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Template Case Study Short Food Chain Systems & Bibliography

'Food citizens? Collective food procurement in European cities: solidarity and diversity, skills and scale.'

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About this document

This is a template case study on farmers markets' and AMAPs, covering of some of the relevant literature pertaining to the *Food Citizens?* project, made available as a resource for those interested in the subject areas of our project. This is not an exhaustive list of literature, but rather an overview of key publications useful to consider, most of which have extensive bibliographies of their own worth reviewing.

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Although care has been taken in preparing it, page numbers and quotations may be inaccurate on occasion. Thus, if one is interested in quoting specific authors listed here, one should consult the original publication.

There is an accompanying power point presentation that was used in a seminar in 2017 that corresponds to the sections of this template case study.

Happy researching.

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This template case study literature review engages with the social science literature on farmers' markets and Community Supported Agriculture groups (CSAs). The goal is to guide the PhD students on the *Food Citizens?* project in approaching such food procurement structures from different strands of anthropological theory as they develop their respective research projects. To this end, this review engages with literature focusing on such diverse themes as trust, taste and place, and ethical consumption. For example, I attempt to draw linkages between the motivating reasons consumers engage in these short food chain systems and broader social processes underway such as the declining trust in governance institutions, the rise of the importance of taste and place in food procurement decisions, and the intensification of interest in consuming in an ethical way as part of a larger project of citizenship engagement with the market.

In the first section, which is largely descriptive, I outline how researchers have argued that participation in alternative modes of food procurement is driven by factors such as consumers wanting to reconnect with farming, desires to influence the structure of the agri-food supply chain, declining trust in the dominant food system due to quality concerns and food safety scares, and other system-level issues. CSAs, farmers' markets, and other short food-chain procurement systems (even those that are more like informal networks than systems) not only change producer-consumer relations, but have wider socio-economic implications in the societies in which they develop. That said, the literature reveals that there are also problems that arise, and systemic issues they fail to address, despite the creative efforts by food activists and other members of society.

In the second section, I outline how trust is central to food buying choices. The increasing number of food scares publicized across the world and the highly vertically integrated agri-food system that relies on economies of scale to keep food prices down together highlight the issue of food safety, which is a theme anthropologists have gravitated to when researching food systems, particularly in relation to adopting EU norms. As such, trust has emerged as a great theme in motivating consumers' exit from the dominant food system and movement towards alternative procurement structures. As a result, new food production regulatory regimes have been implemented to restore consumer trust. However, these new regulations are often shown to be burdensome to small producers, which is further driving this vertical integration. Furthermore, these regulations, particularly when imposed on post-socialist European countries new to the EU, may be interpreted by local communities as attacks on cultural traditions, as food and production conventions are deemed unsafe or sub-standard. As a result, new regulatory regimes have the unintended consequence of complicating trust in the agri-food system. They are both necessary and punitive, and marginalizing while standardizing. Such issues encourage some small producers to return or stay in the informal economy, complicating matters further. This section highlights how the PhDs may approach similar processes underway in their field sites, flagging some common themes already emerging in the literature to guide them as they ask their informants questions and attempt to frame processes underway locally in a broader context of EU norm adoption.

In the third section, I spend time reviewing the anthropological literature on the taste of place, perceptions of *terroir*, and the idea of quality, which links also to the section above on standards issue. This is because another reason consumers are increasingly turning to farmers' markets and CSAs is that buying locally has become synonymous with such virtuous food attributes as 'natural', 'organic', and 'authentic'. Farmers and food producers are establishing criteria and definitions of their products in order to differentiate themselves from mass producers of similar products the world over, and so it is important for the PhDs to contextualize the farmers'

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movements in their own sites in this broader context. In anchoring their products to a specific territory and production method, producers simultaneously create for consumers a line of quality control to trace back their food to its point of origin, which is where food identity links with food quality, and it is in this nexus that I believe the PhDs will fruitfully explore localized social processes at work. This process is in some ways nothing new. *Terroir* is a concept that developed amongst French winemakers to devise a consensus on wine production methods and as a way to guarantee their wine's quality to consumers in the face of fraudulent competition. This concept has since been incorporated into regulatory regimes internationally. Producers may draw on *terroir* ideas to cultivate a shared branding that then may be used to protect or promote their product, as well as ask for higher prices as they develop an identity around their products.

In the fourth section, I review the literature to show that turning to farmers' markets and CSAs is often an ethical choice for consumers. The enlightened consumer is an individual that regards their consumption decisions in their wider socio-economic landscape. Consumption is increasingly linked to personal identity when it comes to food, much like fashion. Citizen-consumers exhibit self-expression through their consumption choices, which paradoxically makes them moral agents of neoliberalism. One way that this is revealed is through buying food at Whole Foods Market or at Fair Trade shops. These ethically branded entities allow consumers to turn consumption into a meaningful act, where they publicly express their values and cultivate a new 'food habitus' (Gross 2014: 21) along the way. This is complicated by the fact that what is deemed 'ethical' is sometimes opaque, based on incomplete information and a distorted notion of what agricultural production entails. Fair Trade and other ethical systems are caught up in the larger agri-food system and face the same political and economic pressures as those producers in the dominant agri-food system. Furthermore, there are practical limitations to scaling up and scaling out such alternative systems, as what is 'local' becomes obfuscated. In this section, I review some anthropological literature that has approached these issues in order to give the students context for what has already been investigated and give them

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This section reviews the social science literature on farmers' markets and CSAs, particularly focusing on why consumers participate in these types of food procurement systems. The PhDs will be engaging with various 'type-two' food system structures. Although we cannot fully anticipate what they will find, this section reviews some broad issues commonly found in these structures, summarized here as guidelines as they approach the specificities of their own field sites. In short, participation is spurred by environmental concerns, the thinking being that supporting the development of local food systems may work to slow down environmental degradation. Those specifically engaging in AMAP in France seem to be more concerned with the morality of organic food consumption, where consuming organic food is framed as ethical. These structures specifically are quite political, with members engaging in a sort of organic food proselytization and explaining to members or potential members the concept of voting with one's wallet. These small food procurement structures bring the issue of trust to the fore, as part of the reason why consumers are engaging in them is based on a feeling of creating an emotional connection with the farmers. This feeling makes up for a lack of knowledge about the food's production context because of the often lack of formal food standards certification that comes with being a small farmer. In this sense, trust and uncertainty are revealed as interlinked issues undergirding the organic food system and peoples' engagement with it through small farming CSA and AMAP structures. The literature shows that farmers are well aware of this issue and indeed spend time

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finding ways to cultivate trust in consumers through building personal relationships with them. However, social science research also reveals that it is because of this need to build personal trust with consumers that scaling up such systems will be difficult if not impossible. I spend time summarizing some of the creative ways that farmers engage in trust-building with consumers for the PhDs to more easily identify such efforts in their own field sites, citing literature that will assist them in conceptualizing these small, farmer-led initiatives. However, much of this literature looks at western farmers, and our project also has a post-socialist dimension. As a result, I also highlight where trust emerges in food procurement systems in this region, citing some core publications that will be helpful in conceptualizing the motivations for consumers to rely on personalized relationships with farmers to procure food here, and what special issues emerge out of the region's specific historical background. Going on to more general issues, I summarize the broad appeal of these systems shared in common for consumers and producers. This centers around values in general, like environmentalism, economic mutuality (e.g., that both parties benefit in the transaction), and healthy eating. Some social scientists highlight that there are some contradictions that emerge that makes these procurement systems perhaps less egalitarian or progressive than membership would hope, ranging from the fact that lower socioeconomic or marginalized/precarious communities or individuals may find it impossible to engage in them. I added such literature to remind the PhDs that such food systems may hide underlying contradictions or tensions not immediately apparent if one simply engages with the actors who are present. In other words, it is important to also consider what or who is missing when approaching these procurement systems as a focus of analysis. I summarize some literature that points to basic problems encountered in these systems that are very specific to localized cases, simply to point out the diversity of problems that one may find in one's fieldsite. I show that some places may have more politically minded participants than others, in order to remind the PhDs that not every site will necessarily be approaching alternative food procurement systems as a political project, or may be doing so to vastly varying degrees. Finally, I list some extra benefits of engaging in these systems that are locally specific but again, reveals the diversity of experiences of farmers and consumers.

The literature that exists suggests that participation in alternative modes of food procurement such as CSAs and farmers' markets is largely a response by mindful consumers who are concerned with supporting local farmers and knowing where their food comes from, and who value relationships in the field of consumption. Geographers like Albrecht and Smithers (2018: 67) have pointed to the 'reconnection' of food producers and consumers as 'foundational in understanding the potential of the local food movement to affect change in the farming and food system', where this reconnection could lead to redressing environmental and social problems that stem from conventional production systems, but question what reconnection truly means. They argue that this reconnection means something different for producers and consumers. Anthropologists like Cone and Myhre have argued that becoming a member in a CSA is embedded in social values like having a connection to the land, community, and 'a cosmic sensibility' that people feel has been lost due to globalization, and as such CSAs offer a way to connect with likeminded individuals (2000: 188). Participation in CSAs is in part a choice based on a desire to contribute to environmental protection by choosing what agricultural production techniques to support (Lamine 2005: 332).

Farmers engage in direct-sale strategies because they are dissatisfied with conventional farming's impact on the environment and want to be part of a resilient local food system instead of the precarious global one (Albrecht and Smithers 2018: 71). For some researchers like sociologist

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Hinrichs, CSAs have been problematized as systems moving society closer to 'the decommodification of food' (2000: 295), in part because the monetary value of the food being bought is not entirely determined by the raw market price of a single item. Sociologist Chiffolleau (2009: 220) explains that participants in alternative food procurement systems may prefer to conceptualize themselves as somehow 'outside the market' and part of 'broader social projects'. In a similar vein, anthropologist Lagane (2015: 135) has cast the French association of small farmers (AMAPs) in France as sharing the principles of the 'sharing economy' because of the centrality of trust in maintaining the contract or relationship between farmers and consumers.

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Research published in *Sociologia Ruralis* has characterized AMAP in France as much like CSAs, in that consumers and producers have contracts to supply consumers with a box of organic food on a weekly basis, with the goal of guaranteeing farmers a market and consumers high-quality fresh food (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al.* 2011: 306). Those studying business management and consumer behavior have problematized AMAPs and CSAs as part of a moral consumption value system of sourcing one's food locally as part of one's attempt to construct oneself as 'moral subjects' that support sustainable farming, often drawing on 'romanticized narratives of the "local"' (Papaoikonomou and Ginieis 2017: 54). You may find that some farmers' markets or CSAs that you study are politically involved, but also perhaps not. If so, AMAPs are interesting to look at because their advocates are also highly politically charged as organizations, in that they voice the idea that consumers are manipulated by market professionals and advertisers and that part of being a conscious consumer engaged in AMAP and other food-related organizations is understanding that consumers can 'disengage' from this system and be mindful players in the market (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al.* 2011: 308; see also Cardona 2012). Their goal is to 'guide consumers by building partnerships with other forms of ethical trade (fair trade, farm markets), based for example on the participation of an AMAP producer in a farmers' market, or on the distribution of boxes of produce in fair trade shops' (*ibid.*: 310). The authors characterize these groups as 'ad hoc forms of trade' because the terms of trade are negotiated and vary from group to group (*ibid.*: 311). AMAPs also actively use consumers in farming, giving an example of farmers informing their consumers of an invasive weed that due to their organic farming practices they could not combat with herbicides, leading their members to volunteer to weed the land manually (*ibid.*: 311). Sociologists focusing on agricultural systems have found that AMAPs have achieved an important goal of making organic food profitable for small-scale farmers in France (Cardona 2012: 5).

Sociologist Lamine (2005: 334) points out that farmers are promising rather than guaranteeing to their AMAP members that their food addresses their 'uncertainties about safety, diet, taste and the environment'. Food boxes are said to be a system that 'relies on a radical uncertainty imposed on consumers', where AMAP food is cast as both higher quality but then also that member consumers may be uncertain about the quality of this food, too, because of their lack of knowledge about production (Lamine 2005: 324-5). Lamine (2005: 334) points out that farmers are promising rather than guaranteeing to their AMAP members that their food addresses their 'uncertainties about safety, diet, taste and the environment'. Such observations highlight how trust, reciprocity, and social connection are central to direct agricultural markets (Hinrichs 2000: 296). Geographers have found that in general, buying groups may buy from both registered and unregistered organic producers, basing their assessment of the latter on trust that is built through building close relationships with producers that focus on mutual support, rather than direct knowledge of the

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quality of their food production conditions (Moragues-Faus 2017: 467). Agroecologists focused on food networks have found that it is often the case in the analysis of AFNs that short supply chains and interaction between consumers and producers are said to generate trust, as trust is cast as an 'outcome of knowledge supplied along with the product', which of course is still reliant on the farmer being truthful (Thorsoe and Kjeldsen 2015: 159). Cone and Myhre (2000: 194) point out that trust is embedded in the CSA financial structure, as by buying a share in the CSA at the beginning of the production year, 'members assume some of the risk of the harvest with their farmers, trusting they will fulfill their side of the contract to the best of their ability'. Members feel trust as well, Cone and Myhre (2000: 194) explain, in that the personal relationship this structure fosters gives them the feeling that they can reach out to the farmers with questions and concern, drawing a similarity between families that once had a 'family doctor' now having a 'family farmer' in whom to entrust their health (ibid.: 188).

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However, anthropologist Jeff Pratt's (2007) ethnographic research in rural Italy highlights the importance of caution in assuming a trusting relationship between producers and consumers, as they are still linked through economic relations that encourage profit maximizing behavior. He says: 'these are still market transactions and we should be cautious in assuming that the relationship between customers and producers, however embedded and personal, necessarily creates that elusive commodity, trust. In the Italian villages where I used to live, farmers and shopkeepers only had local customers, so who else could they dupe? That is why villagers thought supermarkets were such good news' (Pratt 2007: 289). Albrecht and Smithers (2018: 72-3) detail how trust is the foundation of 'value in direct producer-consumer relationships', where farmers build trust through strategies of making newsletters, seeking feedback, acting in good faith with returns of food products, and hosting people at their farms, allowing them to 'set prices reflective of the real cost of production' and contributing to a more enlightened consumer base that would ultimately have a greater impact on the market's structure. Trust allowed farmers to focus their marketing efforts on direct sales that is both more profitable and autonomous, while trust allowed consumers to procure healthier and higher-quality food (Albrecht and Smithers 2018: 78). That said, maintaining consumer trust while scaling up is a concern for farmers (ibid.: 79).

In a similar vein, a philosopher concerned with ethics in various industries, Navin (2015: 444), draws on work by anthropologists and geographers Sonnino and Marsden (2006) to make a distinction between the 'passive trust' in conventionally produced food versus the 'active trust' that AFNs cultivate in consumers, as the latter has more transparency in production. This necessity for active trust in such systems has consequences for how they may be ultimately scaled up. Navin (2015: 444) explains that a limiting factor to scaling up AFNs is that AFNs are primarily supposed to 'promote ethical food practices in the absence of effective political institutional activity' to do so, and that if these small-scale systems grow, this would inherently 'compromise the short and small aspects of AFNs'. There are other limiting factors to the growth of CSAs. Anthropologists have found that even though CSAs conjure this idea of strong relationships between farmers and consumers, in reality, in the USA the majority of these organizations lose 40-50 percent of their members yearly, which creates a great burden on farmers to seek out new members, and in those CSAs that hope to benefit from members' labor on their farms, they are often disappointed by the members' commitment to volunteering (Janssen 2010: 6). [FN: I should mention here that there is a huge literature on trust in economics. Two articles by anthropologists that will get you started on markets and trust are Gambetta (1988) and Jimenez (2011) that are in the bibliography.] Whether

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or not trust binds such actors, anthropologists have found that there is still a great number of consumers who disengage from CSA-structures, suggesting that trust is not enough to create long-term loyalty, at least in western market contexts (ibid.).

AMAPs oppose industrial farming, values linking farmers directly with consumers, and promote programs that educate consumers about local food and sustainable agriculture, even organizing urban community gardens to do so (Lagane 2015: 133-4). French organizations may engage in consumer education, mobilize consumers in protest campaigns, and implement alternative food exchange systems, including cooperative movements, minority outreach for projects linking consumption to citizenship, and developing the idea that consumers are active participants in the construction and function of their local markets (Dubuisson-Quellier *et al.* 2011: 304-5). Kazumi Kondoh, a sociologist with expertise in food systems, environmental sociology, and sustainable development has found that in Japan, CSA-type organizations began to arise in the 1960s to increase access to organic foods and create 'mutually supportive relationships between farmers and consumers' (2014: 143). These groups were motivated out of concern for agricultural chemical usage, and ultimately created an umbrella association to promote organic practices and educate both farmers and consumers (Kondoh 2014: 146). Japanese CSAs were regarded as a diffuse community of people with a shared identity of supporters of sustainability and conscious consumption, and they were organized and operated on a voluntary basis, without government support either for operations or for organic farming, such that ultimately as women began to move into the workforce, these CSAs began to weaken because their volunteers were less available, revealing some of the structural weakness of these organizations (ibid.: 146-8). The relationship between farmers and consumers is often the focus in analysis of the effects of CSAs in general, but Janssen (2010: 4) argues that these structures are also incredibly important for farmers and for the development of a 'healthy local food system' in general. The successful operation of CSAs rely on a 'broad network of support' that extends beyond farmers and consumers to include farm laborers, media, activists, and governance institutions that together create a 'concept of "civic agriculture"' (Janssen 2010: 4). Again in Japan, sociologists focused on food, social movements, and environment have found that some food movements have been successful in promoting local food procurement to the extent that government takes notice and supports such efforts (Kimura and Nishiyama 2008). For example, in response to decreasing agricultural output and food scandals, NGOs, farmers' cooperatives, and government offices together have supported the localization of food procurement, first initiated by the chisan-chiso movement (Kimura and Nishiyama 2008: 49). Here, farmers have increasingly been engaging in secondary businesses to make ends meet because of low food prices due to cheap imports, and so government supports local agricultural cooperatives to encourage consumers to buy local, but such organizations and the chisan-chiso movement focus on marketing the food rather than political activism as such, raising the question of to what extent this ultimately influences government policy (Kimura and Nishiyama 2008: 50, 60).

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Further focusing on the issue of trust, anthropologists studying European farming communities have found that trust is a strong motivating force in engaging in AFNs (Hebert and Mincyte 2014). However, in post-socialist states, AFNs may take a more informal shape, even if motivated by similar values or goals as those in the West. Ethnographic research in these countries may focus on the informal aspect of such networks as a way to make ends meet in the context of opening markets (Mincyte 2012). For example, Mincyte (2012: 43) characterizes participation in

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Lithuania's raw milk economy as a way of building 'alternative economic subjectivities, constituting creative—and potentially sustainable—responses to the liberalization of global markets and industrialization of agriculture' despite the participants being poorer consumers. They may also look at the emergence of formal food cooperatives, for example in Poland, which eliminated intermediaries to both lower food costs and increase trust between farmer and consumer, and were found to be ideologically driven structures focused on health, politics and social threats of food insecurity (Kopczynska 2017: 649). And studies in the region have also focused on the quality of social networks to resolve everyday problems in the context of diminished state capacity to do so (Knudsen 2015). Because of this link between CSAs and cooperatives, I have added a short bibliography on anthropological research on cooperatives that touch on a bunch of different issues that you might want to consult to see how they've been conceptualized in anthropology. It is not exhaustive, but rather gives a broad overview of some more recent literature. There is much more on the reasons why people engage in CSAs and farmers' markets from the perspective of various social scientists outside of anthropology.

Researchers of natural resources, agriculture, and community sustainability have found that farmers' markets are more widespread than CSAs, but engagement with them derive from similar values and goals. There is a pervasive idea in the literature on AFNs that farmers' markets may 'contribute to a move away from a dominant industrial food system to one that offers spaces for alternative "green" economic relationships' because they are places where communication and trust can create lasting relationships between farmers and consumers (Klimek *et al.* 2018: 83). Canadian researchers on sustainable agriculture and environmental sociology such as Beckie *et al.* (2012: 335) conceptualize farmers' markets in Canada as spaces within which farmers may 'achieve common goals', including immediate payment, higher prices, control over production, and independence in marketing. Through interacting directly with consumers, other important communication occurs between farmers and consumers, including 'product testing, and education about farming practices and the advantages of locally produced food, all of which foster relationships of reciprocity and mutual benefit, trust and loyalty, and contributes to knowledge building' (Beckie *et al.* 2012: 342). In the United States, farmers' markets have been problematized by anthropologists studying them as a 'deliberate class-based response to wrestle back control of the local through supporting farmers and post-industrial downtown storeowners' (Bubinas 2011: 154). Similar to CSAs, a 'vendor's success depends upon becoming a trusted member of the marketplace community' (Bubinas 2011: 156). Alkon (2013: 664), a sociologist who researches food justice and power structures in food systems between legislative bodies, industrial producers and processors, workers, and other producers, details how organic food sold at farmers' markets is imbued with eco-agrarian ideals of supporting farmers to create 'environmental sustainability, community coherence, and resistance to corporate power'. Consumers also describe organic foods 'as both the product of nature and human labor', which means that in buying organic food they feel they are able 'to enact an array of ecological and social benefits, including decreasing pollution, building healthy soil, creating vibrant rural and urban communities, and establishing local economic alternatives to corporate control'. At the same time, Alkon (2013: 665) finds that consumers 'fail to recognize the full scope of human labor associated with food production', including the migrant farm labor that is used even on family farms. Still, consumers at farmers' markets speak about organic food in these venues in 'the way that advocates for wilderness reservation describe the places they seek to preserve', reflecting the ideals and values embedded (Alkon 2013: 669).

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Beckie *et al.* (2012: 335) has pointed out that the structural issues of farmers' markets in Canada throw into question the underlying values and goals of such marketplaces because even though they are ostensibly a reaction to the otherwise highly integrated agri-food economy, they are widely characterized as less affordable and have infrastructural issues like limited quantity of products, ranges of products, times of work that may only be amenable to certain socio-economic classes, and other issues. Hodgins and Fraser (2018: 149) have found that alternative food procurement systems are marked by exclusivity due to the higher food prices, a revelation that has increased interest in broadening the accessibility of these markets. NGO charities attempt to bring this food to lower-income groups through food banks and partnerships with farmers (*ibid.*: 150). For example, Bubinas, an anthropologist that focuses on gender but who also has done extensive research on farmers' markets that includes quantitative analysis to engage with informal market behaviors, has pointed to the use of the term 'femivores' which has been coined to refer to educated, middle-class baby-boomer women who are opting out of the mainstream 'food culture prescribed for them by the global food establishment' (2011: 154). Julie Guthman, a sociologist at UC, Santa Cruz publishing on diverse food-related issues such as food activism, labor issues for organic farm workers, the politics of agri-chemical use, race issues in alternative food projects, and the micro-politics of agribusiness in California, has found that in general, alternative food systems are more accessible to those in higher socio-economic classes because of the high price of organic and small-farm-produced food, and as such are sometimes 'white spaces', both in terms of race and 'cultural codings that are performed at such markets' (Guthman 2008: 431).

Indeed, Alkon and Mares (2012), a sociologist and anthropologist, respectively, also investigated how a farmers' market in Oakland, California tried to 'connect black farmers to low-income consumers', where activists attempted to create green jobs in agriculture but using 'a market-based approach that kept local food out of the economic grasp of food-insecure neighborhood residents' (*ibid.*: 347). Alkon and Mares (2012: 354) argued that 'relying on the private and voluntary sectors to provide public goods is an essential component of neoliberalism', and as such, these activists using farmers' markets to solve larger social problems feeds on this ideology, moving the issue away from 'calling on the state to provide food, or even more radically, to assuage the conditions responsible for food insecurity' in the first place. These farmers' markets are sites where communities may problematize their understandings of food justice and sovereignty. The activists Alkon and Mares (2012: 355) studied looked at these sites as opportunities to 'improve their economic livelihoods and provide services for their communities' rather than potentially 'forcing concessions from the state'. That said, Beckie *et al.* (2012: 341-2) has found that farmers' markets are part of a larger urban system that has positive implications for communities beyond food provision, including bringing consumers into different areas of town and facilitating the free marketing of NGOs that may display their materials in a central location. In a similar vein, Guthman (2008: 431) reveals how the alternative food movement has within it embedded values of 'whiteness' that are reproduced in specific practices of those engaging in food justice projects. By investigating a project led by UC Santa Cruz students bringing local fresh food to minority communities, Guthman (2008: 431) shows the disappointment students experience when they find their projects 'lack resonance' in these communities, as their activism 'reflects white desires more than those of the communities they putatively serve'. Students have been instrumental in challenging food systems elsewhere, as well. For example, in France, student-led AMAPs have been important to developing the market for such food systems amongst young generations, showing how students may play a central role in reshaping local food systems (Lagane 2015: 139).

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Farmers' markets in Vienna have been found to be limited in their growth by governance problems, such as the issue that a lottery system is used to allocate farm stand space in order to be more 'fair', but this ends up creating a selection of products in the marketplace that does not ideally fit the needs of consumers (Klimek *et al.* 2018: 87). Although researchers suggest that Viennese markets might have the capacity to constitute a social movement for locally procured food because there are many smallholder farmers and consumers interested in supporting local farmers, such governance issues will make achieving such a goal difficult (*ibid.*: 94). Elsewhere, farmers' markets may have more overt political agendas. For example, sociologist Isaac Leslie has found that Argentinian farmers' markets called 'ferias francas' grew out of a grass-roots movement against the government's neoliberal agricultural policies that was hurting small farmers (Leslie 2017: 729). Organizers focused on developing legislation in partnership with different local and national governance institutions to support such farmers (*ibid.*: 729). The most effective legislative changes they made were price-setting and stall occupancy limits in their farmers' markets to control the marketplace, and collective organizing and institutionalizing a network of these farmers' markets, which together change 'the nature of competition from individuals to groups of small-scale farmers, bettering their chances of competing with capitalist industrial agriculture' (*ibid.*: 739).

However, farmers' markets may have additional positive effects for farmers. Farmers' markets are venues within which farmers may develop relationships between one another that facilitate cooperation outside of the marketplace (Chiffolleau 2009: 227). Based on research in France, Chiffolleau (2009: 227) explains that marketplaces reveal the 'practices, values, strategies, and networks' of farmers to one another, which consequently 'develops the trust necessary for co-operation', in ways including 'exchanging skills and techniques in order to master and coordinate the diverse activities and changes associated with their alternative projects', revealing the greater social and economic importance of farmers' markets to communities. By engaging in these farmers' markets, producers build both 'technical and friendship relations' that ultimately facilitate both cooperation in many fields and innovation (*ibid.*: 218). Additionally, similar to participating in farmers' markets, for farmers, participating in box schemes in France such as AMAP facilitates friendships and social ties, as well as creates opportunities to 'discuss techniques with colleagues' (*ibid.*: 229).

Trust in the EU and standards

Trust is a central theme in the literature on CSAs and farmers' markets. One field that is particularly important to our project is trust in the EU, as so much of the food regulatory regime of individual states is defined by the European Union. The issue of trust in the context of the EU helps to explicate reasons for engaging in alternative food systems. Anthropological literature also casts light on problems small producers encounter in their efforts to comply with EU regulations. We have read some articles focusing on this already, but there are more in the bibliography. Research has found that even though food certification systems should be trust enhancers, consumers are suspicious of them because of the industrial-ness of these food producers and that such certification systems actually burden and intimidate smaller farmers. Additionally, despite robust food security certification systems, food contamination and public health crises still occur. This scares consumers and undermines trust in the certification systems more broadly than in the sector that is in question at that moment. Such shocks to public trust provide further momentum to engage in completely separate food procurement systems where the consumer feels they know more about the production processes of their food by virtue of the fact of being able to visit the farm or meet the farmer. The certification systems are also cumbersome for farmers to adopt, and in the post-

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socialist context where standards were cast as a way to bring quality up, this raises not just ire but makes them question the true motivations for the certification systems more fundamentally. Particularly in post-socialist Europe, EU food standard regulations do not map well onto existing food production systems. The result is that farmers and consumers turn to addressing historical issues and re-contextualize them in the contemporary context, further muddying feelings towards the standards in general. It seems that the standards may have the unintended consequence of decreasing trust in the EU because adopting standards increases their costs, when farmers understood that the EU was supposed to be helping them be more competitive rather than less.

Trust is central to the modern food system, but it is challenged in many ways. Researchers at the Institute of Food and Resource Economics in Bonn, Germany have argued that the 'ability to communicate the trustworthiness of food to consumers' is reliant upon 'the creation, maintenance, and communication of trust between companies across the entire food value chain' (Fritz and Fischer 2007: 141). Agricultural sociologists active in right to food coalitions and food sovereignty groups have done research on how supermarkets and agro-industrial food producers have tried to increase the trust of consumers by focusing on 'reputational enhancement', 'direct quality claims via private standard certification badges on food products', and 'discursive claims-making through symbolic representations of "authenticity" and "tradition"' in such a way as to commoditize trust, 'embedding' trust 'into the marketing of mass-produced foods' (Richards *et al.* 2011: 29). In addition to such projects from the food industry, governmental food regulations have been cast as a 'surrogate for trust' (DeLind 2002, cited by Knezevic 2016: 416). Knezevic, a researcher on the social economy of food in informal economies, food labeling, and health equity in communities, has found that such food regulations act to 'mediate relationships among producers, sellers, and buyers, who are not otherwise motivated to trust one another' (Knezevic 2016: 416). Geographers of food systems, food sovereignty, and activism who are particularly interested in power structures and the resiliency of communities in these fields, have found that in North America, farmers and NGOs criticize the inadequate governmental enforcement food safety regulations, but try to collaborate to resolve these inadequacies (Laforge *et al.* 2017: 663). Laforge *et al.* (2017: 674) revealed the ways that Foucault's ideas about governmentality play themselves out in the self-regulatory behavior of North American farmers, where 'some farmers avoided expanding or exploring new innovations on their farms because of the risks of constantly changing and inconsistently interpreted regulations by enforcement officials', as these officials acted in 'hostile' and inconsistent ways that made farmers feel threatened and thus apprehensive about taking risks by adopting new production practices.

Anthropologists of European farming communities have often framed relations between farmers and larger institutions like the EU in power terms, interpreting EU agri-food regulations as a mode of disciplining farmers (Heller 2011) or a 'tactic of empire' (Aistara 2014). For example, Chaia Heller (2011: 95), an anthropologist researching how French farmers have adapted to EU regulations, shows how agricultural biotechnology may be cast as a 'form of post-industrial governance' that disciplines farmers, in the sense that such technologies, intensify 'problems of over-production linked with price-drops' and also are too costly for small producers, making them unable to keep up with the modernization of the sector. Such regulatory regimes may have unintended consequences that compound the low trust in such institutions already prevalent in these communities, particularly in post-socialist Europe (Aistara 2009). Aistara (2009) touched on this in the context of mapping Latvian farmland for organic agriculture subsidies, in that farmers were ultimately disqualified for these subsidies after already having invested in transitioning to organic farming and being part of this geo-mapping, which lead them to question the EU's ethics.

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Sometimes, the EU is arguably having the opposite market effect of creating new barriers to a sector's development, as for example Knudsen's (2012) research on Lithuania's experience of privatizing former collective farms has had the unintended consequence of creating a landscape of unspecialized farms run by ageing farmers with only a single cow each, rather than a healthy economy of marketized private producers. Then, anthropologist Demeulenaer (2014), who researches the politics of environmental knowledge and governance, found that in France, farmers' movements contest seed production and regulatory regimes, revealing that by converting to high-yield varieties, agricultural skills and knowledge around breeding strains has been lost, giving GMO producers ever more power over the agri-food system and creating a dichotomy between local and scientific knowledge. The incorporation of EU standards and market methods into daily practice, either on the farm or in agri-food production like the small-scale production of canned goods, has been conceptualized by anthropologist Elizabeth Dunn as remaking individuals and re-constituting 'personhood' (2005). These examples diverge from CSAs and farmers' markets specifically, but they are good examples of how anthropologists have approached the political and market aspects of rural farming communities in the context of joining the EU, and may be worthwhile for problematizing the motivations of various actors in these market systems.

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Such regulations that so fundamentally influence daily production decisions and practices have been the focus of investigation by anthropologists in order to understand how local communities engage with the institutions governing them, and how these governance institutions reshape the values, beliefs, and even *habitus* of individuals. A number of anthropologists have noticed that these regulations precipitate a shift in local thinking around food, in particular ideas about whether homemade foods are 'clean', and whether relationships in long-standing self-procurement networks are 'ethical' (Aistara 2015). Such changes may be noted in the local classification of certain foods as either 'ours' or not (thus 'foreign' or 'not ours') (Klumbyte 2010; Caldwell 2002). These networks that allow people to access food may be conceptualized as a 'ritualized mode of activity' between transactors that also protect people from larger market and political forces (Ries 2009: 183). Other anthropologists, however, have cautioned that engagement in these networks may paradoxically reinforce neoliberal values and designs by encouraging self-reliance and thus decreased reliance on state institutions previously responsible for ensuring a basic level of human welfare and access to a basic quality of food for sustenance (Hebert and Mincyte 2014). Even though all of these articles relate to the post-socialist experience, it is important to our general understanding of European food politics and food systems because the study of these systems in the region is more because of their newness or contrasting with the past, and in many ways they are generalizable or at least comparable to western European experiences, with many of the themes being universal.

[Slide 8]

Sense and taste of place and quality

Important to our understanding of consumer engagement with alternative food networks like CSAs and farmers' markets is the value consumers place on knowing where their food comes from and that this food is of a consistent and high quality. In this sense, there is a clear linkage between sourcing one's food from a local farmer at a known location where the environmental conditions are known and production conditions verifiable, and the more abstract concept of *terroir* and other contemporary markers of a product's place of origin. This might seem a stretch, but again, there

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are a lot of similarities in the way both groups of research talk about food and conceptualize place, and thus it is worth considering *terroir*. Additionally, some food actors may be creating *terroir* products of various types, so it is important to be familiar with the anthropological literature on this topic.

Anthropological research on the sense of taste, place, and quality become important to our understanding of consumer engagement in alternative food procurement strategies. Jeff Pratt (2007) has shown that desires for alternative foods is in part motivated by demand for authentic, local products. Paola Filippucci (2004) highlights the centrality of having such foods to local communities in France, where a village or region lacking a food that symbolizes their culture is akin to having no local identity. Marion Demossier (2011) explains in the context of winemaking communities in France that *terroir* encapsulates not just the authenticity of a place, but the knowledge of local producers that reflect the local investment in the product. However, *terroir* as a concept has not emerged without contestation. Demossier (2011) reveals that the ideology of *terroir* was borne out of negotiations between French winemaking families over what constitutions 'traditional', and this is important to understand in general because as it is adopted conceptually by new actors, you should know that it's not a neutral concept. Kolleen Guy (2003) outlines this history in detail as a historical process in part pushed by the desire to protect local producers from market pressures, in that they came together to create basically a monopoly around their product to protect it against falsified products but also to stabilize its price. *Terroir* has become a European convention, and is being adopted by new EU states such as Bulgaria, whose wine producers, Yuson Jung (2014) has shown, have had difficulty in adopting the foreign language of the western wine industry to make such concepts translate meaningfully in their own industry. Its translation into the wine industries of other European countries is in part due to the fact that *terroir* has become synonymous with *quality*, which is interesting in itself and something to watch for, and this is because associating a product with a specific place imbues the product with meaning and even identity, which consumers then add to the product's value (Cavanaugh 2007) and even trustworthiness (Pratt 2007).

This brings us to quality. Quality is simultaneously a concrete, measurable characteristic and an abstract concept, depending on one's definition. This is where anthropological research is valuable in analyzing consumer decisions around food procurement. Quality may be associated with industrial agriculture to the extent that high-level, technological production standards must be met to create a product that is consistent, but anthropologist Heller (2006) has also shown that discourses on quality by unions of small French farmers campaigning against GMOs may also use the term quality to convincingly symbolize local producers, showing how quality can enter into a dialect of power struggles between government regulators of food and civil society. Here, non-industrial foods are said to be 'imaginings' that have grown out of a reaction to industrialized agriculture (Heller 2011). In Italy, Krzywoszynska (2015: 493) has found that organic foods may challenge consumers because of their 'variable material characteristics' that require the 'cultivation of a "taste for uncertainty"' despite the products' organic status. Anthropologists have also revealed how quality may be engineered by producers, where place-making practices are adopted to create identities for local products to imbue them with quality (Besky 2014; Paxson 2010). For example, Sarah Besky (2014: 86), an anthropologist who has undertaken extensive research on Darjeeling tea plantations and who has problematized *terroir* and labor in tea production, shows how even industrially produced tea in Darjeeling, India, can gain a geographical indication (GI) that allows it to 'become convincingly associated with artisan GIs such as Champagne, Cognac, and Roquefort'. Asking how this was achieved, Besky (2014: 83) explains that the 'answer lies in a

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conceptual dyad that frames how British colonial officials, the Indian state, and international consumers have understood Darjeeling and its signature commodity. Since the colonial era, these actors have conceived Darjeeling as both an idyllic “garden” space and an industrial “plantation” space’. Another important contribution to our understanding on quality and *terroir* is Heather Paxson’s (2010) research on artisanal cheesemaking in Vermont and Wisconsin, who importantly looks at ‘skills’ and ‘place-making practices’. Finally, anthropologist Alison Leitch (2003), has investigated how power struggles play out within a community of Italian pork fat producers who are confronting EU regulations while they simultaneously wrestle with their own local contestations over definitions of quality, local production norms, and geographical boundaries of production, and how these tensions play off of one another, revealing how new issues emerge and how the community reconciles them. It is in these ways of researching local food systems and communities that anthropologists have contributed to our understanding of the sense and taste of place and quality.

[Slide 9]

The ethics of consumption

Finally, social science research on the motivations for engaging in CSAs and farmers’ markets has shown that ethics drives consumers. Ethics is an issue that links trust in producers, EU production standards, and consumer and producer identity through food in an interesting way. It is a broad category that may be a motivator for participation in food systems, but it also undergirds EU standards in that standards are supposed to make producers adhere to a particular moral framework of food production that adheres to status quo values, as for example the treatment of farm animals, groundwater usage, or other environmental impact-related issues, not to mention the healthfulness of the food produced.

This section reviews the ethical dimension of engaging in alternative food systems as a motivator for consumers. The idea here is that by understanding the ethical choices of consumers, we may better understand the drivers of the development of alternative food systems. If the goal is to ultimately ‘scale up’ such systems, we must come to understand what core values these systems seem to signal in the minds of consumers who ultimately will decide their success or failure through their persistent engagement in them. This section highlights how people speak about food in ethical ways, to point out where the PhDs may encounter such moralizing discourse in their own field sites. I review how consumption is a form of self-expression, as this is also woven into an ethical landscape. This plays out on the market in stark ways, in that consumers choose to shop at high-end supermarkets like Whole Foods because the brand embodies a set of values and morals which which consumers seek to personally identify. It is here that voting with one’s wallet is visually apparent. Anthropologists also interrogate not just where consumers buy food, but what labeling resonates. Like organic, Fair Trade goods speak to moral and ethical value systems. Fair Trade goods are often found in supermarkets because as a certification system reliant upon farmers and producers meeting strict production standards, it is rare to find very small producers of Fair Trade products in CSAs and farmers’ markets. The aspect of self-expression through food choices makes consumption a social act, helping us to frame informant narratives around their engagement in certain food systems in a more dynamic way. We may even say that consumption is performative, and that these performances are grounded in certain imaginaries of how food is produced signaled by branding and the context in which food is procured. In this way, ethics is a social act as well. However, anthropologists have found that meeting such standards, as outlined in the previous section as well, creates new difficulties for producers, and may even contradict the

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intention of the standards in the first place. This creates an issue of scale again, in that maintaining ethical production practices is difficult in scaling up production but at once necessary for achieving certification. Although an increasing number of consumers are trying to be ethical consumers, organic and Fair Trade food incur a price premium difficult for many to consistently adopt. As a result, anthropologists have shown how local ethical food organizations are attempting to rectify such problems to widen aspects.

Social science research on the motivations for engaging in CSAs and farmers' markets has highlighted the importance of ethics in the decision-making process. Anthropologists especially have provided great insight into how food ethics contributes to our understanding of AFNs. The idea of the citizen-consumer in discussions on ethical consumption places the social practice of voting with one's pocketbook into discussions on citizenship. The issue of ethics in consumption choices has been problematized by anthropologists in many ways (see Carrier and Luetchford 2012), and linking citizenship to consumption has a long history (see Daunton and Hilton 2001). This is a 'new terrain of political action', that Johan De Tavernier, a professor of theological ethics that is concerned with ethics around the environment as well as food and the moral right to food, believes may be conceptualized as 'a new kind of social agency' (De Tavernier 2012: 896; see also Marxist sociologist Bauman 2008 and Coff 2006). As Trubek (2011: 192) has explained, foods may be qualified with terms such as 'organic', 'local', or 'artisan', by those in the food movement in order to create an idea of 'virtuous foods' (a term coined by philosopher Lisa Heldke 2012). In the context of problematizing the morality of the Kenyan Fair Trade flower market, commodity exchange has been conceptualized as 'a morally inflected practice', where 'ethical consumption forms an important aspect of self-formation in a context of neoliberal globalization, as an increasing number of consumers articulate moral sensibilities through the labour of shopping' (Dolan 2007: 239-40). In response to this rise in ethical consumption, sociologist of food and consumer culture Josée Johnston (2008: 262) explains the rise of ethically oriented corporations like Whole Foods Market as precipitated by 'the anti-corporate sentiment articulated by global justice movements', that give 'citizen-consumers solace from the social perils and ecological risks of capitalist globalization processes', marking a 'privatization of social and ecological concerns, as the neo-liberal state distances itself from responsibility to ensure equitable and ecologically sustainable means of social reproduction'. That said, corporations such as Whole Foods must contend with the issue of scaling up, as being able to provide Fair Trade goods at a volume necessary to satisfy its consumer base is strained by the issue that many Fair Trade products are produced at a smaller scale, at least initially.

Consumption has increasingly been cast in terms of self-expression, making consumption choices a social rather than a private act. Sociologist Kim Humphery (2017: 92) explains how ethical consumption is interwoven with individualized responsibility, describing that this 'has been heavily critiqued as a neoliberal reduction of civic engagement to market choice. It has also been contested by way of a shift to problematizing the consumer as moral agent' that present consumption as performative of their morality and political values. Johnston (2008) studied Whole Foods Market consumers to understand ethical consumer discourse and buying choices, unpacking the concept of citizen-consumer. Johnston (2008: 262) argued that the notion of a citizen-consumer actually 'provides relatively superficial attention to citizenship goals in order better to serve three key elements of consumerist ideology: consumer choice, status distinction, and ecological cornucopianism'. Similarly, social scientists concerned with ethical consumption in everyday life Adams and Raisborough (2010: 256) explain that 'Situating ethical consumption, moral obligation and choice in the everyday is, we argue, important if we are to avoid both over-exaggerating the

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reflexive and self-conscious sensibilities involved in ethical consumption, and, adhering to a reductive understanding of ethical self-expression'. Here, ethical consumption becomes interwoven with buying Fair Trade certified products, a certification that should guarantee certain ethical benchmarks have been met, from production conditions and fair prices for the farmers, to good quality products for the consumers. By surveying consumers, these researchers found that consumers sometimes 'negotiated the dilemmas of "doing good" by shopping "closer to home" and "doing good" by buying labelled Fairtrade goods, usually produced, in part at least, at some distance from the point of consumption. Thus once the activity of consuming ethically becomes a heuristic, qualified by scepticism, jostling amongst competing demands such as "the local", its level of importance as a "dimension of meaningful activity" takes on a protean relativity to the psycho-social context in which consumption takes place' (ibid.: 271). This highlights how notions of ethical consumption may become part of an individual's self-expression and values, and how ethical consumption is sometimes linked to eating 'local' through shopping at farmers' markets and becoming members of CSAs. In unpacking such ideas, anthropologist Joan Gross (2014: 21) coins the term 'food habitus', which is defined as 'the unconscious tendencies one acquires in the practice of everyday life, [and] involves raising the act of eating to a level of consciousness, and new practices may be positioned against family foodways'. This suggests that conscious eating practice may be spoken about in similar terms as mindfulness or yoga, as virtuous attributes that cultivates a better version of oneself and simultaneously contributes to a better world. *Food habitus* as a way to understand how embodied practices of eating may become conscious processes that consumers may control and use to articulate individual values, showing how conscious eating practices may be akin to mindfulness or yoga.

However, consumers sometimes base their ideas of what is 'ethical' in their consumption decisions on imaginaries of what farming looks like and how the agri-food system is structured. Sociologists studying alternative food networks like Weiler *et al.* (2016: 1141) make the important observation that small-scale and low-chemical-use farming structures demand even more farm labor than industrialized agriculture, and that farm laborers are a generally precarious worker group, in that farming is physically demanding and is hazardous, but that such things are glossed over in the ideologically imbued vision of agriculture as natural and small-scale farming as less industrialized and thus somehow safer. Going back to Fair Trade, anthropologist Besky (2008) explains that Fair Trade's 'reliance on transnational non-governmental certifiers and its emphasis on universal notions of social justice and individual rights through "direct trade," reflects many of the philosophical tenets of neoliberal economics', which, she points out, is reinforced by the fact that the standards 'do not require the presence of unions', throwing the concept of 'ethics' into sharp relief. In other words, Besky (2008) reveals how Fair Trade's ethical stance draws in consumers, but that its ideology also paradoxically reflects neoliberal economic values, making its ethical position tenuous.

Indeed, in his research on Fair Trade, food justice activists, and Caribbean banana farmers, anthropologist Mark Moberg (2014: 8) explains that from the farmer's perspective, 'compliance with Fair Trade certification should at least enable them to persist in agriculture. As Fair Trade prices have fallen while surveillance of their working lives has increased, many regard this notion of economic morality as increasingly violated'. Here, Fair Trade farmers subject themselves to intensive regulations of their production practices to gain this status, but because 'these requirements are often ill-suited to local environmental and land tenure conditions, Fair Trade certification frequently violates farmers' understandings of what constitutes a moral economic relationship with the companies that buy and market their products' (Moberg 2014: 9). Thus,

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Moberg (2014) illustrates how Fair Trade, from the farmer's perspective, is not always ethical, as prices for their goods are sometimes low while compliance with the institution's regulations increasingly strict and enforced with inspections that feel intrusive, throwing into question whether Fair Trade is truly fair. Indeed, more broadly as a movement, Fair Trade has had to debate the issues that emerge in entering the mainstream, where partnerships with big business has 'threatened to destabilise the crucial coalition of interests that characterise it as a social movement' (Nicholls 2010: 248). Despite this, Oxford Professor of Social Entrepreneurship Alex Nicholls (2010: 251), who has also published an edited volume on Fair Trade, has concluded that 'Fair Trade has already demonstrated its ability to combine distinctive exchange logics in a new field frame that is transforming retail practices in the UK and beyond'.

Indeed, scaling up of such 'ethical' food systems is an issue, as the 'local' dimension necessarily becomes more abstract. As sociologist Humphery (2017: 98) explains, 'the possibility of ethical consumption going mainstream – in the sense of engaging a greater number of consumers – is both pressure and barrier. Many enterprises are intensely aware of the niche status of their operation and that they are, in political terms, selling to the converted'. A contradiction becomes embedded in efforts to make ethical products more accessible by making them cheaper, as 'Moving out of marginality by way of price-point, then, is no simple matter in that making things cheaper may facilitate access to ethical products but undermine a fair remuneration for producers' (Humphery 2017: 98).

However, ethical consumption may also scale out, for example in the solidarity economy of Italy's Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale that anthropologist Cristina Grasseni has investigated through long-term ethnographic fieldwork, where activists and members promote the idea of the 'co-production' of food to 'describe their engagement as a concurrent rethinking of the social, economic, and ecological aspects of provisioning' (2014: 178). Here, 'new economic circuits' are created that support local farmers in a way that 're-embeds the economy in relationships of trust' (ibid.: 180). Alternative food networks in Greece emerged in 2012 and were analyzed by political ecologist and environmental scientists Calvario and Kallis (2016). Here, the food distribution system that eliminates middle-men decreases food prices by 20-50% retail, and allows for the immediate payment to farmers (ibid.: 603). The networks are self-organized and consensus-based, and even coordinate initiatives and 'solidarity actions' on an ad hoc basis (ibid.: 603). These systems diverge greatly from Fair Trade, in that the latter promotes 'caring at a distance' (Humphery 2017: 97) whereas the former creates short food chains based on interpersonal relationships. However, like Fair Trade, both draw 'heavily on a moral discourse challenging the impersonal nature of market relationships' (Moberg 2014: 9).

Buying organic food is also within the field of ethical consumption, where many farmers' market vendors and CSAs either meet organic production standards or say that they adhere to organic practices. However, the popularity of buying organic food has complicated the issue of food democracy. Johnston *et al.* (2009: 509) points out that the long distances that industrially produced organic food must travel to satisfy the growing demand have ecological consequences that compete with the idea that organic produce is healthier for the environment. This 'corporate-organic' food reveals that it is not just a matter of how the food is produced, but that distribution and consumption should be democratically organized (ibid.: 511). Jakob Klein, who researches ethical food consumers in urban southwest Chinese areas, found that environmental organizations promote ethical consumption and educate consumers about organic farming (2009). Here, farmers are 'were unimpressed by the current certification schemes, which they argued were too expensive for

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individual farmers, and they were sceptical of the organisational model for organic agriculture promoted by the state' (ibid.: 79). Closer to home, anthropologist Amanda Krzywoszynska (2015: 493), who has done extensive research on Italian wine communities, argues in relation to organic foods in general, 'that ecologically embedded products present consumers with particular challenges with regards to edibility due to their variable material characteristics. As a result their marketisation is aided by a cultivation of a "taste for uncertainty"' that itself has a value. This challenges the idea, Krzywoszynska (2015: 503) points out, that quality and consistency are intrinsically related characteristics, as organic products like wine that use little technology in production, may vary in taste each vintage, which may instead cultivate a taste for 'naturalness'. Geographer Lucy Jarosz, who researches feminist political ecology in alternative agriculture, food sovereignty, and vulnerability in AFNs, has pointed out that organic food producers may still 'employ industrialized production techniques' and 'exploit farm workers' while simultaneously being a 'local food system' (Jarosz 2008: 233). Such revelations reveal the complicated territory within which discussions about ethical consumption circulate. Definitions are contestable from many directions, making any consumption choice potentially morally ambiguous.

Conclusion

As this review has shown, the anthropological insights into such agri-food structures as AMAPs, CSAs, and farmers' markets are many. Cone and Myhre (2000) focus on social values connecting consumers to land to explain engagement in such structures as a response to globalizing markets. Lagane (2015) brings insight into how French farmers engage in industry associations on the basis of their valuation of sharing economies and importance of trust in producer-consumer relationships. Pratt's (2007) ethnographic research in rural Italy highlights the importance of caution in assuming a trusting relationship between producers and consumers, as they are still linked through economic relations that encourage profit maximizing behavior. Trust is further broken down into passive and active types to understand the quality of trusting relationships in AFNs by anthropologist Navin (2015). Whether or not trust binds such actors, anthropologists have found that there is still a great number of consumers who disengage from CSA-structures, suggesting that trust is not enough to create long-term loyalty, at least in western market contexts (Janssen 2010). Further focusing on the issue of trust, anthropologists studying European farming communities have found that trust is a strong motivating force in engaging in AFNs (Hebert and Mincyte 2014). However, in post-socialist states, AFNs may take a more informal shape, even if motivated by similar values or goals as those in the West. Ethnographic research in these countries may focus on the informal aspect of such networks as a way to make ends meet in the context of opening markets (Mincyte 2012), the emergence of formal food cooperatives to both lower food costs and increase trust between farmer and consumer (Kopczynska 2017), or the quality of social networks to resolve everyday problems in the context of diminished state capacity to do so (Knudsen 2015). However, like the West, anthropologists have found that farmers' markets may be a response to larger economic forces like a loss of control over local markets (Bubinas 2011). However, they also have locally specific problems, such as race issues that keep certain groups from engaging in their structures despite efforts of incorporation (Alkon and Mares 2012).

Anthropologists of European farming communities have also framed relations between farmers and larger institutions like the EU in power terms, interpreting EU agri-food regulations as a mode of disciplining farmers (Heller 2011) or a 'tactic of empire' (Aistara 2014). Such regulatory regimes may have unintended consequences that compound the low trust in such institutions already prevalent in these communities, particularly in post-socialist Europe (Aistara 2009), or

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even have the opposite market effect of creating new barriers to a sector's development (Knudsen 2012), decreasing farmer production and skills knowledge by centralizing the production of, for example, seeds (Demeulenaer 2014), or encouraging farmers to leave the market (Mincyte 2011). The incorporation of EU standards and market methods into daily practice, either on the farm or in agri-food production like the small-scale production of canned goods, has been conceptualized by anthropologist Elizabeth Dunn as remaking individuals and re-constituting 'personhood' (Dunn 2005).

Important to our understanding of consumer engagement with alternative food networks like CSAs and farmers' markets is the value consumers place on knowing where their food comes from and that this food is of a consistent and high quality. In this sense, there is a clear linkage between sourcing one's food from a local farmer at a known location where the environmental conditions are known and production conditions verifiable, and the more abstract concept of *terroir* and other contemporary markers of a product's place of origin. Here, anthropological research on the sense of taste, place, and quality become important to our understanding of consumer engagement in alternative food procurement strategies. Indeed, Pratt (2007) has shown that desires for alternative foods is in part motivated by demand for authentic, local products. Filippucci (2004) highlights the centrality of having such foods to local communities in France, where a village or region lacking a food that symbolizes their culture is akin to having no local identity.

Quality is simultaneously a concrete, measurable characteristic and an abstract concept, depending on one's definition. This is where anthropological research is valuable in analyzing consumer decisions around food procurement. Quality may be associated with industrial agriculture to the extent that high-level, technological production standards must be met to create a product that is consistent, but anthropologist Heller (2006) has also shown that discourses on quality by unions of small French farmers campaigning against GMOs may also use the term quality to convincingly symbolize local producers, showing how quality can enter into a dialect of power struggles between government regulators of food and civil society. Here, non-industrial foods are said to be 'imaginings' that have grown out of a reaction to industrialized agriculture (Heller 2011). In Italy, Krzywoszynska (2015: 493) has found that organic foods may challenge consumers because of their 'variable material characteristics' that require the 'cultivation of a "taste for uncertainty"' despite the products' organic status. Anthropologists have also revealed how quality may be engineered by producers, where place-making practices are adopted to create identities for local products to imbue them with quality (Besky 2014; Paxson 2010). Finally, anthropologist Alison Leitch (2003) has investigated how power struggles play out within a community of Italian pork fat producers who are confronting EU regulations while they simultaneously wrestle with their own local contestations over definitions of quality, local production norms, and geographical boundaries of production, and how these tensions play off of one another, revealing how new issues emerge and how the community reconciles them. It is in these ways of researching local food systems and communities that anthropologists have contributed to our understanding of the sense and taste of place and quality.

Finally, social science research on the motivations for engaging in CSAs and farmers' markets has shown that ethics drives consumers. Here, too, anthropological engagement in food ethics may contribute to our understanding of these alternative food procurement systems. Gross (2014) presents the idea of *food habitus* as a way to understand how embodied practices of eating may become conscious processes that consumers may control and use to articulate individual values, showing how conscious eating practices may be akin to mindfulness or yoga. Besky (2008) reveals

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how Fair Trade's ethical stance draws in consumers, but that its ideology also paradoxically reflects neoliberal economic values, making its ethical position tenuous. Furthermore, Moberg (2014) illustrates how Fair Trade, from the farmer's perspective, is not always ethical, as prices for their goods are sometimes low while compliance with the institution's regulations increasingly strict and enforced with inspections that feel intrusive, throwing into question whether Fair Trade is truly fair. Meanwhile, Grasseni (2014: 180) has shown how farmers and consumers may come together with the shared ideology of 'co-production', regarded as a more ethical way to organize local economies that re-embeds market exchanges in relationships of trust.

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