

Critical Perspectives in Food Studies

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Catalyzing Creativity

Education and Art Feed the Food Justice Movement

Deborah Barndt

Learning Objectives

Through this chapter, you can:

1. Examine your own experiences in growing, purchasing, preparing, and eating food in terms of what they reflect about broader cultural trends
2. Understand the parallels between the commodification of food and the commodification of education and art
3. Consider how reclaiming our capacities to produce food, knowledge, and art can contribute to a more just and sustainable food system
4. Consider how formal education and educational institutions can integrate food literacy (both theoretical and practical) into the curriculum and institutional practices, transforming how learning happens
5. Become more aware of the everyday practices of art making in our families, communities, and cultures that have transformative potential

Introduction

Central to an emerging **food justice movement** are processes of popular, holistic, and place-based education, as well as multiple forms of collective cultural expression through **community arts**; they share with food justice a commitment to a food system that is both equitable and sustainable. As forms of resistance to the interrelated commodification of food, education, and art, these processes seek to reclaim our capacity not only to produce our own food but also to create knowledge and culture. They celebrate both biodiversity and cultural diversity while transforming the food system to one

that is more sustainable and just. This chapter probes three stories of cultural reclamation and creative transformation in Toronto, Canada: FoodShare Toronto's Recipe for Change campaign for food literacy in the schools, the West End Food Co-op's participatory democracy through popular education and community food mapping, and the Southern Ontario FoodShed Project's collaborative production of digital stories of local food initiatives. These stories suggest alternative strategies that not only are catalysts for building a multi-sectoral food movement but are ends in themselves.

Circling Round My Neighbourhood

An immense circle of 25 white festival tents reminiscent of a medieval fair, town plaza, or circle of teepees, set up in one corner of Sorauren Park, invites residents of my west-end Toronto neighbourhood to talk with regional farmers, backyard gardeners, organic livestock producers, wild-food foragers, apiculturists, bakers, artisans, local ethnic chefs, soap makers, knife sharpeners, chocolatiers linked to an Indigenous cacao co-operative in Oaxaca, Mexico,¹ and more. Every Monday afternoon we become more than mere shoppers; we learn about the food we eat, about the people who produce it, and about how we might preserve, cook, share, and celebrate it. The vast space in the middle of the circle is alive, too, with young and old, individuals and families crisscrossing and greeting each other, pushing strollers and pulling dogs, gathering with friends on a blanket on the ground to share a meal. A few picnic tables in the centre alternately serve as a buffet for a community potluck, invite residents to draw their food sources on a community food map, offer an art project for kids to construct food art with the Greenest City Youth Green Squad,² or involve adults and kids alike in making dill pickles or kimchee with Garden Jane.³ Central to this scene are the musicians of the week—a harpist, a sax and cello duo, a Latin trio with dancer, or a jazz/blues band—often engaging children and encouraging community participation. The music is homegrown and soothing, shifting our energies, slowing us down, connecting us. This is not a place to rush through; I sometimes get so caught up in a stimulating conversation that I forget to fill my basket with the produce I came to buy. In the tradition of slow food, it is 'slow shopping'.⁴ But then, much more is happening; I compare this scene to the typical food shopping experience of the twenty-first century: atomized consumers moving up and down long, straight, narrow, fluorescent-lit supermarket

aisles of mostly imported processed and packaged foods, hearing canned music piped in from the ceiling, filling their carts but rarely connecting with each other, let alone with the producers of their food.

In one corner of the farmers' market, we find the tent shared by the Sorauren Farmers' Market and the West End Co-op, whose development since 2008 has overlapped and fed each other. Sally Miller, co-op manager, explains to me that the circle design is no accident; with a doctorate in anthropology, this seasoned popular educator and author of *Edible Action: Food Activism and Alternative Economics* (2008) knows that circles can contribute to the building of democratic communities and processes. Popular education for community development has, in fact, been the major theoretical framework for the organization of the co-op itself, its structure, processes, and programming.

Within two blocks of the park is Fern Avenue Public School, where my son was a student in the 1990s, the decade when the Toronto school board, facing funding cutbacks and responding to corporate pressures, replaced functioning kitchens with vending machines and hot lunches with pizza, chips, and pop.⁵ Now almost 20 years later, Toronto Public Health, the school boards, and community organizations work together through the Toronto Partners for Student Nutrition to support 800 meal programs in over 500 schools in Toronto. FoodShare Toronto, the key community partner, helps with the community development components, FoodShare has begun a variety of other school programs, such as the Fresh Produce Program, which sells quality produce to schools at affordable prices; the Good Food Café, a healthy hot lunch program; and Field to Table Schools, which supports school gardens, teacher education, curriculum integration, and community development. In 2009, FoodShare launched the Recipe for Change campaign, aimed at integrating food literacy into all levels of the provincial curriculum. FoodShare's executive director, Debbie Field, whose son also attended Fern

Avenue Public School in the 1990s, observed the decline of school-based food and nurtured the development of this vision of community self-sufficiency within schools, a vision that includes ultimately having a farmers' market at every school.

I have lived in the Roncesvalles–Parkdale neighbourhood for almost two decades, and have witnessed this struggle around school food programs as well as the transformation of a derelict vacant lot into a thriving park with a farmers' market and a field house (where the market is held in the winter). The field house will be the site of a mural, part of *Painting Our Stories*,⁷ a community-based mural project aimed at creating dialogue around the ecological and Aboriginal history of the area, the diverse histories of older and newer residents, and current community activities such as the farmers' market. Fern Avenue Public School was also the site of a *Painting Our Stories* mural project, which involved classes of all levels in representing their childhood experiences of the neighbourhood on the walls.

Through murals or digital stories, I would like to eventually recount the stories of individuals who live within one block of my house who are creating their own innovative approaches to urban agriculture: the Bay Street banker who has established a plastic container garden and irrigation system on his third floor rooftop; the Chinese corner-store grocer who has lined his concrete lot with 80 pots of Chinese herbs as medicine for his own health; the Indian grandfather whose front-yard patch is a rotating series of intercrops that feed his extended family. Then there are the initiatives within two blocks: Backyard Urban Farmers Company growing and selling heritage seedlings with grow lights in a home basement and Urban Harvest, a more established market of organic seeds and seedlings. These signs of hope are sprouting all around me.

During the 1990s, I gathered stories of women workers in the chemicalized industrial food system, following the journey of a corporate tomato from a Mexican field to a Canadian fast-food restaurant (Barndt 2008). Ironically, the

development of this global food system paralleled my own life, which began in a rural farm community at the end of the Second World War. In recent years, through the Southern Ontario FoodShed Project, I have become committed to telling the stories of those grassroots initiatives that are challenging that global food system by creating alternative (and often local) economies based on values of equity, sustainability, democracy, and community. These initiatives, for the most part, fall into what Patricia Allen calls a 'constructivist strategy,' embodied by 'bottom-up efforts to create new, alternative institutions that can serve as the basis for rebuilding the agrifood system' (Allen 2004: 64), and they include farmers' markets, community gardens, urban agriculture, community-supported agriculture, school gardens, food co-operatives, and food-based education. Central to these efforts are popular education and community arts, forms of learning and communicating that draw on diverse knowledges and foster the personal and collective creativity of everyone. Full circle.

Initially, we in the FoodShed Project⁸ used the metaphor of the dandelion to talk about this work, referring to the resilience of nature to keep sprouting up amid the cracks in the asphalt. In our first project gathering in 2009, Wayne Roberts, former coordinator of the Toronto Food Policy Council, food writer (see Roberts 2008), and visionary, suggested that the community-based food movement has become more than a tenacious weed pushing through the pavement; rather, we may be at a tipping point (Gladwell 2000), where many initiatives are converging. Alternatives are becoming mainstream⁹ as public consciousness about the relationships among food, health, and environment, between biodiversity and cultural diversity, between education, art, and community building is emerging to feed a growing movement. What I am witnessing in my own middle-class neighbourhood may be evidence of a transitional period, with both individual and collective experimentation, but still lacking full state support for an equitable¹⁰ and sustainable food system.

education and art, knowledge is to be digested rather than created, learners are consumers, and art is relegated to the professional, the individual, the producer of advertising (considered the educational arm of capitalism). Countering the banking model of education, which perpetuates a static view of knowledge as object or commodity and an individual and competitive notion of learning, are grassroots practices of popular education, holistic education, and place-based environmental education.

Popular education, growing out of social movements in Latin America and articulated by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, challenges the conventional power relations between teacher and student, starts with the daily experience of the learners, and generates critical dialogue around the social contradictions of their lives to develop their critical consciousness as well as their capacity to act collectively (Freire 2002; Arnold et al. 1991; Barndt 1990). Its practitioners have also appropriated Freire's notion of the 'code' by using various forms of cultural expression—drawing, theatre, music, poetry—as representations of social contradictions and as catalysts for deeper discussion of critical issues as well as a means for developing a vision of alternatives (Barndt 1998). Holistic education¹⁴ promotes a learning process that teaches children about themselves, relationships, emotional and social development, resilience, and beauty. It advocates multi-sensory and interdisciplinary learning, countering the fragmentation of formal schooling, which is often rigidly divided into disciplines and privileges rationalist and technical thinking over the social and emotional dimensions of learning (Anderssen 2010). Place-based environmental education (Grunevald 2003) honours the particular ecological contexts of learning, shaped by the inseparable biological and cultural diversity. Each of these pedagogical approaches counters the conventional dualisms of Western thought: popular education challenges the theory-practice dichotomy; holistic education, the mind-body dichotomy; and place-based environmental education, the nature-culture dichotomy.

The burgeoning local food movement is, in part, about reclaiming our capacity to feed ourselves, at least a generation of North Americans has been de-skilled in growing and cooking their own food. A corporate global food system—which depends on agro-exporting southern countries producing for the north (Barndt 2008) and which markets packaged and processed 'food' as well as quick, cheap, and convenient 'fast food' for busy lives—has generated both eaters who are distanced from all aspects of food production (Kneen 2003: 39) and a grazing culture (Reiter 1996) in which people fuel themselves on the run rather than enjoying the process of preparing a meal and gathering around the table to share it (commensality).¹² The new food movement aims to reclaim both self-sufficiency and conviviality.¹³ It understands that food is not just food—it is about 'all our relations' (LaDuke 1999) with the land and elements, with the more-than-human, with each other (and across differences), with our own bodies and spirits.

Just as food has become commodified in a market-driven consumer culture, so too has

Reclaiming Ourselves as Makers: Theoretical Frames for Food Education and Art

This chapter focuses on the creative educational and arts-based dimensions of these initiatives, telling in depth the stories of the West End Food Co-op, FoodShare's Recipe for Change program, and the FoodShed Project's Digital Storytelling. Representing both informal and formal education, these local initiatives are consciously tapping ways of knowing, learning, and creatively communicating. Popular education and community art are not only means to the goal of a sustainable food system, they are part of the vision of the world we are creating day by day through these simple yet profound gestures. We can reach the stomach through the head and the heart.¹¹

I subscribe to an underlying epistemological position, then: The act of knowing is socially and culturally constructed, is multisensory and integrated, is dynamic and creative, and is rooted in our bodies and our environments (natural, social, cultural, and spiritual).

Community-engaged and place-based art offers a similar challenge to conventional notions of art making. While not denying the role of individual artists, community art nurtures the creative capacity of all people to express themselves, their histories, identities, and issues in multiple artistic and cultural forms. It proposes the reintegration of art into everyday life and into rituals that build community, a practice which was and is central to Indigenous cultures and was commonplace in medieval Europe and even early colonial America. Since the capitalist notion of art as commodity is relatively new, the broader framing of art as a way of life¹⁵ or as creative living grounded in ecological context could incorporate food itself—its growing and preparation, presentation and eating—as art. In a recent book, *Random Acts of Culture: Reclaiming Art and Community in the 21st Century*, media professor Clarke Mackey recounts both the unravelling of community in recent decades and the ways that a broader conception of art and culture is being embraced by myriad initiatives responding to the hunger for human interaction and community (Mackey 2010).

The case studies that follow explore some of these notions as they are reflected in attempts to transform the food system while also reforming the school system and local organizations through informal community-based education and arts-based approaches that catalyze creativity; that tap body, mind, and spirit; that enter the stomach through the head and heart.¹⁶

Stories of Diverse Strategies

I focus on three different strategies represented in Toronto-based local food initiatives in the past year or so, each revealing how education

and art are feeding a growing food movement. These strategies include:

- Engaging the next generation: holistic education with kids through FoodShare's Recipe for Change
- Messy democracy: popular education building grassroots food organizations through the West End Food Co-op
- Storytelling in multiple forms: from personal narrative to social action through the FoodShed Project

Engaging the Next Generation

It's a crisp October day in 2010. The Ontario Parliament buildings against a clear blue sky serve as the perfect backdrop for a demonstration unlike any I've ever seen at Queen's Park. Instead of the usual crowd of placard-carrying protesters ranting and chanting in response to a slew of speakers making demands on the government, this is a kind of educational fair, billed as 'Eat-In Ontario'. Over 500 kindergarten through grade 12 students from across the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), accompanied by their teachers, move from one 25-minute workshop to another—ranging from 'Pollination Patrol: Bee Anatomy Dress-Up' for kindergarteners to digital storytelling engaging grade 11 students. The 52 workshops combine hands-on activities with discussion about the broader context: grade 3 students learn about the three sisters of Indigenous interplanting (corn, beans, and squash), for example, while grade 7s discuss the environmental impact of cattle.

Eat-In Ontario is promoted as 'a province-wide fall harvest celebration with fun-filled activities, using fresh local produce to teach students of all ages the joys of cooking, growing and tasting good, healthy food' (FoodShare 2011). As the official launch of FoodShare's Recipe for Change campaign to get the provincial Ministry of Education to integrate food literacy into all levels of the curriculum,¹⁷ Eat-In

Ontario employs the strategy of demonstrating by *proposing* instead of *opposing*.¹⁸ Curriculum-linked workshops are designed for each grade level in four general categories—gardening, soil and composting, food and tasting, and food outside the box (linking food to broader economic, political, and social issues). Teachers can find the workshop designs online, and thus schools across the province can participate in their own classrooms, gyms, and schoolyards. The learning materials are there for future use as well, and fit into the specific curriculum guidelines of the ministry.

The soil has been prepared for this massive effort for more than 25 years; FoodShare was established in 1985 by a group including then-Toronto mayor Art Eggleton in response to increasing hunger. The vision of this non-profit community organization is 'Good healthy food for all', which FoodShare promotes with myriad programs aimed at empowering individuals, families and communities through food-based initiatives, while advocating for the broader public policies needed to ensure that everyone has adequate access to sustainably produced, good healthy food' (FoodShare 2010). The many initiatives at all levels of the food cycle that FoodShare has developed in the past two decades reach 145,000 children and adults every month, bringing them fresh, nutritious, affordable food, and *cultivating the knowledge and skills that build healthy communities* (FoodShare 2010, authors' emphasis). Good-food boxes and markets, rooftop and community gardens, incubator kitchens for emerging ethnic food businesses, composting and beekeeping, training of immigrant women and at-risk youth—all have served as models emulated in other cities, earning Toronto's food movement a reputation as the most innovative in North America. FoodShare has also taken the lead in bringing together rural and urban actors at many levels of the food movement, hosting its first conference on food sovereignty in the fall of 2009 (Friedmann 2011).

Appropriately, FoodShare's new digs are in a former school, now called the FoodShare Centre

of Innovation and Education, housing a staff of over 50 who represent the great diversity of Toronto's diasporic population. Education has always been central to FoodShare's mission and to the vision of its executive director, Debbie Field. Besides facilitating informal adult education through its many programs, FoodShare has been a leader in promoting public schools as sites of food education and transformation. FoodShare's Field to Table Schools program grew out of a broader network, now known as the Toronto Partners for Student Nutrition (TPSN). Within the TPSN, FoodShare represents community organizations on a steering committee that includes school boards, foundations, and Toronto Public Health. By 2010, FoodShare was coordinating 16 animators doing community development with school coordinators in 500 schools to support their local processes of sourcing and serving 800 breakfast, lunch, or mid-morning meals. While municipal and provincial funding pays about one-third of the costs, parents and teachers have to fund-raise to support these initiatives. This is just one reason why the time is ripe for the Recipe for Change campaign.

The ultimate aim of this campaign is to transform the provincial Education Act so that it integrates food literacy into all aspects of the curriculum through the kind of activities demonstrated at the Queen's Park launch. The vision includes establishing a Good Food Cafe in every school to serve healthy, seasonal food, and having students graduate from grade 12 with the skills to grow and cook their own food. Equally important is the potential of food to infuse, enliven, and ground the entire curriculum and the school itself; students learn about nutrition as they develop cooking skills, they learn about local and global food systems as they till the soil in school food gardens. As the quintessential interdisciplinary subject, food is what I call an entrée or entry point into any other discipline: food can enlighten studies of history, natural sciences, social studies; can be engaged while learning basic numeracy and literacy skills; and can

be the subject of music, art, and performance. All these possibilities are, in fact, illustrated in the workshops that FoodShare has offered to schools as samples.

Central to FoodShare's educational campaign is what is often called the 'hidden curriculum' (Snyder 1970) or the ways in which students learn about food. The workshops I witnessed on that October day were founded on principles of place-based, holistic, and popular education—place-based, because they involved local food groups in offering the workshops, and promoted local growing, cooking, and eating practices. But these workshops weren't limited to the practices of people born and raised in Ontario, because they often honoured the diverse culinary tastes and cultural rituals of a multicultural population. FoodShare itself has been learning—through its engagement with diverse communities—how to respect the agricultural, cultural, and educational practices of specific communities. For example, the AfriCan FoodBasket, a food organization serving the Caribbean community, was incubated at FoodShare. This community was a pioneer in creating an Afrocentric alternative school in Toronto, where growing food in its own garden and making music in community events was central to the curriculum.

The workshops at Queen's Park were holistic and multi-sensory in engaging students' whole bodies in smelling, tasting, and touching, while tapping emotions and creativity through visual art, music, and drama. One of the best examples of this sensory and experiential approach to learning, FoodShare's Great Big Crunch, initiated in 2008, is a public performance that in 2010 involved 64,000 students across Canada biting into a fresh apple all at the same time. For many kids bred on processed and packaged food this is a novel experience that changes their attitudes toward fresh fruit and vegetables. And, once again, FoodShare uses this moment of simultaneous bites in multiple classrooms to educate about issues related to the apple. A lesson on FoodShare's website, for example, asks students before crunching

to 'imagine what the orchard looked like, the growers who work there, and the workers who harvest and wash the apples'.

This example reveals how critical social analysis can be introduced through a simple celebratory ritual. As well, it points to the popular education potential of Recipe for Change curricula. When students are asked to make links to their own lives, and then to the broader social, ecological, and global context, they have bitten into a richer and deeper learning process. To this end, I have developed a decoding set of questions that can be used with any 'code', such as an apple, or a food map, or a digital story. They can guide a facilitator and a group through a process of what Freire calls 'conscientization', or the development of a critical consciousness, so essential to effective movement building. The questions use a logic that starts with the personal and experiential, and progresses to the collective and active:

1. Description: What do you see/hear/feel?
2. Personal Connection: How does this object/story connect to your personal experience?
3. Common Themes: What are the social issues/themes that emerge from our personal stories? Is there a common issue that we share?
4. Social Analysis: How did this come to be? What are the historical and social processes that created this situation?
5. Planning for Action: What can be done? What can we do?

Ultimately, Recipe for Change is about changing not only the food system but also the dominant pedagogy and a fragmented curriculum disconnected from children's lives, bodies, and communities. In part, it is reclaiming practices such as home economics classes, which used to be integral to Canadian schools, and informal educational programs such as 4-H clubs, which encourage the development of farming, animal husbandry, and housekeeping skills,¹⁹ particularly among rural youth. A program such as Recipe for Change has yet to get

food justice and movements of producers, food system workers, consumers, environmentalists, community economic development organizers, public health and nutrition advocates, and human rights and anti-oppression activists promoting equity in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Popular education and community arts movements share this commitment to challenge and transform power relationships through democratic educational and art-making processes.

Messy Democracy²³

The development of Toronto's West End Food Co-op (WEFC) was designed as a popular education process, and WEFC has continued to use popular education approaches as it has expanded into the community. Let's consider four moments in its institutional growth: (1) the development of the board, (2) community mapping, (3) the consolidation of a bondholder community, and (4) cannerly workshops with a local drop-in centre.

Birthing a Co-op Through Nine Months of Labour

A group of residents in Toronto's west end established the Sorauren Farmers' Market with the vision of eventually forming a food co-op. In late 2008, they hired Sally Miller, a consultant with a rich history in co-op development, to work with them over several months, culminating in incorporation in June 2009. Drawing upon the design and facilitation skills of popular educator Chris Cavanagh of the Catalyst Centre and York University's Faculty of Environmental Studies, Sally moved the group through biweekly strategic planning workshops that excavated their own values, developed their own visions, and explored the models that might embody those values and visions. Sally saw this wrestling with the questions of structure as generating important philosophical and political discussions. 'It was an analysis of power,' Sally concluded, identifying one of the key goals of popular education—to

the kind of governmental support in Canada that well-known chef Jamie Oliver got in the United Kingdom when the government mandated healthy meals in schools throughout the nation.²⁰ And even though there have been progressive policies approved, such as the so-called Bondar report, which proposed environmental education be integrated into the entire Ontario curriculum (Working Group on Environmental Education 2007), the structures and processes that hold that curriculum in place are deeply entrenched, and teachers are under tremendous pressure to cover specified subject matter to prepare students for provincial testing.

But if the last 10 years are any indication, FoodShare has developed a strategy that not only focuses on educating the next generation but also engages teachers and parents in schools that are ready to take the lead now in building a movement from the ground up. This momentum, building from the bottom up, is starting to converge with other initiatives like the Toronto Food Strategy and with increasing mainstream media coverage of issues of food sustainability, children's health, and local initiatives.²¹ TPSN is one of the civil society organizations that is linking school boards, municipal bodies (such as Toronto Public Health, which is championing the food strategy), and community organizations, and that lead by example in challenging the silos of the relevant provincial ministries (Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs; Health; Environment; Labour, and Community and Social Services) to consider the need for a coordinated multi-sectoral strategy.

Coalitional work is growing across social movement sectors as well. A Food Chain Workers Alliance was formed in the United States in 2008 to link all the workers whose labor grew, picked, processed, cooked, served, shipped, stocked, and sold the food that we eat.²² According to Robert Gottlieb and Anupama Joshi, 'food justice' has become 'the governing metaphor for the transformation of the food system that links disparate movements and ideas' (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010: 224). They delineate the connections between

deepen a group's understanding of both broader structural power relations as well as that group's own positions within and in response to those dynamics. And with that layered analysis, a group can go on to develop strategic plans to challenge and transform those power dynamics through the alternatives they create.

In contrast to a top-down model of organizational development, the grassroots process that Sally facilitated took time but resulted in a board deeply committed to a vision of a 'triple bottom line' incorporating economic, social, and environmental goals: 'The collective process they went through together developed a very strong consensus and common vision about what they want to do that has carried them through time with no money.' It also ultimately led Sally to accept the position of coordinator²⁴ of the new co-op,²⁵ with the challenge of finding the money. The process fit very well within her own vision of 'messy democracy', a form of participatory social or economic democracy that is built on consensus, or 'feeling, thinking, judging together'. It is different from 'majoritarian voting in an adversarial system', according to Sally, in that 'its emphasis is on having participants make their reasoning accessible and legitimate to each other' (Miller 2008: 169). And popular education is central to this process, as it 'seeks not just moments of democracy, but a time for democracy, perhaps even a whole history' (ibid.: 173).

Community Food Mapping

In the summer of 2009, WEFC ran 12 workshops around the Parkdale and Roncesvalles community that invited residents to map their own food experiences. Hannah Lewis, a food activist from British Columbia, worked as an intern coordinating this process, as part of her master's degree program in environmental studies at York University.²⁶ The workshops took place in farmers' markets, seniors' homes, English as a second language classes, and community centres. They varied in approach (individual and group sketch mapping, drop-in mapping, and layered sketch mapping), but all asked participants to draw

on a large chart in response to one general question—Where does your food come from?—and three more specific questions: Where do you get your food? How do you get your food? Where do you eat your food?

The decisions about which groups to work with and where to hold the workshops were conscious, reflecting the three principles of community mapping (Parker 2006): transparency (being clear about the purpose and sharing the results), inclusion (of all voices in the community), and empowerment (of community members to act on the information generated).

Hannah brought a popular education perspective to designing and facilitating this process, seeing community mapping as a way of challenging the power of conventional (colonial) maps and allowing people to represent themselves from the inside out. She cautions facilitators of community mapping to be aware of their own privilege and power, as well as the power dynamics within the community. One workshop held in a drop-in centre, for example, brought together mental health consumers/survivors, who were food-insecure, and more affluent residents, whose very presence seemed to silence the low-income community members. While the latter were hosting the event, they sat in the periphery of their own social space, offering the 'guests' the seats in the centre and the most speaking time as well.

The community mapping process is grounded theoretically in *place-based environmental education*, which is, according to Hannah, 'learning that draws upon our experiences, our sense of place and our attachment to place in order to bring about change for the whole world'. Hannah also sees this as part of a process of *decolonization* (identifying issues that operate in our home places) and *reinhabitation* (addressing these issues by recovering, identifying, and creating ways of living well where we are). The WEFC board realizes the danger of creating a co-op that serves a mainly middle-class white population, and aims to counter that dynamic.

As a culmination of the summer of place-based food mapping workshops, the co-op held a final map tour workshop involving about 25 residents in reviewing and synthesizing the information from the 80 maps produced, as well as suggesting how some of the emerging ideas could be interpreted in a community mural. An exhibit of murals from around the world catalyzed discussion of what a food co-op mural might look like. This visioning of how they wanted to represent themselves revealed clashing cultural aesthetics, as, for example, Chinese seniors responded negatively to murals inspired by a Mexican aesthetic. Community art projects can often provide a forum for dialogue around differences, creation of unique cultural expression, and possible fusions of cultural practices creating new ones.

The food maps were finally woven into a paper quilt that was displayed at the official launch of the food co-op in November 2009 at the Gladstone Hotel, a neighbourhood cultural and arts centre and long-time supporter of local food. Directors held workshops for members to practise selling co-op bonds, a major part of the co-ops fundraising strategy, using popular education techniques to help people understand and confront the common fear of asking for money.

Building a Bondholders Group

The WEFC bond structure itself, while influenced by the regulations for non-profit co-operatives in Canada, reflects the community-based principles of the co-operative. In a typical corporate model, a shareholder has a number of votes corresponding to his or her number of shares. In contrast, the bonds respect the 'one member, one vote' model of co-operatives, regardless of the size of the investment. Bonds are sold in hundred-dollar increments, making investment in the co-op widely accessible, while a maximum of \$1000 per member per year encourages broad-based community investment, so that the co-op is not merely owned by its members but funded by them as well. The power of these investors is more than symbolic, and the investment is emotional as well as financial.

Canney Workshops: Preserving Our Sanity

In the summer of 2010, the WEFC organized a series of workshops on canning food, charging \$30–35 for non-members to attend. The first workshops were held in the kitchen of the Parkdale Activity and Recreation Centre (PARC), both a key partner in the co-ops preserving project and a drop-in centre for mental health consumers/survivors. Over its 25 years PARC has created a model of self-advocacy and

Timor's Coffee House, a local cafe cum of bondholders. Rather than telling them what the plans for building the co-op were, Sally and board members led 25 bondholders in generating ideas for expanding membership. Small groups met around tables and consolidated their ideas, drawing on myriad contacts in the neighbourhood: businesses, local politicians, community centres, schools, social services, and banks. The richness of multiple groups working on this task was clear when they reported back to the gathering, and all ideas were consolidated on flip charts. The process didn't stop there—bondholders were invited to take action: Who will contact each group? Who will offer to promote the idea at that community meeting? As this process illustrates, popular education aims to promote a movement from analysis and planning to action.

Annual general meetings (AGMs) apply this participatory approach in much larger groups. At the June 2010 WEFC AGM, in addition to conventional elections of the board and updates on the co-ops financial situation, the 70 attending members (out of 200)²⁷ were invited to work in groups to draw on large chart paper their visions of what the co-op 'store' itself might look like. This process gave even quieter participants a 'voice' (or image), allowed members to inspire each other with their visions of the future, and fed into the board's process of seeking an appropriate space. WEFC members also generated ideas about how to get food issues onto the municipal election agenda.

integrated economic and cultural activities into its program. Because the PARC kitchen is fully occupied, producing some 300 free meals every day for local residents, subsequent workshops were hosted at the nearby Parkdale Neighbourhood Church (PNC), a street church and drop-in space, which provides numerous services to the community and shares many members with PARC; free spaces were provided for both PARC and PNC members in each workshop. Kitchen crew at PARC were trained by the PARC chef, Michelle Quintal, to host and eventually facilitate workshops. The workshops held at PARC occurred near the beginning of this training; while the kitchen crew hosted the workshops, they were led either by external facilitators or by Michelle. The PARC kitchen continued to host workshops for social service agencies—for instance, Michelle later led a number of workshops for street-involved youth with Eva's Phoenix, a transitional housing and training facility managed by Eva's Initiatives.

For the general community workshops, facilitators used a popular education approach, presenting historical photographs of different kinds of preserving, to use as codes,²⁸ for example, to tap participant's memories of grandparents who may have canned food, and to generate discussion about how and why we have become de-skilled in this practice. The workshops attempted to grapple with some of the emerging class dynamics of canning, increasingly embraced as a hip hobby but historically grounded in vital self-sufficiency and, often, poverty. They explored what role canning can play in communities today and what kinds of preservation are meaningful and accessible for low-income community members. In a kind of participatory research process, circumstances of participants' lives were revealed that would inform the possibilities and constraints of canning for this population. Many suffered from diabetes, for example, and thus needed to avoid sweet fruit preserves; for those living in boarding-house rooms, a solar dehydrator

would be useful, as it doesn't require access to a stove.

The particular experiences of food insecurity experienced by PARC members, as well as organizational efforts to address their food issues, fed into community arts projects produced in the basement of PARC, near the food bank, and in collaboration with the Painting Our Stories community mural project.²⁹ Two local artists worked with a group of members through the Sand and Water art-making and meditation group to develop stories, images, and photos that drew upon their experiences related to food. These were integrated into collages and displayed in light boxes in the PARC basement. The art project also moved out of the building and into store windows and walls up and down Queen Street; larger-than-life-size photographs of PARC members sitting in meditative poses invited response from passers-by.

Storytelling in Multiple Forms

Storytelling is at the root of all popular education and community art processes; when they are integral to social movements like the food movement, these processes represent efforts to change the dominant story of a globalized, industrialized, and commodified food system.³⁰ They tap into the tales of courageous and creative people working in their communities to change unjust social structures and unsustainable food production. We've already seen examples of these counter-narratives that challenge official stories: the local stories of both human and non-human (plants, animals) in the Recipe for Change curriculum and workshops and the stories of Parkdale residents represented on community food maps that inform the West End Food Co-op's strategic planning. The FoodShed Project has adopted the tool of digital storytelling to bring to the fore the stories of other local food initiatives in the Southern Ontario **foodshed**, ranging from rare-breed animal producers that challenge dominant factory farming of livestock to community food

centres that teach food bank users to grow their own food.

The FoodShed Project

The Southern Ontario FoodShed Project brings together agri-food organizations in the public, private, and non-profit sectors, working collaboratively with food scholars, activists, and students, to excavate, document, and link groups in a community of food practice considered the most innovative in North America. It works toward a vision of a resilient Ontario agri-food system that integrates native and diasporic populations, cuisines, and crops, and is centred on small-scale, networked, culturally diverse enterprises which together promise good jobs and environmental, social, and health benefits for twenty-first-century Ontario.³¹ Based on design principles taken from theories of agro-ecology and food sovereignty,³² the FoodShed Project aims to collaboratively map the shared history of sustainable, inclusive agri-food initiatives in Southern Ontario, to document innovations of rural and urban ventures, and to create a web platform for self-reflection and strategic analysis. It highlights three important processes: the *organizational ecology* of groups that are creating new forms of local economy; the *generational renewal* of these groups as they promote intergenerational dialogue and mentor new food producers and movement leaders; and the *cultural renewal* of new initiatives that draw upon diverse agricultural and related cultural practices of a diasporic population. Built as a loose network on a model of research constellations,³³ the FoodShed Project has no major funding, but has been responding to issues as they emerge.

While these initiatives represent a desire to reconnect the creative processes of growing, processing, and distributing our food in a more sustainable and just system, the project's methodology similarly represents a desire to reclaim control over the stories about this struggle to transform the food system, and over the forms they take. The research methodology is *participatory action research* (PAR) (Kemmis 1991),

Digital Storytelling

With the technological advances of the Internet, new social media, user-friendly cameras, and editing software, the possibilities for ordinary people to tell and share their stories in digital form have burgeoned in the past decade. While there are many forms of digital stories, the particular genre adopted and adapted by the FoodShed Project grows out of a practice of the Centre for Digital Storytelling (CDS) in California and its Toronto branch, which has trained FoodShed research facilitators. A three-day workshop leads participants in creating their own digital stories. After working out a personal narrative through a story circle, each produces a three- to four-minute video, driven by the narrator's voiceover and incorporating still and moving images, and, if desired, music. The power of this multi-modal genre (Dromer 2008) derives

from the personal stories, their points of view and emotional impact, the exploration of links between self-representation and collective issues in the story circle, and the empowering participatory process—transforming passive consumers of media into active producers. Its broader and deeper potential is that such processes are part of a 'participation revolution', in which 'the balance of power is gradually being shifted to people in the production of knowledge, goods and services' (Benkler 2003). This revolution can be observed within both the community media movement and the local food movement as people reclaim growing and cooking (Uzelman 2005).

The FoodShed Project used digital stories to tell not only personal stories but also organizational ones. Project coordinators also hoped that, as Joe Lambert, founder of the California-based CDS, suggests: 'Story [can be] the critical connection between personal subjective experience and larger political action, between individual and collective action' (Lambert 2002: 137). The goal was to feed the growing food movement, not only through the sharing of stories to provoke public dialogue but also through creating an online platform that would allow participants and groups to connect with each other, analyze and compare their practices, and find the links among them. Researchers were concerned as well not to romanticize or reify any stories—individual or collective—acknowledging that digital stories could reproduce oppressive attitudes and practices as well as helpful ones, and thus needed to be open to critical analysis in both the production process and in their educational use.³⁴

Pilot Projects

In the winter of 2010, a public seminar was held at York University in Toronto on the theme of 'Local Food and Food Justice', featuring the work of five partners of the FoodShed Project. The seminar consciously posed some of the contradictions confronting the local food movement,³⁵ in particular the class and cultural differences perhaps best illustrated by the fact

that 'local' food is often picked by Mexican and Jamaican migrant farm workers, who were represented on the panel by their advocates and allies in Justice for Migrant Workers.³⁶ Following this seminar, 10 students in a graduate cultural production workshop negotiated collaborative projects with six food organizations to produce digital stories on their work. There was great variation on the storytelling process through the different productions: for example, in some the subject was also the storyteller and media producer, while in others, the research facilitators produced stories based on the recorded narrative of a central character in the organization.³⁷ The following year, four more digital stories were created by students in collaboration with FoodShed partners including Farmstart, the AfriCan FoodBasket, Everdale Environmental Learning Centre, and FoodShare's Recipe for Change program. There was a particular effort to excavate and make visible the stories of new Canadians, of the training of new farmers, and of clear food justice initiatives.

The following five examples illustrate the diversity, challenges, and potential of this tool. 'Land Over Landings', produced by York doctoral student Andrew Bieler, drew on his own family's history on the agricultural land contested for an airport site, highlighting both its Aboriginal history and issues of development in the agricultural belt surrounding the GTA; as an artist, he incorporated collage and focused on artifacts like abandoned barns and farm machinery, along with music that hearkened back to a more active agricultural community. This digital story is being used by the Land Over Landings organization to promote their cause of preserving farmland and is to be used in workshops at local schools.

'Opal's Story: Envisioning Food Sovereignty' was collaboratively produced by York graduate students Magdalena Olszanowski and Sara Udow, and Opal Sparks, a volunteer at The Stop Community Food Centre. The story gives Opal's perspective on The Stop's transition from a food bank to an urban agricultural site that promotes food growing, preparation skills, and

FoodBasker to tell the story of the struggle to develop an anti-racist food movement, both locally and continentally. Growing Food Justice in Toronto challenges a movement that is still dominated by white middle-class activists to consider not only what is grown and how, but also whose voices are heard in the multi-sectoral efforts to effect food policy change.

Digital Distribution and Critical Use

While the empowering process of composing a personal narrative is emphasized in digital storytelling literature, there is a growing debate about the online use of the stories and their impact on broader movements (Thumlin 2008). The FoodShed Project is establishing a web platform, which, among other uses, will host digital stories, building a bank of representations of partner organizations. How can the website encourage connections among groups in the Southern Ontario foodshed and the building of a regional identity and the coalitional capacity to act collectively around common interests and push for policy changes that promote more sustainable and just agri-food practices (Bromley 2010)? If the FoodShed Project becomes part of a regional research hub linked with other hubs across Canada, how can the website encourage connections, comparisons, and debates around strategies to transform not only provincial but also federal policies? The power of the Internet to build movements draws from its rhizome-like quality,³⁹ in that the technology allows the spontaneous, simultaneous formation of networks in many places, which may then join together into larger networks.

The digital stories themselves are available to a variety of audiences, including schools and community groups. The FoodShed team created a users' guide, 'Telling Stories, Eating Food: Using Digital Stories to Build the Food Justice Movement' to accompany a DVD with 10 digital stories. The guide encourages a critical decoding of the stories, deeper analysis of the forces shaping the personal stories, and the generation of stories by viewers that can be added to a growing collection.

This story of self-sufficiency among food bank users. This story deviates from the CDS norm in that Opal was not the media producer, though she did participate in editing her narrative and felt the resulting video fairly represented both her and the organization. Reclaiming the role of storytellers as producers, but situating their personal stories in a global political context, Sama Bassidi and Erin Wolfson created a dialogue in poetry and image, 'Kitchen Stories', in which each probed the history of conflict in the Middle East as it played out in their diasporic family connections with Iran and Israel respectively. While exposing the broader issue of the construction of the 'other' and stereotypes of both Iranian and Jewish communities in the global media, Sama and Erin focused on the intimate family rituals melding food and religion that centred around the Persian New Year celebration and the Passover Seder. In this case, 'Kitchen Stories' became the starting point for a difficult conversation about commonalities and differences between two people and communities.

Two graduate students, Kellie Scanlan and Ciann Wilson, collaborated with Evelyn Encalada, staff person of Justice for Migrant Workers, to develop a digital story about migrant farm labour brought to Canada through the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program. Both the gathering and the public showing of these stories is inevitably complex, both logistically and politically; migrant workers often put in 12-hour days, six and a half days a week, so their potential involvement was limited at best. Moreover, having their faces or even their stories in public view is quite threatening, as any critique they make of the program could result in their being sent home at the whim of their patron/employer. This example highlights the greater risks and therefore the greater invisibility of those workers most marginalized in the food system.³⁸ More time is needed to develop relationships and enter into collaborative production with groups like this, and the project continues. Finally, in 2011, Caitlin Langlois Greenham worked with Anan Lololi of the AfriCan

Digital storytelling has taken off in a variety of institutional contexts. Coincidentally, a series similar to the FoodShed stories has been produced by the Centre for Digital Storytelling for Toronto Public Health to document a wide range of local food activity and to promote discussion around the new Toronto Food Strategy. The two efforts converged in a joint conference in April 2011, which launched the digital stories, honoured the subjects of the stories, and invited 200 grassroots food activists to use these short videos as catalysts for sharing their own stories. The conference, 'Our City, Our Food: Building the Food Movement through Digital Stories', encouraged participants in hands-on workshops to start local food initiatives and to join forces in influencing policy makers. In this way, the creative tools are feeding both grassroots movements and policy change.

Bringing Three Strategies Together: The Revival of Festivals

As the FoodShed example shows, there is still the need for face-to-face contact in the building of a movement, even when the main tools are digital and have a global reach. All three of the organizations featured in this chapter converged at the October 2010 'Eat-In Ontario' gathering, organized by FoodShare and also described above. The West End Food Co-op offered a workshop to help kids think about how farmers' markets and co-ops can support farmers and businesses; Carol Ferrari showed images of her Kitchen Bus, a mobile bakery whose outside walls are covered with murals featuring the Florida-based Coalition of Immokalee Workers.⁴⁰ They found that many kids were newcomers to Canada who were familiar with markets in their countries of origin but knew little about local alternatives in their new hometown. FoodShed Project researchers/producers led a workshop on digital storytelling, with high school kids taking part in a story circle. Environmental studies and community arts

students contributed to the festive atmosphere of the day through painting banners, dressing as clowns, and performing music. Just as the Sorauren Farmers' Market echoes the medieval markets that gathered together all kinds of creative activity,⁴¹ the Recipe for Change launch was more a festival than a protest on the legislature grounds.

Food-related festivals in parks or in public spaces offer a vision of other ways of being and acting.⁴² There has been a proliferation of such gatherings around food in Toronto and the surrounding region, including Feast of Fields, Evergreen's Picnic at the Brickworks and its Pollinator Festival (part of International Pollinator Week), the Conscious Food Festival, and the Vegetarian Food Festival.

Conclusion

Every day, people are creating the kind of society they dream of—not without struggle, but neither waiting for the revolution. They create what Bey calls 'temporary autonomous zones' (1991): prefigurative social movements that are feeding broader movements for social change, ones that move beyond critique of the existing systems to proposing and creating alternatives. Community-engaged art making and popular education bring energy to these spaces and help us imagine the possibilities. They honour us as whole beings—thinking, feeling, and acting—within communities that are constantly reinventing culture. The examples shared here—an educational festival launching a campaign for food literacy, the democratic building of a food co-op through maps and murals, and the communication of local food initiatives through digital stories—all reveal the ways that education and art catalyze creativity in the food justice movement and affirm that another world is possible.

May a thousand roots deepen, may a thousand stories sprout!

Discussion Questions

1. How are the three case studies introduced in this chapter challenging the conventional food system?
2. What are the constraints and possibilities of the Recipe for Change campaign to transform the provincial educational curriculum?
3. How could the popular education processes used in the development of the West End Food Co-op be applied to the development of other grassroots organizations?
4. What are the potential uses of the digital stories collaboratively produced with local food organizations in the FoodShed Project? What are their strengths and limitations?
5. How do you think a food justice movement can be built? What do you think about the strategies proposed in this chapter?

Further Reading

1. Barndt, Deborah with VIVAL Project Partners. Ed. 2011. *VIVAL Community Arts and Popular Education in the Americas*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
 2. Gottlieb, Robert, and Anupama Joshi. 2010. *Food Justice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
 3. Mackey, Clarke. 2010. *Random Acts of Culture: Reclaiming Art and Community in the 21st Century*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
 4. Smith, Gregory, and David Sobel. 2010. *Place- and Community-Based Education in Schools*. New York and London: Routledge.
- The culmination of a five-year exchange among eight partners (both universities and NGOs) in five countries (Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, the United States, and Canada), this book introduces a rich array of projects that integrate the arts into social-movement building. Framed by notions of place (decolonization), politics (popular education), passion (community arts), and praxis (participatory action research), the projects range from participatory mural production with Indigenous communities in Chiapas, Mexico, to community play productions in multicultural Toronto. Beautifully illustrated with colour photos, the book is accompanied by a DVD of nine videos that bring the projects alive.
2. Gottlieb, Robert, and Anupama Joshi. 2010. *Food Justice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- The concept of food justice considers how race and poverty in particular are reproduced and can be challenged in the building of a multi-sectoral food movement. Gottlieb
4. Smith, Gregory, and David Sobel. 2010. *Place- and Community-Based Education in Schools*. New York and London: Routledge.
- This guide for educators, parents, and community members suggests ways that local and experiential education can be integrated into school curricula, whether
3. Mackey, Clarke. 2010. *Random Acts of Culture: Reclaiming Art and Community in the 21st Century*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- How did we get to the place where we see 'art' as the privilege of a few professionals and a commodity for the rest of us to consume? Mackey offers a historical reflection on the emergence of consumer and spectator culture, and advocates for vernacular culture, or the ways that people are daily creating culture and community—through storytelling, family rituals, community singing, street dancing, and making beauty out of objects around us. Food is central to community building, and community gardens and feasts are art in themselves.
4. Smith, Gregory, and David Sobel. 2010. *Place- and Community-Based Education in Schools*. New York and London: Routledge.
- This guide for educators, parents, and community members suggests ways that local and experiential education can be integrated into school curricula, whether

through traditional subjects such as social studies and natural sciences or through art and music. Many examples of community-engaged practices are offered, as well as strategies for challenging and transforming school systems that are focused on test-driven studies and text-based learning.

5. Wittman, Hannah, Annette Aurélie Desmarais, and Nettie Wiebe. Eds. 2011. *Food Sovereignty in Canada: An Alternative Food and Agricultural Policy*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

This collection applies the concept of food sovereignty to the Canadian food movement

and efforts to change public policy. See especially Harriet Friedmann's chapter 'Food Sovereignty in the Golden Horseshoe Region of Ontario', which examines the challenges of renewing agriculture in both rural and urban contexts in the southern Ontario foodshed, and offers examples of initiatives by many partners in the FoodShed Project, ranging from Farmstart for new Canadian farmers to Local Food Plus scaling up procurement practices, from municipal government initiatives like the Toronto Food Strategy to social enterprises such as Arvinda's Healthy Gourmet Indian Cooking School.

Notes

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1. ChocoSol Traders; see <http://chocosol.posterous.com/>.
2. See www.greenestcity.ca.
3. See www.gardenjane.com.
4. A 'slow theory' has emerged from the Slow Food movement, based on a critique of globalization, its environmental costs and lost pleasures, and embracing what Nicola Perullo calls 'slow knowledge', which emphasizes 'wisdom, understanding and experience', in contrast to 'fast knowledge' that is technologically driven. See Andrews (2008: 177).
5. Not all vendors are happy when other activities take over and market visitors shop less!
6. With the cutbacks to public education, schools became dependent on deals with corporate beverage companies, creating a cynical competition between 'Coke schools' and 'Pepsi schools', but this sponsorship has become the target of resistance and has been rejected in certain school districts in Canada and the United States.
7. Painting our Stories shares a website portal with the West End Food Co-op at www.paintingourstories.ca.
8. Harriet Friedmann of the University of Toronto and the author are co-coordinators of the FoodShed Project.
9. Patricia Allen (2004: 55) also examines how priorities of sustainable agriculture and community food security are being integrated into dominant agri-food institutions in the United States.
10. Clearly, many of the relocalizing initiatives like my farmers' market serve primarily a middle-class population, with costs being beyond the means of low-income people. But there are many structural obstacles to overcome: for example, lack of support for farmers and an expectation that we spend a smaller percentage of our budgets on food, while we may pay much more for other items such as electronics.
11. I am using these body parts—head, heart, stomach—more as metaphors, very conscious that such use only reinforces a fragmented view of the body and the earth based in Western scientific thought, while I advocate a more holistic 'cosmovision' that emphasizes the connectedness and interrelationships of all living entities.

12. Commensality is the act of eating together, and is increasingly a radical notion, given that we've become a 'grazing culture' with people eating in their cars, in front of the TV, etc.
13. Conviviality is central to the Slow Food movement and to the local group ChocoSol Traders referred to in note 1.
14. For a more detailed overview, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holistic_education.
15. Cree and Salish writer Lee Maracle of the Stó:lō Nation offered this definition of art in a workshop on The Art of Decolonization organized by Community Arts Ontario and Jumbies Theatre on 25 November 2010.
16. I recognize that I am reproducing a dichotomy that I am challenging, by talking about 'body, mind, and spirit' and 'head and heart' as though they were separate, when in fact, I agree with eco-philosopher Susan Griffin (1995): 'Of course, the body and mind are not separate. . . . Consciousness cannot exclude bodily knowledge.'
17. An earlier event in February 2010 also launched Recipe for Change with a fundraiser featuring almost 30 of Toronto's top chefs and transforming the FoodShare warehouse into a candle-lit gourmet food-tasting extravaganza. The combination of events like this, aimed at the more affluent of the local food movement with free food events like the FoodShare AGM (feeding 300, including low-income users of the Good Food Markets) and the Eat-In Ontario gathering, reflects a kind of Robin Hood strategy that creates allies of more privileged food activists and provides funds to subsidize initiatives in poorer communities.
18. Judy Rebick (2009: 169–84) quotes FoodShare executive director Debbie Field on this strategy 'to propose rather than oppose'; both build on the use of this mantra of the World Social Forum.
19. 4-H clubs, like home economics classes, were often very gendered, so that girls undertook cooking and sewing projects, while boys cared for animals and built useful objects. 4-H clubs are still operating throughout Canada today and seem to have made some effort to redress gender imbalances: www.4-hontario.ca.
20. Jamie Oliver's 'Feed Me Better' campaign developed as part of the television program *Jamie's School Dinners*, which implemented healthy meals in a school in Greenwich, a London neighbourhood. It became the centre of a significant political campaign, collecting more than 270,000 signatures on an online petition pushing for reforms and increased funding for school meals. Then-prime minister Tony Blair pledged £280 million to improving school meals and promised to set up a School Food Trust. The government went on to adopt stringent new standards for school meals. See www.jamieoliver.com/media/jo_sd_history.pdf.
21. A disappointing exception was a series *The Globe and Mail* newspaper ran in November 2010 focusing on food safety and arguing for a more competitive Canada in the global 'bigger is better' agri-food business, ignoring any discussion of its impact on workers and human and environmental health, and framing 'locavore' initiatives as individual and isolated. www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/time-to-lead/global-food.
22. See www.foodchainworkers.org.
23. Sally Miller was a major source of information for this section. Interview with author, 17 September 2010.
24. The co-op uses the title 'coordinator' instead of 'manager', which has top-down connotations.
25. Sally Miller resigned as manager in the fall of 2010, but continues to be active in the co-op.
26. See Hannah Lewis's 'Getting There from Here: A Guidebook for Facilitators—Community Mapping for Place-Based Environmental Education, Community Development and Social Change' for a theoretical and methodological introduction to community mapping, and many popular education exercises that can help generate community mapping processes (see <http://communitymap.blogspot.com/2010/04/getting-here-from-there-guidebook-for.html>).
27. The lifetime membership fee is only \$5—very accessible to many local residents. The bond strategy is indeed an explicit response to the question of how to raise funds without relying on membership and therefore excluding lower-income community members.
28. Freirean problem-posing education often used images as catalysts to spark discussion about issues and relate them to their personal experience. See Barndt, 'The World in a Tomato' (1998).

29. See www.paintingourstories.ca.
30. See Patrick Reinsborough and Doyle Canning, *Re:Imagining Change: How to use story-based strategy to win campaigns, build movements, and change the world* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010). Available free at <http://inthemiddleofthewhirlwind.wordpress.com/changing-the-story/>.
31. Some of this section was drawn from an application for a Community–University Research Alliance grant, written primarily by food scholar Harriet Friedmann of the University of Toronto, with the author.
32. Food sovereignty is increasingly being adopted as a framework for food justice groups in Canada, drawing from a global movement led by Third World peasant and Indigenous groups, who focus on their rights to land and control of the food production process. See Wittman et al. (2010).
33. The Centre for Social Innovation in Toronto promotes a model of research constellations, which is flexible, nimble, and adaptable (Surman and Surman 2008). Those with interest, energy, and commitment collaborate until they are satisfied with results or lose interest. Constellations are self-organizing and self-governing; they arise easily when partners share an overall goal of food system change and have relationships of trust with each other and with the FoodShed Project.
34. In February 2010, we were part of a conference, 'Shooting Back: Photography, Power, and Participation—Celebrating and Challenging Photo Voice and Digital Storytelling Approaches', which brought together practitioners and scholars to critically examine our practices, their organizational contexts, and their ethical tensions.
35. Another contradiction in the local food movement relates to the need to maintain some global trade, but to demand fair trade, while also promoting relocalization.
36. See www.justicia4migrantworkers.org. See also Ramsaroop and Wolk (2009).
37. Six of these digital stories were screened at the Canadian Association for Food Studies in May 2010 in Montreal, and students also presented a critical reflection paper on the methodology itself for other food scholars and practitioners.
38. Nonetheless, creative strategies have been adopted by migrant farm workers organizing all over North America; an inspiring example comes from the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, who have built their coalition through popular education and popular theatre representations of the slave-like conditions of tomato fields in Florida. See www.ciw-online.org/.
39. See Scott Uzelman's (2005) adaptation of Deleuze and Guatari's notion of the 'rhizome', often used to describe that emergence of decentralized social movements.
40. See www.ciw-online.org/.
41. For a genealogy of festivals, see Ehrenreich (2006).
42. Robin Kelly (2002) proposes a similar vision, and suggests that 'unless we have the space to imagine and a vision of what it means fully to realize our humanity, all the protests and demonstrations in the world won't bring about our liberation'.

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