

A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF NOVA SCOTIA FARMERS' MARKETS: EXPLORING CONNECTIONS AMONG PEOPLE, PLACES AND FOOD

Kristen Lowitt

klowitt@nsac.ca

**School for Resource and Environmental Studies
Dalhousie University**

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of problems associated with the industrial food system. The increasing distance over which food travels means that few consumers have the chance to encounter the people or places associated with food production. In the movement towards more sustainable food systems, farmers' markets may be key institutions. Direct marketing is central to farmers' markets which enables selling that is based on a one-to-one relationship between producers and consumers.

This comparative case study explores connections among people, places and food and actors' perceptions of 'quality' and 'local' foods at the Halifax, Wolfville and Hubbards Farmers' Markets in Nova Scotia, Canada. Participant observation and interviewing was employed using a qualitative framework. This study was conducted as part of a MES degree program at Dalhousie University (2008) and is among the first comparative case studies of farmers' markets in Nova Scotia.

In exploring connectedness in markets, findings suggest that producer-consumer relations, understood in terms of social embeddedness, form the foundation of the farmers' markets that were studied. The markets were also important gathering spaces for the local community. This study corroborates previous research in finding that 'quality' is a complex concept associated with a range of attributes by different actors (see Sage, 2003 & Morris and Young, 2000). Findings also indicate a range of understandings of 'local' food among market actors, most often understood spatially as the distance over which food travels.

Introduction

Food may serve as a lens through which we can view changing patterns in societies, cultures, and economies and provide an entryway into exploring human and non-human relationships (Kurlansky, 2007, p.43). Food is a material substance, produced in ways which have physical effects on farmlands and ecologies (Holloway et al., 2006, p.222). It is also based upon and symbolic of relationships among people and places (Ibid). It is from this starting point that this study explores connections among people, places and food in farmers' markets.

In recent years, there has been a growing recognition of the problems associated with the global industrial food system. The increasing distance over which food travels is representative of the "long, complex and rationally organized" food supply chains that characterize the global industrial food system (Marsden et al., 2000, p.425). These long food supply chains mean that few consumers have the chance "to encounter the people or places

associated with food production,” or to fully appreciate the processes behind delivering ‘seed’ to ‘shelf’ (Venn et al., 2006, p.248).

Alternative food networks (AFNs) have emerged in response to the problems posed by the global industrial food system. There is a great diversity of form among AFNs, ranging from producer cooperatives to community gardens to farmers’ markets (Venn et al., 2006, p.250). AFNs may be understood to embody alternatives to industrial modes of food supply by ‘resocializing’ and ‘respatializing’ food through closer producer-consumer relationships (Marsden et al., 2000, p.425). This enables consumers to make value judgments about the foods they choose to purchase (Ibid). Such foods are often defined by the locality of their production and draw upon and enhance an image of the local region as providing quality foods (Ibid).

The “alleged benefits” of AFNs for producers and consumers has generated a surge in academic interest, with over 56 papers since 2000 exploring new food chains and networks (Venn et al., 2006, p.249).

This study attempts to explore the connections between people, places, and food and the related themes of quality and locality of foods by undertaking a comparative case study of three farmers’ markets in Nova Scotia. A qualitative framework employing participant observation and interviewing was utilized to gain insights into these connections and themes and ultimately draw comparisons between the markets.

Review of the Literature

Farmers’ Markets: Current Trends

In talking about farmers’ markets, it is important to explain what is meant by the term. Current definitions of farmers’ markets in the agri-food literature generally posit two main characteristics (Guthrie et al., 2006, p.561; Australian Farmers’ Market Association, 2004, p.2). The first characteristic is authenticity, meaning the farm products at the market are sold by farmers themselves. The second characteristic is that the market operates recurrently at a fixed location. This definition guides the understanding of what a ‘farmers’ market’ is in this study and is congruent with the selected case study farmers’ markets which operate regularly in specific communities and feature local producers selling their own goods at the market.

Over the past several decades, farmers’ markets have grown in number across many industrialised nations. According to Lotter’s (2003) review of the literature, there has been a 25 fold increase in the number of farmers’ markets in the United States since the 1960’s, with the current total at approximately 2500 (p.60). Brown (2001) estimates there are over 3700 farmers’ markets in the United States since the 1970’s (as cited in Guthrie et al., 2006, p.561). In Britain, farmers’ markets are estimated to have grown to over 400 since 1996 (Guthrie et al, 2006, p.561). In Canada, farmers’ markets have almost doubled in number since the late 1980’s to 425 in total (Feagan et al., 2004, p.235).

The growing significance of farmers’ markets in providing alternative outlets to the conventional food supply system is further attested to by the formation of farmers’ market associations across industrialized nations. In 1986, the Networking Association for Farm

Direct Marketing and Agritourism (NAFDMA) was established, comprised of farmers, farmers' market managers, and government officials among others, to further develop the farm direct marketing industry across North America (Networking Association for Farm Direct Marketing and Agritourism, 2007). Many provinces and states across North America also feature their own local farmers' market association to help direct and manage farmers' markets. In Nova Scotia, Farmers' Markets of Nova Scotia Cooperative Limited (FMNS) is a cooperative of ten independent farmers' markets throughout Nova Scotia. Each of the case study markets in this study is a part of this Cooperative.

Producer-Consumer Relations

The central characteristic of alternative food networks, including farmers' markets, is their capacity to reconnect producers and consumers and foster relationships of 'connectedness' (Venn et al., 2006, p.250). Producer-consumer relationships in farmers' markets may be understood in the context of social embeddedness. Embeddedness, in this sense of social connection, is often seen as the "hallmark" of direct agricultural markets (Hinrichs, 2000, p.295). It is based on the premise, arising from economic sociology, that "economic behaviour is embedded in and mediated by a complex, often extensive web of social relations" (Hinrichs, 2000, p.296). As Marsden et al. (2000) say:

A common characteristic...is the emphasis upon the type of relationship between the producer and the consumer in these supply chains, and the role of this relationship in constructing value and meaning, rather than solely the type of product itself (p.425).

'Quality food:' Concept and Indicators

There is increasing discussion in the agri-food literature about 'quality' food. Recent studies indicate that consumers perceive food at farmers' markets to be quality food (*see* Goodman, 2004, p.4; Govindasamay, 1998, p.6; Kerr Centre for Sustainable Agriculture 2002).

In considering how consumers' understand food quality, it is important to explore what 'quality' itself means. According to the Oxford dictionary, quality may be considered as 'the standard of something' or 'a general excellence' (Barber, K., 1998, p.1180). However, a closer look reveals that quality is a complex concept that can encompass a range of understandings. At one end, Robert Pirsig's seminal text *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* is widely cited as the prime example of the impossibility of defining and measuring quality which is only recognised through experience. At the other end of the continuum is the objective quality approach based on the belief that quality can be assessed on the basis of technical measurements (Ophuis, 1995, p.177).

In the context of food systems, quality can encompass a range of characteristics and be defined quite differently by different actors who may "hold different perspectives on what quality is and how it may be measured" (Sage, 2003, .p.50; Ilbery and Kneafsey 2000, p.218). Although there is no generally agreed upon definition of quality food, some commonly-used indicators or dimensions of quality have been identified and are outlined in the Table 1, below, as taken from Morris and Young (2000, p.104).

Table 1: Dimensions of Food Quality

Aspect of Food Quality	Description
Method of production	'Traditional' methods, welfare or environmentally friendly, socially just
Place of production	Regionally or locally distinct products
Traceability	Food has a clearly defined origin
Raw materials/content	May relate to perception of the authenticity and naturalness of food
Safety	Consumer confidence in the safety of production, processing, packaging, labeling, distribution, storage of food
Nutrition	Food provides a good source of nutrients and meets dietary concerns
Sensual attributes	The way in which food appeals to the senses i.e. appearance, freshness, texture and flavour, taste, feel and smell
Functional	The food fulfills the purpose for which it was intended
Biological	The food supports natural life e.g. in live yoghurt

Expressions of Place and Locality in Alternative Food Networks

For alternative food networks to flourish they must build and rely upon social relations that are embedded in a particular place (Qazi & Selfa, 2005, p.452). In the context of food systems, the concept of 'place' is commonly used to define the 'territoriality' of a food chain (Sonnino, 2007). That is, the concept of place is invoked to describe the relationship between a food system and its context of production (Sonnino, 2007).

Recent years have seen a resurgence of initiatives based on local food in response to the global food system which largely disconnects space and place (Brunori, 2007; Hendrickson & Hefferman, 2002). As Lezberg and Kloppenburg (1996) state, "the global sourcing increasingly being practiced by the food industry has resulted in the emergence of international produce that knows no season" (p.28). Alternative food networks have been central to the formulation of a new geography of food that reconnects food with its place of production (Holt and Amilien, 2007). For example, Guthrie et al. (2006) studied the rationale for the development of farmers' markets in New Zealand and conclude, "farmers' markets link town and country by giving consumers the chance to buy local foods and support sustainable and ethical agricultural systems and landscapes" (p.562). This speaks to the ability of alternative food networks to (re)embed food in local contexts (Sage, 2003, p.47). Embeddeness may be used to characterize food systems where food products appear to be rooted in a particular place (Sonnino, R., 2007).

Despite a marked movement toward local food, what constitutes ‘local’ is often unclear. As Tregear (2007) states, “it is impossible to speak of local foods as a singular concept and market.”

Case Study Descriptions

This study attempts to explore the story of people, places and food from farmers’ markets through a comparative case study of three markets. Following are short descriptions of the selected markets.

Halifax Farmers’ Market

The Halifax Farmers’ Market is the oldest continuously operating farmers’ market in North America, founded in 1750 (Kilcup, 2007), and has become an important Saturday tradition in the Halifax community. It is the largest of the three case study markets in terms of the size of the market space and the number of vendors and customers that participate in the market. Approximately 155 vendors and between four and ten thousand customers a week attend the market (Kilcup, 2007). At the time this study was conducted, the market was located in the historic Keith’s Brewery on Lower Front Street in Halifax, operating on Saturdays from 7am-1pm April to December and 8am-1pm January to March. However, there are plans to move the market to the Halifax waterfront in 2008 where the market may operate seven days a week.

Wolfville Farmers’ Market

The Wolfville farmers’ market is located in the town of Wolfville in the Annapolis Valley. It was established in 1993 with three vendors and now features over 55 vendors during the summer months with approximately 40 vendors the rest of the year. From May to October the market is located outside in downtown Wolfville and is a vibrant outdoor gathering space featuring many producers from the local Annapolis Valley area. During the winter months the market moves indoors on the Acadia University campus.

Hubbards Farmers’ Market

Hubbards is a small town on the South Shore of Nova Scotia with a population of about 500 people. The market started 12 years ago and has since grown to approximately 35 vendors and is currently located in the Hubbards Barn. The Hubbards Market is unique from the other cases selected because the Hubbards Barn Association is the overseer of the market following the amalgamation of the Hubbards Market Cooperative with the Hubbards Barn Association, a non-profit organisation that rents the barn purchased by the Aspotogan Heritage Trust. The Hubbards Market is the smallest market studied and operates seasonally on Saturdays between May and October.

Key Results

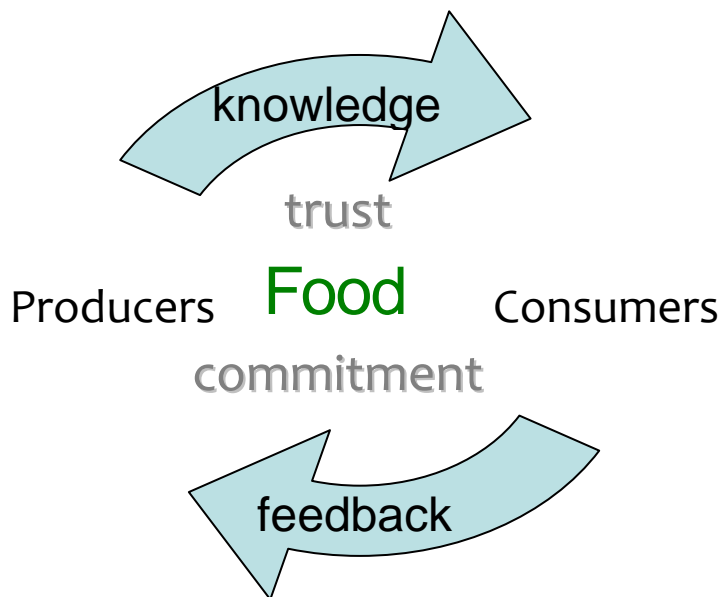
Producer-Consumer Relations

In essence, this study explores the story of how people, places and food form markets. In exploring how people, places and food interact in marketplaces, this study finds that relationships between producers and consumers formed the foundation of the farmers’

markets. According to the managers of each of the markets, producer-consumer relations were “very important”, “paramount” and “the heart” of the market. Kilcup, Manager of the Halifax Farmers’ Market said, “The market exists in the space between the customer and the vendor, the communication, the commitment they make to one another”.

This study finds that producers and consumers expressed a strong desire to (re)connect with the people buying and growing their food. These relationships were formative to developing trust and commitment in markets; providing learning opportunities for producers and consumers; and enabling producers to receive feedback about their food products as conceptualized in Figure 1, below.

Figure 1: Producer-Consumer Relations



Learning Opportunities

Relations between producers and consumers provided learning opportunities for both consumers and producers at the markets. For consumers, learning opportunities centered around being able to ask producers questions about food. Cahill, Manager of the Hubbards Farmers’ Market, described how consumers may learn about the food they’re buying, “It’s knowing where your food’s coming from, and being able to ask questions about how your food is grown.” Steele said, “It’s like an encyclopedia of learning when you get there. It’s a market for a lot of things. It’s a university of sorts.”

The data in Table 2, below, was collected during observation periods at the markets and offers some insights into the type of information consumers may receive from producers at the markets.

Table 2: Topics of Conversation About Food Among Producers and Consumers

	Food Preparation	Food Production	Taste	Appearance of food
Halifax (n=17)	47% (n=8)	31% (n=5)	35% (n=6)	12% (n=2)
Hubbards (n=11)	27% (n=3)	58% (n=6)	36% (n=4)	18% (n=2)
Wolfville (n=14)	36% (n=5)	57% (n=8)	36% (n=5)	14% (n=2)

Consumer Feedback

For producers, a particularly important outcome of building relationships with consumers was receiving feedback about their food products. Consumers frequently provided vendors with feedback about their products often involving comments about the appearance and taste of items.

For small- scale farm businesses, the capacity to receive direct feedback about products without investing significant capital may be critical. Kilcup said:

All that stuff that a larger organisation would spend hundreds of thousands to get the information which may or may not be accurate... the beauty of the market and the communication that comes between the two of them is that it's real and it's honest.

Markets as Community Gathering Spaces

On Saturday mornings, farmers' markets across Nova Scotia come to life, forming active mosaics of people and food. They bustle with people buying food and crafts, eating breakfast, and socializing with friends. The fresh produce, particularly special seasonal items such as strawberries or asparagus, often sells out in the early market hours.

Each farmers' market brought people together to socialize and interact centered around food. Actors at each of the markets used words such as "*atmosphere*," "*meeting people*," "*socialization*," "*social ambience*", "*network*," "*community*" and "*friends*" to describe the markets. In informal interviews with producers and consumers, many referred to the social and community aspects of markets as the most enjoyable:

"The social aspect of it is a real treat...the richness of the market is the characters."

"Meeting people and getting to know other vendors really well. We've made a lot of friends."

"A chance just to meet a lot of people I know and enjoy the product,"

"I love the atmosphere here and the people. Everyone here's so friendly, it's like one big family."

"Seeing all my friends."

"Lots of socialization."

Connections to Place

At each market, there were different connections to place depending upon where the market was located and thereby the communities from which the producers and consumers came to participate. The data indicates that the Hubbards and Wolfville Farmers' Markets often served customers from outside the immediate community in which the market was located. For example, consumers at the Hubbards Farmers' Market came from Mahone Bay, Chester, or had seasonal cottages in the area. Consumers from the Wolfville Farmers' Market came from various towns in the Valley, the Eastern Shore, Dartmouth and Bedford. This is in contrast to the Halifax Farmers' Market at which nearly all the consumers said they came from the Halifax Regional Municipality including many from central Halifax. At each of the markets, producers came from a range of rural communities across the province to sell their goods.

However, the most significant connection to place in the markets was where the food came from. Consumers readily associated the food in farmers' market as coming from a local place. As Steele said of the food at the Halifax Farmers' Market, "*Local goes without saying, it should be.*" origins of food products for sale at the market were most clearly expressed by signage. Producers displayed signs often including the name and location of their farm, the products for sale, and other descriptive words such as 'local,' 'fresh' or 'organic'. In this way, the products for sale at the market were closely attributed to a particular locality while also linking particular attributes to that place. Some consumers expressed an interest in knowing where the food they were buying comes from. MacLeod said:

I think knowing the person growing your food is important and knowing the food you buy is coming from this place and coming from this person makes it very real as opposed to here's the random food that appears in the grocery store that comes from who know where. I think especially for kids, and I guess adults too, to have that connection, food is probably one of our most intimate connections with the environment, and to know where that is coming from and how everything interacts I think is really important.

Understandings of 'Local' Food

Many consumers at the farmers' markets expressed value in being able to purchase local food and support local producers. Similarly, many producers described their products as local.

In in-depth interviews, producers, consumer and managers were asked to describe what local food meant to them. All the actors described local food in terms of a geographic area from which the food came, such as from the farm, the province, or the Maritimes. The most frequent definition of local provided by informants was provincial, with nine out of the eleven informants describing food grown within the province as being local.

Perceptions of 'Quality' Food

This study finds that consumers, producers and market managers associated a range of characteristics with quality food as expressed in Tables 3 and 4. Consumers' perceptions of quality may be one factor that helps determine what products they choose to purchase at the market. Food at the farmers' markets was strongly associated with quality by consumers.

When consumers were asked in informal interviews if they thought they were able to purchase quality food at the farmers' market, all responded affirmatively.

Table 3: Characteristics of Food Quality Expressed by Consumers (n=37)

	Halifax	Hubbards	Wolfville	Total Number	Total %
Local	13	2	9	24	65
Fresh	11	3	6	20	54
Organic	11	1	7	19	51
Taste	3	1	2	6	16
Appearance	1	3	2	6	16
Pesticide-free	4			4	11
Nutritious	3			3	8
Novelty	1		1	1	3
Variety	1			1	3
Consistency		1		1	3
Unprocessed		1		1	3
Safe			1	1	3

Table 4: Characteristics of Food Quality Expressed by Producers (n=21)

	Halifax Market	Hubbards	Wolfville	Total Number	Total %
Organic	2	4	4	10	48
Fresh	4	2	3	9	43
Nutritious	3		1	4	19
Taste	3		1	4	19
Local	1	1	1	3	14
Presentation of product	2		1	3	14
A product you are proud to sell	1	1		2	10
Clean	2			2	10
Benefits Local People	1			1	5
Life of Product	1			1	5
Variety	1			1	5
Coming from a small family farm	1			1	5

	Halifax Market	Hubbards	Wolfville	Total Number	Total %
Well labeled	1			1	5
Pesticide-free	1		1	1	5
Novelty		1		1	5
Safe-government inspected		1		1	5
Maintains genetic diversity			1	1	5
Consistency		1		1	5
Customer loyalty		1		1	5

As illustrated in the above tables, local, fresh and organic were the characteristics most frequently associated with a quality food product by consumers. Like consumers, organic and fresh were the characteristics most frequently associated with a quality food product by producers.

Economics of Farmers' Markets

In exploring how people, places and food interact in marketplaces, it is critical to recognize that farmers' markets are businesses and will only exist if they provide viable selling opportunities for local farm businesses. As a producer at the Wolfville Farmers' Market said, "It is a market and we're really here to sell...it can be just a way of putting food on the table." Farmers' markets are particularly vital for local small-scale farm businesses by providing a direct marketing outlet. Rand explained how they chose the direct marketing route when they established Foxhill Cheese House approximately four years ago after having experience selling in the conventional food system:

We had an experience oh twenty-one years ago. We grew seven acres of asparagus and it took us three years to establish that crop. When our crop was ready, we had an agreement with one of the wholesalers and they had promised us a certain price, and when our crop was ready they reneged on the agreement and they gave us less. We took that the first year- the second year they give us less and the third year they gave us less. So we plowed under seven acres of asparagus and after that we kind of said no, we're really going to try to go direct marketing rather than doing the big chain stores, the big wholesalers.

Direct marketing enables the vendor to receive more of the customer dollar as explained by MacLeod:

Farmers' markets are amazing opportunities for growers because they get to keep a larger percentage of the consumer dollar and it's a fairly low-risk

environment I would say. It's not like your starting a store and you need all this infrastructure, you have a weekly table and that's that.

At each of the study markets, many producers spoke to the importance of farmers' markets in sustaining their business. The farmers' markets also provided opportunities for producers to value-add their products. Hennigar explained how he was able to add value to his product by selling at farmers' markets:

Direct-marketing, value-added organic are the three magic words. And that's what turns the five cent a pound apple into a \$2.50/ pound apple. In terms of the value, multiple the value by over fifty times and still be undercharging the customer what they would be paying for it in the conventional outlet. Cause I only charge a \$1.50/pound for the apples, and you'd pay \$2.50/pound to buy the conventional organic in the Superstore, and those aren't even as high a standard. These are unsprayed certified organic. So we get that huge markup that's going to other people normally, and we have it to make our businesses viable.

Implications for Organic Agriculture

- Regulatory bodies and labeling can play an important role in informing consumer decision making. However, in farmers' markets, consumers also have the opportunity to meet directly with producers and ask them questions about the food before making purchasing decisions. In the case of farmers' markets, this study found that consumer confidence in food is based upon the trust that develops between the consumer and producer. As Fred Kilcup Manager of the Halifax Farmers' Market said:
The organic movement the "certified organic" movement and the food safety and security issues that organisations and governments try to put in place to manage and control, all that is reduced to the space between the customer and the vendor again. And a trust relationship that's built between them on all those issues. It's reduced to a direct conversation with the producer. And people either trust it or they don't. And if they do trust it, then they have confidence in the food. And that goes on, on a regular basis.

This is not to suggest that there is no role for labeling of foods in farmers' markets. Farmers' markets contain many labels and signs which are important in identifying the origin of the food products and if it has met certified organic standards. However, in the context of direct marketing, consumer confidence in the safety and quality of food also heavily relies upon relationships of trust that develop among particular producers and consumers.

- Organic is a key attribute of quality food as identified by producers and consumers at each of the three case study farmers' markets. 51% of the consumers at the markets listed organic as an attribute of quality. This is second only to local (65%) and fresh (54%). These results are supportive of recent literature which suggests that quality is seen in 'natural' and 'local' foods (Murdoch et al., 2000, p.108). Producers identified organic as the top indicator of quality with 48% of producers mentioning organic as an attribute of quality food.

- Farmers' markets also provide important opportunities for consumers to learn from producers about organic food and food production. As indicated in Table 2, a common topic of conversation among producers and consumers is food production and within this organic versus non-organic practices was a frequent topic of discussion. Consumers often asked producers if their produce was organic or unsprayed. In this way, consumers were able to base their purchasing decisions on the information they received directly from the producer and had the opportunity to ask questions and learn about organic production practices. Often, organic producers were happy to share their knowledge and stories. Richard Henniger is a certified organic apple grower in the Annapolis Valley and manages Suprima Farms which produces certified organic apples and apple cider as well as frozen juice bars which are in the process of becoming certified organic. He explains how he draws upon his intergenerational knowledge as an apple producer and passes this on to his customers:

...every customer has a little different wrinkle of what they're interested in. As soon as they start to speak, then you can figure out what is the information you can tell them that's going to be helpful. And that's coming from the apple industry. It takes three generations to make a good apple grower. And the reason for it is there's so much nuance, so much research, so much background, so many things that only happen very seldom, that to be really fully prepared to be a competent apple grower you really need to be able to tap back into previous generations. And I'm a third generation apple grower. And I'm building on that foundation.

- From the perspective of the producer, farmers' markets are important direct marketing outlets in which to sell organic and value-added products. Hennigar describes how he is able to capture more of the consumer dollar by selling at farmers' markets:

Direct-marketing, value-added, organic are the three magic words. And that's what turns the five cent a pound apple into a \$2.50/ pound apple...these are unsprayed certified organic. So we get that huge markup that's going to other people normally, and we have it to make our businesses viable.

Bibliography

Australian Farmers' Market Association. (2004). Creating space and a place for farmers' markets in Australian cities. Submission to the Parliament of Australia Standing Committee of Environment and Heritage.

Barber, K., Ed. (1998) The Canadian Oxford Dictionary. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Brown, A. (2001). Counting farmers' markets. *Geographical Review* 91(4), 655-74.

- Brunori, G. (2007, March). Local food and alternative food networks: a communication perspective. *Anthropology of Food S2*. Retrieved February 04, 2008 from <http://aof.revues.org/document430.html>
- Feagan, R., Morris, D., and Krug, K. (2004). Niagara region farmers' markets: local food systems and sustainability considerations. *Local Environment* 9(3), 235-254.
- Godvindasamy, R., Zurbriggen, M., Italia, J., Adelaja, A., Nitzsche, P., and VanVranken, R. (1998). Farmers' markets: Consumer trends, preferences, and characteristics. The State University of New Jersey Rutgers. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from agmarketing.extension.psu.edu/ComFarmMkt/PDFs/FarmMktConsTrends.pdf
- Goodman, D. (2004). Rural Europe redux? Reflections on alternative agro-food networks and paradigm change. *Sociologia Ruralis* 44, 3-16.
- Guthrie, J., Guthrie, A., and Lawson, R. et al. (2006). Farmers' markets: the small business counter-revolution in food production and retailing. *British Food Journal* 108(7), 560-573.
- Hendrickson, M. and Hefferman, W. (2002). Opening spaces through relocalization: Locating potential weaknesses of the global food system. *Sociologia Ruralis* 42(4), 347-369.
- Hinrichs, C. (2000). Embeddedness and local food systems: notes on two types of direct agricultural market. *Journal of Rural Studies* 16, 295-303.
- Holloway, L., Cox, R. Venn, L., Kneafsey, M., Dowlers, E. and Tuomainen, H. (2006). Managing sustainable farmed landscape through 'alternative' food networks: A case study from Italy. *The Geographical Journal* 172(3), 219-229.
- Holt, G. and Amilien, V. (2007). Introduction: from local food to localized food. (2007, March). *Anthropology of Food S2*. Retrieved February 17, 2008, from <http://aof.revues.org/document405.html>
- Kerr Centre for Sustainable Agriculture. (2002). *Farmers' market survey*. Retrieved February 06, 2008, from http://www.kerrcenter.com/farmers_market/index.html
- Kilcup, F. (2007). *Seaport market*. Retrieved February 09, 2008, from http://halifaxfarmersmarket.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=75&Itemid=65
- Kurlansky, M. (2007, July 30-August 6). The food chains that link us all. *Time Magazine*, 42-43.
- Lezberg, S. and Kloppenburg, J. (1996). That we all might eat: Regionally-reliant food systems for the 21st Century. *Development* 4, 28-33.
- Lotter, L. (2001). Organic agriculture. *Journal of Sustainable Agriculture* 21(4), 59-128.

Marsden, T., Banks, J., and Bristow, G. (2000). Food supply chain approaches: Exploring their role in rural development. *Sociologia Ruralis* 40(4), 424-438.

Morris, C. and Young, C. (2000). 'Seed to shelf', 'teat to table', 'barley to beer' and 'womb to tomb': discourses of food quality and quality assurance schemes in the UK. *Journal of Rural Studies* 16, 103-115.

Murdoch, J., Marsden, T., and Banks, J. (2000). Quality, nature and embeddedness: Some theoretical considerations in the context of the food sector. *Economic Geography* 76(2), 107-125.

Networking Association for Farm Direct Marketing and Agritourism. (2007). *About NAFDMA*. Retrieved February 1, 2008, from <http://www.nafdma.com/Public/AboutUs/>

Ophuis, P. (1995). Perceived quality: A market driven and consumer oriented approach. *Food Quality and Preference* 6, 177-183.

Qazi, J., and Selfa, T. (2005). Place, taste or face-to-face? Understanding producer-customer networks in "local" food systems in Washington State. *Agriculture and Human Values* 22, 451-464

Sage, C. (2003). Social embeddedness and relations of regard: alternative 'good food' networks in south-west Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies* 19, 47-60.

Sonnino, R. (2007). Embeddedness in action: Saffron and the making of the local in southern Tuscany. *Agriculture and Human Values* 24(1), 61-74.

Tregear, A. (2007, March). Proximity and typicity: a typology of local food identities in the marketplace. *Anthropology of Food* S2. Retrieved February 04, 2008 from <http://aof.revues.org/document438.html>

Venn, L., Kneafsey, M., Holloway, L., Cox, R., Dowler, E., and Tuomainen, H. (2006). Researching European 'alternative' food networks: some methodological considerations. *Royal Geographical Society* 38(3), 248-258.