citizenship. Therefore, recent citizenship debates seem to suggest that the formal recognition of citizenship is broader than its traditional conception as a legal status and obligation.

As the definition and understanding of Canadian citizenship has evolved from its basic legal origins to an expanded list of rights and responsibilities, it has reconstructed and redefined the ways and norms of being a citizen. In this way, as Isin (2002) claims, the dominant definition of citizenship constructs and determines the dominant norms and

modes of being political (Isin, 2002). Therefore, as the definition of citizenship has evolved, it can be presumed that the dominant modes of being political have also changed accordingly. The next section will show how modes of being political have developed, from an emphasis on voting that corresponds with the legal and civil aspects of citizenship to new modes of participation that correspond with an expanded version of citizenship rights and duties.

Modes of Being Political

The following literature is largely drawn from seminal American studies on electoral participation. The American influence on Canadian government policies and citizen participation is significant, particularly because of some key defining events that shaped political engagement in North America. Burke (1978) argues that the 1950s Urban Renewal program in the United States, as a part of the Keynesian-inspired New Deal policies, was crucial for redefining political participation in North America because it was the beginning of governments explicitly pursuing the involvement of citizens and adopting formal consultation structures to encourage participation (as cited in Vandebelt, 2003, p.3). The option of citizen participation came to be conceived as a right during the influential social movements of the 1960s and 1970s (such as the civil rights and anti-war movements), where citizen activism reshaped and reconstituted the ways that citizens engaged in politics in many countries (Vandebelt, 2003). Furthermore, the influence of American neoliberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s again shifted the modes of citizen participation in North America, emphasizing a more individual approach to politics in more diverse locations. Although the American context was undeniably influenced by factors that the Canadian context was not (for example, the spread of McCarthyism in the

1950s in the US), the evolution of citizen participation in both countries is similar, and American perspectives on political participation may therefore be applicable and valuable for the Canadian context.

Some of the initial seminal studies on political participation were conducted in the 1940s and 1950s (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948; Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Macphee, 1954). These studies focused on opinion formation and voter choices during American presidential campaigns. However, in both of these studies, political participation was defined solely as casting a vote and participating in campaign activities (vanDeth, 2001). This is no doubt due in part to the fact that these factors are easily measurable, accessible, and comparable across contexts. Moreover, up to that time, these probably *were* the most appropriate indicators of political participation: other than voting and party activity, citizens were largely uninvolved in government affairs, as governments held a smaller role in the socio-economic and cultural lives of their citizens (vanDeth, 2001).

However, as the post-World War Two economic boom and the growth of the Keynesian welfare state contributed to the growth of governments and the services it offered to citizens, citizens were able to make contact with governments and affect politics in new ways. Gradually, citizens began to engage in alternative activities of participation with government (although these activities remained state-centered). For example, governments began to incorporate citizen consultation in policymaking strategies, and citizens began to expect and demand a certain level of input into government policies (Vandebelt, 2003). As a result, the previous studies on political participation quickly became outdated.

Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-On Kim (1971) took on the task of renewing these studies, claiming that "questions about participation have not been properly posed because political participation has been mistakenly considered to be a unitary [and undifferentiated] phenomenon" (p.8), where citizens and countries are hierarchically ranked based on their levels of activity in one area. In response, they decided to conduct a cross-national comparison to identify various modes of democratic participation and "to probe their implications as alternative ways by which the citizen relates to his government" (Verba et al., 1971, p.8). They define political participation as the means by which citizens communicate their interests, desires, and demands regarding the selection of governmental personnel and/or the decisions that those personnel make (Verba et al., 1971, p.9). It is important to note that this definition remains state-centered in its focus on government personnel and policies, although it accounts for a wider variety of actions directed at those personnel and policies.

Accordingly, Verba et al.'s 1971 study identifies four categories of participation: voting, campaign activity, citizen-initiated contacts, and cooperative activity. The voting category accounts for both local and national elections; campaign activity included donations, employment or membership, verbal recruitment, and attending rallies; citizen-initiated contact included contacting government officials for personal interests; and cooperative activity accounted for membership in organizations that tried to influence government toward a specific communal benefit (Verba et al., 1971). An important principle of the study, then, is the notion that political participation is a multidimensional phenomenon, in which citizens act in different ways with different goals and different strategies (although in this study these actions are still oriented toward the state). Verba et

al.'s (1971) work introduced the idea that political participation rates should be measured for each mode of activity, rather than simply on voting rates as a unitary indicator of participation. They argued in a new way that "citizens differ not only in the overall amounts of participation they perform but also as to the types of acts in which they choose to engage" (Verba et al., 1971, p.8). This was an insightful consideration for future political studies, and their findings inspired follow-up studies (both by the original authors and by independent researchers) that used these categories as comprehensive categories for political action.

In the early 1990s, the neoliberal emphasis on individual responsibility and the New Leftist movements supporting a multiplicity of political struggles expanded the catalogue of political activities dramatically. For example, participation in voluntary associations was widely recognized as a political act (vanDeth, 2001). In 1995, Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry Brady (1995) expanded on Verba et al.'s (1971) original work in a related study that focused on American electoral participation. This study included nearly 22 more indicators of political participation, including involvement in voluntary organizations. One of the findings from this study was that non-electoral participation oriented toward community problems and issues significantly increased during the period 1967-1987 (Verba et al., 1995, p.72). This period corresponds with the decline of voter turnout noted previously, indicating that voter activity may have been directed toward other goals and issues during that time. Therefore, by accounting for non-electoral activities as political, important insights regarding political preferences and values are found.

William Claggett and Phillip H. Pollock III (2006) directly reference the Verba et al. (1971) study and aim to update its categories to account for new political activities that emerged since the original study. To Verba et al.'s (1971) original categories, they added the category of political discussion (which included talking with peers or with candidates about political problems). They also distinguished between active contributions to community groups or passive membership, and included 'organizations that influence schools' within the category of community groups (Claggett & Pollock, 2006, p.597). These changes account for more individualist and dispersed activities of political participation and citizenship.

A more obvious shift in the accounts of participatory activities, however, is evident in Briony L. Hoskins and Massimiliano Mascherini's (2009) work on measuring 'Active Citizenship.' The term 'Active Citizenship' originated in the context of European education debates, and was used to indicate a broad variety of participatory activities that empower citizens to have their voices heard and to feel a sense of belonging within their political communities. These activities include traditional forms of participation, such as party membership, as well as "new forms of Active Citizenship such as one-off issue politics and responsible consumption" (Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009, p.462). Hoskins and Mascherini (2009) identify indicators of citizenship based on their argument that there has been "a shift in the understanding of citizenship towards individual involvement in participatory democracy" (p.461).

Accordingly, Hoskins and Mascherini (2009) develop a model for measuring Active Citizenship. The model identifies four dimensions of political activity, each with subcomponents that identify specific manifestations of that category. These dimensions

include *Protest and Social Change, Community Life, Representative Democracy,* and *Democratic Values*. The first two categories measure participation by the indicators of membership, activities, monetary donations, and voluntary work with various groups (including human rights and environmental groups, trade unions, religious or cultural organizations, or sports teams). The latter two categories measure participation based on indicators such as voter turnout, representation of women and multicultural groups, and views of democracy and human rights. On the whole, what is important to note is that the model names various ways of being political, some of which reflect older modes of participation, and many of which are newly identified as modes of political engagement.

Hoskins and Mascherini's (2009) work, therefore, expands dramatically on the work of Verba et al. (1971). Some of the changes evident in their account of political participation activities include a much wider and more specific variety of community organizations, the incorporation of notions of social equality among citizen groups, and a consideration of the values of individual citizens regarding political issues. The individualization of a variety of political acts is also clear. As this chapter has shown, this expanded inventory of modes of political participation corresponds with changing ideological influences and an expanded definition of citizenship.

As definitions of citizenship and modes of being political have changed, academic interpretations and studies of citizenship have also changed. The next chapter will show how citizenship has been interpreted and defined by key scholars (both historically and recently), drawing attention to how these interpretations define what constitutes a citizen and typical citizen rights or responsibilities. The following chapter will also illustrate how academic analyses have explained the political and what constitutes political action.

Chapter Two: Theories of Citizenship and the Political

Theories of Citizenship

In the mid-4th century B.C.E., Aristotle wrote *The Politics*, a seminal treatise that theorizes about citizenship and politics. In Book Three, Aristotle asks "Who is the citizen, and what is the meaning of the term?" (Aristotle, trans.1984, Book 3, Ch.1). He believes that a citizen is not a citizen merely by the legal nature of where one lives – a slave, he claims, lives in a nation but is not its citizen. Instead, he concludes that while there are 'qualified' citizens (for example, children are citizens but they cannot yet vote), the citizen in the unqualified and highest sense is he who has the power to take part in the judgment and administration of justice, and in public or judicial offices. According to Aristotle, there are different forms of government (for example, he says, a democracy, where the majority is supreme, is different from an oligarchy, where the few are supreme), and thus there are different citizens for every form of government, or regime (Aristotle, trans.1984, Book 3, Ch.5). Regardless, Aristotle claims, a good citizen upholds and honours the constitution of the regime and its virtues. He says, "Although citizens are dissimilar, preservation of the partnership is their task, and the regime is [this] partnership; hence the virtue of the citizen must necessarily be with a view to the regime" (Aristotle, trans.1984, Book 3, Ch.4). Because 'regime' was subsequently equated with government and state, Aristotle's emphasis on participating in and upholding state institutions and offices was reflected in future conceptions of citizenship for many years.

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the issue of suffrage brought debates about citizenship to the forefront in western democracies. A key figure in these debates was

John Stuart Mill, whose interests included philosophy, economy, and political and moral theory. Mill was concerned with protecting the rights of individuals against government interference, arguing that individuals are sovereign and should be left alone unless their actions are harming others. He was a proponent of liberal democracy, and as a Member of British Parliament from 1865-1868, Mill recognized that the need for democracy required wider suffrage (Mill, 1869/2000). Thus, Mill was an active advocate for women's suffrage and a proportional representation system to better represent minority interests (Cranston, 1987).

Mill's latter recommendation was because he feared the "tyranny of the majority," a term coined by Alexis de Tocqueville (1835/2000) to indicate the oppression of dissenting minorities or individuals by majority rule. Mill (1869/2000) similarly feared an unrestricted rule by the masses, and was particularly concerned about the quality of voters that a newly enfranchised public would represent, calling the middle-class masses a "collective mediocrity" (Book 3, p.13). Mill (1867) claimed, "It is a fact that one person is not as good as another; and it is reversing all the rules of rational conduct, to attempt to raise a political fabric on a supposition which is at variance with that fact" (as cited in Kern, 1972, p.314). What made one person better than the other, according to Mill, was education. So while Mill believed that while every person should be allowed a vote, he argued that the voter should first have to satisfy a minimum education requirement, and those persons with higher education should be granted more votes, as their voice should have added political weight (Cranston, 1987). In this way, Mill viewed voting (as a part of citizenship) as a privilege, rather than just a right to protection against political interference (Kern, 1972).

In addition to the oppression of minorities and an uneducated mass electorate, Mill also feared that a lack of public discourse and debate would result in an "intellectual pacification" that would discourage even the most qualified citizens from contributing to political debates and policies (Mill, 1869/2000, Book 2, p.19). Therefore, he was a fervent supporter of freedom of speech, and encouraged involvement in charity groups and businesses, as well as participation in local politics in order to cultivate 'proper citizens' (Petrash, 2006). In this way, Mill insinuates that citizens need to develop certain virtues in order to fully realize their individual liberty and become useful members of society (Petrash, 2006). His account of the means of developing these virtues, as inherently political activities, indicates an expanding interpretation of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Whereas Mill approaches the subject of citizenship by asking what virtues a citizen must develop in order to sustain a functioning state, the British sociologist T.H. Marshall approaches the subject by asking what rights a citizen receives with citizenship. In his 1950 seminal essay, *Citizenship and Social Class,* Marshall argues that citizenship can be divided into three types of rights (civil, political, and social), which developed progressively throughout the eighteenth to the twentieth century. Civil rights were established first through legal acts such as the British Reform Acts, and included the rights necessary for individual freedom and liberty (such as the right to own property, the right to justice, and freedom of speech, thought and faith) (Marshall, 1950). Consequently, the courts of justice, and the law, are the institutions most often associated with upholding the civil rights of citizenship.

Civil rights were followed by the extension of political rights throughout the late 19th to early 20th century, which included the right to participate in the exercise of political power through institutions such as parliament or government (Marshall, 1950). For example, Mill (1869/2000) and de Tocqueville's (1835,1840/2000) concerns regarding universal suffrage were based on debates about who should enjoy the privileges of voting and citizenship. Similarly, Aristotle's (trans.1984) account of upholding the constitution of the regime and Mill's (1869/2000) account of individual liberty make much reference to these civil and political rights. These rights were associated directly with the institutions of government.

At the end of the 19th century, social conditions were changing in Britain, as in most western democracies. The development of public elementary education and increases in income reduced the differences between socioeconomic classes. In addition, mass industrial production and the growing attention of industries to the "needs and tastes of common people" (Marshall, 1950, p.153) allowed those with lower incomes to accumulate more goods, so that they enjoyed "a material civilization which differed less markedly in quality from that of the rich than it had ever done before" (Marshall, 1950, p.153). As a result, Marshall (1950) says, citizens felt emboldened to demand the abolition of inequality in material and economic terms – and these demands were received as political demands of citizenship. Accordingly, social rights were gradually incorporated into the status of citizenship, with the goals of ensuring social welfare and reducing class inequities. Marshall (1950) defines social rights as a broad category that constitutes the ability to live according to the dominant standards (both economic and social) of society.

The addition of social rights to the traditional categories of civil and political rights was significant for expanding citizenship rights and accounting for actions and demands that took place outside traditional civil and political institutions. While civil and political rights had served to reinforce government institutions as the institutions of citizenship, and the state as the location of citizenship, citizenship as social rights accounted for new sites of political action – for example, among previously excluded populations (such as socioeconomically disadvantaged groups) and in social or economic institutions. This allowed for the various emancipatory movements of the 1960s to be accounted for as political movements, and thereby supported the multiplicity of political struggles recognized by the New Left.

In this way, Marshall's (1950) work allowed citizenship to be conceived as an evolving institution that determines the established dominant norms of society. He says,

> Societies…create an image of the ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be directed. The urge forward along the path thus plotted is an urge towards a fuller measure of equality…and an increase in the number of those on whom the status is bestowed (Marshall, 1950, p.150).

This passage reveals two important assumptions of Marshall's: one, that citizenship is a *constructed* ('plotted') concept, and two, that it is constructed in an attempt to create *equality and inclusion* among citizens. Marshall (1950) conceives of citizenship as a principle of equality because it is intended to bestow universal equal rights upon all citizens, based on the image of the ideal citizen. In other words, citizenship is an inclusive and universal principle toward which every citizen should strive.

However, Marshall (1950) argues that the traditional emphasis on the civil and political rights of citizenship in fact worked to create and sustain social inequalities and a

hierarchical class system. In other words, as Marshall (1950) argues, these rights created the necessary conditions of inequality required for the dominant capitalist system. This inequality is due to the individual and private nature of civil and political rights and institutions: civil and political rights indicate the individual right to strive *toward* the ideal status of citizenship and equality with other citizens, but not the guaranteed right to *achieve* this status (as social rights might ensure) (Marshall, 1950, p.151). In theory, all citizens had an equal chance to achieve the same goals; in reality, however, unequal social rights and statuses inhibited some individuals' pursuits of these goals. In this way, the single uniform status of citizenship, based on the traditional civil and political rights of citizenship, acted as a "foundation of equality on which the structure of inequality could be built" (Marshall, 1950, p.151).

Like Marshall, Engin Isin (2002, 2009) also identifies citizenship as a constructed, dominant norm that is predicated on structures of inequality. In making claims to the rights of citizenship, Isin (2002) says, the dominant group establishes the terms that define them as 'citizens' (or 'insiders') and therefore establishes the dominant virtues which are accepted as given to citizenship. In other words, citizens construct and determine the content of citizenship. Therefore, citizens are "the victors: those who were able to constitute themselves as a group… [and] differentiate themselves from others, constructing an identity and an alterity simultaneously" (Isin, 2002, p.2). In turn, these 'victors' determine the necessary virtues, as Mill (1869/2000) explored, and rights, as Marshall (1950) outlined, of citizenship. Therefore, Isin's (2002) account is important for understanding how citizenship has been constructed in the past and how it might be constructed now.

Here, Isin (2002) emphasizes how the logics of alterity (or otherness) construct immanent identities (strangers and outsiders) *within* a social space, arguing that these identities make citizenship possible by allowing citizens to define themselves in relation to various other groups. In this way, Isin (2002) is careful to emphasize that the construction of a 'we' identity (citizenship) does not yield an automatic binary of an outside 'they,' as the logics of exclusion would demand. In other words, he argues that because the identity and membership of a group is established *in relation* to another group, that 'other' group cannot be considered *outside* or *excluded from* the initial group (Isin, 2002). By making this distinction, Isin escapes the binary identities of citizenship (citizens or non-citizens) for a more dialectical and relational conception of citizenship.

These 'other' groups (or alterity), according to Isin (2002), take three forms: strangers, outsiders, and aliens. Strangers are those who, although they are 'insiders' within a social space, interact as outsiders; in other words, they are estranged from citizenship, but at the same time can associate with and be recognized by citizens. Outsiders, by contrast, neither belong to the citizen group nor interact with it – although they still exist within the same social space. Aliens are often enemies of the dominant group and are considered exterior identities to citizenship. Strangers and outsiders, however, are considered immanent to citizenship in that their existence makes citizenship possible by allowing citizens to consolidate and stabilize their identity against others. As such, these groups are constantly interacting and reconstituting citizenship identities.

To illustrate how these identities are manifested, this thesis refers to Isin's (2002) book, *Being Political*, a genealogy of group configurations that have defined citizenship over time. In this book, he argues that the construction of the dominant virtues and

identities of citizenship necessarily dictates how citizens act politically. An example of this is found in Isin's (2002) claim that the modern form of citizenship is one of entrepreneurial professionalization. This citizenship is one in which a professional ethic has been established as a universal norm of conduct, and those who fail or refuse to uphold that ethic are categorized as strangers and outsiders (Isin, 2002). According to Isin (2002), the primary values of this professional ethic include expertise, autonomy, adherence to professional standards, and client-patron trust (p.239). In turn, the dominance of this ethic encourages individuals to cultivate certain virtues in themselves in order to reflect these values of citizenship (as it has been constructed). This is similar to Mill's (1869/2000) idea that citizens have the responsibility to develop certain virtues in accordance with the norms of citizenship, in order to support the state. Both Isin and Mill, therefore, show how the dominant norms and identities of citizenship are sustained and replicated.

Isin (2002) claims that "the primary focus of entrepreneurial professionalization has been to 're-engineer' the welfare state," and that this has involved strategies such as privatizing and marketizing formerly public institutions and functions, as well as "placing a new emphasis on the personal responsibilities of individuals, their families, and their communities for their own future well-being" (p.246). These strategies, and the values of a professional ethic, correspond with the imposition of neoliberal ideas, as outlined in the 'Ideological Influences' section of this thesis. In a similar way to Isin (2002), Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller (1992) argue that neoliberalism transformed the aspects of social welfare that were once considered government responsibilities (in other words, the welfare state) into commodities to be regulated by market principles; in turn, individuals

were expected to act entrepreneurially to actively seek out and ensure their own quality of life. By transferring political rights to individual responsibilities, therefore, the neoliberal conception of citizenship determines the political actions of citizens.

In particular, Rose and Miller (1992) focus on how a new conception of citizenship has been constructed as neoliberalism has taken hold in western democracies. Thus, they claim,

> For neo-liberalism the political subject is less a social citizen with powers and obligations deriving from membership of a collective body, than an individual whose citizenship is active. This citizenship is to be manifested not in the receipt of public largesse, but in the energetic pursuit of personal fulfillment and the incessant calculations that are to enable this to be achieved (Rose & Miller, 1992, p.298)

Not only does neo-liberalism re-shape the image of the ideal citizen from a "social citizen" to an active individual, as the above quote illustrates, but it also "re-codes the locus of the state in the discourse of politics" (Rose & Miller, 1992, p.296). In this context, the state provides a basic framework of security (by ensuring national defense and legal orders), and autonomous individuals work freely within that framework to ensure their own well-being (Rose & Miller, 1992). As a result, individuals are encouraged to actively seek out and consume goods (many of them formerly public goods) in an effort to achieve the status and fulfill the duties of citizenship.

One example of how this encourages new rationalities among government and individuals is that "through consumption we are urged to shape our lives by the use of our purchasing power" (Rose, 1999 cited in Isin, 2002, p.247). Certainly, consumerism has long been seen as an avenue for political expression. For example, one of the earliest uses of the boycott was the British consumer boycotts against slave-produced sugar in 1791. However, as neoliberalism disseminates the ethic of individual responsibility, this has

transformed the citizen-consumer into one that is not only 'free to choose,' (as consumption choices had been in the past) but 'obliged to be free' (Rose, 1999, p.87). In other words, the pervasiveness of the individual consumer identity, combined with expert marketing technologies, creates an environment where individuals are required to shape their own lives through consumption choices (Rose, 1999, p.87). This extends not only to material goods, but to choices such as getting married, having children, and being healthy (Rose, 1999, p.87). In this way, a new culture of citizen participation has emerged.

The cultivation of entrepreneurial values and the emphasis on individual consumption choices are considered, in theory, to be citizenship norms that all citizens are able to pursue. But just as Marshall (1950) described how civil and political rights encouraged individuals to strive *toward* equality with other citizens but did not guarantee the right to *achieve* this status (as social rights ensured), some individuals are in practice unable to pursue or reflect the modern norms of citizenship; in other words, these individuals are excluded from citizenship. For example, those who do not have the economic means or the social status to regularly consume market products cannot effectively exercise the dominant norms of a consumer identity.

To use Isin's terms, these individuals who are excluded from citizenship norms represent 'strangers' to citizenship. However, Isin (2002) emphasizes that these strangers are essential and immanent to citizenship, as identities against which the identities of citizenship are defined. In other words, because the identity of citizens is established in relation to other groups, those other groups cannot be considered exclusive from the citizen group. In this way, Isin's critique of the state can be taken as a recognition of and response to the multiplicity of demands that have emerged in recent decades, and an

attempt to understand how to include those without the powers of citizenship within an account of being political. As Isin (2009) claims,

> The manifold acts through which new actors as claimants emerge in new sites and scales are becoming the new objects of investigation. This changes our conception of the political as well as of citizenship (p.370).

Just as academic interpretations of citizenship have changed with the recognition of multiplicity and the individualization of political acts (driven by ideological influences), so too have academic interpretations of the political. Therefore, the next section will examine how the political has been defined in the past, and explore the implications of an expanded definition of the political.

Theories of the Political

As previous sections have established, the political is often tied to dominant conceptions of citizenship. Therefore, this section will explore some ways in which the political has been and is defined in conjunction with the dominant norms of citizenship.

From the early 1900s, Harry Boyte (2005) argues, politics (for the purposes of this section, politics and the political will be considered synonymous) tied citizenship to public work with democratic meaning. Grounded in local culture, the political could be found in various spaces of public work, from the local drug store to schools to ethnic organizations. The search for a democratic society and the creation of public value through interactions between government and the public escaped partisan attachments and engaged citizens in civic affairs (Boyte, 2005). In this way, democracy was inherently tied to the definition of the political.

The idea of democracy as a way of life, built through the productive work of citizens, was articulated by various scholars, including Alexis de Tocqueville and John

Dewey. In fact, in his 1916 book, *Democracy and Education*, John Dewey wrote, "A democracy is more than a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living, a co-joint communicated experience" (Dewey, 1916/1966, p.87). Similarly, Alexis de Tocqueville (1840/2000) wrote, "Among a democratic people, where there is no hereditary wealth, every man works to earn a living…and labor is held by the whole community to be an honourable necessity of man's condition" (Book 2, Chapter 18).

Others, however, viewed democracy (and hence, the political) in a much narrower way. As previous sections have outlined, definitions of citizenship based on legal and political rights narrowed the acts and spaces that were considered political to state-centred activities and institutions. In 1960, amidst historical social movements, mass protests and the emergence of New Left politics, Seymour Martin Lipset still limited his definition of democracy to "a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among candidates" (cited in Boyte, 2005, p.45). This essentially defined democracy, and politics, as an election machine.

This narrow view of politics was further entrenched with the professionalization of politics, argues Boyte (2005). The increased value placed on expertise in all professions meant that much of the political was relegated to the realm of experts. For example, Boyte (2005) argues that political issues were defined and articulated to the public in polarized ideological debates, where citizen actions were essentially scripted by these professional politicians. As a result, politics were deemed too complex for the involvement of the average citizen, and citizens in turn distanced themselves from

involvement in these politics and subscribed to the individualism promoted by neoliberal ideals. The result of this individualization, according to Boyte (2005), was the repression of citizen action for social purposes and public goods. In this way, the narrow, individualized view of politics contributed to a correspondingly limited conception of political acts and how to be political.

This explains how politics is often considered an independent discipline in which citizens have no need, and often no desire, to be involved. Politics is often conceived as an external act in which few people participate. In other words, politics is seen as something that others do, rather than something that they themselves can shape, participate in, and define. As a result, many of the actions of individuals are written off as personal interests, or social endeavours, when in reality their actions could have significant political implications – if only they were considered political in the first place. If a broader interpretation of politics is taken, these actions can be included in an account of the political, and new insight can be gained into society and citizenship.

Boyte (2005) argues that in order to account for these activities, democratic politics must be participatory and representative, and in order to be so should recognize the philosophical orientations of politics, rather than just its ideological elements. In referring to these philosophical goals, Boyte (2005) refers to the politics of Hannah Arendt and Bernard Crick, whom he argues have done much to reclaim politics as a free, deprofessionalized and nonpartisan activity where ordinary individuals are empowered to define political issues through democratic discussion and debate (p.541).

Hannah Arendt (1977) defines the political as a moment of acting freely, where freedom is defined as a state of being, manifest in action. In other words, freedom is

achieved through action, and this action constitutes political action. Arendt (1977) argues against the traditional idea of the political as the acceptance of one group's sovereign rule over another (which is often considered to be a free and independent choice). Instead, she argues that true freedom is achieved not through will and thought but through action, so that being political is an act that in fact renounces the acceptance of the dominant, sovereign rule (Arendt, 1977). She writes,

> Where men wish to be sovereign, as individuals or as organized groups, they must submit to the oppression of the will, be this the individual will with which I force myself, or the "general will" of an organized group. If men wish to be free, it is precisely sovereignty they must renounce (Arendt, 1977, p.165).

So, rather than submitting to the oppression of the dominant will (or principles), to act politically is to renounce these principles in an attempt to reconstitute one's identity – and this represents a free act.

Bernard Crick (1962/2005) also describes being political as an activity performed by free individuals. In fact, he refers to politics as a "civilizing activity" which recognizes "the simultaneous existence of different groups, hence different interests and different traditions, within a territorial unity under a common rule" (p.3). In this way, politics represents the active conciliation of diverse interests. Crick (1962/2005) says that the establishment of the common good or "the moral consensus of a free state is not something mysteriously prior to or above politics: it is the activity (the civilizing activity) of politics itself" (p.9). This can be taken to mean that the establishment of dominant norms, or of citizenship, is a political act in itself – just as Engin Isin argues.

For Isin (2002, 2009), the political occurs when citizenship and its alterities are structured, defined, and articulated. It is not the establishment of these identities but the

negotiation and construction that is in itself political (just as Crick's (1962/2005) civilizing action of establishing a moral consensus is political, but the eventual consensus, in itself, is not). Chantal Mouffe (1992) echoes these arguments when she says,

> Politics is about the constitution of the political community, not something that takes place inside the political community. The political community, as a surface of inscription of a multiplicity of demands where a 'we' is constituted, requires the correlative idea of the common good, but…. Since those principles are open to many competing interpretations, one has to acknowledge that a fully inclusive political community can never be realized. There will always be a "constitutive outside," an exterior to the community that is the very condition of its existence (p.30).

In other words, politics is about how the community is constituted (or in Isin's terms, how the norms and identities of citizenship are challenged and formed). Both Isin (2002) and Mouffe (1992) are careful to note that the political is not limited to the consensus reached inside a community, but rather encompasses those who are excluded from it as well. Both recognize that non-citizen identities are necessary for the definition of dominant citizenship norms, and both recognize that these 'exteriors' are therefore not truly exterior to citizenship. Therefore, the struggle to define the dominant principles amidst the multiplicity of citizenship is a political struggle: an act of being political.

The struggle to establish dominant norms and negotiate identities often requires resisting established identities and principles. So just as Arendt (1977) wrote of the political as renouncing sovereignty, or the established sovereign will, for Isin (2002) the true moments of 'being political' are "the moments in which strangers and outsiders [overturn the] various strategies and technologies of citizenship in which they were implicated and thereby [constitute] themselves differently from the dominant images given to them" (p.33). In other words, it is a political act when those who were excluded

from citizenship challenge their exclusion and thus, redefine their identities. Being political is an act of resistance, a challenge, a questioning of the dominant group and principles that have been established as the values of citizenship.

As this section has established, politics can be seen as the negotiation of how individuals live together, how communities are constituted, how diversity is conciliated and challenged, and how freedom is exercised. If the political is no longer viewed in a narrow, state-centered way and instead accounts for "the public actions of free men" (Crick (1962/2005)), then more actions become politically significant. Similarly, if the political is defined as that moment of challenge, that moment of questioning or resisting or renouncing the dominant principles and identities of citizenship, then more claims become politically relevant.

This thesis builds on the implications of broadening the definition of the political to include these acts and claims. It explores the venue of farmers' markets as a site where political claims might be found, where challenges to dominant norms of citizenship might be made, and where new identities are shaped and proposed. The next chapter will review a brief history of farmers' markets and the context in which they developed, before outlining the results from personal interviews with participants in local farmers' markets. If farmers' markets are political spaces, as this thesis proposes, then its participants may be acting politically by challenging dominant norms or systems, such as the mainstream global corporate food chain, or by negotiating new ways of providing people with food and information, or by providing new spaces for social justice within communities. In any case, this thesis will explore the idea that a farmers' market may be an example of a political space where political acts and motivations are present.

Chapter Three: The Politics of Food

Context of the Dominant Food System

As the previous section has shown, in a broadening and increasingly individualist world of participatory politics, new forms of political participation can be found in new arenas. One of the main arenas where new forms of participation are most evident today is the food sector. It is not uncommon to find references that relate food to politics. In fact, Miller (2008) argues that food is a "catalyst for social change" (p.10) and that "across North America and the world, people have joined together to create diverse food initiatives [that use] food to talk about politics, economic justice, and social change" (p.13). This thesis explores how farmers' markets might qualify as one of these initiatives. Accordingly, the following section will provide the context for the rise of food movements as political movements, with a particular focus on farmers' markets as political spaces.

The model of a farmers' market, as a site for rural producers to sell their food products to urban consumers, was imported from Europe and established in North America in the 17th century, spreading across the continent with European settlement (Sanderson, Gertler, Martz & Ramesh, 2005). The markets quickly became the primary venue for urban consumers to buy fresh produce, dairy, and meat. As well, the markets were valued for their social aspect, allowing urban and rural residents to mingle amid transactions (Sanderson et al., 2005). Farmers' markets continued to gain popularity throughout the 18th and 19th century, as national policies such as protective tariffs and price controls were established to aid in the expansion and specialization of family farms

and independent producers (Friedmann, 2005). In British Columbia, after the establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1887, "throughout the period from 1891 to 1941, the family farm…remained the common unit of agricultural production" (Harris & Demeritt, 1997, p.227).

The prominence of the family farm began to change with the emergence and growth of industrialized agriculture and transnational capital in the early 20th century. As a settler state, Canada's agricultural economy was originally primarily developed to produce cheap grain and meat exports to British and European markets. Accordingly, national tariffs and policies were amended to facilitate global trade. As a result, family farms gradually became larger, more industrialized, and specialized in order to be linked into longer, transnational supply chains. In this system, agricultural producers would purchase inputs from industries, such as chemicals, technology and equipment, in order to produce mass amounts of raw materials (such as maize) that the industrial companies would then collect, process, and distribute as standardized, branded and durable goods (Smith, Lawrence & Richards, 2010). The industrial inputs needed to produce these raw materials, and the resources needed for their distribution and marketing were only practically accessible to transnational capital (Mendis, 2007). As a result, small-scale producers who could not afford the appropriate infrastructure or did not have the farm space to meet those demands were essentially squeezed out of their jobs and livelihoods (Brown, 2001), and production became more and more dependent on transnational firms.

This system of industrialized agriculture and international trade relied on certain production techniques. For example, food needed to be packaged and treated in order to allow its transport across the often long distances from the sites of production or

processing to the ultimate place of consumption. In this way, "the durable foods complex changed food from a local, perishable set of ingredients to a widely marketed manufactured set of products with a long and hardy life" (Friedmann, 1989, p.106). For example, between the 1950s and 1970s, consumption of frozen foods increased significantly. These goods were then retailed at supermarkets, which were emerging as popular centers of convenience for consumers. These supermarkets acted as a one-stop shop for all grocery and produce items, and due to the retailer's ability to buy large amounts of mass-produced goods from industrial producers, they could offer these goods at lower prices than local farmers' markets. This encouraged mass consumption of these mass-produced goods, and eventually led to the establishment of big-box grocery stores such as Wal-Mart and Real Canadian Superstore.

The success of the industrial agricultural system relied on the principles of Fordism (which relies on assembly line production techniques to produce mass quantities of standardized goods) and economies of scale (the idea that total production costs decrease with the production of mass quantities of one product). However, rising inflation and unemployment rates in the 1970s, as well as international debt and oil crises, threatened the economic security of individuals and states, and changed both production and consumption strategies. Post-Fordist values emphasizing flexible accumulation/specialization were introduced and gradually became the dominant agricultural production method. This meant that production was diversified and targeted at specific niche markets in order to appeal to a variety of consumer preferences. In other words, profit was no longer to be made through economies of scale, but through economies of scope (the idea that total production costs decrease by increasing the

number of different products available). As a result, the diversification of grocery products expanded dramatically, the number of exotic products grew, and niche markets for certain foods developed. For example, New Zealand kiwis and organic Kenyan green beans became popular niche products in global trade markets (Campbell, 2009). The corresponding growth in demand for exotic products reinforced the global trade system.

This system was reinforced in other ways as well. During the 1990s, as a result of various 'food scares' such as Mad Cow disease and *E-coli*-tainted food, as well as a growing emphasis on personal and environmental health, consumers increasingly demanded environmentally responsible, nutritional, and safe products (Campbell, 2009). This, in turn, created a demand for fresh foods. Rather than turning to local farmers for this fresh product, however, retailers relied on technological strategies and innovations (such as packaging and air transport) to speed the delivery of fresh products from across the world. In turn, the concept of seasonal food was lost in a system that could provide a variety of produce from exotic locations year-round. McMichael (2009) says,

> in the early 1990s a discernible transnational corporate 'global sourcing' of foods was most obvious in the technologies of seed modification, cooling and preserving, and transport of fruits and vegetables as nonseasonal, or year-round, access for affluent consumers became available (McMichael, 2009, p.150).

These techniques facilitated international trade of both fresh and packaged foods and contributed to the growing power of transnational corporate retailers.

The corresponding expansion of global trade meant that "the fluid, highly controlled networks of subcontractors reaching across the world needed to be monitored for adherence to increasingly specific and uniform protocols" (Friedmann & McNair, 2008, p.414). As a result, supermarkets began using certification and labeling processes

to brand products and thus guarantee certain standards of production, food safety, and food quality. This often meant relying on private regulatory bodies to determine and monitor standards for stages such as the production, grading, packing, and marketing of various food products (Mendis, 2007). As a result, not only was the geographical distance of the food supply chain lengthened, but so too was the length of the chain in terms of the number of regulatory bodies that a product must pass through from its initial production to final consumption.

These strategies contributed to the growth and consolidation of corporate retail power and its associated ethic of consumerism. Not only were there fewer and fewer transnational food corporations with more power, but those corporations soon came to control all stages of the food chain, from extraction to processing to retail. By 2002, seven corporate chains (including Loblaw's) controlled 70% of the grocery food market in Canada (Miller, 2008, p.54). As this section has shown, this system of industrial agriculture and transnational corporate capital led to a growing industry of prepackaged food, the global branding and standardization of food products and tastes, and the dwindling knowledge of food origins, production methods, and impacts (Slow Food, 2011). At the same time, strategies of economies of scope and the demand for fresh and niche products also increased the power of retailers in the global trade system. Friedmann (2005) comments on these two trends, saying,

> the distinction between fresh, relatively unprocessed, and low-chemical input products on one side, and highly engineered edible commodities composed of denatured and recombined ingredients on the other, describes two complementary systems within a single emerging food regime (p.258).

These complementary systems both act to reinforce the power of the corporate retailer in a system of global trade.

Context of Resistance

While the conditions described in the previous section meant that farmers' markets in North America were in danger of extinction (particularly throughout the 1950s to 1970s), farmers' markets and local food continued to thrive in Europe. This is partly because supermarkets never gained quite the popularity that they did in North American and UK countries (Guthrie, Guthrie, Lawson & Cameron, 2006). It is also because strong movements of resistance against the global corporate food system began to emerge in Europe in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In particular, these movements drew attention to the origins and production methods of food, and advocated for social justice in food production and consumption. In addition, they often referenced democratic choice in food production and consumption methods, thereby invoking the political. The Slow Food movement and La Via Campesina were particularly influential on an international scale.

The Slow Food movement was born in Italy in 1971, in an attempt to increase appreciation for local food and wine, and to link culture and food to the politics of land, labour, production and consumption (Friedmann, 2005). Carlo Petrini and his friends joined producers, restaurateurs, and journalists together to promote local food while cataloguing and sharing local knowledge and techniques. They eventually began to establish international Presidia – unique traditional products whose standards of quality and production techniques have been determined by small networks of local producers in an attempt to standardize their unique product and sell it globally. This form of standardization is in opposition to the global standardization of goods (which places no value on the location of production – in fact, the idea is that the good could have been produced anywhere due to global trade and industrial agriculture methods). The Slow

Food movement does not reject global trade, but rather aims to redefine its terms according to principles of local democratic choice, where local populations are able to shape the terms of trade while protecting and conserving their local foods, agriculture, and economy.

La Via Campesina, another influential international food movement, embraces similar principles. In 1993, a group of farmers' representatives in Belgium united to defend small farmers against increasingly globalized agribusinesses. This decentralized and grassroots movement quickly became a driving force in the international pursuit of food sovereignty and preservation of local food and agriculture, and is now composed of roughly 150 affiliated organizations in 70 countries. In fact, McMichael (2005) argues that because the movement is able to unite a diversity of agrarian producers across the world, La Via Campesina may well be considered the core of resistance to the corporate food regime.

The main goals of the decentralized and grassroots movement are to "realize food sovereignty and stop the destructive neoliberal process" by allowing production and distribution choices to be made by "those who produce the food and not by the corporate sector" (La Via Campesina, 2011). La Via Campesina introduced the concept of 'food sovereignty' to international dialogue at the 1996 World Food Summit, defining the concept as:

> Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to define their own agriculture and food policies, to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade in order to achieve sustainable development objectives, to determine the extent to which they want to be self reliant, and to restrict the dumping of products in their markets [which often resulted in trade dependencies] (cited in McMichael 2005, p.291).

In this definition, food sovereignty is expressed in opposition to the Arendt's (1977) conception of traditional sovereignty, where one free will (the sovereign) is accepted as ruling over others. In La Via Campesina's definition, sovereignty is placed with local populations as a way of achieving democracy and participation in the dominant system, as opposed to corporate-led, neoliberal choices (La Via Campesina, 2011). In this way, La Via Campesina's notion of sovereignty in fact represents a challenge to the dominant, sovereign rule – and is therefore political according to Arendt (1977).

A spokesman for La Via Campesina and an influential figure in food resistance movements is José Bové, a sheep farmer from southern France. An activist who founded an organization to promote organic food and organized trade unions for farmers, José Bové made international waves in 1999 when he led a group of farmers in dismantling a McDonald's building site and transporting the parts (by tractor) to city hall. The protest was against specific trade policies and the globalized fast food industry, and also against what Bové and his followers believed fast food to symbolize – industrialized food production, cultural monotony, and the extinction of the small farmer (Freeze, 2002). This protest and the resulting trial that landed Bové three months in jail garnered international fame and attention for Bové and his causes. Bové continued his activism in various countries, participating in the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle and a protest against a regional free trade agreement in Quebec in 2001, among other protests internationally. According to McMichael (2005), Bové calls

for a model of production that "elevates democratic economy and fair trade principles" (p.292).

Slow Food, La Via Campesina, and José Bové call on principles of participation and local democracy to redefine the dominant corporate retail system. Similar movements began to emerge in North America in the 1980s. There are many names to refer to these initiatives, including resistance movements, food security movements, local food movements, or alternative food networks. In aiming to redefine the global corporate retail system, these movements "challenge the global food system at various scales and create locally grounded alternatives to global food systems based on visions of a more just society" (Wekerle, 2004, p. 381). By calling for participation of local populations in determining trade conditions, production methods, health and safety standards, and access to food, these movements emphasize equality and participatory democracy. As Charles Z. Levkoe (2006) says, "Relegating food solely to the whim of market forces directly threatens democracy, putting profits ahead of the people who are involved in its production, distribution, and consumption" (p.90). In this way, as local food began to be promoted in opposition to mass-produced, durable foods, issues that were once seen as purely economic trade concerns became issues of democracy and equality. In fact, local food initiatives were seen as "both the practice of democracy and as means of de-linking from the corporate global food system" (Wekerle, 2004, p.379). This statement thereby emphasizes the political nature of local food movements.

Two of the most influential food movements in the North American context were the organic food movement and the Fair Trade movement. In general, organic agriculture is assumed to represent farming methods that reject the use of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, and hormones and aim to minimize damage to animals and the environment (Raynolds, 2000). Not only is the organic movement connected to issues of health and the environment, but it often advocates eating locally. This is because eating organically produced food often means eating food that is in season and available locally (to avoid packaged and shipped food). In this way, organic food provided an alternative to food produced with traditional industrial agricultural methods. Although the organic movement was originally intended to favour small farmers who used methods alternative to mainstream systems, it has become largely co-opted by corporate food retailers, thus highlighting the power of dominant neoliberal norms. Complex bureaucratic regulations and certification processes have quickly become barriers to small growers, and retailers have identified organic food as a niche product for upper-class consumers who can afford the higher-priced organic goods. However, the organic movement, in its original intentions, offered an alternative that opposes dominant corporate norms and mass industrial production methods. These principles are expressed in non-mainstream venues such as farmers' markets, where producers may choose not to be certified organically but still use principles of organic production. The idea of producing healthy food that is produced by and available to local populations is a key principle of the organic movement, and one that emphasizes political demands for equality and social justice.

At the same time as health and environmental concerns spurred the organic food movement, concerns regarding the perceived exploitation of Southern producers by

Northern consumers in international trade were fuelling demands for more equitable international trade relations. This encouraged support for the Fair Trade movement, which originally developed in the 1960s to protect crafters and was eventually applied to food products in the 1980s. The Fair Trade movement is based on trade relationships in which Southern producers, represented by democratically organized associations, enter agreements with Northern importers; these agreements guarantee that producers are paid a set premium, above the world market price, for their products, and are guaranteed basic International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions (including freedom from discrimination and the prohibition of child and forced labour) (Raynolds, 2000). In this way, Dubuisson-Quellier & Lamine (2008) claim, "the notion of fairness or equity is the cornerstone of this direct relationship between producers and consumers" (p.56).

Both the organic and Fair Trade movements draw consumers' attention to the origin and production methods of food, aim to restore social justice to food relations, and favour local, small-scale producers against the system of global industrial agriculture. These qualities are also reflected in resistance movements that are focused on more of a small-scale, local level. One example of these initiatives is Community-Supported Agriculture (CSA) initiatives, in which communities of consumers and producers share the risks of food production. This idea caught on in North America in the 1980s and operationally, involves consumers funding the costs of a farming operation in exchange for its production of high-quality foods which they can consume. This allows farmers to avoid the bureaucratic hassles of marketing and selling products to corporations, and allows them to focus on creating high quality produce for their investors/consumers. In exchange, the consumer receives a delivery or picks up a box of produce, usually each

week, made up of the farmers' successful crops. For this reason, CSA initiatives are often referred to as 'box schemes.'

Just as CSA's encourage direct producer-consumer relationships, so too do farmers' markets. Although farmers' markets are not new operations, their recent resurgence in North America parallels the emergence of the alternative food movements described in this section. Therefore, the next section will explore how farmers' markets can be seen as political spaces that emerged in a context of resistance.

Farmers' Markets

Farmers' markets, in their modern form and context, have various structures and features; therefore, it is often difficult to define and classify farmers' markets. Often, farmers' markets are lumped together and confused with farm stands/roadside markets (which are permanent structures serving only one farmer), terminal markets (which are often located at the end of transport lines and sell only to wholesalers), and public markets (where government or retail corporations sponsor and profit from reselling products with no enforced origins) (Brown 2001, p.660). After conducting an extensive literature review of the various attempts to categorize different markets, Allison Brown (2001) offers this definition of farmers' markets: "recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves" (p.658). She emphasizes the presence of multiple vendors who personally produce the goods they sell, as opposed to resellers (vendors who obtain the goods they sell from another location or from another producer). The prohibition of reselling prevents wholesalers from entering farmers' markets and undercutting the prices of producers with cheaper, mass produced goods; at

the same time, it allows markets to advertise and promote the local, homemade, homegrown nature of their products.

Farmers' markets are not always restricted to the sale of fresh produce. The markets may allow the sale of goods such as arts and crafts, clothing, or processed food products. At this point, choices regarding the ratio of the product that must be locally produced and made from local materials are determined by each individual market. For that matter, farmers' markets also differ on their definitions of 'local.' Markets can define 'local' as municipal-wide, region-wide, or even province-wide. Furthermore, markets may differ depending on their location (some may be at indoor permanent facilities, while others are at outdoor temporary sites), or their level of corporate or government sponsorship and retailers. Market governance may vary – for example, some markets are run entirely by volunteers, some have paid market managers, and some have associated boards or administrative societies. Therefore, each market may make unique choices according to its individual philosophy. However, these choices are made within the general structure of a farmers' market, as a site for multiple, independent vendors who produce their own products and sell those products directly to individual consumers. They emphasize a direct relationship between local production and consumption and offer an alternative to global corporate food.

Since the 1980s, a dramatic resurgence of farmers' markets across Canada, and in British Columbia in particular, has occurred. This growth has been assisted by various provincial initiatives and municipal plans that focus on food security and sustaining the local economy, and have directly encouraged farmers' markets as food sources. In 1993, the BC government introduced the "*buy*BC" program to label and promote products that

are 100% grown and processed in BC. By 2003, there were over 1200 companies and 5000 products that used this label in their marketing (BC Agriculture Council, 2003). In 1999, the BC Association of Farmers' Markets (BCAFM) was established as an umbrella organization to coordinate the formerly independent farmers' markets and provide support for growers and farmers' markets through marketing, promotion, and education strategies (BC Association of Farmers' Markets, 2011). From 2001 to 2009, the BCAFM's membership grew from 60 to over 100 markets.

The City of Victoria has progressively moved closer to supporting farmers' markets and promoting food security. A resolution to support urban agriculture was passed in 2007, with the intention of supporting initiatives such as community gardens and edible landscapes that provide food for the people of Victoria. For example, the hanging flower baskets outside City Hall have recently been replaced with food-based hanging baskets that grow tomatoes and vegetables for local consumption. The City of Victoria Food Discussion Paper, written in 2009, specifically addresses the issue of supporting farmers' markets and potentially developing a year-round, permanent market as a way to support local farmers and promote local produce (Bouris, Masselink, & Geggie, 2009). And while there was no mention of farmers' markets in the most recent City Plan (last revised in 1995), the proposed Official City of Victoria Plan for 2011 explicitly states that one of its goals is to

> encourage the development of farmers' markets in Town Centres and Urban Villages, and a viable year-round farmers market in the Downtown Core Area, to animate the public and private realm and support local growers and food processors (City of Victoria, 2011, p.110).

This government support for farmers' markets has been met with a growing public support as well. Concerns about the food security of Vancouver Island (which is

estimated to have only three days' food supply for its population if food supply/transportation lines were cut off (Kazmierowski, 2010)) have led people to search for alternative sources of local food. Initiatives such as the '100-mile diet,' in which individuals attempt to eat only food produced within a 100-mile radius of their homes, encouraged the extensive use of farmers' markets, community gardens, and hunting and fishing techniques to maintain a local diet (Vancouver Island Diet, 2010). This initiative was a direct effort to reduce the 'food miles' that a product traveled, from its place of production to its place of consumption. In this way, the idea of local, direct, and often organic production at farmers' markets helped ease the growing consumer concerns with nutrition, health, and environmental issues (Perrin, 2006). Support for community gardens and initiatives such as guerilla gardening, in which activists transform unused spaces into food gardens, has grown dramatically. In addition, CSA box schemes, temporary farmers' markets or 'pocket markets,' and independent restaurants focusing on local food have become increasingly common as well.

The resurgence of farmers' markets and their connections to other alternative food movements indicates that farmers' markets can be seen as an avenue of resistance against corporate agriculture and global trade. Since this resistance challenges dominant norms and aims to renegotiate dominant identities, it therefore represents a political act, according to Isin (2002) and Arendt (1977). If this is indeed the case, then farmers' markets can be seen as sites of the political. The following section will theorize some possible ways that farmers' markets might be deemed political, with reference to a broadened interpretation of citizenship and ways of being political, as outlined in previous sections.

Identifying the Political at Farmers' Markets

With the narrowest interpretation of citizenship as civil and political rights (in other words, as election machines), a farmers' market might only be seen as political if it directly affects elections or government parties. While many markets do not allow official political parties or groups on site, some allow political causes to be represented. For example, international development organizations or education groups are often featured at markets (Moss Street Market, 2011). It can be easily imagined that some of these political stances are, either directly or indirectly, affiliated with political parties and ideologies, and therefore may draw consumers' attention to certain electoral or partisan issues. Furthermore, a farmers' market might act as a lobbying site for food politics, with the objective of introducing or amending relevant government policies. In other words, if a market exists as a place for people with similar beliefs and similar policy goals to congregate and organize an official lobby, or where people with diverse beliefs debate and discuss their relations to the state, this qualifies as a political space, even with the narrowest interpretation of what constitutes the political.

If the definitions of the political and of citizenship are expanded to account for social rights, as Marshall (1950) allowed, there is more space for farmers' markets to be conceived as political. Social rights are based on pursuing equality within society, and ensuring access to collective goods. Farmers' markets aim to provide local citizens with access to food, while sustaining the local economy and adding to the income of local farmers. Through their affiliated associations, the markets may also act as an organizing base for various claims to social justice within the community. At the same time, however, farmers' markets are not necessarily all-inclusive bodies. Low-income earners,

for example, may be excluded because the price of produce is often more expensive than in corporate supermarkets, which have the advantage of economies of scale (the notion that total production costs decrease with the production of mass quantities of one product) and can thus offer goods to consumers at cheaper prices. This economic aspect is another way in which farmers' markets may be political, in that market participants may appeal to the state for income assistance for farmers or more flexible regulatory standards. These claims for state assistance and involvement are necessarily political.

Farmers' markets can also be seen to promote collective, social goods. As a site of public work, the market provides a site for farmers to sell the fruits of their labour, and attempts to engage local people in sustaining a local farming economy. If democracy is tied to public work, as Dewey (1916/1966) and de Tocqueville (1835, 1840/2000) claim, then a farmers' market might be seen as democratic, and thereby political. In addition, not only is the emphasis of farmers' markets often on strengthening the local economy and supporting local farmers, but the sense of community that is found in a market can also be seen as a social good. A farmers' market can promote social and/or political change by creating a sense of community and a space for social connections and interactions. For example, Szmigin, Maddock, and Carrigan (2003) associate shopping at farmers' markets with a sense of connection and moral responsibility. Similarly, farmers' markets often represent what Crick (1962/2005) assumes to be the 'civilizing activity' of politics, where diverse interests are brought together and negotiated to establish a common good or a moral consensus (p.9). In fact, the attempt to restore these values of social connection and working for the common good may be in direct reaction against the increasing individualization of dominant norms.

In many ways, farmers' markets construct and represent a political community. In turn, they create identities and groups using certain strategies of relations. In particular, Isin (2002) argues that these norms and identities are constituted through the use of various 'strategies and technologies of citizenship.' These strategies and technologies are either solidaristic (emphasizing affiliation and sociation), agonistic (emphasizing conflict and resistance), or alienating (emphasizing exclusion and oppression) (Isin, 2002, p.32). Solidaristic strategies are ways of identifying who belongs to a group, and therefore constructing and entrenching the identity of the included citizens (Isin, 2002). For example, a farmers' market vendor might sign a participant's contract in order to be associated with a particular market and thus, be recognized as an insider of that market. Agonistic strategies, on the other hand, are used to differentiate insiders from other groups by using strategies of conflict and competition (Isin, 2002). One farmers' market, for instance, might institutionalize its identity by creating an administrative body that represents the group as an objective and unified entity, different from other markets. In turn, this administrative body might use alienating strategies when determining which products, and which vendors, are included and excluded as market participants. Alienating strategies are used to construct exterior alien groups, certainly, but are also used to establish and differentiate the immanent identities of strangers and outsiders (Isin, 2002). Therefore, if farmers' markets are found to use various strategies of affiliation and estrangement, in order to create certain groups or identities, the markets can be seen as sites of the political.

To apply the analyses of Isin (2002), Mouffe (1992), Arendt (1977), and their definitions of the political, farmers' markets may be seen as political if they directly

oppose or resist, and aim to reconstitute, the dominant norms of citizenship or being political. These dominant norms, then, must be identified before the ways of resisting them can be imagined. This thesis refers to Food Regimes Theory, developed by Harriet Friedmann and Philip McMichael in a 1989 issue of the international academic journal *Sociologia Ruralis*, to identify these norms. Food Regimes Theory examines the links between international relations of food production and consumption and different systems of capitalist accumulation that have evolved since the late nineteenth century (Friedmann, 2005). Therefore, the theory in itself provides evidence that food is often thought of in political ways. Besides that, however, it establishes some dominant characteristics of each food regime, ending with the current, third, food regime. In comparison to the first regime of colonial trade, and the second regime of transnational capital and the principles of mass consumption and production, the third regime is identified with three main characteristics: new global regulatory structures, 'greening' and strategic responses to consumer demands, and a dramatic growth in supermarket (retail) power (Friedmann, 2005). These processes led to lengthened food supply chains and an entrenched identity of consumerism.

As previous sections have shown, the liberalization of international trade regulations encouraged a system of global exports which relied on food packaging, preservatives, and transportation developments to prolong the life of food products and allow for their long-term global transport. In this way, even the desire for quality at a farmers' market might be seen as political, if it is in opposition to the packaged, chemically-enhanced food products offered in retail supermarkets. In addition, as global trade thrived, the consumption of food was increasingly distanced from its initial place of

production, and consumers were increasingly distanced from producers. In this way, the farmers' market may be seen as political if it represents an attempt to shorten supply chains, and to establish a direct relationship between producers and consumers. Mendis (2007) claims that the farmers' market "employ[s] short supply chains that link local production and local consumption" (p.31) in a direct attempt to circumvent the "long, complex and rationally-organised chains of [global] agro-industrial production" (p.39).

This is often achieved through attempts at re-localization. Prominent environmental activist Vandana Shiva says that "[Relocalization] implies, very simply, that what can be grown and produced locally should be used locally, so that resources and livelihoods can be protected" (cited in Miller, 2008, p.145). This is in opposition to the globalization of the current food system, and represents, therefore, a political intention to protect local jobs and economies. In fact, Sanderson et al. (2005) claim that "the farmers' market is considered a means of taking back control from the multinationals and contributing to local communities' revitalization" (p.12). Therefore, the political can be identified in farmers' markets if they reflect an attempt at re-localization and a focus on sustaining local economies, particularly in opposition to global agricultural trade. In fact, the City of Victoria Food Discussion Paper (2009) explicitly states that "re-localized food production, processing and distribution networks are promoted as an alternative, more sustainable approach [to the global food system]" (p.9).

The use of education strategies to locate food and its production may also indicate ways in which farmers' markets may be seen as political. Currently, dominant strategies of education come from increasingly powerful retailers and reflect the corporate ethic of consumerism and individualism. For example, a consumer's knowledge is constructed by

retailers through marketing strategies and product promotion, so that consumers are encouraged to make individual, personal choices in ways that support consumption. These strategies of education are often limited to price comparisons, rather than knowledge about where the product comes from or its environmental impacts (Miller, 2008). In the same way, the corporate retailer's claim to have the expertise to detect and meet consumer demand constructs the producer's identity as devoid of relevant knowledge for setting production quantities and processes (Miller, 2008).

However, the retailer's claim to knowledge can be opposed by a food activist's claim to knowledge, which is based on situating the product in its social and environmental context (Miller, 2008). The term 'food activist' carries literal political implications, and the activists' opposing claims to knowledge reinforce those implications. In this way, then, attempts to re-educate consumers, or reinstitute the farmers' role in production choices, represent resistance against these dominant principles. For example, a farmers' market may attempt to provide education about how a food product is produced, how it can be eaten, where it originated, and how it is meant to taste (in contrast to the dominant methods and constructed knowledge of industrial agriculture). In particular, Miller (2008) describes how education is promoted at a farmers' market when "consumers and producers meet and learn from each other, the producers find out what the customers want [and] the consumers get a much better idea of what it takes to [produce] their food" (p.147).

These education strategies show that even as the institutional alternative to corporate supermarkets, farmers' markets still rely on the consumption ethic. A vendor at a farmers' market is encouraged to sell his product for a profit, and to encourage the

consumer to choose his/her product above others. They may do so in marketing appeals to individual consumers, by promoting their local produce as an 'ethical' or 'green' or 'responsible' choice. In reality, Holloway and Kneafsay (2000) say, farmers' markets merely represent "new consumption spaces" (p.286). In this way, the markets reflect (rather than resist) the dominant norms of individualism, free market competition, and consumption. This challenges the idea that farmers' markets are political, at least by Isin (2002) and Arendt's (1977) definition.

Therefore, not all aspects of the farmers' markets are acts of political resistance – in fact, farmers' markets reflect the dominant norms of citizenship and being political in many ways. Guthman (2008) argues that farmers' markets may reflect and promote the neoliberal rationalities of individualism, consumer choice, localism, and entrepreneurialism. For example, farmers' markets can act as business incubators by allowing entrepreneurial farmers to experiment with the sale of different products. In addition, farmers can get to know their consumers and form networks with other vendors that may help in future business endeavours beyond the farmers' market (Coster & Kennon, 2005). Furthermore, the emphasis on localism (as outlined previously) can be seen as a direct result of neoliberal policies of downloading responsibilities to the private or municipal spheres and encouraging local entities to take on more financial and administrative responsibility.

This section has theorized possible ways that a farmers' market may be deemed political, based on both narrow and broad interpretations of the political. The markets may act as direct sites for political interactions and organizing, or they may provide spaces where issues of social justice arise and community and collective goods are

emphasized. The constitution of farmers' markets in itself may represent a political act, if certain strategies and technologies of citizenship are employed to create identities and norms. In addition, this section introduced the dominant norms of the current food system in order to propose various ways in which resistance or challenges to those norms might arise. These strategies include shortening supply chains and emphasizing the principles of localism (as opposed to global anonymity and standardization), and encouraging consumer and producer interaction and education (particularly regarding the origins and production of food). The next chapter will use material from personal interviews to explore how some vendors view their participation in farmers' markets, and if their opinions correspond with the ideas in this section.

Chapter Four: At the Farmers' Market

Research Methods

For this study, I chose to conduct personal interviews with some key actors who are involved in some way with farmers' markets in the Greater Victoria Region. After receiving official approval from the UVic Human Research & Ethics Board, I sent out an email to the market managers of eleven of the farmers' markets in the Greater Victoria region (these were the markets with publicly available email addresses). I identified the markets using the BC Association of Farmers' Market's website (BC Association of Farmers' Markets, 2011) and the Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association's online version of Farm Fresh 2011 (Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association, 2011). The individuals' respective email addresses were identified through the website for each farmers' market.

My initial email explained my research project and requested an hour-long interview, either in person or over the telephone. I received five email responses and was able to coordinate four interviews via follow-up emails. The other interviews I conducted were set up through in-person recruitment at some of the markets. Due to these recruitment methods, the diversity of my study, in terms of the participants and markets studied, was limited by the responses that I received. I recognize that having the perspective of a grower of local producer, for example, may strengthen the research and provide a unique perspective. However, my research was not intended to be exhaustive nor statistically representative; instead, it was more exploratory in nature. I aimed to get a sense of the various and different ways in which participation in farmers' markets is

conceived. My choice of markets was more representative, covering a range from old to new and small to large markets in the Greater Victoria Region, although still limited by the responses that I received.

I met the interview subjects in the location that was most convenient for each of them, whether it was at their office, their home, or a local café. The interviews usually lasted less than an hour, and every subject gave permission for the interview to be tape-recorded. The subjects were required to sign an official consent form before the interview could begin. Although I had a list of prepared questions (see Appendix A), I often asked follow-up and open-ended questions to encourage participants to expand their answers.

Interview Subjects (Markets and People)

For this study, I chose to focus on markets within the Greater Victoria Region, an entity which encompasses thirteen municipalities within the Capital Regional District. These municipalities include the 'core' municipalities of the City of Victoria, Saanich, Esquimalt, and Oak Bay. The Greater Victoria Region also encompasses the Western Communities (or Westshore), including Colwood, Langford, View Royal, Highlands, Metchosin, and Sooke. In addition, the Saanich Peninsula municipalities of Central Saanich, North Saanich, and the town of Sidney are also considered a part of this region. Within these municipalities, the BC Association of Farmers' Markets (BCAFM) lists six operating farmers' markets. However, there are many more farmers' markets that operate outside the BCAFM, including the James Bay Community Market and the Victoria Downtown Winter Market. In this way, it is difficult to ascertain a definite number of operating farmers' markets in the region.

Complicating this problem are the multiple craft markets and pocket markets that are often temporary and only in operation for single seasons. Pocket markets are single-tent markets that are set up and sponsored by a single organization. This organization gathers food from various growers, processors, and community gardeners and sells their goods on behalf of those individuals. In many ways, this organization serves as a middleman retailer, but for locally produced food. One example of an organization that sponsors pocket markets in the Greater Victoria Region is FoodRoots. They describe their purpose in this statement:

> Working with farmers, processors and retail members, FoodRoots will undertake crop planning with farmers, provide delivery and storage facilities and work to maximize our local food production by distributing local foods to communities through our Buying Group, working towards a Year Round Market in Victoria and providing produce for small scale food processors (FoodRoots, 2011).

There are various pocket markets in Victoria, including ones in Fernwood, Dockside Green, Gordon Head, and Quadra Village.

This study focuses specifically on farmers' markets in the Greater Victoria Region, according to Alison Brown's (2001) definition as "recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves" (p.658). The markets included in my study provide an overview of the farmers' market scene in the region, and include a range from the region's oldest to its newest markets, from small-sized local markets to large markets with fewer restrictions on membership, and from markets in the downtown core to those in the region's outer communities. The website for each market used in the study is provided in the References section of this thesis, under the subtitle 'Victoria Farmers' Markets Websites.'

The Moss Street Market is Victoria's oldest running farmers' market, at 20 years in operation. It runs every Saturday from May to October and is considered one of the most popular markets for consumers and most sought-after markets for vendors. The Moss Street Market is administered by the Fairfield Community Market Society and its vendors must "make-it, bake-it, grow-it" to ensure that products are personally and locally produced (Moss Street Market, 2011). Other markets in this study that follow the same philosophy are the James Bay Community Market, established in 1995, and the Goldstream Station Market, which was established in 2007 and is administered by the Luxton Station Market Society. Both are smaller than the Moss Street Market and have about 30-50 vendors each. The Sidney Summer Market, on the other hand, has over 200 vendors and does not limit its vendors to local borders, although most of its growers are local. The Victoria Downtown Public Market Society (VDPMS) was established in 2009, and ran its first winter market in 2010 and summer market in 2011. The VDPMS' Winter Market is the only farmers' market in the city to run through the winter months, and ran once a month from November 2010 to April 2011.

The interview subjects who are in some way involved with at least one of the markets described above, either as a vendor, manager, or board member, are described below in no particular order.

Before moving to Victoria, Subject 1[1] owned a farm in Scotland and grew organic food. Now she is a vendor who sells at one weekly market and two monthly markets in the Greater Victoria Region. This is her first year selling at the markets, and she is pleased with the success of her product. She sells four different granola recipes that

[1] The interview with Subject 1 was conducted on September 22, 2011.

combine ingredients such as oats, nuts, seeds, and dried fruit. For the ingredients that are not locally produced (such as almonds and cashews), she attempts to buy from local health food stores, although she admits that she will reluctantly buy some products from Costco in order to keep her costs down. She describes herself as a very political person, saying "I don't think anything I do is ever separated from my politics." Through the interview, she expressed opinions that opposed multinational corporations and industrial production methods, promoted environmental sustainability, and praised local farmers and producers. She admits that her political principles, however, are often tempered by the realities of living in an expensive city with a family to support.

Subject 2[2] has been the market manager and member of the administrative organization for a major farmers' market in the region since 2007. She is also a food security coordinator for her local Chamber of Commerce. Her main focus is to create a sense of community among consumers and vendors, and she clearly takes great pride in her market and its vendors. During the interview, she was especially passionate about the health and environmental benefits of eating local, organic food (as opposed to the "cardboard," "force-grown," and "shipped" food found in supermarkets).

Subject 3[3] is also a market manager and member of her market's administrative association. She focuses on the farmers' market as a way to promote and bring tourism to her area of Greater Victoria. Her focus is less about supporting local businesses than it is about supporting small-scale vendors; for example, she allows a company to sell free-trade purses made by women in India who are trying to escape poverty and the sex trade, because "I think that's a really good cause, so I wouldn't turn them away from the

[2] The interview with Subject 2 was conducted on July 14, 2011.

[3] The interview with Subject 3 was conducted on June 13, 2011.

market." She also recognizes the struggles that small farmers face, and aims to help them sustain a living: "the thing that's most important to me about the market is my vendors. Because for a lot of them, this is their life." In this way, she believes that supporting and participating in farmers' markets represents a lifestyle choice rather than a political one.

Subject 4[4] is both a vendor and a member of the Board of Directors for a farmers' market in the Greater Victoria Region. She sells a beeswax-coated fabric that substitutes for plastic wrap. Her opinions were largely from an economic perspective, as a vendor who has grown her business from an experiment to a small incorporated company. In this way, she views her farmers' market primarily as a marketing opportunity that offers her a chance to grow her idea into a long-term viable business that will operate outside that farmers' market. In her interview, she focused on her frustrations with what she sees as a limited grassroots mentality that discourages local businesses from growing beyond a certain size, at which point they are barred from the farmers' market. Her ideal situation is to have support for local business growth, while allowing that growth to contribute to the local economy. She admits that when she first entered the market, she had more "grassroots ideals" and more "anger toward corporations," but now she is realizing the realities of the dominant business world: "So from an economic viewpoint I definitely see [farmers' markets] connecting with my political values."

Subject 5[5] is a city councillor with the City of Victoria, a director with the Capital Regional District, and one of the founders and directors of the Victoria Downtown Public Market Society. He therefore offers the perspective of a government representative, but also of someone who has been involved with food security issues longer than he has

[4] The interview with Subject 4 was conducted on September 15, 2011.

[5] The interview with Subject 5 was conducted on July 11, 2011.

worked in government, and wants to use his credibility as a politician to draw attention to these issues. He advocates for a downtown permanent market and promotes other urban agriculture initiatives (such as community gardens) and food security policies (such as allowing backyard chickens). He admits that "the public on most issues is well ahead of we politicians and of government," thereby implying that political acts are occurring outside the traditional sphere of government.

Subject 6[6] started working in local food after returning from his work as a welfare support agent in a military kitchen in Afghanistan. While he was there, he was struck by the juxtaposition of the poor quality of food served in expensive military kitchens with the high quality of the food made by locals living very minimalist lifestyles. He returned to Victoria determined to promote local food as a viable lifestyle, and worked with various farmers' markets in the Greater Victoria Region before taking a position as a market manager at one of them. His goal is to restore the original principles of farmers' markets, which he sees as supporting local businesses, the local economy, and providing access to local food. In this way, he wants to promote self-sufficient local businesses (instead of government or corporate enterprises). He claims that "the market economy has created such success for the original idea, which has grown so large that it's forgotten where it came from."

As this section has shown, each of the interview subjects portrayed unique views about the ultimate role and purpose of farmers' markets, and the extent to which political issues intersect with these purposes. Sometimes, their responses echoed one another and overlapped in certain areas; other times, they directly opposed each other. The

[6] The interview with Subject 6 was conducted on August 22, 2011.

multiplicity of opinions regarding the political aspects of farmers' markets indicates that there are various ways to view participation in these markets, and that it is not easy to distinguish one person's behaviour as strictly political or apolitical. The following section will detail specific actions taken and claims made by the interview subjects, with the intention of categorizing some of the political acts of citizenship that are expressed at, and through, the market.

Interview Responses

In the next section, I have attempted to categorize the responses of interviewees according to different ways in which their actions or words may be deemed political. Although a preceding section in this thesis (*Identifying the Political)* imagined various ways in which farmers' markets might be conceived as political, some of which overlap with the interview responses to follow, the categories below were generated inductively from the interviews themselves, based on common responses and themes that were emphasized in conversation. The order of these categories reflects the progressive expansion of citizenship and ways of being political, as outlined in previous sections. In other words, the responses that can be seen as invoking the legal and political rights of citizenship, for example by directly lobbying the state or involving government for certain objectives, are first analyzed. Then, by adding the perspective of social citizenship, the responses that can be categorized as aiming to create and promote a sense of community are detailed as political acts. This leads to a third category of responses that aim to change the dominant food knowledge by educating citizens, or consumers, in different ways. Often, these strategies reflect a fourth category of political actions, which involves the attempt to promote and support an alternative lifestyle – one that is different

from the dominant norms in modern society. For example, this category involves responses that indicate the search for new food and economic priorities, particularly in opposition to the priorities of the dominant global corporate food system. At the same time, however, the interview responses also warranted a fifth category in which these norms are not resisted, but in fact reflected: a category in which farmers' markets are seen as a business opportunity. The following section will detail how the interview responses support and justify these categories, thereby explaining how the actions of market participants can be seen as political acts of citizenship.

A. Lobbying the State

Many of the interview responses referenced government policies and state initiatives that interact with the goals of the farmers' markets. One of the main issues that were brought up was the issue of increasing government support for local farmers. From direct payments to large-scale farmers and corporate agribusinesses, to funding for research and education in biotechnology production methods, to tax breaks for large-scale technologies and corporations and higher interest rates on loans for small businesses than for large firms, current state agricultural policies and subsidies favour large-scale agribusinesses in various ways (Norberg-Hoge, 1996). In addition to these policies, state regulations also favour large-scale agribusinesses. For example, Norberg-Hoge (1996) explains how

> An unfair burden often falls on small-scale enterprises through regulations aimed at problems caused by large-scale production. For example, a local entrepreneur wanting to bake biscuits at home to sell at a local market would in most cases need to install an industrial kitchen to meet health regulations. Such a regulation makes it economically impossible to succeed (s.3).

Subject 1 in fact expressed the very same situation, stating:

> If I want to sell to health food stores or cafes or places like that – and I would like to do that - …I'd have to rent a kitchen, which is a whole new ballpark, and that changes my profit margin.…Will that be financially viable? Can I actually improve my business without going into debt? I'm all for food safety and hygiene…but I do think that the regulations are heavily geared toward supporting the people who already have too much money, the corporations and industries.

In response to these conditions, Subject 1 said that the ideal solution would be more monetary support from the government both for small-scale producers and for farmers' markets in general: "There are still subsidies for massive commercial farms. But for people who are trying to feed themselves and their local community, there's no support." As a result, she says, she has to charge more for her product then she would like. "But again," she says, "if we had some kind of subsidy we could drop our prices and make it more accessible to the lower income person."

She doesn't expect this support to come easily, or anytime soon:

> I'm all for government involvement if the government wasn't run by clowns…I don't care about left or right. I just want to see someone who considers humanity and environment, because that's all we've got. Instead, it's all about money.

As a market manager, Subject 6 agrees: "[The government] is not making the right decisions in any sectors because they're basing it all on economic theory." He would love to see government-subsidized food coupons for low-income families, or better wages for farmers, he says. At the same time, though, he recognizes that "there's a huge push on to get rid of government, to have less government and less taxes.…The government seems to have gotten out of funding things that are practical for citizens, and they are going more toward privatization and private money and large conglomerates and corporations."

In this way, Subject 6 is referencing the neoliberal policies and ideological shifts that were outlined in previous sections.

Just as Subject 6 believes the government has turned to the market, Subject 5 believes the public has turned away from government and toward the market as well. In response to a question asking why he chooses to shop at farmers' markets, he replied:

> I think that people are less and less inclined to get involved in…the kind of democracy that governments want, to show up once every three or four years or whatnot [to vote]. But I think that they are more and more inclined to making educated decisions around their spending as a form of democracy as well. I would much rather cast my vote financially on a local business and a local business person – not just on food, but on everything that I buy.

In this statement, he refers to the declining voter turnout and supplies a possible reason for that decline – that consumers are making more independent choices and expressing their political values in different venues. Subject 5's analytical leap from grocery shopping to democratic participation and voting represents a political statement in even the most basic interpretation of the political.

In addition, Subject 5's statement references a political shift toward the market that is indicated in other interview responses, in particular through references to the activities of the Victoria Downtown Public Market Society. The VDPMS was founded in 2009 with the objective of creating a permanent farmers' market in downtown Victoria. In 2010, the VDPMS sponsored Victoria's first winter farmers' market and the first 'Eat Here Now' local food harvest festival, both of which were very well received by the public. While the VDPMS has received considerable support from the City of Victoria for these initiatives, Subject 5 says there is "no appetite for giving up land or a building for us to be able to put in a downtown farmers' market." Instead, the VDPMS has turned

to local developers for support, offering the idea of putting local food retail spaces on the bottom floor of residential or commercial buildings. “It’s more of a market-based approach rather than going for a government-based or solely non-profit based approach,” says Subject 5.

Subject 6 is also involved with the VDPMS, and he references the same obstacles and lack of government support for creating a permanent market downtown. He says,

> A hundred years ago, the government would have said, ‘What does this city need?’ And it’s a central marketplace where farmers can come and sell their wares, and that’s going to benefit everybody by bringing food into the city and creating business opportunities for people. But for whatever reason that’s been lost.

This statement not only indicates what he believes to be the core principles of farmers’ markets, but it also indicates that he sees government as having a responsibility to determine the priorities of a city and provide for the needs of its citizens. He later reiterates,

> I’d love it if the government would just realize that all those reasons why we built the market in the first place, they’re all the same now. All those reasons are still valid. I’d love to see more support from [the government] in a monetary way, and then we might be able to do it. The environment right now is not really conductive to that, I don’t think.

Subject 5 echoes these sentiments, saying that “With food security, it’s been very tough to get governments, particularly at the municipal level, to understand exactly what the community need and the community benefit is, and how much should be invested.” He recognizes that “what we would benefit from here in Victoria and Greater Victoria is more active government involvement in creating space for the local food movement.” Both of these statements are calls for government involvement and support, and imply that government’s role is to recognize and act upon identified community needs. In

making direct reference to government policies and subsidies, in connecting democratic values to spending priorities, and in comparing the role and responsibilities of government to those of the market, these interviews indicated that farmers' markets are often connected with political issues and values. These responses reflect a traditional conception of politics, therefore, as state-centred and based on certain rights of citizenship. They also indicate the influence of a market-based and more independent view of citizenship responsibilities.

B. Creating a Sense of Community

The word 'community' came up frequently during these interviews, and this section will show how the various associations that each respondent had with this word are politically important. Subject 5 says,

> Farmers' markets, both historically and in the present, are really meeting spaces. They're gathering places for community, where diverse members of the community can get together and discuss issues that matter to them, or can just enjoy local bounty and learn more about where their food comes from.

This is very similar to Bernard Crick's (1962/2005) description of politics as a 'civilizing activity,' in which diverse interests are brought together and negotiated to establish a common good or a moral consensus (p.9). In fact, Subject 5 makes a direct connection between farmers' markets and the political when he says,

> As a politician I can tell you that governments at all levels spend billions of dollars trying to...understand how we create glue within our society in terms of social well-being, social health, etc. and I think that [a farmers' market] does that at a discounted price….Food security, farmers' markets and access to local agriculture are just great exercises in community building.

The word 'community' was often used in interviews to represent the idea of an inclusive space, where various activities and interactions occurred. Subject 6 says, "That's the

experience – it's always good, it's always the feeling of community, it's live music and it's enjoying good food that's healthy for them." Subject 2 describes the market in a similar way, as a "micro-community – we have farmers, we have vendors, we have bakers, we have jam makers, we have honey vendors, we have all sorts of people, we have music – we have everything you could possibly want in a town on one street." In this way, farmers' markets are a space for public work and associated living, which is what Dewey (1916/1966) described as democratic and therefore, political. Subject 6 echoes this idea when he says that farmers' markets emphasize "the idea of working for the common good and having a common goal, and how independent is actually interdependent." This sense of community and common purpose, which is perceived as a social good, is achieved through the conciliation of various interests – thereby reflecting Bernard Crick (1962/2005) and Chantal Mouffe's (1992)'s thoughts on the political as negotiating interests and constituting communities.

In addition to the feeling of community that a farmers' market creates for its customers, it also establishes a sense of community among its vendors. For the market managers, pleasing the vendors is a central part of their roles. Subject 3 says, "The thing that's most important to me about the market is my vendors." Subject 2 says she is most proud when vendors say to her that it 'feels like a family here,' and not just because the market is family-oriented (for example, it has various craft activities for children), but because of the cooperation among vendors. Subject 2 says vendors will often watch each other's tables while one goes to buy products from other vendors at the market, they will help introduce new vendors to the market, and they will create relationships and connections on their own. As a vendor herself, Subject 1 describes a similar feeling of

community among vendors, who often buy each other's products: "I even bought dog biscuits the other day, and the only dog I know lives in Scotland."

The idea of buying each other's products in solidarity brings up another issue of community that was commonly brought up in interviews, and that is the relationship between farmers and crafters. Here, there were mixed opinions on these relationships, but all opinions highlighted the construction of various identities within the market. As a craft vendor, Subject 4 feels that often,

> Farmers don't give the crafters much credit as being a viable part of the communities…They think it should just be food.... But the crafters contribute to the atmosphere. They hold people for the day, because people mill around them and talk and explore, whereas with the farmers it's kind of 'get your stuff and get out.'

Subject 2 explains how some people see crafters as riding on the shirttails of farmers and their hard labour. In fact, one of her market's vendors wrote an article for a national publication claiming exactly that, and arguing that crafters don't belong at farmers' markets. What happened in response both surprised and impressed her: the people who were most vocal in opposing his article were the farmers – the people the author was claiming to represent. In a view that contrasts with Subject 4's opinion, Subject 2 believes this is due to the "symbiotic relationship between farmers and crafters. Because the farmers need soap too! [And the crafters] are the guaranteed customers...You don't see any crafter leaving without an armful of produce every week."

Not all respondents indicated this same feeling of community or solidarity within the farmers' market. In fact, Subject 4 (both a vendor and a board member) said,

> I feel like I'm trained to say 'community,' but that's not what I've experienced there….That's the word I would have chosen to say four years ago when I joined [the market], because I saw it as a supportive environment and a safe place to explore my idea…but as I grow I feel

> more and more pushed out of the community. There's not as much support as you would think there would be.

She notes conflicts on the board of directors, a general 'fear of growth,' and policies that discourage vendors from expanding their businesses as some of her frustrations. Subject 6 also points to conflicts on the board of directors in his market, reflecting that "on a small scale, I imagine that it's like working in government…or federal politics. It's like a minefield of different interests."

Furthermore, although the word 'community' was often used to indicate an inclusive space, the vendors recognized that the farmers' markets were not practically accessible to all people, particularly people of low incomes. Subject 6 explains the problem, claiming that mass production relies on "slave labour" and uses technology that does not account for the environmental or health costs of its production: "All of these things work together to make the prices of mass produced goods artificially low. Which is what the underclass buys because that's all they can afford." In other words, he blames low wages and mass production techniques (used to create economies of scale) for driving prices down, so that farmers no longer receive fair prices for their products.

Subject 1 admits that she struggles with that problem herself, sometimes driving to Costco to buy the nuts for her granola products. "I do get some of my goods from Costco, and I hate that, but I also need to make sure that people can still afford to buy my product." She admits, "I'm charging way more for my granola than I want to, and I'm making 25-50 cents an hour sometimes." Her suggestion is that low-income people choose one product to buy from the farmers' market, in order to still support its principles. She does this herself: "Our money's tight, but it's got to go someplace, and I'd rather give it to the people who do the work." Subject 2 also believes that shopping at a

farmers' market is a conscious choice that consumers must make. She says she often hears complaints that shopping at the farmers' market is not affordable, but she argues that if we change the way we think about food, this isn't true. "We need to think of it not in the way of quantity over quality, but in the way that the more flavor you have in the food, the less you need of it. And you take more care with that food, so there's less waste." In this way, she believes that farmers' markets, and buying locally, are viable options for most people.

While Subject 1 and 2's suggestions rely on individual choices (which is reflective of the dominant norms of individualization and consumer responsibility), Subject 6's proposed solution again appeals to the state. He suggests having programs such as a government-subsidized coupon booklet, which would be given to needy families to allow them to get their groceries from a farmers' market. This type of program used to exist with the Moss Street Market, in partnership with Victoria's Native Friendship Centre and the BC Association of Farmers' Markets, but has since collapsed due to the withdrawal of funding from the province. This type of program represents a political attempt to create equality and social justice within the community.

The goal of creating a cohesive and inclusive community at the farmers' market is political in its combination and negotiation of diverse interests, its construction of identities and norms, and its appeals to social justice. This is supported by Crick (1962/2005) and Mouffe (1992)'s notions of the political as the negotiation of communities and identities. In addition, farmers' markets may be seen as political in the conflicts and the movements of solidarity, the strategies of differentiation and those of mutual support, and the negotiation and the cooperation that occur as the market operates

and evolves. All of these are evidence of Engin Isin's (2002) ideas of the political construction of identities and use of the strategies of citizenship. For example, the support for local businesses and the supportive relationship between vendors may be seen as solidaristic actions in which identities are created through affiliation and inclusion; by contrast, the prohibition of vendors with businesses over a certain size, the segregation between crafters and vendors, and the practical exclusion of low-income earners can be seen as agonistic or alienating strategies of citizenship. In general, the attempt to establish dominant norms within the market, both in terms of membership requirements and in the relationships established between vendors and among consumers, can be seen to represent a political act. Furthermore, the intention to establish a sense of community (as a common norm), whether successful or not, is an inherently political task.

C. Education

As indicated by many of the interview subjects, a large part of a farmers' market's role is to educate consumers in various ways about products and where they came from. This education is in itself political if it is offered in opposition to the dominant knowledge or to challenge dominant systems.

As a vendor, Subject 4 says that the main part of her job is education, particularly regarding her product and how it is made. Subject 1 agrees, although she notes that the more common questions are about how to use granola and what to eat it with, rather than where it comes from or how it is made. She also wants to make people aware of what food is available locally, and what isn't. She tells a story about someone asking her if she grew all of the products in her granola herself (almonds, cashews, etc). "It's really kind of

sad that someone thinks I've got all that in my backyard….I'm not going to get the raw ingredients here, but I'm producing it myself."

Educating consumers about local produce and its availability was in fact a major trend in these interviews. This topic of conversation pulled in issues of environmentalism (particularly regarding the mileage that food travels from production to consumption, and the environmental pollution that entails), international human rights conditions (particularly regarding the slave labour that is often used in factories abroad), and health standards (particularly regarding the pesticides and hormones used to grow certain products). When drawing attention to these issues, interview subjects endorsed local food instead of food from the industrialized, globally traded food offered in corporate supermarkets. The recognition of all these issues encompassed within the local food umbrella, is evidence of a multiplicity of political claims (which the New Leftist movement highlighted), and therefore a relocation of politics away from the state and toward individuals or the free market.

Another important aspect of the interviews was the emphasis on education about food quality and taste. Subject 2 notes that "Some people eat bananas that are green because they think that's the way they're supposed to be and they're not, they're supposed to be lovely and ripe and spotted." She also wants to draw people's attention to the taste difference between farmers' markets produce and "the cardboard" you find in a retail supermarket: "It's real flavor as opposed to being shipped from who-knows-where, and being force-grown and put in a truck somewhere." Subject 1 agrees, arguing that once someone starts growing his/her own food or eating locally grown food, the taste difference is clear. "It's incredible. Your food doesn't taste like paper towels anymore.

Because it's fresh and it's locally grown, it hasn't traveled, it hasn't been sprayed and God knows what they do." In other words, food that hasn't gone through the industrialized process of the global corporate food chain tastes far better. In this way, this emphasis on taste and quality education opposes the dominant patterns of consumption, and is therefore political.

D. Alternative Lifestyle

Through education strategies and attempts to encourage a cohesive community atmosphere, farmers' markets draw attention to the presence of local farms, the work of local farmers, and the benefits of local food. The interviews revealed that this emphasis on 'local' is often intended to promote a lifestyle different from that of the dominant, globalized lifestyle.

For many of the respondents, promoting an alternative lifestyle often involved an emphasis on supporting and sustaining the local economy and local vendors, as opposed to contributing to the global corporate retail system. In fact, Subject 3 says that she believes the main role of the farmers' market is to support local businesses: "Thrifty's and Fairways, they don't need any help, they're huge, right? People are going to shop regardless but it's the little guys, the local farms, that people tend to forget about." Other vendors also made comparisons between farmers' markets and mainstream supermarkets. Subject 1 said, "I get my produce from the farmers' market and it costs me a lot more than going to Thrifty's or something, but to me it's money well spent….[Farmers' markets] have soul, they have humanity. I just hate supporting multinationals and I think lots of people feel that way." Subject 2 said, "For those people who shop at the farmers'

market all the time, the grocery store is their second stop. What they can't find is what they go looking for at Thrifty's."

> Subject 2 believes that failing to recognize the value of farmers' markets is
>
> like having something valuable right there and never using it. People say don't use the good china every day – use the good china! Why not?...Why be normal, why be like everyone else, why not open your eyes and look around instead of walking around with your head down and shuffling into the grocery store to buy your cardboard food?

Subject 6 admits that this choice often means spending more money on produce at farmers' markets, but he says, "I think people are willing to pay more to feel like they are part of something that is underlying how they want to live." This statement indicates that he believes farmers' markets to represent an alternative way of living.

With the goal of making farmers' markets more viable alternatives to corporate supermarkets, many interview subjects offered suggestions that focused on the style and mandate of the markets. Many of the interview subjects mentioned the ideal of the farmers' market as a 'one-stop-shop,' where customers could get all their groceries and supplies for the week in one place. This means that the markets would not only feature produce, but bakers, butchers, and people producing manufactured or value-added products as well. In addition, the markets would ideally operate on a daily or weekly basis, so that shoppers could realistically sustain their shopping needs just through the farmers' markets. Currently, some of the markets only run once a month, and the markets that do run weekly only operate through the summer season (usually May to October). Victoria's first winter market, which ran during the 2010-2011 winter season, was remarkably successful, and as Subject 5 says, "we certainly saw that as an indication of the high demand for local food and the willingness of individuals to support local food

producers, even in adverse weather." For Subject 1, the ideal situation would be "to see farmers' markets like in Europe, where it is just blocks and blocks of food vendors and farmers and bread and cheese." Unfortunately, she says, the cost of living in Victoria makes that model impossible for vendors to live off that income, "especially in a city like this. It's so expensive – everybody's got to work one, two, three jobs just to get by."

Responses indicated that not only do farmers' markets provide alternatives for consumers, but they are also intended to support the vendors in living an alternative lifestyle. Subject 1 believes the role of a farmers' market in a city is "to reconnect the consumer with the producer," both as a social and economic alternative to the dominant food system. Economically, respondents emphasized a shortened supply chain as a way for farmers to receive the full price for their product, rather than losing money by having their product processed, distributed, and retailed by corporate middlemen. These efforts to support local economies, resources, and livelihoods by promoting the use of local produce are reflective of Vandana Shiva's concept of relocalization (as cited in Miller, 2008, p.145), and are therefore political in their attempt to alter the dominant norms of citizenship. Socially, as Subject 4 emphasized, consumers are able to see the person who produced their food, and ask any questions about the product and its production that they wish to ask. This reconnection, as an attempt to alter dominant relationships by avoiding the middlemen of industrial agriculture and retail sales, is political in its resistance to established norms and systems.

In a way that sums up much of the discussion above, Subject 5 says,

> It's really about building a model to support sustainability, in terms of economic sustainability for local businesses…and for farmers especially, who are so undervalued in our society right now, and underpaid for their hard work.…If you give local folks a better appreciation of what's going

> on [in terms of local food production], you give them better health and that helps in terms of our overall social sustainability, and you give them a relationship with not only the vendors and the farmers but also with their local community that's quite different and positive. And these things have ancillary benefits that governments have trouble quantifying sometimes.

This statement has various implications: for one, he makes a political statement about how farmers' markets can challenge the dominant way that farmers are valued in society. Secondly, he indicates that the health and social benefits of local food are inherently political, although governments can't necessarily count those benefits. This has implications for one of the main premises of this thesis: If political impacts are merely counted in electoral votes, many issues and impacts in other spheres are obscured. Therefore, expanding the inventory of what is considered 'being political' allows for the political impact of various activities and spheres to be identified.

E. Business Development

Although this section has detailed various ways in which farmers' markets resist and aim to change dominant norms and systems, there are also aspects of farmers' markets which reflect these dominant characteristics. Many of the respondents emphasized the opportunity that the farmers' market provided for them to expand their business, thus reflecting an entrepreneurial spirit that is indicative of a neoliberal attitude. For Subject 4, the product she sells was a "complete experiment" – an experiment that quickly founded a successful two-person company. She sees the farmers' market "as an incredible marketing opportunity, but [not] as a long-term business decision. It's like advertising…I'm able to put myself in front of the consumer." Similarly, Subject 5 encourages all of his vendors to front their businesses as well. He says,

> It doesn't matter whether or not you are the most personable or presentable person in the world, I think that the people who seek out that

> farmers' market experience are looking to have a relationship with that individual [the vendor]. They are looking to feel that they are helping someone or supporting someone that they believe in.

While Subject 5 emphasizes the social benefits of a direct relationship, Subject 4 sees this personal contact as a business opportunity. The farmers' market, for her, allows her to access the norms of the dominant corporate realm: "I think as far as the world of business goes, that's important – authenticity and transparency is key. [The farmers' market] gives you that environment."

Subject 4's particular frustration is with what she feels is a limited view that prevents business growth. At her market, she says, "there's a very grassroots mentality and unfortunately with that mentality there's a huge fear of growth." Once a business reaches a certain size (for example, if it obtains a storefront operation), her market's policies no longer allow that business to sell at the market. But, Subject 4 argues, that is when a business needs the most support: "There's a point where your business goes from being a marketing experiment to being viable, and that's when you get booted out. That doesn't support local business or local economy at all." She believes there should be an interim period in which businesses can keep their regular clientele and promote their new business at the farmers' market, while still maintaining a storefront operation. Instead, she says, the 'fear of growth' and fear of corporate involvement prevents this support for local businesses. She says,

> My personal opinion is that when something is new and great on a grassroots level…there's no reason to keep it grassroots. I think we have a big fear of corporations as being these awful, rule-the-world and take-over-everything entities, but the reality is that when somebody is doing something really amazing…they're not supported.

In this way, Subject 4 is acknowledging what she sees as the realities of a dominant system of corporate involvement and global trade. As a vendor, Subject 1 faces the same realities: she is considering renting a kitchen and selling her product to a wholesaler this winter, in order to grow her business. The VDPMS' turn to private developers for funding (instead of government) can also been seen as adherence, rather than resistance, to the dominant norms of citizenship.

The inclusion of this category highlights the complexity of farmers' markets as political spaces, and the multiplicity of motivations and goals that are present at these sites. Based on this understanding, and the categorization of the interview responses, the next section will attempt to discern some overarching patterns from the interview responses. These patterns are intended to indicate the political significance (or insignificance) of farmers' markets.

Chapter 5: Patterns and Implications

Patterns of Politics

A. Pragmatic

Throughout these interviews, two dominant patterns emerged, and to some extent they are contradictory patterns. On the one hand, I found the interview subjects' view of the markets to be relatively straightforward and pragmatic. They view a farmer's market as a place that offers access to local food, supports local vendors in their business ventures, and allows people to interact and have fun while purchasing some token food and crafts. They don't see the markets as anything more than an additional option for consumption, albeit one with healthier and more local produce. As Subject 6 says, "It's just a practical thing for people and their well-being." He repeats this sentiment a few times in the interview: "It's a really simple thing and that's the way it should be," and "I think people just come [to the farmers' market] because they feel good when they come."

For Subject 4, it's a simple economic venture. She says, "It's just a great place to sell your stuff." Similarly, although Subject 5 emphasizes various social and political benefits of markets, he also recognizes that "ultimately the best value that farmers are going to get for their product is if they can cut out all the middlemen [and] go direct sales to customers." A few of the subjects emphasized the convenience of farmers' markets as a 'one-stop shop' for consumers, where they can purchase their groceries and food products, buy their crafts or processed goods, and learn about community activities and associations every week. Subject 2 pointed out that not only are farmers' markets a useful one-stop shop for consumers, who then don't have to drive to various farms to get local products, but they are also convenient for the vendors, who can congregate in one place "instead of having to man their at-home gate sales seven days a week." Subject 5 believes

that this sort of experience is necessary, "because we're used to a level of convenience when it comes to food shopping in our culture." In this way, farmers' markets are adhering to the dominant norms of society, and the market simply represents an additional space of economic interactions.

In addition, the responses were often simplistic in their indifference toward both governments and corporations. Initially, I expected to find a blatant opposition to these entities, and a direct attempt to essentially spite them by participating in farmers' markets. To be sure, in some cases there was an obvious contempt for corporate food policies and the lack of government support for local food. However, more often than not the respondents displayed a relative indifference toward these matters. Other than the government official who was interviewed, there was little expectation, and in some cases no desire, for governments or corporations to become involved in the farmers' markets.

Whether it was due to disinterest, discouragement, or frustration, many of the responses indicated a general disengagement and detachment from both government and global retail corporations. These responses often considered politics as an external activity, associating it with complex bureaucratic and hierarchical processes that accompanied the professionalization of politics. For example, Subject 3 defines politics as "HST and Ottawa and suits," while Subject 2 says, "political stuff means having a very narrow view of something and being somewhat negative." Similarly, Subject 1 says, "politics when it comes down to it is the greedy and powerful versus those who are trying to get by…and you won't find a millionaire selling at a farmer's market." In this statement, the respondents show an obvious contempt for traditional politics, and often displayed a similar disaffection with multinational corporations throughout their

interviews; however, they don't see these politics present at the farmers' markets. In other words, respondents often classified farmers' markets as separate from government, and therefore separate from politics.

The responses that viewed farmers' markets as independent of politics revealed an individualism that is reflective of the dominant norms of citizenship. For example, many of the interview responses drew attention to the role of the vendors as entrepreneurs, taking on the individual responsibility of running their own business. This reflects the dominant interpretation of citizenship, as articulated in the study guide for citizenship applicants, *Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of citizenship*. This guide states that individuals are expected to "take responsibility for oneself and one's family" by getting a job (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011a, s.4). Echoing this idea of personal responsibility, Subject 6 says,

> It's something they put their heart and soul into and they can put a lot of effort in, some of these bakers stay up all night to make their bread for the market the next day. And they're using their own hands and putting their own energy in and they're their own boss and what they put in is what they get out of it. So there's a huge amount of pride, they're doing what they want to do and getting a return on it and supporting their family.

Subject 1, a vendor herself, agrees. She is proud of her ability to maintain a balance of family and work, saying: "I know I'm producing a really good product, and I really love what I'm doing. I've done something right here."

In addition to reflecting dominant conceptions of citizenship, the interview responses also reflected dominant neoliberal values, particularly in privileging the individual responsibility of both consumers and vendors. On the consumption side, responses emphasized that frequenting a farmers' market was an individual consumption choice. An individual can choose to live a lifestyle in which he or she supports local food,

and eats healthier for it; or, an individual can choose to frequent supermarkets where food is cheaper but has often traveled long distances and been sprayed with pesticides to prevent its decay. Obviously, the market managers and vendors hope that individuals will make the choice to support local food; but regardless, it remains an individual choice and responsibility to do so.

On the production side, more emphasis was placed on the entrepreneurial role of the vendor in contributing to a local economy. Subject 6 elaborates:

> I feel like the small producer and small grower are great symbols of self-sufficiency and independence, and we're depending way too much on governments and corporations to do things for us, provide us jobs and provide for our wellbeing and I don't see it as a sustainable way to move forward in any country.

This statement has two important aspects. Firstly, it indicates a neoliberal move away from a welfare state mentality of government support. Secondly, his reference to 'any country' indicates an association with the traditional state-centred norms and borders of citizenship. His statement also indicates a desire for an environment where self-sufficiency and independence (neoliberal qualities) can thrive. Each of these aspects therefore reflects the dominant norms of citizenship.

In these ways, the interview responses seemed to indicate a relatively simplistic conception of farmers' markets, and one that does not radically differ from or challenge dominant norms. Farmers' markets, according to these responses, are simply spaces for individual consumers to shop, for individual vendors to make a profit, and for people who are interested in local food to attend and support those vendors. Whether or not the government offers institutional or financial aid, and whether or not corporations continue to privilege global mass-produced goods or make an effort to feature local food, the

respondents indicated that farmers' markets will continue to operate, essentially independently of these entities. In addition, by encouraging individualism and entrepreneurialism, farmers' markets seem to provide an alternative space for the dominant norms to operate. On the one hand, my conclusions from this project could simply have been that farmers' markets are straightforward and convenient and that's all there is to it.

B. Political

On the other hand, I also noticed an altogether different trend during the interviews. There were consistent hints at an underlying movement, driven by certain values, that was associated with local food and farmers' markets. What were seemingly simple responses became politically significant when I considered them in the context of dominant norms and food systems, and in connection to underlying reactions and motivations. In particular, the political significance of the interview responses can be found in the expression of anticorporate and alternative lifestyle sentiments, the interaction of associated political movements and initiatives, and the indication of a larger, interconnected underlying movement.

As noted, many of the responses were largely detached regarding government or corporate involvement in farmers' markets. They assumed the farmers' markets would continue to operate independently of government financial or institutional aid. However, that does not indicate a general indifference toward the *principles* of either entity – particularly corporations. For example, Subject 6 praised farmers' markets for concentrating on "individual producers who really care about the end product instead of these giant conglomerate corporations that just want to see the numbers and don't care

about the quality of the product." In this way, the responses indicated opposition to the dominant corporate retail system. In fact, Subject 6 indicates a direct challenge to the dominant norms when he says,

> The food that is widely available in supermarkets is not healthy for us. And that's one thing we have to change if we're going to take control over our own health....[and that change] is in direct conflict with the ruling, governing class.

This statement, like many of the responses, indicates a desire to change the dominant corporate food system and its principles. This challenge to dominant principles is evidence of a political act, according to Engin Isin (2002) and Hannah Arendt's (1977) definition of the political.

In more general terms than this anticorporate sentiment, an equally political statement that was often expressed during interviews was an emphasis on farmers' markets as evidence of a certain lifestyle, different from dominant norms, for both the vendors and their customers. Subject 3 says, "For a lot [of the vendors], this is their life – that's all they do, they live to vend in these markets. They are living that way, and to me, the market is all about the vendors." For others, the market also provides a lifestyle for consumers. Subject 6 says, "It's not just a place for tourists to go to pick up trinkets; it's a place where people actually go to live their lives." During the interviews, the choice to live this lifestyle was often associated with recognizing food as representative of certain values. Subject 5 describes how he connects food with values when he says,

> When my wife and I first go to a new country, we have a habit of hitting the local farmers' market to find out really what those folks value. It really represents what's important about community….That's a really good way to find out what people value; you can see it reflected on what they put on their plates.

This statement shows how farmers' markets can reflect more than simple pragmatism through broader lifestyle and value statements.

Some respondents saw this lifestyle as apolitical, again separating farmers' markets from politics. As Subject 3 says, "I think there are people out there that [think of farmers' markets in political terms] but I personally don't think of it as political at all. I think it's a lifestyle for people and a life choice." However, this thesis argues that the choice to live this lifestyle, when it is proposed as an alternative to dominant norms, is an inherently political choice. For example, Subject 2, although she is a market manager, describes her consumer habits as a lifestyle: "I don't think I would ever go back to having the grocery store as my primary source [for food] again" and believes that "for everybody the primary source of produce and meat should be local." In this way, she is living the alternative lifestyle, and therefore advocates and acts (politically) against the norms of the dominant corporate food system.

In fact, many of the responses reflected an expanded definition of citizenship by recognizing lifestyle choices and values as inherently political. For example, Subject 6 clarified, "I'm not connected to a specific party or any kind of company or corporation; I'm really just trying to benefit the society in which I live." I asked him, "But you view that as political?" and he answered, "Yes. It's just the direction we need to go more often." In this way, he recognizes that promoting and acting a certain lifestyle is a political act of citizenship.

In addition to reflecting a certain lifestyle choice, another trend that became evident during the interviews was the association of other political movements with the farmers' market. In the same way that the civil rights movement was connected to anti-

imperial sentiments, and the women's rights movement to issues of social welfare and health, farmers' markets and the local food movement are also connected to various political movements. The environmental and sustainability movements are evident in the desire to reduce the distance that food travels, reduce packaging and waste, and minimize the negative impact from industrial machinery by promoting small-scale production methods. The health movement is evident in the desire for organic foods, or foods produced without the fertilizers and pesticides commonly found in industrial agriculture. The human rights movement is found in the opposition to unfair trade relations and exploitation of labourers in countries whose economies are dependent on the system of global trade. In essence, all of these movements are linked together in an effort to challenge and change the dominant system, thereby emphasizing the multiplicity and interconnections of political movements. One statement that interlinks these movements is Subject 5's statement, "Whereas I might be supportive of bio-fuels in some circumstances, I wouldn't be if it leads to a rise in corn prices that creates starvation in Mexico. I think that's how I look at food security." This statement, therefore, links the environmental and human rights movements with food security, and therefore with local food and farmers' markets as an integral part of food security.

Food security, urban agriculture, and the local food movement were some common terms often mentioned during interviews. Food security has various meanings and connotations, but is generally defined as ensuring that all people have access to safe and nutritious food at all times (Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, 2009). Vancouver Island has specific food security concerns because it relies on outside supply lines (for example, through ferry and air transport). In fact, as previously mentioned, an often-

quoted statistic is that Vancouver Island would only have three days worth of food supply if those supply lines were cut off (Kazmierowski, 2010). Accordingly, ensuring food security by promoting urban and local agriculture and farmers' markets was a common concern of interview subjects. Urban agriculture most often refers to initiatives that grow and distribute food in and around cities. This might include community gardens or composting programs, which are also often associated with the local food movement. The local food movement focuses on establishing self-sufficient communities and economies by grounding food production, processing and distribution in one place (for example, with a local vendor who sells to a farmers' market). In this way, urban agriculture initiatives and farmers' markets are both important components of the local food movement and food security. In fact, Subject 2 says that as a food security coordinator for her local Chamber of Commerce, "The farmers' markets are where I go to find people who want to be involved in food security."

However, both Subjects 2 and 5 are careful to point out that farmer's markets are not *just* about providing food security. Subject 2 says, "It's not about preparing ourselves for a disaster; it's about eating locally…and supporting people that are our neighbours." Similarly, Subject 5 says, "It's not just about producing as much food as we can here on the Island [food security]; it's about doing so in a way that encourages social contact and community building." In this way, he distinguishes between the movements, saying, "Food security can have a much grander scale whereas a localized economy [and the local food movement] is looking at how you can support your neighbour and your neighbouring business." These statements show how farmers' markets are connected to larger political concerns, from establishing food security to fostering support for the

community and local economy. In this way, farmers' markets (and their associated movements) reflect an expanded interpretation of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and challenge the established social and economic conditions and norms.

In addition to the farmers' market, similar tangible initiatives were mentioned as examples of the urban agriculture, food security and local food movements that interact with farmers' markets. For example, Subject 2 described how one of the vendors at her market has started a box program where vendors of bread, eggs, meat and vegetables have all joined together to create mixed food boxes for delivery to consumers, much like a joint CSA box scheme. In addition, many of the respondents referred to the push for a permanent year-round farmers' market in downtown Victoria, although sometimes they expressed differing motivations for wanting this market. Subjects 5 and 6 are both actively involved with the VDPMS and have long been pushing for a downtown public market. Subject 5 believes the market is important to support local vendors, but also to encourage "social contact and community building." Subject 6 focuses more on the permanent market as a pragmatic way to provide access to food and business opportunities for people in the city. Subject 4 also supports the idea of a permanent market as a business opportunity, although she envisions the larger, more established vendors selling at the permanent market, so that summer markets could more comfortably remain within their non-corporate, grassroots principles by featuring only independent and local vendors. Regardless of motivation, however, the interaction of farmers' markets with the movement for a permanent market is one example of the multiplicity of political actions that are present at a farmer's market.

These political actions are not always, or even often, government-led. In fact, Subject 5 says the people are definitely leading the government in local food and food security motivations and initiatives, and there appears to be "a lot of community capacity around food security." He expands:

> I'm not just active on food security issues at council; homelessness and drug policies and harm reduction are other big issues that I put a lot of energy into. I've hosted presentations on all those issues, but for food security I seem to get three times more participation than I do if I'm putting on, say, a panel of experts on harm reduction or on homelessness.

Subject 2 also implies that food security and its associated movements are well-supported, and growing. She recently attended the BC Association of Farmers' Market's annual conference, and says "It was amazing, talking to everyone and thinking 'oh my God this is so cool, what's happening here is happening everywhere, and sometimes on a much larger scale." Subject 6 indicates a similar trend when he says, "Big structural stuff like shifts in attitude, that's the way we can change things, right? We're at the beginning of that, I hope." His hope seems well-placed: even prominent local food organizations admit to following a larger public interest and movement. Subject 5 notes, "Whereas the VDPMS may be the figurehead organization trying to lead the charge here…we're just trying to tap into the energy that's already out there, from people that want a downtown farmers' market." During interviews, this was a consistent underlying theme, the idea that a much larger movement was building behind these farmers' markets.

The expression of alternative lifestyle and value choices, as well as the associated movements and initiatives that interact at the site of farmers' markets, point to an underlying political movement and significance to farmers' markets. In fact, it seems that farmers' markets are just one institution in a network of practices and institutions that

sustain an overarching political movement, which offers an alternative to dominant norms. This political movement largely bypasses government in the establishment of these alternative institutions, which explains why it is easy to assume that farmers' markets are independent from politics, at least as 'politics' is traditionally conceived. In fact, farmers' markets represent a way of living an alternative lifestyle and maintaining a hope that in the future, the alternative may become the norm. For example, Subject 2 argues that finding a way to change consumption habits to support farmer's markets is "about coming up with the alternative that should have been primary to begin with." In this way, when an expanded conception of citizenship and the political is considered, and the political is viewed as a challenge to the constructed, dominant norms of citizenship, the political significance of farmers' markets, as well as other alternative spaces and acts, becomes evident.

In light of this argument, it is important to briefly note the spaces and acts in Victoria that may provide evidence of an underlying political movement connected with farmer's markets. In addition to the various farmers' markets, craft markets, and pocket markets in Victoria, there are various initiatives that are connected to the local food, food security, and urban agriculture movements. In particular, an initiative that was mentioned in a few different interviews was the LifeCycles Project Society, which describes itself as

> a nonprofit organization dedicated to cultivating awareness and initiating action around food, health, and urban sustainability in the Greater Victoria community. We work proactively to promote and create personal, shared and community gardens, research, and educational activities and youth skills development programs. Through partnerships we strengthen individual, community and global health (LifeCycles, 2011a).

An example of one of the initiatives that LifeCycles have sponsored is the Sharing Backyards Program, which links "people that have space to grow food but don't have the

time or inclination to do so with people who are interested in growing food but do not have access to space to do so" (LifeCycles, 2011a). In addition, the organization has created an online Urban Agriculture Hub that links Victoria residents with each other and with resources for growing their own food in the city (LifeCycles, 2011b).

This Hub brings together organizations that are involved in a variety of food security initiatives. For example, there are organizations such as the Island Farmers' Alliance, which concentrates on supporting and sustaining agriculture on Vancouver Island (Island Farmers' Alliance, 2010), and the Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association, which links nearly 100 growers and producers who participate in some way in direct sales of their food, be it through farmers' markets, farm tours and festivals, or hosting bed and breakfasts (Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association, 2011). There are organizations who have joined together to put pressure on certain districts to allow backyard chickens and beekeeping for local food production. There are urban agriculture initiatives such as community garden projects, where volunteers cultivate food crops which are then returned to the community. For example, the Saanich Community Food Bank Garden was established in 2007 on the property of Saanich Community Church, and provides food each week for the Mustard Seed Food Bank in Victoria to distribute to needy people in the community. In addition, there are multiple compost programs in Victoria; a particularly creative one of these programs is Pedal to Petal, in which bicycle-riding volunteers pick up yard, garden, and kitchen scraps from households and transport them to a central compost (Pedal to Petal, 2011). The Hub also unites organizations for supporting agriculture, horticulture, beekeepers, urban farmers, and various other food-oriented subjects.

The mere number of groups who are involved in some aspect of food security, local food, or local agriculture is a sign of the size of the movement underlying farmers' markets. Despite several attempts like the Hub to unite all of these groups, there remain various independent organizations. In addition to the BC Association of Farmers' Markets, some of these organizations include the Island Chef's Collaborative, the Islands Organic Producers Association, the Organic Consumers Association, Slow Food Canada, the Vancouver Island 100-Mile Diet, and Farmers Without Borders.[7] In fact, Subject 2 mentioned in her interview the importance of connecting the various initiatives: "We are trying to pull them all together now, we're trying to make it more of a holistic thing – it's like putting all the ingredients together and making something wonderful."

The fact that there are resources and attempts to unite these organizations is crucial to understanding the significance of the food movement that underlies farmers' markets. People connected to the food movement, in whatever way, are aware and supportive of their fellow associations, whether they are competing initiatives or independent topics. Nearly all the websites for each of the organizations mentioned above provide links to each others' websites and resources for learning more about similar initiatives. In this way, the multiplicity of initiatives and goals within the food movement may indicate a certain pattern of politics, in which dominant norms are challenged in diverse and multiple ways under one general movement for change. There is certainly evidence of this type of politics in other modern events. The next section will provide a few key examples of how this pattern of politics is reflected in other political movements.

[7] Websites for these organizations are included in the References section of this thesis, under the subtitle 'Additional Resources'

Implications

The previous section identified a pattern of politics in which power is dispersed and political acts and demands are multiple, but united in a broad effort to change dominant norms. A recent example of these politics is what is now referred to as the 'Arab Spring,' a wave of protests and revolutions that has swept various Arab countries since December 2010 and continues to influence modern politics in many ways. The protests were against various social, political, and economic conditions in each of the countries, including political corruption and concentration of power, social repression, unemployment, and extreme poverty. Beginning in Tunisia on December 18, 2010, the wave of protests spread to Egypt, Algeria, Jordan, and Yemen, before spreading to other countries including Libya, Syria, and Morocco. What began as peaceful, non-violent protests organized mainly through social media and grassroots communication networks were often met with violent state repression and censorship. However, the movements continued to grow, often garnering tens of thousands of protestors in each city. These protests have since overthrown three heads of state (in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya) and encouraged various economic and political concessions in other countries. Although civil unrest was admittedly evident in many of these countries before the uprising, the Arab Spring protests marked the most dramatic and influential protests in decades, and garnered significant international attention.

What is especially unique about this movement is the variety of interests represented within the protests. The Arab Spring protests brought together various social groups, including the unemployed, political and human rights activists, students, and

trade unionists, in an effort to challenge the dominant, constructed norms of their societies. Each of these groups had various grievances, but

> they were all united for a cause: to fight social injustice [however the individual participant defined that concept]. The broad theme encompassed every issue that affected the lives of these Arab revolutionaries – soaring food prices, unemployment, corruption, etc., but together they united under this cause (Yazdani, 2011).

Rather than opposing or promoting a specific policy or issue, the protestors were more broadly pushing for systemic change, in a variety of ways.

In a similar way, recent "Occupy Wall Street" protests are host to a variety of demands and protestors, all united under protests for social justice and changes in government policy. The Occupy Wall Street movement began on September 17, 2011, when thousands of protestors flooded the streets of New York with various grievances, including economic inequality, corporate influence, and political corruption. In the following weeks, tens of thousands of protestors joined the movement, occupying various spaces in New York City; in addition, similar protests took place and are planned in cities in over 25 countries (Voigt, 2011).

Just as social media played a significant role in the Arab Spring protests, various online resources and groups for the Occupy Wall Street movement have formed to help connect protestors and publicize the events and demands of the protests. One such resource is OccupyWallStreet.org (2011), which released a communiqué that listed eleven different demands as "our one demand." Examples of demands include "ending wealth inequality is our one demand," "ending police intimidation is our one demand," "ending corporate censorship is our one demand," and "ending joblessness is our one demand" (OccupyWallStreet.org, 2011). These demands recognize multiple challenges to

established norms and conditions and directly defy the expectation to define a single demand or agenda.

Confirming this diversity of demands is a video released through social media outlets by an associated group, the NYC General Assembly of Occupy Wall Street (Noor, 2011). In this video, Nathan Schneider, of a group called Waging Non-Violence, notes that "a lot of the coverage in this action that people are concerned that there isn't a finely articulated demand." He asks Amin Hussein, a member of the NYC General Assembly, what the "one demand" is, and Hussein responds, "The demands will come, but I think they will come organically out of these people." In other words, the demands will come through what he describes as "an open, participatory process that's not hierarchical - it's horizontal. And it allows for people to get involved, constitute themselves, [and] bring in their own ideas to a process." This statement reflects Isin's (2002) ideas about how groups and identities are constituted according to the dominant norms of citizenship, and Mouffe's (1992) claim that the constitution of communities is itself political. In addition, it reflects a preference for participatory processes and protests reminiscent of New Left organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Therefore, like the SDS, the Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring protests link their calls for participatory, horizontal movements to ideas of democracy. OccupyWallStreet.org's (2011) website reads, "Occupy Wall Street is a horizontally organized resistance movement employing the revolutionary Arab Spring tactic to restore democracy in America." In other words, American protestors are taking their cues from a form of protest that encourages diverse participants to work together, organically, within one movement. In this way, as Hussein (in Noor, 2011) notes, "These activists, they

create the necessary alternative to [the current] political system…[These protests are] the basis, they believe, for a new kind of legitimacy, one based on people and not on money." In other words, these protests directly challenge the established order and what the protestors see as the norms of citizenship.

The diversity of these movements reflects the New Leftist recognition of multiplicity and echoes the principles of organizations such as the Rainbow Coalition: however, rather than choosing one leader or one organization to head the movement, the Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring protests continue to emphasize their democratic, participatory, and inclusive grassroots nature. As Robert F. Worth (2011) notes, the Arab Spring protests have "not yielded any clear political or economic project, or any intellectual [leaders] of the kind who shaped almost every modern revolution from 1776 onward" (para.3). He suggests that the absence of such leaders is partly due to years of brutal state repression and fears of being identified and targeted by those regimes, as well as a "post-ideological era in which [there is] far less need for unifying doctrines or grandiose figures who provide them" (Worth, 2011, para.4).

Similarly, Henwood (2011) connects the Occupy Wall Street's "emphasis on multiplicity and protest" to ideological principles (para.4). He claims that when the New Left movement delegitimized the old, class-based leftist politics, it also delegitimized certain acts, such as taking the place or speaking for another (which he says has now become a crime of representation), and obscuring other crimes and harms (the crime of exclusion) (Henwood, 2011, para.5). In other words, in an effort to recognize and respect multiplicity, the New Left has created a situation in which political protests cannot help

but be multiple by nature and without an overarching or common goal. Referring to the Occupy Wall Street movement, Henwood (2011) claims that

> an agenda – and an organization, and some kind of leadership that could speak and be spoken to – would violate these rules. Distilling things down to a simple set of demands would be hierarchical, and commit a crime of exclusion. Having an organization with some sort of leadership would force some to speak for others: the crime of representation (para.6).

In this way, alternative norms of citizenship are creating new ways of being political.

The Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street protests may therefore be evidence of an emerging type of political protest that is becoming the norm. Protests that are inherently diverse, without a single or identifiable lead organization and with numerous participants with a variety of demands, are increasingly popular on an international scale. On a smaller, local scale, the University of Victoria was recently the site of a similarly structured protest, albeit one that focused on issues of food security and guerilla gardening. On March 24, 2010, after a teach-in about the problems of corporate agribusinesses, colonialism, bureaucracy, and food insecurity, a group of students constructed a garden outside the university's library, without informing or gaining permission from UVic administration (Montgomery, 2011). Police were called, although no one was arrested, and the garden was bulldozed the next day. The next week, a group of students reconstructed the garden, and it remained for ten days before it was permanently dismantled by grounds management workers.

During this time, various news articles and videos were created, class presentations were made, and websites were developed to draw attention to the students' protest. Two names emerged during this campaign as representatives of the movement (Resistance is Fertile and Food Not Lawns!). However, the Resistance is Fertile group

emphasized, “RIF is a network of individuals, collectives and communities with no central organizing structure, no leaders, no hierarchy, and no political programme” (RIF cited in Montgomery, 2011, Growing Problems section, para.2). Similarly, the Food Not Lawns! group also resisted the role of leading and representing the diverse members of the gardening protest. Montgomery (2011) argues that within the Food Not Lawns! group, political representation was discredited and argued to assume a unity and linear strategy that was not characteristic of that group. In fact, Montgomery (2011) points to the same problem as Henwood (2011): the hesitation against speaking for everyone means that no clear demands are articulated. As Montgomery (2011) says, “If you’re not going to represent the group as a whole, what do you say to someone who asks you why the garden is being planted?” (Growing Problems section, para.3).

The diversity and various motivations behind modern political movements are relevant to the food security and local food movements in Victoria. Not only do these movements unite various protestors with diverse motivations and goals, but they foster creative initiatives in various sectors. From farmers’ markets, to government lobbies, to innovative commercial developments – each of these projects is backed by the intention of changing dominant norms, and challenging current food system conditions. Whether it is a farmer who wants to increase his/her income, a consumer who wants to spite corporate supermarkets, or a market manager who wants to enhance the local community, various people are united in fighting a system for change. The recognition of multiplicity in political acts, and the idea of politics as an activity in which identities are constructed and new norms are constituted through the negotiation of diverse interests, helps to understand farmers’ markets as a part of a larger movement that is inherently political.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown how alternative sites and modes of being political can be identified with an expanded conception of citizenship and the political. I have argued that farmers' markets represent one of these alternative sites, both in the motivations of participants and in the associated underlying values of the markets. Drawing on a definition of the political as a challenge to the dominant, constructed norms of citizenship, I outlined the current norms of citizenship and the dominant food system, and proposed ways in which these norms are challenged by farmers' markets. Accordingly, I interviewed various farmers' market participants and categorized their responses in order to provide an account of the ways in which farmers' markets can be seen as political. I believe that the patterns emerging from this study have significant implications for the way that political participation is conceived.

Referring to accounts of the decline in voter turnout, I began this thesis by suggesting that rather than withdrawing from politics entirely, citizens were merely expressing their political desires through other avenues. Certainly, the inventory of political acts has expanded over the years: several key academic studies of political participation are evidence of that. Additionally, the definition of citizenship has also changed. According to various Canadian government documents, the formal definition of citizenship has evolved from a strictly legal and political definition to an expanded concept that emphasizes the economic, social, and environmental responsibilities of citizenship. These changes are due in part to ideological shifts that have challenged and altered dominant norms.

According to academic scholars, citizenship has similarly progressed from being conceived as consisting of limited civil and political rights, to including social rights, to emphasizing expansive individual responsibilities and rights. In addition, citizenship has gone from being conceived as a given identity to being recognized as a constructed norm. The recognition that citizenship identities and norms are constructed and therefore dictate certain modes of being political is crucial to understanding the evolution of citizenship and thus, political participation.

This thesis relies on a definition of the political as a challenge to dominant norms and an attempt to reconstitute the identities and norms of citizenship. Based on this understanding, this thesis explores the ways in which farmers' market might be deemed political. To do so, I outlined the dominant norms of the current global corporate food system and the context of resistance movements in which farmers' markets have re-emerged in recent decades. I then analyzed the results of six interviews conducted with market managers and vendors involved with farmers' markets in the Greater Victoria Region. Their responses were organized in five categories, four of which indicated resistance to the dominant system (and hence, a political act), and one of which reflected those dominant norms.

As previously indicated, these categories were generated inductively from common responses and themes that I noticed during the interviews. Upon reflection, these categories proved useful for helping me to discern two overarching patterns that connected the responses. For example, the final category of responses, Business Development, helped me to clarify how I was thinking about the political, in terms of resisting dominant norms and constructing new ones. In addition, the overlap among

categories allowed me to see the interaction of various political goals. For example, the goal of creating a sense of community was intertwined with the goal of exercising an alternative lifestyle because both aimed to reconnect consumers with producers. After recognizing this interaction of goals at the farmers' market, I reflected that perhaps the goals of the underlying movement behind the farmers' market are similarly diverse and intertwined. This allowed me to link farmers' markets to larger political movements and understand the political implications of many of the responses.

The patterns that emerged from those interviews were significant for two reasons. For one, the fact that two contradictory patterns were evident, one emphasizing the pragmatic role of farmers' markets and the other its underlying political significance, is significant because it indicates the complexity of alternative institutions as political spaces. In some ways, farmers' markets are clearly and necessarily political, and should thus be considered an important site in today's political environment; in other ways, farmers' markets are just like any other economic endeavour and provide no challenge to existing conceptions of citizenship. However, the fact that even some of the farmers' markets participants view it as political indicates that these alternative modes and sites of political participation can be considered politically significant.

A second and undeniably related reason that the patterns emerging from these interviews are important is because they may point to a larger trend, an underlying mode of politics that may become a dominant mode of political protest and participation. Taking cues from the New Left emphasis on multiplicity and the neoliberal emphasis on individualism, this mode of protest is diverse and dispersed. The idea of political protest with multiple reasons for participating is evident in the farmers' market, to be sure: from

seeking food quality and freshness, to supporting local vendors, to counteracting the power of corporate supermarkets, participants indicated various individual reasons for supporting their local farmers' market. However, what seemed to be most important to the interview subjects was not the reason(s) for participation, but the participation itself, which is intended to support certain principles. And it is these principles that have a much larger political significance. Just as the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street protests have recently demonstrated, diverse participants with various motivations can unite in the pursuit of change – a far more general, but perhaps also more powerful, goal. Farmers' markets, from this perspective, represent a politically significant site in many ways.

This thesis has argued that by understanding citizenship in terms of constructed norms and identities, and understanding the political as an attempt to reconstitute these identities and negotiate new norms, politics can be identified in non-traditional acts and spaces – in particular, at the farmers' market. With this perspective, farmers' markets can be seen as political both in the motivations of participants and the associated values of broader political movements.

References

Achterberg, P. (2006). Class voting in the new political culture: Economic, cultural and environmental voting in 20 western countries. *International Sociology 21*(2), 237-361.

Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. (2009, November 20). *Canada's Action Plan for Food Security*. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.agr.gc.ca/index_e.php?s1=misb&s2=fsec-seca&page=action

Arendt, H. (1977). *Between past and future: Eight exercises in political thought* (2nd ed). New York: Penguin Books.

BC Agriculture Council Website. (2003, January). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.bcac.bc.ca/index.php?page_id=26

BC Association of Farmers' Markets Website. (2011). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.bcfarmersmarket.org/about.htm

Blais, A. & Aarts, K. (2006). Electoral Systems and Turnout. *Acta Politica 41*(2), 180-196.

Blais, A., Gidengil, E., Nevitte, N. & R. Nadeau. (2004). Where does turnout decline come from? *European Journal of Political Research 43*, 221-236.

Blais, A., Johnston, R. & Howe, P. (Eds). (2005). *Strengthening Canadian democracy*. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Blais, A. & Loewen, P. (2011). *Youth electoral engagement in Canada* [Election Canada Working Paper Series]. Ottawa, Canada: Elections Canada. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/part/youeng/youth_electoral_engagement_e.pdf

Bouris, K., Masselink, D., & Geggie, L. (2009). *City of Victoria food system discussion paper*. Victoria: City of Victoria.

Boyte, H.C.. (2005). Reframing democracy: Governance, civic agency, and politics. *Public Administration Review 65*(5), 536-546.

Brodie, Janine. (1996). New state forms, new political spaces. In R. Boyer and D. Drache (Eds.), *Stages against markets: the limits of globalization* (pp. 383-399). London, UK: Routledge.

Brown, A. (2001). Counting farmers' markets. *Geographical Review 91*(4), 655-674.

Campbell, H. (2009). Breaking new ground in food regime theory: corporate environmentalism, ecological feedbacks and the 'food from somewhere' regime? *Agriculture and Human Values 26*, 309-319.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2011a, March 14). *Study Guide – Discover Canada: The rights and responsibilities of citizenship*. Ottawa, Canada: Public Works and Government Services Canada. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/index.asp

Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2011b, July 14). *Who we are.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/mission.asp

City of Victoria. (2011). *The draft official community plan.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.shapeyourfuturevictoria.ca/the-plan/the-draft-official-community-plan/

Claggett, W. & Pollock, P.H. III. (2006). The modes of participation revisited, 1980-2004. *Political Research Quarterly 59* (4), 593-600.

Coster, M & Kennon, N. (2005). *"New generation" farmers' markets in rural communities: A report for the Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation.* Canberra, Australia: Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation.

Cranston, M. (1987). John Stuart Mill and Liberty. *The Wilson Quarterly 11* (5), 82-91.

Crick, B. (2005). *In defence of politics* (5th ed). London, UK: Continuum. (Original work published 1962).

de Tocqueville, A. (2000). *Democracy and America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1835, 1840).

Dewey, John. (1966). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education.* New York: Free Press. (Original work published 1916).

Dubuisson-Quellier, S. & Lamine, C. (2008). Consumer involvement in fair trade and local food systems: delegation and empowerment regimes. *Geojournal 73*, 55-65.

Elections Canada. (2011). *Voter turnout at federal elections and referendums, 1867-2008*. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=ele&dir=turn&document=index&lang=e

FoodRoots. (2011, October 12). *Welcome to FoodRoots.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.foodroots.ca/index.htm

Franklin, M., P. Lyons & M. Marsh. (2004). Generational basis of turnout decline in established democracies. *Acta Politica, 39*(2), 115-151.

Freeze, R.A.S. (2002). *French food vs. fast food: Jose Bove takes on McDonald's (unpublished master's thesis).* Ohio University, Ohio.

Friedmann, H. (2005). From colonialism to green capitalism: Social movements and the emergence of food regimes. In F. Buttel, and P. McMichael (Eds.), *New directions in the sociology of global development* (11th ed.) (pp. 227-264). Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Elsevier.

Friedmann, H. & McMichael, P. (1989). Agriculture and the state system: The rise and decline of national agricultures, 1870 to the present. *Sociologia Ruralis 29*(2), 93-117.

Friedmann, H. & McNair, A. (2008). Whose rules rule? Contested projects to certify 'local production for distant consumers.' *Journal of Agrarian Change 8* (2,3), 408-434.

Garner, R., Ferdinand, P., & Lawson, S. (2009). *Introduction to politics.* Don Mills, ON, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Guthman, J. (2008). Neoliberalism and the making of food politics in California. *Geoforum 39*, 1171-1183.

Guthrie, J., Guthrie, A., Lawson, R. & Cameron, A. (2006). Farmers' markets: the small business counter-revolution in food production and retailing. *British Food Journal 108*(7), 560-573.

Harper, T. (2011, July 1). "We've become a Conservative nation. Except ..." *Toronto Star* [Toronto, Canada], p. A6.

Harris, C. & Demeritt, D. (1997). Farming and rural life. In Cole Harris (Ed.), *The Resettlement of British Columbia* (pp. 219-249). Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Henwood. D. (2011, September 29). The Occupy Wall Street non-agenda [Web log post]. *LBO News from Doug Henwood.* Message posted to http://lbo-news.com/2011/09/29/the-occupy-wall-street-non-agenda/

Holloway, L. & Kneafsay, M. (2000). Reading the space of the farmers' market: a preliminary investigation from the UK. *Sociologia Ruralis 40*(3), 285–299.

Hoskins, B. & Mascherini, M. (2009). Measuring active citizenship through the development of a composite indicator. *Social Indicators Research 90*(3), 459-588.

Howe, P. (2003). Where have all the voters gone? *Inroads: A Journal of Opinion 12*, 74-83.

Howell, A. (1884). *Naturalization and nationality in Canada: expatriation and repatriation of British subjects*. Toronto, Canada: Carswell. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.archive.org/stream/naturalizationna00howeuoft#page/n5/mode/2up

Isin, E. F. (2002). *Being Political: Genealogies of citizenship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Isin, E.F. (2009). Citizenship in flux: the figure of the activist citizen. *Subjectivity 29*, 367-388.

Island Farmers' Alliance website. (2010). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from www.islandfarmersalliance.org/

Jenkins, R. (2008). Voters lack commitment: Canada. In M. Carballa and U. Hjelmar (Eds.), *Public opinion polling in a globalized world* (pp. 153-169). Leipzig, Germany: Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg.

Kazmierowski, K. (2010). *Exploring food security in the Islands Trust area*. Victoria, Canada: Islands Trust BC.

Kern, P.B. (1972). Universal suffrage without democracy: Thomas Hare and John Stuart Mill. *The Review of Politics 34*(3), 306-322.

King, I. (1912). *Social Aspects of Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company.

Knowles, V. (2000). Forging our legacy: Canadian citizenship and immigration, 1900-1977. Ottawa, Canada: Public Works and Government Services Canada. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/index.asp

La Via Campesina. (2011, February 9). *The international peasant's voice.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=27&Itemid=44

Lazarsfeld, P.F, Berelson, B. & Gaudet, H. (1948), *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign* (2nd ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lazarsfeld,P., Berelson, B.R. & McPhee, W. (1954). *Voting: A study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levkoe. C.Z. (2006). Learning democracy through food justice movements. *Agriculture and Human Values 23*, 89-98.

LifeCycles Project Society. (2011a, October 12). *Projects.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://lifecyclesproject.ca/initiatives/

LifeCycles Project Society. (2011b, October 12). *LifeCycles Urban Agriculture Hub.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://urbanagriculturehub.ca/

Lord, C. (1984). *Aristotle: The Politics (trans.).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lynd, S. (1969). The New Left. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 382*(1), 64-72.

Mair, P. & van Biezen, I. (2001). Party membership in twenty European democracies, 1980-2000. *Party Politics 7*(5), 5-21.

Macpherson, C.B. (1977). *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marshall, T.H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

McMichael, P. (2005). Global development and the corporate food regime. *New Directions in the Sociology of Global Development Research in Rural Sociology and Development 11*, 269–303.

McMichael, P. (2009). A food regime genealogy. *Journal of Peasant Studies 36*(1), 139-169.

Mendis, A.C.N.. (2007). *The greenhouse tomato industry in Delta, British Columbia (Unpublished doctoral dissertation)*. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

Mill, J.S. (2000). *On Liberty*. Retrieved from www.bartleby.com/130/ (Original work published 1869).

Miller, S. (2008). *Edible Action: Food Activism and Alternative Economics.* Winnipeg, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

Milner, H. (2005). *Are young Canadians becoming political dropouts? A comparative perspective.* Montreal, Canada: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Montgomery, N. (2011). *Fertilizing problems: Singularization and the guerilla gardens at the University of Victoria [Unpublished master's thesis].* University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/peninsula/article/view/5440/1927

Moss Street Market. (2010). *Moss Street Community Market Policy Manual.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www2.liu.edu/cwis/cwp/library/workshop/citapa.htm

Mouffe, C. (1992). Citizenship and political identity. *October 61*, 28-32.

Mouffe, C. & Laclau, E. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. London, UK: Verso.

Nevitte, N. (1996). *The decline of deference*. Peterborough, ON, Canada: Broadview Press.

Noor, J. (2011, September 21). The demand is a process [Video file]. Retrieved from http://nycga.cc/2011/09/22/the-demand-is-a-process/

Norberg-Hoge, H. (1996). Do you want them to drink Coca-Cola? *Resurgence*. Retrieved from http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/25a/083.html

Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: political communications in postindustrial societies.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

OccupyWallStreet.org. [2011, September 22]. A message from Occupied Wall Street [Web log post]. *Occupy Wall Street.* Message posted to http://occupywallst.org/article/a-message-from-occupied-wall-street-day-five/

Pedal to Petal website. (2011). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://pedaltopetal.com/

Perella, A. (2009). Economic decline and voter discontent. *The Social Science Journal 46(*2), 347-368.

Perrin, L. (2006). *Policies to promote the security and development of farmers' markets in British Columbia (Unpublished master's thesis).* University College of the Fraser Valley, Abbotsford, Canada.

Pintor, R.L. & Gratschew, M. (2002). *Voter turnout since 1945: A global report.* Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Rainbow Push Coalition. (2011, October 4). *Brief History*. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://rainbowpush.org/pages/brief_history

Raynolds, L.T. (2000). Re-embedding global agriculture: The international organic and fair trade movements. *Agriculture and Human Values 17*, 297–309.

Rose, N. & Miller, N. (1992). Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government. *The British Journal of Sociology 43*(2), 173-205.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sanderson, K., Gertler, M., Martz, D. & Mahabir, R. (2005). *Farmers' markets in North America: A background document.* Saskatoon, Canada: Community-University Institute for Social Research, University of Saskatchewan.

Slow Food. (2011). *About Us.* Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.slowfood.com/international/1/about-us

Smith, K., Lawrence, G & Richards, C. (2010). Supermarkets' governance of the agri-food supply chain: Is the 'corporate-environmental' food regime evident in Australia? *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture & Food 17*(2), 140–161.

Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association website. (2011a). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.islandfarmfresh.com/contact/

Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association website. (2011b). Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://www.islandfarmfresh.com/markets/

Szmigin, I., Maddock, S. & Carrigan, M. (2003). Conceptualising community consumption: farmers' markets and the older consumer. *British food journal 105* (8), 542–550.

Tamaki, G. (1947). The Canadian Citizenship Act, 1946. *The University of Toronto Law Journal 7*, 1, 68-97.

Valpy, Michael. (2011, June 18). "'How could I have screwed up so badly?'" *Globe & Mail* [Toronto, Canada], p. F3.

Vandebelt, D. (2003). *Involvement of citizens and neighbourhood groups in municipal decision making: A review of the literature.* Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Waterloo Public Health, Planning and Evaluation Program. Retrieved October 30, 2011 from http://chd.region.waterloo.on.ca/en/researchResourcesPublications/resources/Involvement_MunicipalDecisions.pdf

vanDeth, J.W. (2001). *Studying Political Participation: Toward a Theory of Everything?* Paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the *European Consortium*

for Political Research Workshop, Grenoble, France, 6-11 April 2001. Retrieved from http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/grenoble/ws3/deth.pdf

Verba, S., Nie, N.H., & Kim, J. (1971). *The modes of democratic participation: A cross-national comparison*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K.L., & Brady, H.E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic volunteerism in American politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Voigt, K. (2011, October 7). *Beyond Wall Street: 'Occupy' protests go global.* CNN.com International. Retrieved from http://edition.cnn.com/2011/10/07/business/wall-street-protest-global/index.html

Wekerle, G.R. (2004). Food justice movements: Policy, planning, and networks. *Journal of Planning Education and Research 23*, 378-386.

Wood, E. M. (1995). A chronology of the New Left and its successors, or: Who's old-fashioned now? *The Socialist Register*, 22-49.

Worth, R.F. (2011, October 29). The Arab intellectuals who didn't roar. New York Times, Opinion, SR6, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/30/sunday-review/the-arab-intellectuals-who-didnt-roar.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=robert%20%20worth%20+%20arab%20spring&st=cse (accessed October 30, 2011).

Xu, J. (2004). Why do minorities participate less? The effects of immigration, education, and electoral process on Asian American voter registration and turnout. *Social Science Research 34*(4), 682-702.

Yazdani, D. (2011, October 11).What does Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring have in common? A lot more than you'd think [Web log post]. *The Global Consciousness*. Message posted to http://theglobalconsciousness.wordpress.com/2011/10/11/what-does-occupy-wall-street-and-the-arab-spring-have-in-common-a-lot-more-than-youd-think/

Young, M. (1997). Canadian *Citizenship Act* and Current Issues. Ottawa: Law and Government Division, Government of Canada. Retrieved October 16, 2011 from http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/bp445-e.htm

Zukin, C., Keeter, S. Andolina, M., Jenkins, K, and Delli Caprini, M. (2006). A New Engagement? Political Participation, Civic Life, and the Changing American Citizen. New York: Oxford University Press.

Additional Resources

Farmers Without Borders website. http://www.farmerswithoutborders.org/start/

Island Chef's Collaborative website. http://islandchefscollaborative.ca/

Island Farmers' Alliance website. www.islandfarmersalliance.org/

Islands Organic Producers Association. http://www.farmbase.ca/content/about-iopa

Organic Consumers Association. http://www.organicconsumers.org/canada/index.cfm

Pedal to Petal website. http://pedaltopetal.com/

Slow Food Canada website. http://www.slowfood.ca/

Southern Vancouver Island Direct Farm Marketing Association website.
http://www.islandfarmfresh.com/contact/

Vancouver Island 100-Mile Diet. http://www.vancouverislanddiet.com/

Victoria Native Friendship Centre website. http://www.vnfc.ca/

Victoria Farmers' Markets Websites

(Websites for the farmers' markets included in this study)

James Bay Community Market website. http://jamesbaymarket.com/

Moss Street Market website. http://www.mossstreetmarket.com/

Sidney Summer Market website.
http://www.sidneybusiness.com/index.php?page=summer-market

Victoria Downtown Winter Market website. http://victoriapublicmarket.com/victoria-winter-farmers-market/

Goldstream Station Market website. http://www.goldstreamstationmarket.ca/

Appendix A:
Prepared Questions for Interviews

Please find below a list of sample interview questions that was used as a guide for face-to-face or telephone interviews with all participant groups. However, the interview was meant to be open-ended in order to allow participants to identify different ways of conceiving of their own participation. These motivations are often unique to the participant and required follow-up questions that could not be feasibly predicted or provided in advance of the interview.

What are the advantages/disadvantages of participating in a farmers' market?
- a) for the producer/vendor
- b) for the consumer

Why have you chosen to participate in this farmers' market?

Why did you choose this farmers' market rather than another local farmers' market?
(ex. location, regulations, admission requirements, consumer demographics)

Is this your main outlet for selling your products? Who else do you sell your products to?

Why do you choose to sell your product at a farmers' market as opposed to a larger-scale retailer/supermarket?

How have you seen this market evolve or change since you became involved?

How do you define 'local' food?

What is the role of a farmers' market in the city?

What do you think are common perceptions of farmers' markets? How do people think about these markets?

Do you see a farmers' market as an alternative or a complement to supermarket chains?

How do you interact with customers at the farmers' market? What are some common topics of conversation?

Are you involved with any organizations or social movements that are affiliated with the farmers' market?

When you think about your involvement with the farmers' market, what are some key words or phrases that come to mind?

Do you connect any of these words or phrases to political values?

Some people don't think of farmers' markets as political at all. What do you think about that?

Do you consider yourself a political person? What does politics mean to you?

Do you experience these politics through your involvement with the farmers' market (or do you consider them entirely separate domains)?

What do you see as the role of farmers' markets in the future (ex. will they have a smaller or larger presence in society)?