

Taste of place, place of taste:

Mapping alimentary authenticity through Marché Jean-Talon

Sarah Musgrave

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Communication

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

November 2009

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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-67142-9
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-67142-9

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis explores the discourse currently linking geography and food in the contemporary marketplace. Through a qualitative analysis of the notion of authenticity as it is reimagined and redefined in the context of the recent rise of place-based food purchasing, I contend that place has become the marker of the authentic for consumers. Drawing on communication studies, food studies and cultural geography, I articulate how the players and processes behind this narrative of authenticity operate through one particular place and one particular food. I investigate the reification and commodification of foodstuffs at the local level through Marché Jean-Talon, Montreal's largest farmers market, and at the global level through the case of Greek feta cheese, recently awarded supranational designation of origin protection. In probing the tensions between 'local' and 'global' visions of alimentary authenticity, I question the ways in which this authenticity - and these places - may be real or imagined.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must thank my thesis supervisor Jessica Mudry for her helpful get-it-done attitude, wit and resourcefulness – she proved to be not only a great voice of reason but also a great pancetta maker. I also must thank my co-advisor Leslie Regan Shade, whose energy and perspective first brought me to Concordia, and whose multi-tasking abilities continued to amaze me throughout my time there. I very much appreciate the time and input of the other members of the thesis committee, professors Tim Schwab and Rhona Richman Kenneally, and the different personal and professional perspectives they brought to this food-related work. I also owe a thank you to Le Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture for its early support, it was the spark that got me going. And finally, a huge thank you to Gary for his patience, level-headedness and willingness to engage with this topic too many times to count.

DEDICATION

Big words for little Hank

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INTRODUCTION

AUTHENTICITY, PLACE AND FOOD, OR HOW MANY WALTER BENJAMINS DOES IT TAKE TO CHANGE AN OSTERIA?

One afternoon in the late 1920s, the German philosopher Walter Benjamin found himself wandering solo through the streets of Rome. Feeling increasingly lonely and hungry as he verged further from the finer restaurants near his hotel, he wound up among the “wide streets and shabby houses” of the Trastevere district. There he came upon a small osteria that offered only one choice of wine (Falernian) and one dish (stockfish)¹. Seated alone at a table, with an unappealing plate of food in front of him, he recounts that he got out his pen as if to separate himself from the surroundings:

I then took a closer look at the people. They were the sharply defined, close-knit people of the neighborhood, and because it was a petty-bourgeois population, there was no one to be seen from the upper classes, let alone any foreigners. My clothes and appearance must have made me stand out. But curiously, no one glanced in my direction. Did no one notice me, or did I seem, as I sat there more and more immersed in the sweetness of the wine, to be one of them? A feeling of pride overtook me at this thought – a great

¹ It is interesting that Benjamin mentions Falernian, a sweet wine named for Mount Falernus, and favoured by the ancient Romans. The three vineyards that hosted this grape had all but disappeared by the mid-1800s due to phylloxera. If it were available in 1930 it would have been a very special wine, so he undoubtedly evokes it here to intone a link to the past. Recently winemakers claim to have found descendants of those original vines, and emphasize ties to the ancient Romans for marketing purposes. Stockfish is sun-dried fish that is preserved without salt.

sense of happiness. Nothing should henceforth distinguish me from the crowd. I put away my pen. (Benjamin 2005: 361)

As a writer, specifically a restaurant reviewer, this account resonates with me for many reasons – not the least of which might be the desire to put away the pen and just enjoy the moment. More salient for the purposes of this study is the way in which it speaks to a quest not only for a place of taste, but also a taste of place – not merely for a meal to fortify the body, not just for a good restaurant, but for something beyond that: a lived experience of the authentic.

Benjamin's writings on food are richly descriptive, deeply specific and attentive as much to the merits of a particular morsel as to the particularities of the time and space in which it is consumed. However, it is not just fine prose that makes his account resonate with readers some 80 years later. Where is that place, that osteria, we might wonder? Is it still there, and if it is, might we hope to find stockfish recipe unchanged? What if the qualities of that eatery could be fixed in situ so we could feel we were experiencing it much the same way as Benjamin did? Imagine that we could be assured by a friendly Roman local that the original restaurant was still run by the same family, the neighbourhood wasn't gentrified, and wine and fish still on the menu. Alternately, imagine that a guidebook informed us that it had been deemed a heritage site, protected by legislation guaranteeing us an authentic evening repast. Would that detract from the essential character we were seeking? And what of the restaurateurs, in one case naturally maintaining traditions and in the other obligated to sameness? Which scenario has more appeal?

The authentic food experience is one I seek both personally and professionally, yet the word authentic is one I have come to use less frequently in my journalistic writings and more and more often as I undertook this academic research. In my other life, as a food critic, I have been able to take advantage of Montreal's truly multicultural setting, chronicling cuisines from all over the world as they appear here and traveling to see how they appear there, wherever there may be. In addition to making it a fabulous city for a food-lover, Montreal's diversity – resulting from successive waves of immigration and an increasingly cosmopolitan population with access to ingredients from all over the globe for the practice of local food identities – challenges the ways we think about what really constitutes a true taste of place, a taste of home, a taste of here, a taste of there. It is an ideal location for considering the increasingly important role of place in the commodification of alimentary authenticity.

One refrain I hear often from readers, foodie friends and fellow Montrealers is that they know of a really great restaurant, but they hope I won't review it because then "everyone will start going there," it will get too popular, and it will go downhill. Something of the original place will be lost once the experience is mediatized. After all, there are only so many other Walter Benjamins who could partake in the rustic fare of that Roman eatery without altering the very nature of the place itself; its very charm is that neither the premises nor the menu was designed for the Benjamins of this world. However, in a capitalist system, the scenario they describe spells success: create a product, word gets out, product gets popular, money is made. Conversely, from food purveyors, I hear how hard it is to make a buck, to provide a product that ensures a loyal and ever-expanding audience, their fear that sharing their vision of what good food is

won't necessarily pay the bills. For a food to be really authentic, it would seem to have to be not "by them, for us" but "by them, for them," with "us" believing we are partaking without altering a thing. So how are food producers and consumers supposed to negotiate the tension between market forces and authentic experiences? How are consumers supposed to know that a certain food is really authentic? And how are food producers supposed to communicate that authenticity?

This search for answers took me beyond restaurants to ingredients and from ingredients to the land they derived from, and I found myself at Montreal's largest farmers market, looking inward at reflections of the city itself and outward at representations of international foods. In a rapidly changing world that pits the homogenizing forces of globalization against the distinctive qualities of localism, I argue that place has become the vehicle through which alimentary authenticity is communicated to consumers. The work of this thesis is to locate and track the tensions between place, authenticity and commodification in the current food marketplace, and to identify the processes and players behind this narrative of authenticity. I investigate current preoccupations with provenance through two case studies of place-making; first, Montreal's Marché Jean-Talon, a local farmers market in a multicultural city, and second, feta cheese, a product that has been certified as authentic at the supranational level through designation of origin protection.

The question that drives this thesis is: can foods be mass-marketed global commodities on the one hand, while on the other retaining something of the original location that gave them value in the first place? I contend that for contemporary food consumers, the authentic exists in a space prior to commodification: it has become a

place itself, a place where we are not now, but wish we were, at the very least a place we want to know is still out there somewhere.

CHAPTER 1.

MAPPING THE MARKETS:

TRACKING AUTHENTICITY THROUGH THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

Scope and significance of study

Compotes made with blueberries from Lac St. Jean at Le Marché des Saveurs du Québec, Charlevoix lamb from the butcher on the corner, and creamy Riopelle cheese named for the famous Quebec painter at Qui Lait Cru. Parma ham imported from Italy at Capitol, discount Haitian mangoes at Cybelle Fruiterie, and EU-certified Greek feta from the white-capped cheesemongers at Fromagerie Hamel. The slogan of Montreal's Marché Jean-Talon is "Every day of the year, country and city meet." An afternoon stroll through the Marché suggests that the word "country" applies in both senses: country, as in the rural landscape where farmers till the soil, and country, as in nations of the world.

Marché Jean-Talon may have started as a local farmers market but it is now also a global farmers market, and the abundance of choice found under its eaves speaks to a consumer hunger for more than the fixings for an evening meal. Food is not only what physically sustains us as we go about our days, a source of pleasure and sometimes of strife, but it is also the stuff of dreams. Even our most basic choices about what to eat reflect who we are at a given point in time, in any given place, as well as where we come from, and often where we want to be or imagine we might be going.

And it seems we are doing a lot of thinking these days about where we might be going, as far as food is concerned. The last century has been marked by an increasing

separation of food consumption from food production, thanks to “the efforts of the food industry to obscure and mystify the link between the farm and the dinner table,” (Belasco 2002: 8), and as a result, many North American eaters have lost track of where their food is coming from. As food scholar Sidney Mintz notes in the opening essay for the anthology *Fast Food, Slow Food: The Cultural Economy of the Global Food System*, a growing anxiety may be “leading people to think back with some longing to the order and predictability once provided in daily life by the constraints of time and space – before an emerging world system began gradually to block out these facts of life as wasteful and unnecessary, and to replace them by making available food that was cheap, quickly prepared and eaten, and not very good.” (Mintz 2006: 9) This anxiety is underscored by the health and safety concerns of the last decade, such as the outbreaks of mad cow disease, E. coli and salmonella, which have led to demands for greater accountability and traceability in foodstuffs. The media are full of talk of food miles, factory farming, the restructuring of the food system by transnational companies, rising obesity rates, the privatization of seed, and rural decline (Pawlick 2006, Pollan 2006)², but also of community-based practices, local food systems and sustainable eating, spurring new preoccupations with provenance, quality and heritage: what I call a “taste of place.”

Another possible reason that a taste of place has gained financial and symbolic value in the era of global governance is that as borders between countries come down and globalization threatens national and regional identities, the preservation of culinary

² In addition to those books listed in the bibliography, these subjects are addressed en masse or separately in the following books: Goodall, Jane. 2005. *Harvest for Hope: A Guide to Mindful Eating*. New York: Warner Books; Pawlick, Thomas F. 2009. *The War in the Country: How the Fight to Save Rural Life Will Shape Our Future*. Vancouver: D&M Publishers; Shiva, Vandana. 2000. *Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply*. Cambridge: South End Press; Smith, Alisa and J.B. MacKinnon. 2007. *The 100-Mile Diet: A Year of Local Eating*. Toronto: Random House.

legacy and the sense of locality encapsulated by labels of origin and face-to-face retail encounters meet a profound need for reassurance of cultural continuity on the part of consumers. In a time of rapid social evolution, foods associated with knowable places help people get their bearings, they are signposts in a changing landscape. Important to the field of communication is the way in which these marketplace trends speak to issues of identity and belonging in a transnational era, and to the sense that with economic globalization, culinary heritage, like other expressions of culture, may be lost. I contend in this study that place-based foods offer comestible reassurance of authentic places while borders shift and times change.

Rationale for Study: *Preoccupations with provenance*

Against a perceived tide of standardization and homogenization, there is evidence at several levels that consumers are placing a renewed emphasis on place-based foods. Discussions about the need to promote and protect culinary tradition are playing out over formal debating tables just as they are over intimate dinner tables around the world; and to an increasing degree these conversations revolve around place.

At the global level, the world's governing bodies are busy carving the map into slices of formally recognized foods, as place-based products – starting with alcohols like Champagne and now including some 200 cheeses that run from Stilton in Great Britain to Manchego in Spain, along with dozens of olive oils, spices and cured meats – are being afforded intellectual property protection. In the last decade, an increasing number of heritage products have been granted protection through region-related name monopolies called Geographical Indications (GI) overseen by the European Union (EU) and the

World Trade Organization (WTO). This unprecedented form of certification amounts to the trademarking of tastes from identifiable regions, more often than not European (at least so far). France and Italy lead the pack, having already established their own hierarchical system of designations for wines in the last century. The financial stakes for preserving the intangibles of authenticity via political structure and public policy are only getting higher, as shoppers have demonstrated a willingness to pay more for locationist labeling, that is, foodstuffs authenticated by origin. (Barham 2003, Skuras and Vakrou 2002, Thiediga and Sylvander 2000).

At regional levels, marked tendencies towards provenance purchasing on the part of consumers are witnessed in the revival of farmers markets, the demand for niche labels and heirloom plant varieties, the growing popularity of alternative food movements, and restaurants touting the chef-farm connection. Geographer Susanne Freidberg describes the romance of the local that took hold at the end of the twentieth century in Britain and North America: "Farmers markets proliferated, as did local food options at restaurants, schools and university cafeterias, and even some mainstream supermarkets. At the same time, bookstores filled up with local food memoirs and manifestos. Everyone from chefs to philosophers weighed in on the virtues of the locally made, the home-grown, even the hunted and gathered." (Freidberg 2009: 10). Cookbook author Deborah Madison notes that the localist experience provides a contrast to the "monotonous" landscape that dominates the 21st century food supply. "Farmers markets provide a way of revitalizing local food cultures, which are ever in danger of disappearing into the lackluster sameness of the national menu. But here is where you can find those foods that truly typify a nation... foods that have their roots in place." (Madison 2002: xv). Between 1994 and

2002, the number of farmers markets in the US rose by 79 percent to count some 3000 sites (Pawlick 2006: 199); dozens of farmers markets opened in Canada in 2009 alone, with annual sales surpassing \$1-billion (Elton 2009).

On the local scene, Montreal's Marché Jean-Talon – one of the largest open-air food markets in North America – echoes wider concerns about alimentary authenticity in the food marketplace. In the last few years, it has been at the centre of controversial expansions that have seen it upgraded from a shopping location to a foodie destination for city residents and visitors alike. As foodie central for its city, the physical space of the Marché is a concrete meeting ground for a variety of food seekers within the city, and its metaphysical space hosts our collective imaginings of what we want our culinary culture to be.

The goal of this thesis is to articulate how the players and processes behind this narrative of authenticity operate within the confines of one particular public space and one particular food. The expression of authenticity at the local level is explored through Montreal's most popular farmers market, and its expression at the global level is explored through the intellectual property protection granted to feta cheese. Marché Jean-Talon was chosen as the site for this investigation because it mirrors wider practices of alimentary authenticity among contemporary consumers. Like farmers markets throughout the world – Madison (2002) suggests that exposure to lively agorae of the world through travel has reawakened North American interest in such venues closer to home – the Marché offers opportunities for face-to-face encounters with food producers, a convivial setting, and at least the appearance of fresher, cheaper and perhaps more ethical food options than the typical supermarket allows. Feta cheese was chosen for a

case study of a food because it is one of the highest-profile products to be awarded GI status, and one of the most controversial, in part because the name does not refer to a specific place in Greece. These two lines of investigation intersect at a cheese shop at the Marché, where numerous kinds of feta are available to customers, which would no longer be the case in Europe.

This thesis sets Marché Jean-Talon and its products against the backdrop of the city of Montreal, but also against a wider world perspective. It positions the city's largest public food market as a site for the practice of what I term *localism*, meaning that it is platform for the support of regional producers from the immediate area, and also what I term *locationism*, in that it is also a showcase for the consumption of international products in which geographic origin is clearly indicated. Looking inward at representations of Montreal's culinary identity and outward at imported origin-labeled products, I argue that place has become a primary marker of authenticity in the current food marketplace. Here I explore the ways in which the links between food and place are communicated in the ongoing conversation between producers, consumers and mediators, with the goal of probing why, how and to what degree these links – and ultimately, these places – may be real or imagined. While the discourse of taste and the discourse of activism make much of the links between place and food, this research focuses on place as the communicative vehicle through which authenticity is translated. I contend that geographic signifiers in the form of signs, hand-lettered labels and GI certification marks are a means of transmitting the lived experience of place, promising the perpetuation of the desirable aspects of place while at the same time denying the commodification of places themselves.

Context of research: *From what we eat to where we eat*

Once overlooked as a legitimate avenue of scholarly focus, food studies has emerged as a growing field of academic inquiry in the past two decades. Dedicated programs have appeared on university campuses beyond those under the rubric of nutrition sciences; of particular note is the University of Gastronomic Sciences, founded in Italy in 2004 by the Slow Food Movement, an international organization with members in 130 countries dedicated to the preservation and promotion of traditional foods and the traditional methods of making them. A number of scholarly journals have emerged since the mid-1990s, including some that cross the divide between academia and pop culture (for instance, *Gastronomica*, founded in 2001, publishes submissions from academics and journalists as well as poets and photographers). International food conferences increasingly unite actors from different arenas of production, consumption and mass media – for instance, the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, which took in 2005 as its theme Authenticity in the Kitchen, featured *Saveur* magazine’s then-editor Andrew Colman as a keynote speaker.

Food studies is necessarily interdisciplinary (Atkins and Bowler 2001; Belasco 2008; Bell and Valentine 1997); a glance at the membership of the Canadian Association for Food Studies bears this out. Founded in 2005 for the purpose of “promoting interdisciplinary scholarship in the broad area of food systems,” it lists faculty in departments of agriculture, anthropology, economics, environmental studies, health studies, home economics, human nutrition, geography, philosophy, policy studies, public health, rural studies, sociology, social work and urban planning. This paper echoes this

interdisciplinary approach, drawing on research from communication and geography as well as food studies, anthropology, history, media studies and cultural studies.

In tracing the arc of food studies, Peter Atkins and Ian Bowler note a shift within the social sciences from French gastronome Anthème Brillat-Savarin's 1826 dictum "Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are"³ to a "we are where we eat" paradigm (coined in 1997 as the subtitle of *Consuming Geographies* by David Bell and Gill Valentine). This is echoed by food scholar Warren Belasco: "It may be time to bury the we are what we eat axiom... And it's time to get on to the other things that food has much to do with – economics, politics, justice, health and environment." (Belasco 2008: 53) Approaching food through the lens of place has provided a point from which scholars are now investigating myriad food spaces from home kitchens (gender) to restaurants (ethnicity) to globalized food networks (economics), allowing for a more nuanced study of the relationship between production and consumption practices. From my perspective, the reification of place witnessed in the food marketplace finds similar emphasis in academia; place itself has been given agency.

The idea that "place" acts to constitute food, both literally and figuratively, is also evidenced in the market of popular books about food. In 2006, investigative journalist Eric Schlosser's exposé of the American food system, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (2001), was made into a Hollywood movie; that same year Michael Pollan's *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*, about the industrialization of the food supply, was named one of top ten books of the year by the *New York Times*. A survey of titles published since then illustrates a preoccupation with

³ Translated from "Dis-moi ce que tu manges, je te dirai ce que tu es," in *Physiologie du Gout, ou Meditations de Gastronomie Transcendante*, 1826.

the importance of place. In 2007, the word locavore (a clever combination of local and omni/carni-vore) entered the mainstream with the publication of two books: novelist Barbara Kingsolver's memoir of eating food sourced solely from her farmstead in *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year of Food Life*; and *The 100-Mile Diet: A Year of Local Eating* in which Alisa Smith and J.B. Mackinnon consumed only foods produced within that range of their Vancouver home. Similar titles slated for publication in late 2009 or early 2010 include *The Locavore Way: Discovering the Delicious Pleasures of Eating Fresh, Locally Grown Food* by Amy Cotler, instructions for shopping at farmers markets or direct from the farm; *Locavore* by Sarah Elton, chronicling the interest in seasonal and artisanal products in Canada; *The Locavore's Handbook: The Busy Person's Guide to Eating Local on a Budget* by Leda Meredith, aimed at time-pressed, cash-strapped urbanites who want to support local merchants; and even a nay-saying volume (an indication that the number of positive titles has reached a certain critical mass), *Just Food: Where Locavores Get It Wrong and How We Can Truly Eat Responsibly* by James E. McWilliams. More than a dozen books dedicated to farmers markets were scheduled for release in the same period, and that's not even counting cookbooks emphasizing the virtues of local bounty, and various how-to guides detailing everything from starting a hobby farm to the ins and outs of chicken-keeping in urban neighbourhoods.

Theoretical framework and definitions of key terms

My work in this section situates communication studies in the realm of food by taking as a point of departure the dichotomies of local versus global. Its ultimate dichotomy is one of place versus placelessness, for if the industrialized food system is

massive, market-based and global, individual places are the site of local particularities, peculiarities and movements. Here I will also explain the terms I have come up with – localist, locationist, and natural capital – to navigate the spaces between these seemingly opposed forces, and to elucidate that inherently slippery term “authenticity” for the purposes of this thesis.

Before addressing the dichotomies of local and global, it is important to establish that this research approaches food as a culturally constructed phenomenon. I consider food for its representational value rather than its utilitarian value in nourishing the body. I follow from Roland Barthes’ essay “Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Culture,” in providing an answer to the question, what is food, for the purposes of this work.

It is not only a collection that can be used for statistical or nutritional studies. It is also, and at the same time, a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behaviour. Information about food must be gathered wherever it can be found: by direct observation in the economy, in techniques, usages and advertising; and by indirect observation in the mental life of a society. (Barthes 1975: 49)

Using this framework, this study falls within a lineage moored in the culture of everyday life, and how meanings come to be attached to everyday objects and practices; as opposed to high culture, pictured as the celebrated achievements of society. Likewise, the act of consumption is seen as an everyday act; while it entails different motivations and

capacities for different strata of society, it is part of ordinary life, “something people do, without it necessarily being bad.” (Paterson 2006: 2).

However, within the culture of food practices, it’s worth noting that high and low distinctions do permeate both public consciousness and self-consciousness. Cultural anthropologist Amy Trubek notes that caring too much about food, or talking too much about taste, is seen as suspect in the United States; fear is, you’ll be dismissed as a “foodie,” a term often used pejoratively or with a dismissive tone. “Those who use it often mean to suggest that a focus on ingredients, their origins, and their qualities is an elitist set of practices, or is aimed at capitalizing on the desire for distinction (in the Bourdieuan sense) among elite groups.” (Trubek 2008: 15). The penchant for place-based foods described in these pages does not necessarily profile an affluent, Western, bourgeois bohemian buying up the goods of rustic, placebound producers for the veneer of authenticity they confer on foodie circles. The attachments to place, the ethical and economic considerations that shape purchasing behaviours, and the cultural practices operating in a marketplace like Marché Jean-Talon are extremely diverse.

However, in the context of a food system controlled by the capital of transnational corporations with the goal of being massively accessible, it is true that the place-based products have a degree of exclusivity. To portray talk about authenticity or to characterize place-driven preoccupations as either elitist or activist, plays into the hands of a corporately controlled food system that doesn’t particularly want people asking where their food comes from. (Dupuis and Goodman 2005, Kleiman 2009, Pawlick 2006, Pollan 2006) The rise of place-based practices in response to the relentless industrialization of the food system do not reflect only esthetic or even ecological

concerns, there are health, social, economic, geopolitical, cultural and moral implications to an “unreflexive diet.” (Kleiman 2009) And when considering economic arguments, it is worth noting that Agriculture and Agri-Food reported in 2007 that “Canadians enjoy some of the lowest food costs in the world,” spending less than 10 percent of their annual income on food from stores, a continuing downward trend also found in the US and the UK. (www4.agr.gc.ca 2008)

Localist/locationist

There has been considerable scholarship on food as an expression of culture; whether that culture is being lost to posterity or transformed into new forms through hybridity remains the source of academic debate. Cultural anthropologist Richard Wilk grapples with common assertions about the negative effects of economic globalization in his work on the makings of authentic Belizean cuisine:

Both sides in the debate start from the same assumption: that national, regional, or ethnic cultures are fundamentally different from mobile, market-based, mass-mediated, global cultural forms, so they represent different and basically antithetical processes. The two may not annihilate each other right away, but there is no question that they are opposed, one pushing for a world of local distinctions, and the other aiming to wipe those distinctions away and homogenize everything. (Wilk 2002: 69)

As Wilk points out, Belizean culinary identity, informed by a colonialist history through the passage of time and by its geographical location through the passage of trade, is

actually made up of foods from far away intermingled with those from native sources. New World scenarios such as this trouble preconceptions about local and global forces necessarily being at odds, and reveal that some ideas of what we believe real, or even place-based, foods to be may simply be reactionary. Still, working from the assumption he alludes to - that the food system has been hijacked by big business, which does not value the particular qualities of the local – the collective imagining of a past of authentic places might be one way to ensure that food production remains in the hands of real people. This has implications for the way of life of citizens involved in creating traditional products, but also for localists or locationists purchasing these goods with some degree of guarantee as to their authenticity.

Increasingly, scholarship is moving away from the oppositional categorization of foods and food practices into global and local, or slow food and fast food. “Glocalisation” is one term that has been used by food scholars to address some of the complexities of the modern food landscape and the bidirectional relationships between local and global actors that shape modern commodities. It is used in different ways, however, to describe the commitment to the local taking place on an international scale, as in the farmers market phenomenon (Ritzer 2003), and also to describe what happens when transnational companies emphasize national or local qualities to market themselves in specific cultural contexts, as with McDonald’s franchises in East Asia (Belasco 2008). In the first case, it suggests that participants in glocalisation are active agents who share the same motivations in validating their local within a global context; in the second, glocalisation is something that happens to them. Neither quite allows for the shared space of authenticity I am probing here.

Instead, I use the terms localist and locationist to allow for the varied motivations and aspirations of people who partake in the arena of production and consumption, and to allow for these forces to work together in the production of authenticity. Today's Marché shoppers and feta cheese buyers encompass a variety of people who may share purchasing behaviours but not necessarily motivations (a taste of home versus a taste of the exotic, for example). They may, however, all be navigating the space between the local and the global in search of placerootedness. The consumption of place-marked authentic foods – and their production, for that matter – may be reflective of a longing by a denationalized population at large to take pride, comfort and identity from real or imagined traditions.

Marketing food as local or national appeals to assumptions about the qualities of place-based foodways and, more fundamentally, to people's affinities for and identification with place itself... This can certainly help sell food at times when the integrity of places and their foodways appear threatened, both by specific events (like the foot-and-mouth outbreak) and by the institutions associated with globalized food culture (like multinational retailers, fast food chains, or the WTO. (Freidberg 2004: 218)

This "identification with place" takes the form of "local" foods for localists, meaning it is internally referenced in products sourced from the nearby area; localism as a social movement is strongly associated with farmers markets. For locationists, it takes the form of "national" or regional foods, products that have travelled much further but which might be qualified as localist in their own contexts. And it's worth adding that

locationists willing to spend money for internationally recognized labels may be ethical epicures, even if they are motivated by matters of taste and distinction, in the “Bourdeusian” sense.

Montreal’s Marché problematizes the local versus global dichotomy, and in many ways it does not fit the localist profile for a typical farmers market. It is not only the localist experience that its consumers are after, but also the locationist one. The Marché’s shoppers are not only buying food from a place they know, but places they want to know exist. As Trubek points out: “Since the ability to discern taste through place is being invented in the United States every day, the people involved do not in fact focus simply on *their* place; they feel comfortable roaming the globe for the *best* examples of a taste of place.” (Trubek 2008: 137) In searching for a taste of place, or a place of taste, consumer purchasing behaviour may be motivated by many factors, but ultimately, I contend, they are searching for something beyond tastes themselves, an alimentary authenticity that speaks to a bigger sense of place.

Here, I turn to Doreen Massey’s “A Global Sense of Place,” in which she calls for “a global sense of the local.” (Massey 1994: 156.) Massey’s visualization of the “power-geometry of time-space compression” (Massey 1994: 159) is useful in situating authentic food experiences within a wider context of mediated networks and movements of people, as is her caution against over-emphasizing the role of capital in shaping modern experiences of place and space. She comments that an increasingly small and sped up world, as it appears at least from the perspective of those in the developed world, has led to heightened disorientation and even doubt about what we mean by places and how we connect to them.

How, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place and its particularity? An (idealized) notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption. The countersupposition is, anyway, dubious, of course: 'place' and 'community' have only rarely been coterminous. But the occasional longing for such coherence is none the less a sign of the geographical fragmentation, the spatial disruption, of our times.

(Massey 1994: 146-147)

The question for Massey is how to retain an attachment to the desirable features of geographical difference without being reactionary or simply escapist. This is also a question for this thesis: how can we valorize tastes of place without condemning those places to sameness? And how can we communicate the uniqueness of foods that are from one place and not from another – or simply from somewhere – without eliciting accusations of elitism or losing the place itself to the process of commodification?

In considering a global sense of place, this paper comes from a decidedly Montreal-centric perspective. The farm fresh connection, direct interactions with vendors, and even the notion of limited-quantity foods bringing distinction to purchasers, are not a value-added phenomenon for many people on the planet but a fact of life. But it is also true that the industrialization of food production by transnational companies, and the shipping of raw ingredients and the subsequent transporting of processed products, is changing foodways all over the map. The example of the encroaching McWorld is an easy target but it is also a reality – the whole idea of the free market is to get as many

products to as many people as possible. If the market opens so that small-scale farmers send cash crops overseas in return for pre-packaged foods from somewhere else, there may be few people left to stock a localist marketplace. Susanne Freidberg (2004) describes such a scenario in her study of French bean farmers in Burkina Faso who ship high-priced produce to Europe, food that is too expensive (and too small) to sell locally.

The production, marketing and consumption of alimentary authenticity, a concept that surmounts borders yet rests in the smallest details, may bring together strange bedfellows in a community of resistance. But it may also be an acceptable (namely, monetized rather than overtly politicized) expression of cultural identity in a politically unstable setting. Given their common interest in provenance, I use localist and locationist to work together to uphold an overarching narrative of a place called authenticity. It is more useful, then, to think of a shared sense of an authentic place, one that supersedes or subsumes individual places.

Natural Capital

Another theoretical thread that informs this research is how meanings attributed to food come to be perceived as purportedly natural, and how they gain status as a result. Barthes examined the relationship between food and national identity in *Mythologies*, elaborating a semiotic analysis of food that would reveal the myth as a contemporary ideology that is read as natural, or “what-goes-without saying.” (Barthes 1993: 11) In other words, authentic foods and food places must evoke an organic sort of being-there, an embeddedness that would seem to pre-exist the immediate experience of the consumer.

This creates another dichotomy that we might refer to as culture versus nature, one that is particularly relevant with regards to food items, which are seen to come from the earth, yet are transformed by cultural means. In considering the marketing of authentic foods, I take note of John Fiske's description of the dualities between nature and culture.

There is a double, contradictory movement here: cultures differentiate themselves from nature in order to establish their own identity, and then legitimate that identity by comparing it back to nature, and establishing it as 'natural' rather than cultural. Nature, then, is the raw reality that surrounds us, however inaccessible in its own terms, the 'natural' is the sense that a culture makes of nature: the natural is a cultural product, nature is pre-cultural reality. (Fiske 1990: 123)

I suggest that if raw ingredients are a pre-cultural reality, the authentic food product sought after in the modern marketplace is idealized as a pre-capitalist reality. The more closely such a product is identified with place, the closer it seems to be to its natural state, as though the transformation of the ingredients by the residents of that place was a natural progression rather than a cultural imposition or a capitalist incentive.

Pierre Bourdieu's "Social Space and Symbolic Power" (1990) also informs my concept of natural capital. For Bourdieu, social space is divided into regions much like geographical space, and the divisions within it are understood as real and negotiated accordingly. He outlines how a person's place in this space is determined not simply by "class" but by different kinds of capital: economic, cultural or symbolic. He notes that

even within supposedly de-stratified societies, the privileged classes tend to maintain power and wealth, while denying that such divisions exist. He refers to his work as constructivist and structuralist, in the sense that it attempts to identify how the *habitus* and external social structures come to shape perceptions of reality, and the degrees to which those forces may or may not be recognized by an individual but instead be taken as natural. When Bourdieu's capital and symbolic capital intersect in certain places, and become attached to them, they converge into what I call *natural* capital.

Theories of Authenticity and Place

Authenticity

In employing the term authenticity within this research, my intention is not to imply that an objective assessment of the merits of particular foods or food experiences is possible or even desirable; an authentic meal means different things to different people. However, all food comes from some place, and in discussing the emphasis on place in the marketplace – and the length to which marketers go to emphasize provenance in establishing their products as the genuine article, and the response on the part of consumers to this message – authenticity is a useful word to encapsulate many of the qualities associated with particular places. The Oxford English Dictionary defines authentic as an adjective meaning “of undisputed origin; genuine,” derived from the Greek *authentikos*, for principal or genuine. It is in the context of origin, then, that authenticity resonates in this discussion.

I suggest that if localist and locationist goods are promoted and perceived as having added value for modern consumers, it is because of ties to an authentic place and

time, real or imagined. By means of clarifying the term authenticity, I would update Walter Benjamin's statement, "The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity" (Benjamin 1968: 220) to "the presence of the *place* is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity." Put another way, there is something inarguable about place, it is a point on map; there must be an existing place, an originating place, that gives the food its legitimacy. It is a real place that makes it a real thing. This, at least, is the message conveyed by place-based foods. But where is that place?

For growing urban populations, I argue, this is not only a specific place to which a food item can be directly traced but, perhaps equally importantly, a wider sense of place. This is "a structure of feeling" based on the idea of a happier past and the "rural innocence" of the pastoral, as Raymond Williams holds in *The Country and the City*. "On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence and virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication and light." (Williams 1975: 1) The lure of the farmers market or the Geographical Indication label, conjuring age-old rituals that pre-existed the advent of an industrialized food supply, could be a short form of the poetry Williams addresses in his book:

The means of agricultural production—the fields, the woods, the growing crops, the animals—are attractive to the observer and, in many ways and in the good seasons, to the men working in and among them. They can be effectively contrasted with the exchanges and counting-houses of mercantilism, or with the mines, quarries, mills and manufactories of industrial production. That contrast, in many ways, still holds in experience. (Williams 1975: 46)

In craving a taste of pure, real, authentic food, we connect with a nostalgic narrative of the pastoral that runs through modern urban life, at least in so-called first world nations.

The world's former and post-modern peasants, and thus their products, may occupy the realm of the "pure" or the "real" in the minds and hearts of modern urban citizens, harking back to a more traditional way of life that still has a place (though they may or may not actually live this way). Echoing the antithetical processes of global markets versus local distinctions described earlier by Wilk, Trubek notes:

Two models for understanding and acting dominate in our attempts to procure ingredients and cook: the inevitability of modernization and the quest for an agrarian utopia. The first model rests on the assumption that an industrialized, globalized, and consolidated food supply is the unavoidable consequence of our modern ways, and the second depends upon the assumption that in our past the food supply was knowable, based in communities, and in some sense purer. (Trubek 2008: 141)

When foods authenticated through place are set against the monotony of industrialized production, many of the values associated with authenticity are also associated with localism: "such positive attributes as an ethic of environmental stewardship, a commitment to quality, and an overall trustworthiness... it is therefore an intrinsic bulwark against global capitalism's relentless commodification of food." (Kleiman 2009)

To what degree should we be reassured by rural imagery, when this agrarian nostalgia may not currently be real, or perhaps ever have been a reality? The Canadian reality certainly begs the question. From the time of initial settlement, First Nations

foodways gave way quickly, relatively speaking, to an industrialized agriculture model. Canadians, therefore, may be guilty of the same idealistic thinking as those developed nations that “hold tenaciously to romanticized myths of their country’s peasant agriculture, even if their peasants largely disappeared centuries before, as in the UK, or never really existed, as in the US.” (Freidberg 2004: 131) It is tempting to view such trends in the North American food landscape as the inevitable results of economic progress and industrialization. But comparisons with other milieus show them to be reflections of policies tied to cultural values operating within the political economy. For example, farm populations dropped by half between 1961 and 2001 in Saskatchewan. By comparison, the rural population hardly declined at all in Europe during the last thirty years. The EU has made “the continuation of a stable rural population a high-priority social goal.” (Warnock 2004: 141) So it would seem that Europe has a history of recognizing and investing in its natural capital, whereas North America is rediscovering or just discovering its potential.

Place/Places

How do today’s eaters think about food and place? After all, the place food comes from and the place we come from may be very different, and the realities of those places may be very different from what we imagine them to be. It is not only when something turns out to be what we expect it to be that we call it authentic. When place is positioned as the communicative vehicle for authenticity, it’s not surprising that the message comes through differently in different places.

In considering the generative role of place, it is worth mentioning first that the discourse of authenticity informs much scholarship about restaurants, and the ethnic restaurant, in particular, is seen as a site for the performance of authenticity. In her work on “foodscapes” in a transnational consumer society, Sylvia Ferrero refers to the “staged authenticity” of Mexican eateries in Los Angeles (Belasco 1999: 194). In *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*, Lisa Heldke describes the “cultural food colonialism” implicit in seeking out authentic ethnic restaurant experiences. (Heldke 2003: xxviii) However, it’s a rare bird who puts the word authenticity at the top of their grocery list; in shopping for ingredients, perhaps we feel we are getting to them in their pre-transformed state.

Simply because foods appear at the Marché Jean-Talon does not mean they are authentic; the space itself is a contested cultural construction. By this I mean the place is shaped by different historical narratives, economic forces, city planners, and the expectations of different actors that have a role in its being; for some it sits in opposition to mainstream shopping experiences, for others it is the go-to grocery spot – it is a concrete space (literally) and it is a social space, a site for the constitution of identities. The Marché is also itself an agent of authenticity, a site of converging and contested authenticities but also one where seemingly opposed systems work together to uphold an overarching narrative of place-based authenticity. Through its organic being there, the Marché imparts natural capital to its localist and locationist products, they return the favour. The Marché is the message.

There appears to be a relationship between the degree of commodification and the authentic status of the resulting object, and where it is found factors strongly in the

equation. In *Consuming Geographies*, Bell and Valentine describe packaging for pre-prepared curries at Sainsbury's that makes President's Choice Memories of Bengal look like a soft-pitch:

It takes a special kind of person to make an authentic Indian meal. An authentic Indian. That's why at Sainsbury's we didn't ask any Tom, Dick or Harry to make our Indian Ready Meals. We asked Akbar, Nizar and Zeenat. People who know their poppadoms from their cardamoms. Their tamarind from their turmeric. And their fenugreek from their jaggery.

(Bell and Valentine 1997: 177)

Of the many things worth commenting on about this text, I'll limit myself to two. One is the very use of the word authentic, the hit-you-over-the-head pitch at authenticity, one that makes a product label that doesn't use the term look like a better candidate for delivering authenticated contents. Then again, maybe Akbar, Nizar and Zeenat really think this is an authentic curry. If this packaging, slightly reworded, came from India, the oversell might play to its authenticity. What makes it most questionable is the place where it is purchased: the upscale British chain Sainsbury's, which makes Marché Jean-Talon look like an everyman's paradise. How much commodification can a food product take before it no longer belongs to its original place? If the authentic is a place, one must tread carefully, too many signposts announcing Authenticity This Way may undermine its cachet.

So-called local foods have made inroads into large-surface grocery stores, so much so that the term "local-washing" appeared in the mainstream press in the summer

of 2009. From green-washing, itself from white-washing, it was used to describe the phenomenon of retailers and food manufacturers inflating their ties to local producers for marketing purposes, thus broadening and some might say bastardizing, what eating locally means. *The Globe and Mail* reported on Loblaw's "grown close to home" campaign, which showed a company executive frolicking "with farmers in pastoral settings along with footage of fresh peaches and vegetable fields. In stores, the company has created displays reminiscent of farmers' markets with seasonal produce packed in baskets." (Elton 2009) *Forbes* noted that Wal-Mart stores had started stocking vegetables from nearby farmers, "hanging a 'local' banner over the produce aisle." (Eaves 2009). Large-scale farming operations and billion-dollar companies are also twisting the word to suit their purposes – Hunt's tomato sauce, Frito-Lay potato chips and Hellman's mayonnaise all promote their support for "local" farms in recent ad campaigns. *The New York Times* noted that this coopting of the word "has the original locavores choking on their yerba mate. But food executives who measure marketing budgets in the millions say they are mining the concept because consumers care more than ever about where their food comes from." (Severson 2009) With boundaries between local and non-local blurring, and the place-based rationale for authentic foods so vulnerable to corporation cooptation, where is the local?

Place-making

Different paradigms for the making real of place are currently being investigated by scientists, advanced by proponents of alternative food economies and concretized in institutional structures. The notion of terroir is one that is receiving an increasing amount

of scrutiny. It is this conceptualization of taste that is at the heart of many place-based food practices and the WTO's recent regulatory initiatives. Derived from the French word *terre* or land, it refers to the idea that a particular interplay of geography, history and human factors—some go as far as to call this last factor “soul” (Guy 2002: 36)—imbues foods with a particular taste that cannot be recreated elsewhere. In the past, the term was commonly associated with wine. It's not surprising then, that the GI certification program finds its roots in the French AOC, a hierarchical classification system dating to the late 19th century through which wines from specific terrains, or *terroirs*, are provided with the publicly recognized stamp of approval at the end of the bureaucratic process (Barham 2003). In the last decade, terroir has been popularized in the mainstream press and publicity materials, and applied to a wider range of products in a manner that works as a less formal counterpart to GIs – single-origin Venezuelan chocolate, Vermont farmhouse cheese, Quebec's Charlevoix lamb among them.

France has long used the notion of terroir to instill pride in those who uphold a peasant-driven mode of production and to promote its own culinary authenticity among citizens and tourists alike. Warren Belasco suggests that in doing so “the French also unwittingly established a patriotic model for the current sustainable food movement – particularly the celebration of the ‘local’ and ‘regional’ over the forces of ‘globalization’ and ‘McDonaldization.’” (Belasco 2002: 12) Branding products under the banner of terroir comes with values both ephemeral and economic. Despite the continued dominance of the industrialized food system, enhanced global competition since the postwar period has actually created opportunities for producers of traditional foodstuffs

to expose their goods to a wider audience and to support “terroiriste” values and lifestyles.

Quebec is just developing a formalized certification process for its terroir products equivalent to the European Union model, with its own Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). In “The Lamb that Roared: Origin-Labeled Products as Place-Making Strategy in Charlevoix, Quebec,” Elizabeth Barham (2007) suggests that regulatory issues are of profound concern to local producers, who see Quebec (and Canada) as lagging behind on setting standards and labelling for artisanal or regional products. Barham explains that when meat falsely listed as Charlevoix lamb began appearing on menus in Montreal, Toronto and even Paris, Quebec producers sought the expertise of the French with the goal of setting up a place-based labeling system like *appellation d’origine contrôlée*. In 2008, the *Conseil des appellations réservées et des termes valorisants* (CARTV) was appointed by the provincial government to supervise the establishment of protected food names, their accreditation and to monitor use of recognized reserved designations, with the stated goal of protecting a product’s authenticity and its geographical name.

In *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*, Amy Trubek notes that a taste of place has become “a transnational mode of discernment... an intervention into the vast array of placeless and faceless foods and beverages now available to people everywhere.” For Trubek, terroir has been closely associated with the virtue of authenticity. “The uses of authenticity when related to food and drink rest on assumptions about the superiority of traditional practices; historical persistence somehow guarantees higher-quality food and drink.” (Trubek 2008: 16) However, she outlines some of the

difficulties in transposing the notion of terroir to a New World context. “Terroir has been used to explain agriculture for centuries, but its associations with taste, place and quality is more recent, a reaction to changing markets, the changing organization of farming, and changing politics.” First, she suggests that its definition may need to be “more entrepreneurial” to make sense in an American context, and secondly, that the ability to consume foods from all over the globe has created a paradox in the very idea of a taste of place.

I am not asserting that the recent emphasis on origin-oriented foods is an entirely new phenomenon but rather one that relinks the local and the global in an endeavour that rural studies scholar Elizabeth Barham calls place-making, which she defines as, “the conscious use, construction and reconstruction of social, historic, cultural and ecological elements native to a particular location. Place-making is a reflexive effort to simultaneously preserve the desirable aspects of a place and to enhance the economic viability of its inhabitants.” (Barham 2007: 280) For Barham, institutionalized labelling is a way to support the viability of rural communities, in which the participating producers within a mandated area bear group responsibility for maintaining quality standards for the product. What this demands is that the place be specifically delineated on a map, making new places of old ones by imposing boundaries for food production that were not previously there before. Two words I would like to highlight from Barham’s definition are “conscious” and “reflexive.” Relating them to the commodification of authenticity, it seems difficult for food producers to remain alluringly pre-modern, unchanged and innocent if they are partaking in a greater marketing strategy involving the place where they reside. And if a place is consciously “made” to find a niche in the marketplace, can

it still be considered authentic? Is place-making something that must be done “by us, for them”? If an authenticity is a place, who will really do the place-making?

Methodology

This research is a qualitative analysis of the notion of authenticity as it is reimagined and redefined in the context of the rise of place-based food purchasing. I am less concerned with whether or not origin-marketed foods offer accurate tastes of real places (though this is addressed to some degree in a discussion of the rationale of terroir), but more with the system of relations that create an overarching narrative that relies on understanding of place to authenticate food experiences. How does the communicative tool of place serve to render the authentic visible to consumers?

I draw on two main methodological frameworks from communication theory: semiotic analysis and political economy analysis. First, I examine the signs I see: the meanings contained in the signs found at Marché Jean-Talon, the messages that confront consumers when they visit the place known as a farmers market. What are the signs and symbols, intentionally or not, telling us? Second, I apply a political economy analysis to the system of Geographical Indications, using feta cheese as a case study, to probe the power relations that determine what we may not see before us, what is going on behind the scenes when we purchase an officially mandated place-based product. What are the signs and symbols *not* telling us?

As a conceptual framework for word-image relations, I use Roland Barthes' theory of semiotics, in particular his work on the theory of the sign as the total of signifier (the material object, specifically food items) and the signified (its meaning, here,

authentic foods). In “Rhetoric of the Image,” his analysis of an advertisement for Panzani pasta showing a half open mesh bag with tri-colour packages, tins and fresh produce reveals a “return from the market” message. He contends that what is conveyed is not so much Italy itself, but something more than that, what he names Italianicity, the way a nation and a people and their culinary culture have been reimagined, reinvented, and readied for retail. Like advertising, packaging and places themselves operate on denotative and connotative levels, as part of a mythological system that elevates objects of nutrition to objects that promise a link to certain places and tastes. “The technique of advertising is to correlate feelings, moods or attributes to tangible objects, linking possible unattainable things with those are attainable, and thus reassuring us that the former are within reach.” (Barthes 1972: 31) What is within reach are origin-labelled foods, these items reassure that authenticity is within reach, even if we are not in that authentic place.

Given the lively locale of the Marché Jean-Talon, Chapter 2 comprises an experiential component, one that attempts to bring the site to life as a dynamic, generative space. Using thick description in order to impart to readers some of its charms and distinctive characteristics, a photographic survey of the premises provides concrete examples of provenance labeling at retail outlets, and captures the many ways that the Marché’s administrators and merchants communicate the value, or added value, of a real or imagined sense of place. I use Barthes’ framework to look at the language and imagery that appears on labels and signage – what could be construed as advertising – but also at the site of the Marché itself. From hand-lettered signs for beets to bottles of brand-name mustard stickered with awards, Barthes’ theory of the sign guides us through this

landscape of visual communication. We are looking for the *-icities* that make up the authenticity of the Marché.

Widening the lens to probe the political, economic and social structures underlying the commodification of place as a marker of alimentary authenticity, I refer to Vincent Mosco's definition of political economy as "the study of the social relations, especially the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources." (Mosco 1996: 25) So the gastronomic practices that support the authentication of food are considered here not just as a network for the trade of resources but as a system that communicates the importance of a taste of place in the era of third-stage (or monopoly) capitalism. Reinforcing the working concept of natural capital described above, Mosco notes the power of commodification to deny its own transformative power. "Capital also aims to control consumer markets through a range of tactics that amount to achieving the status of natural or taken-for-granted provider of the product." (Mosco 1996 :146) In Chapter 3, I offer a case study of the political economy of one particular product, feta cheese, and the implications of legislating food as not only being of a place, but as the intellectual property of that place – what Barthes might term its feta-city. Can authenticity be legislated? Are producer and consumer engaging in a shared experience of authenticity?

I conclude by examining some of the challenges and contradictions involved in applying place-based rationales of alimentary authenticity to a New World context, and questioning how these strategies might resonate in North American urban centres like Montreal. Finally, I cast the net further, seeking alternate models for the way we think about food and place – with a glimpse of communication tools such as locative

technologies and food mapping projects that seek to relink producer and consumer within the food landscape – with an eye to predicting how those perceptions may change in the future.

Questions for consideration

In considering the current emphasis on place as a marker of authenticity, I question whether place-based foods represent a fundamentally conservative, protectionist and even commercial tendency or a more inclusive vision that challenges the time-space compressions of capitalist globalization. How are consumers, producers and other agents of authenticity navigating the space between the local and the global? Faced with an increasingly legislated world food map, do new forms of intellectual property really support alternative food economies or merely pay lip service to a politically correct discourse in order to control commercialized and consumable morsels of culture within a new global order? If the Marché is a space for the practice of alimentary authenticity, whose authenticity is it? And if authenticity is a place, whose place is it?

CHAPTER 2
A PLACE OF TASTE:
AN ILLUSTRATED TOUR OF MARCHÉ JEAN-TALON

When the Corporation de gestion des marchés publics de Montréal (CGMPM) took over management of the city's public markets in 1993, it was with this statement of purpose: "To give Montrealers access to the products of the Earth in public markets that reflect their identity." Just what construes that identity, and which products of the Earth would be represented, was far from obvious then, and is even less so since the Marché's continuing transformation in the decade and half since it was issued. In this chapter, I contend that Marché Jean-Talon is very much at the forefront of concerns about food, place and culture in Montreal. And with its growing popularity, changing profile and plethora of place-based products, it is also a space where wider issues of alimentary authenticity intersect (see Appendix, *Market overview - figs. 1-7*).

There is the Marché Montrealers are so familiar with on a sensory level, the concrete pillars, cavernous ceilings and produce crates; the smell of apples and the sizzling of merguez sausages. There's the hum of shops like Chez Nino and Chez Louis, remnants of the days when the market abutted a lacrosse field, and Italian residents of the area sold their harvest over garden fences to fans attending the games – a ritual around which a permanent market was eventually expanded and established. There's the flower guy and the herb guy in summer, the Christmas tree patch with fiddle music in winter; the cookbook store and gourmet sorbet emporium in the new wing. And then there are the

obvious forces shaping the space: the changing demographics of the neighbourhood, once an Italian stronghold and now home to yuppies in search of fine foods; city planners involved in renovations; the buses unloading visitors and groups of schoolchildren. And there are the less obvious players in its identity: the television crew filming a docu-drama at the site; the battles over the right to sell artisanal alcohols between the state-run SAQ Terroir and the family-owned Marché des Saveurs du Québec; the produce merchants who sell fruit from boxes marked Mexico or California, ostensibly passing them off as local bounty. Taking a broader perspective, there are the niche international labels on the Marché's shelves, the influx of single-origin products in the newer boutique area, and behind them the global forces determining how these products will be perceived by consumers. All told, the Marché constitutes a suitable microcosm for the exploration of consumer trends towards provenance purchasing and the promotion of place.

If the existing Marché seems to have sprung organically from the soil at this site, this is in some ways true. Montreal itself grew up around a market; the early fur trade market of the 17th century in what is now the historic city centre also served as a trading centre to feed some 600 people. From Marché Bonsecours near the Old Port, the food market scene slowly moved further up the Main, hitting the corner of St. Laurent and René-Levesque boulevards in 1843, and then migrating north. The public market movement of the 1930s, spurred on in part by the Depression, saw the erection of several dedicated sites: Atwater Market with its large clock tower, the rebuilding of the facilities at Amherst and Ontario streets, and the construction of Marché Jean-Talon, inaugurated in 1933. While it was then known as Marché du Nord, a current map of the island of Montreal shows it to be located in the geographic heart of the city, convenient for

shoppers from various neighbourhoods. Until the early 1970s, livestock was sold in addition to fruits and vegetables, the distinctive yellow-bricked Shamrock buildings at the corner of Casgrain St. served as inspection headquarters. (Lazar 2006, www.marchespublics-mtl.com, 2009).

By the mid-twentieth century, with suburban sprawl spreading at full tilt, the rise of supermarket chains and the vertical and horizontal concentration of the food industry, the Marché saw a considerable decline in business. A similar fall in fortunes occurred throughout the continent, “At one point, it looked like the traditional markets would eventually be wiped out altogether, become a mere nostalgic memory from ‘grandpa’s day.’” (Pawlick 2006: 198) Montreal’s municipal council underlined the importance of preserving public markets in a 1956 study “because of the remarkable service that they provide to the population and also because they represent a fundamental meeting place for vendors and consumers alike. In addition, it is important to point out that the markets protect the public from elevated prices and monopolies.” (www.marchespublics-mtl.com, 2009). Nevertheless, the Marché nearly closed entirely in 1976, and its central building (now one of the many Première Moisson bakeries in town) was for a while recast as a library. When it officially became Marché Jean Talon in 1982, headlines like “Vietnamese vegetables cultivated in Quebec!” on the cover page of local paper *Le Guide du Nord* spoke to its wide appeal. A 2007 survey indicated that “people from more than 30 different countries shop at the market,” the Marché’s web site proudly notes.

Using snapshots taken on location, this chapter positions the market as a site for the consumption of origin-indicated foods, with an eye to the practices and processes that support their authentication. Our tour makes its way past farmers’ stands, ethnic food

marts and chichi shops, surveying the cornucopia of place-based messages that greet potential shoppers. Of course, the bustling market environment is never simply experienced from a purely visual perspective, but the larger experiential qualities of this particular foodscape will have to be left for another visit. We are looking for various geographic signifiers on labels, signage and packaging in order to analyze the ways in which origin-identified goods communicate to modern citizen-consumers a link to a real or imagined sense of place. What products do farmers and shopkeepers choose to represent? How do labels and signs found at the site communicate notions of place and taste? In what ways are notions of authenticity conveyed through packaging and posters? What types of design, fonts, imagery, marks, or lack thereof, do they appear to use to legitimate themselves? What do the products, intentionally or not, tell us?

Barthes' theory of the sign helps unpack the meanings contained in the various geographic signifiers at the site, and to probe aspects of the place that might be taken as naturally just being there. I use as a departure point, his concept of *Italianicity*, which he uses to communicate a connoted Italy, "the condensed essence of everything that could be Italian, from spaghetti to painting." (Barthes 1977: 48) *Italianicity* is not Italy itself but the sum of the cultural and social beliefs that come to be attached to it; it creates a noun that is an abstraction of an adjective. Borrowing from Barthes, I have identified five key, and admittedly overlapping, -icities at the Marché.

The first I call *Montrealicity*, because if at the Marché, country meets city, the experience of shopping there must reflect the multifaceted character of its New World metropolis. Under the category of *artisanicity*, we find reflections "human factors" and sometimes-whimsical expressions of "soul" (Guy 2002) involved in the production of

authentic foods. *Terroiricity* refers to a knowable piece of land, it roots consumers in a place and links culinary knowledge to geographical knowledge. *Regionalicity* is, in a sense, a post-national expression of culinary identity, allowing for nuances of place and food beyond those historically typified by country of origin; on the food scene, regional is the new national. *Geographicity* places us on a point on the globe, it speaks to the awareness that we are in one place and not in another. The Marché offers myriad opportunities for such an analysis; in each case, I've chosen totem photos to illustrate the -ities highlighted here.

Montrealicity

We'll begin with the place itself, as an intersection of the local and the global, rural and urban, multicultural and national; a reflection of the city the Marché lives in. We find in store signage and promotional material, both international representation – Italian, French, Middle Eastern, North African storefronts (*figs. 8 & 9*) – and regional representation – *La Route de l'érable*, the *Marché des Saveurs du Québec*, “*fromages de Québec et d'ailleurs*.” (*figs. 10 & 11*) We know we are in Quebec, but we know from the multilingual context that we must be in Montreal. While these signs speak of vastly different locales, the different actors under its roof bring together differing visions of the city's culinary identity to create a sense of abundance within a harmonious heterotopia.

Let's look at one shop in particular. One of the more popular and long-standing fruit and vegetable stands, *Chez Nino* (*fig. 12*), on the south side of the market, blends an Italian name “Nino” with the French “Chez,” in true Montreal-style parlance. Although it is a year-round point of purchase, *Chez Nino* has a makeshift quality; it follows the same

seasonal cycle as many of the merchants at the site: in the summer, the display cases are open to the air; in the winter, a rear area becomes a small, and often crowded, store. Chez Nino specializes in imported products, and origin is indicated on its hand-lettered signs, like a personal seal of approval. “Ask Mr. Nino,” employees will say when questioned on which mushrooms are best for risotto, or to explain why a particular melon is a steep \$5. He will steer customers in the right direction in broken Ital-Fren-lish. His produce can be pricey, his stall is resolutely shabby (*fig. 13*). His goods may not be from area farms, but this merchant most certainly is a Montrealer: he embodies the rustic cosmopolitanism associated with the city.

The peculiarities of *Montrealicity* result from the evolution of the city itself; its multicultural character is not simply the result of immigrants integrating into the dominant culture, or the dominant culture exploring the fringes, but a bi-directional phenomenon. Look at those boxes in the refuse pile (*fig. 14*): this is not the produce of local farms; some of these place names are destined to be highlighted in more expensive stores, some will be omitted so that the contents can be retailed as local. Some purchasers may pay more in the first case, some may pay less in the second.

A controversial renovation project that took place in 2004 brought to light public concerns that city intervention might lead to the loss of some essential qualities of this market: the jumble of boxes, the edge-of-chaos atmosphere, the juxtapositions, that give Marché Jean-Talon its character. Once transformed, made bigger and better, it might no longer accurately reflect the charms and contradictions of *Montrealicity*. If the new marketplace were made slick by government interference, what would happen to the small farmers, the sheep milk ladies or Capitaine Oeuf? Would the city ban on-site

snacks from outdoor grills as it had street food from street carts? Would it become more like the upscale Atwater Market?

Reaction to the proposed upgrade of the premises, which would see the foundation of the plaza excavated to make room for underground parking and one wing converted into boutiques, demonstrated that there were particular qualities (again, some might go as far as to say soul) of the space that city residents wanted to protect. The fear that it would be smoothed into a more polished locale was reflected in petitions against the facelift and media coverage that included a dedicated television series. Titled simply *Marché Jean-Talon*, the six-part docu-drama produced in 2003 captured the concerns over looming transformations and the potential loss of its authenticity. As one review intoned:

Change hangs over the small world of farmers and produce-sellers like the sword of Damocles (...) *Marché* also shows the junctions between city and country and the insertion of tradition into urban life. We also see the networks through which socialization occurs and the cooperation between sellers of different cultural backgrounds. In this respect, the market acts as a model of Montreal's multicultural character, while emerging as a microcosm within the city. (Poitras 2004)

Montrealers wanted to maintain the unity of the market's disunity, and were uncomfortable with the role of city administrators in "place-making" (or place re-making). I suggest, then, that natural capital of this public place is derived in part from being seen to exist independent of city interference or commercial interests.

In rebranding the Marché, officials were careful in creating new signage to keep the look simple, irreproachable and anything but slick; its bold letters and daisies seem so guileless that they supersede class and cultural differences (*fig. 15*). Aware of the Marché's cachet to different strata of society, city administrators made a conscious effort to preserve the desirable aspects of a place – to the point, as Montreal journalist Barry Lazar notes, of insisting on a sort of food court multiculturalism:

The city wanted to make sure that there was a variety of ethnic stores. I envisioned a mini-mall with stands for Chinese, Middle Eastern, Jewish, Latino and Russian products. Never mind that many of those at the Jean Talon market have strong ethnic backgrounds themselves and that it is the city's growing ethnic communities that are demanding fresh coriander and other herbs, exotic spices, unusual fruits such as durian and pomelos, fresh fish and a high quality of meat. Never mind that on their own we now have Arab and Iranian food stands, Vietnamese produce buyers, and Latin American and Indo-Chinese food stores ringing the market. Someone, somewhere had decided there had to be a certain number of certifiably ethnic stores and that space would be set aside for them. (Lazar 2006)

Whether the CGMPM's attempt at imposing inclusion has succeeded remains to be seen. The biggest draw for immigrant shoppers left its lot in early 2008: Lebanese-owned Sami Fruits, a garishly lit tropical fruit emporium known for bargain basement prices, aisles of hair root vegetables and grocery cart traffic jams, closed its doors due to skyrocketing rents.

Soon after the renovations, a new petition was circulating, this one to prevent through-traffic on weekends. Given the tightness of the driving strip on the south side of the stalls, this initially sounded like a progressive proposition, allowing safer passage so that the numerous visitors with baby strollers and others weighed down by bags would not have to watch their backs. Closer examination, however, suggested that this was a working market and not a food theme park; merchants needed access to their vehicles to move their wares, and for shoppers coming from farther away and buying in bulk in order to save money, driving right through to pick up orders was part of the Marché experience, particularly when a box of figs is on sale for less than ten dollars.⁴ The divide over the double-parking problem pitted different market users against each other, often along class lines.

Clearly, the different actors at the Marché have different visions of what the space should be, yet these competing authenticities give the space its Montrealicity. It is not a place where immigrants simply assimilate into the dominant culture; nor is it a place where the privileged foodies impose their vision, nor one where regulating authorities can overtly exert control without raising hackles. Together these voices might say in their different ways “the Marché, it’s so Montreal!” but these words would lose some of their natural capital if the CGMPM emblazoned Marché signage with the tag line “So Montréal!”

⁴ It’s not just in Montreal, of course, that cars drive right past outdoor food stands. In his dictionary of movie clichés, Roger Ebert notes that fast chase scenes demand that a fruitcart be overturned, often in what would be considered an “ethnic” neighbourhood (the location city’s Little Italy or Chinatown, or the foreign land’s public market). It’s clichéd for a reason: the vulnerable food stall with its the pyramid of melons and the need to sidestep obstacles and dangers are part of the public market premise. It sets the experience apart from the hygienic wrapping and piped-in music of the grocery store, and instead suggests that edge of chaos appeal.

Artisanicity

The word artisanal pops up frequently at the market, along with images that convey a human hand behind the product, establishing a connection with a person and with tradition (*figs. 16–18*). This could be Aunt May’s hot pepper sauce (*fig. 19*), a “quality product of Barbados,” or Elsa’s Story jams (*fig. 20*) that exhort the shopper to “taste, enjoy, remember.” This package goes so far as to circle a face on the lid, a woman in a black and white photograph from an era past, presumably Elsa herself, with us in spirit and in jam. Remember what, one might ask? An aunt’s preserves? A time when food production—maybe the world—was different?

Under the signifier artisanal, a key communicative tool is what I call folk lettering, as it appears on signs for locally grown produce and small-scale confections often retailed by the farmer or producer themselves. As described by artist Ben Shahn, these efforts by amateurs amount to a sort of folk alphabet:

One can see the violation of every rule, every principle, every law of form or taste that may have required centuries for its formulation. This material is exiled from the domain of true lettering; it is anathema to letterers. It thins letters where they should be thick; it thickens them where they should be thin. It adds serifs where they don’t belong; it leaves them out where they do belong. Its spaces jump and its letters shim. It is cacophonous and utterly unacceptable. Being so, it is irresistibly interesting. I had first used it long ago, somewhat humorously, for color and a sense of place. (Shahn 1972: 162)

This lettering is the work of a human hand, and the sense of place referred to by Shahn is one of rural innocence. The artisan might use pink construction paper and a big fat blue marker to quickly write a price, but the result seems to cut through the posturings of more considered signage, as if it to say I'm keeping it cheap because you want cheap. Or: I was here, rather imperfectly and impermanently, but I was here.

At one produce stand, we come across drawings for vegetables in a style Shahn would, I think, appreciate; the folds and curves of the turnip drawn in perspective, the lines of the bell pepper reducing it to its essence (*figs. 21 & 22*). At another stand, a sign for frozen cranberries from Quebec (*fig. 23*) shows unnecessary quotation marks around "sold here." A third sign in bubbly letters offers English cucumbers (*fig. 24*), "always fresh," and someone has clearly used a ruler to make sure the lines are straight, shaving off the bottom edge of the numerals. Finally, there's a whiteboard on which the word Artisinale is missing the letters "ti" (*fig. 25*) – how better to reinforce the transience of the offerings at a farmers market?

These personal signs, the human characters on labels, their nostalgic imagery, and the simple enthusiasm they convey, at once deny their own commodification while connecting us to the "constructed folklore of simple people living authentic premodern experiences outside the complications of market capitalism, mass culture, modernism, and so on" (Penfold 2002: 59). If these same amateurish placards were seen in a supermarket, the implications would be different. We might question the quality of the merchandise, or at least the management. So the

Marché is itself an agent of authenticity; in this place the markers of the authentic are read in particular way that connect consumers to an *artisanicity* perceived to exist outside market capitalism and municipal intervention.

Terroiricity

The word *terroir* on the Marché's facades, and on the products inside, operates as linguistic shorthand for a mutually upheld local and global mythology of authenticity. As described earlier, *terroir* represents a key if controversial concept underlying how foods come to be authenticated and gain added value in the food market place; the natural capital of certain place-based foods is often referred to this way. The awning of the SAQ *Terroir* (*fig. 26*), the whiteboard at the Marché des Saveurs (*fig. 27*) that reads "entrez et goûtez votre terroir québécois," the Plaisir du Terroir fondue mix at the Hamel cheese shop (*fig. 28*), for example, use this term to invite us to sample different pieces of place, places that have been parceled and sent to the city.

However, there is a territorial story behind these signs at the Marché, one that may lead us to ask whose *terroir* is it? In early 2006, Le Marché des Saveurs, a boutique that showcases "produits du terroir" from ground cherry preserves to ice ciders, was ordered by the Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux to remove all the bottles of alcohol from its shelves. The action was apparently taken in response to complaints: the store was retailing artisanal alcoholic products; however, such products could only be sold with the producer present, at dedicated points of sale such as kiosques, or in a direct-from-the-farm arrangement. The Saveurs founder was exploiting a loophole in the law, arguing that he was employed by the producers as their *de facto* representative on site.

Around the same time as the Saveurs shelves were emptied, the Société des alcools du Québec launched a line of SAQ Terroir stores, spotlighting regional labels. Unless the SAQ picked up their brands, the small producers behind some 300 labels would only be able to sell directly to customers and most claimed they wouldn't last the year. (Deglise 2006) Another petition made the rounds, to the tune of 13,200 signatures, and the Ministère de l'Agriculture, des Pêcheries et de l'Alimentation du Québec reversed the ban five months later, in a statement reaffirming the importance of promoting Quebec's terroir products (Mercure 2006).

While Montrealers might be more attuned to the culinary heritage of France than other residents of the continent, a codified concept of terroir like that of the French model is not necessary for it to communicate a sense of place and the promise that the taste of a product will be true to its origins, more likely country fare than a polished product. For if terroir is denoted as a plot of land, its address is a rural P.O. Box (*fig. 29*). "It connotes 'authenticity' and typicalness' and may suggest that a product is somehow 'artisanal' or somehow 'natural.' In that way, terroir can convey a certain timelessness – that of a settled traditional past that is comforting to people facing change in the present. "

(Wilson 2006: 146) Even if we don't know "la route de l'érable" intimately (*fig. 30*), on cans of maple syrup, we peek at the red paint on a sugar shack, a bucket tapping a trunk, more leafless trees and the snow on the ground (*fig. 31*). It is a silent, enduring landscape that, like the brand image, is not in need of updating. Hastily written signs announcing *tire à glace* (*fig. 32*), a seasonal treat of maple syrup on snow, the price only a dollar, emphasize the ephemerality and urgency of the farmers market experience and the short season in which the sap flows. The cans don't feature the word terroir, but they speak to a

sense of place that is best known by the people who live there or have been there; recalling a cabane à sucre excursions of childhood, and a place we would like to know still exists. Simply evoking terroir helps to situate the consumer, and consumer dollars.

Regionalicity

The signs at the Marché denote numerous national associations, yet more specifically and increasingly more commonly, they promote regional associations. I argue that for an increasingly cosmopolitan population, region can evoke a stronger sense of place than national allusions; region is terroir in a global context. We need only peruse the varieties of rice available at La Dépense, an international boutique in the new wing of the Marché, to see that we've moved beyond Chinese rice to the expression of rice in different places. Here we find Spain's Calasparra (*fig. 33*), "The Best Rice for Paella," at \$12 a kilo. Certified Denominacion de Origen, it hails from the village of Calasparra in Valencia, the birthplace of paella. Next to it, Basmati rice from India (*fig. 34*) in a burlap bag evokes no-frills tradition, showing merely an inked address, much as it might had it arrived by merchant ship a century ago, presumably the producers are too busy gathering rice to bother with logos – and perhaps they are, shopkeepers have affixed a tag to tell clients this is Red Rose Brand. In contrast, Tilda packaging (*fig. 35*) states that "pure Basmati tastes like no other rice on earth," and shows us a watery, exotic scene where, we assume, this rice was cultivated (in actuality, the Himalayan foothills). A sack of Premium Sweet Rice (*fig. 36*), despite the Japanese writing on the packaging, tells us the grain is grown in California (a farming business run by the Koda family since 1928). As this last example suggests, while a food may have originated in an area commonly

associated with the product, it may now be produced in a far different locale. Even national associations may be disconnected from the origins of the commodity itself. Referring back to Barthes' Panzani ad, showing typically Italian spaghetti with tomato sauce: the origins of pasta are almost certainly not Italian, and tomatoes came from South America. So we might ask in linking place and authenticity, how far back we must go to determine what constitutes the national or regional food of a place?

Regionalicity is iterated with differing degrees of formality, from evocative photos and illustrations to a proliferation of stamps, crests and prizes that suggests authority. A package of Duchy Originals Highland biscuits, for instance, lets us know twice, with the royal emblem on the package and stamped on each cookie, that its contents were approved by Prince Charles himself (*fig. 37*). The shelves at the market are also full of acronyms, impressive at first sight for their connotations of quality, exclusivity and to some extent their opacity. Often resulting from state-sponsored production programs, these indicate a tightly controlled system of origin labeling; call it institutional lettering as opposed to folk lettering. Some of the more obvious ones are France's Appellation d'Origine Controlée (AOC), Italy's Denominazione di Origin Controllata (DOC) and Portugal's Denominacion de Origen (DO). Even the acronyms have their acronyms: France's superior quality wines may also be VDQS the Italian classification uses IGT, DOCG and table wine designations.

A bottle of Chateau du Cèdre Cahors (*fig. 38*) at the Marché's SAQ has no pictures to make its point, instead the label addresses the viewer with serious, bureaucratic text. It's a product of France. It's an appellation Cahors contrôlée, however it doesn't inform the audience that this means it must be at least 70 percent Malbec

grapes, this is something a discerning consumer would know and would perhaps not want to have spelled out. It was “bottled at the Château”; and even without an etching, we can imagine a weathered but gallant stone building near the Pyrenees. It’s a family business now run by Verhaeghe *frs*; we might infer that there is some paternal pride in making sure it’s good (in fact, the elder Verhaeghe started the enterprise in 1956, not very long ago by French vineyard standards). It has been called “Le Prestige” because, one assumes, the contents will bring prestige to the consumer and the producer. A sticker added on the bottom notes the name of the Québec importer, Daveluy Vins Yves Michaud, named in part for a Quebec journalist and diplomat, suggesting he may personally have selected this wine for the Montreal marketplace. Barthes weighed in on wine as a totem-drink of the French thirty years ago, and its status remains notable for what this bottle of Cahors doesn’t have to say – “France’s famous black wine!” for instance. The message here is two-fold: its regionalicity has been officially recognized within France and beyond its borders; yet it is not selling itself, it is selling not selling itself – and thus, reinforcing its natural capital.

While appellations were originally applied to alcohols, these marks are currently extended to many other edible goods — olive oil (*fig. 39*), sherry vinegar, cheese, tea, for example, through a form of place-making that guarantees a certain level of trademark protection to producers and a certain amount of quality and distinction to the consumer. So far Charlevoix lamb is the only product on these shores to be awarded state recognition, its PGI was announced by the Quebec government in the spring of 2009. It remains to be seen whether this formal

recognition of *regionalicity* will spread through North America, unleashing another spate of acronyms on Marché shelves (*fig. 40*).

Geographicity

And finally, we come across a sign that in all likelihood will no longer appear at the market in the future. One of the meanings of the various choices labeled feta behind the counter at the Fromagerie Hamel is that you are probably not in Europe if you're seeing them (*figs. 41–43*). As the result of a 2005 European Court decision that awarded protection of designation of origin to feta cheese, essentially rendering the product name geographic and not generic, it can now exclusively be merchandized by Greece within the European Union. Geographical Indications are the source of much conflict within a highly competitive marketplace. As we will see in the next chapter, GIs are set to operate on the basis of global recognition, yet the supranational recognition of place-based products has pitted Old World against New; Canada, the US, and other countries outside Europe do not have the same history of state-sponsored certifications for their own traditional, national or regional foods as do many European countries.

Under this signifier we might also consider expressions of *geographicity* through products that by their very specificity and exclusivity do situate us in one place and not another, and do so without the bureaucracy of formal protections to back them up. One of the meanings of the yellow bottle of Schwartz's mustard (*fig. 44*) on display at La Dépense is that you are probably not in Europe if you're seeing it. There's the line drawing of the façade of the iconic St. Laurent Boulevard

restaurant, and the mention of Montreal Hebrew Delicatessen, but it's devoid of any official stamps of authenticity. This absence of certification marks may even make it seem more real, more authentic, a rogue product dropped off in a truck by one of the waiters after-hours or maybe the owner's son. The message is that you're almost definitely in Montreal if you're seeing it.⁵ I mention it here as a product of a place, certainly one imbued with history, and a possible urban counterpart to the many rural-based products on the register of GIs. A consumer would be mightily deceived to purchase mustard falsely labeled as coming from Schwartz's Original World Famous Smoked Meat and Steakhouse, and Schwartz's waiters would no doubt be up in white-shirted arms to think of a false representation of their product appearing in the marketplace.

Our visit to the market hints at the more complex stories behind its food items. From hand-lettered posters to internationally mandated certification marks, what do the signs at the Marché Jean-Talon all add up to? Through ties to an authentic place, the goods at the site are promoted and perceived as having added value for postmodern consumers. Whatever competing visions of different culinary cultures the site encompasses, they reinforce a greater sense of place that is the myth of the market itself, its natural sort of being-there within an even larger mythology of alimentary authenticity.

But what makes an authentic farmers market? Farmers markets, like place-based foods, are nothing new – in fact, it could be argued, they are quite the opposite, associated with tradition, history, and sense of place. Deborah Madison points out that the

⁵ Schwartz's does deliver to private customers in the US and overseas, and a restaurant called Mile End, named for the neighbourhood, slated to open at the end of 2009 in Brooklyn is an homage to Montreal cuisine, featuring emblematic foods such as bagels, poutine and smoked meat (apparently, however, briskets will be smoked in house).

market not only connects us to the present seasons, but to a shared past. “The marketplace where foods, goods, ideas and money are exchanged is an ancient public space, and one that we respond to in a deeply intuitive way despite the omnipresence of the supermarket.” (Madison 2009: xvi) Lazar describes what to him makes a public market real, it is a place that develops organically rather than in accordance with the plans of developers and city administrators: “The stands seem almost haphazard, there is a lot of room for people to meet and shop. There is a dynamic quality that we look forward to in street festivals and markets today. It is the opposite of the imposed vision of what a market should be.” (Lazar 2006)

Compare Marché Jean-Talon to farmers markets in British Columbia, and several differences are immediately apparent. At Montreal’s Marché, a stand from a Quebec farm can coexist next to one that sells grocery store seconds. Chez Nino’s far-flung produce is as integral to its identity as Châteauguay Valley-based Ferme Jacques et Diane. The BC Association of Farmers Markets (BCAFM) advertises that “re-sellers are not permitted” and “you won’t find any imported products.” (www.bcfarmersmarket.org, 2009) One particular sign that is all but absent from the Marché: organic or *biologique*. Though the values of chemical-reduced farming might be associated with some of the same social values that drive localist purchasing, there are only two stalls and one butcher announcing organically raised items, and at one most labels are imported. In contrast, the BCAFM lists “foods produced with fewer chemicals thus protecting your health and the environment” and “farmers who are committed to the humane treatment of animals” among the draws; there are similar expectations of farmers markets throughout the U.S. and Canada. (Madison 2009: xiv, Pawlick 2006: 199) An examination of why the organic

scene does not have the same import in Quebec warrants further study; perhaps it reflects the prioritization of place over other concerns, perhaps it's a testament to the provincial penchant for bucking the system and avoiding over-regulation, including the tight regulations of the organic system. For the purposes of this research, however, it speaks to how different the shopping public's perception of authentic foods might be in different milieus.

So whose Marché is it? The Marché's farmers, artisanal food producers, retailers, restaurateurs, bureaucrats and customers reflect not only the multiethnic makeup of the city but also myriad socio-economic, political and personal motivations. Some shoppers visit to support regional producers; some visit for items from far away because they taste of home, some value these same items precisely because they don't, some make the Marché a destination because they can drive their minivan past open-air stalls for big pickups at bargain prices. As a junction point for local and global expressions of place and food, it remains a contested space of culinary identities and authenticities. The natural capital of the Marché appears to override these seeming contradictions, a reflection of its sometimes-contradictory urban reality. It appears seems to at once validate local distinctions while celebrating market-based, mass-mediated commodities. Its authenticity is something that endures almost despite interference by institutional forces.

CHAPTER 3

A TASTE FOR PLACE:

LOCATING THE CHEESE FORMELY KNOWN AS FETA

On October 25, 2005, the European Court of Justice ruled that the pungent white cheese widely known as feta would never again be the same—or more accurately, that it would always be the same. The controversial decision, which marked the end of two decades of heated international negotiations, considerable behind-the-scenes lobbying and rigorous if not always arduous taste testing, awarded Greece the exclusive right to use the word feta to market its traditional goat- or ewe-milk cheese soaked in brine. If the presence of the place is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity, here it was. Germany and Denmark, backed by France and the UK, had fought fiercely against proposed restrictions on the use of the name, arguing that what made feta distinct was the technique of making it and not where it was made; in addition, “feta” from different sources was already widely distributed. Greece countered that there was such a thing as real, original, authentic feta; it was the geography, tradition and savoir-faire unique to its nation that gave the cheese its specific character – its *feta-icity* – a rationale ultimately endorsed by the court. The legal battles surrounding the repatriation of feta, arguably the highest-profile food thus far to be granted such extensive market protection, have significant economic, political and cultural implications, but above all they underline the perceived significance of place in the trademarking of taste.

Positioning place as intellectual property

What does the decision mean? With feta positioned as a geographic term rather than a generic one, an intended result for consumers is a guarantee of provenance. Only variations of the cheese made in Greece can be sold as feta within the Europe Union, and the monopoly extends even to the terms “feta-like” or “feta-style,” which Danish and German producers hoped to be able to market. The potential financial loss for foreign manufacturers is not insignificant. Now, the reasoning was, Greek cheesemakers will no longer face undue market competition from poseur products from other countries, nor will, in the words of the court, the “remarkable international reputation” (AP 2005) of feta be sullied by pale imitations. By extension, for farmers and rural food producers elsewhere, the ruling is a powerful illustration of the profit potential and public profile to be derived from not just branding but officially registering their goods for international designation of origin protection, in order to prevent other countries or companies from freeriding on their homelands’ edible bounty.

Most importantly for researchers approaching the issue from the perspective of political economy, the decision means that geography has been formally entrenched as the basis for a new form of intellectual property. In the last decade, an increasing number of heritage products have been granted protection through region-related name monopolies called Geographical Indications (GIs), administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO). Feta is just one example, though it is not an actual place name, it has an established link to place. Roquefort cheese, Bulgarian yogurt and Parma ham have joined an already-established list of alcohols that includes Chianti, Champagne and

Cognac. Canada has marked its territory with Canadian rye whisky, while Moroccan argan oil and Darjeeling tea have also laid their claims.

Faced with this legislated food map, I question whether the movement to protect place-based foods through Geographical Indications is reflective of a fundamentally conservative, protectionist and commercially driven tendency that furthers the interests of the dominant agro-food system or whether it demonstrates a socially progressive, inclusive and heterotopic vision that challenges the homogenizing forces of economic globalization. Does this form of intellectual property really support alternative food economies and the preservation of cultural identity in a rapidly universalizing world? Or is it merely paying lip service to a politically correct discourse of transnational business in order to integrate culture into the new global order? Has it been deemed acceptable for consumers to get little morsels of places meriting special heritage status so that they don't question the control of place in a broader sense?

To probe these issues from the viewpoint of political economy, I refer to Vincent Mosco's definitions of commodification and spatialization. In *Rethinking the Political Economy of Communication* (1996), Mosco explains that communication processes and technologies shape the process of commodification within the economy, by streamlining or digitizing operations, for example. As well, and more relevant to my purposes, commodification shapes the content of communication, transforming messages or ideas into marketable products. I argue that the message conveyed by GIs is that authenticity can be fixed in place (or places); it is a conveniently reassuring one with the rise of a new global order, so it is important to question where that message is coming from. In a sense, it transforms the world market into a farmers market, linking conscious consumers with

seemingly trustworthy, rural producers. Mosco also notes the growing power of capital to surmount constraints of time and space, “to decrease the significance of spatial difference as a constraint on the expansion of capital.” (Mosco 1996: 173) In recognizing the capacity for capital to restructure the spatial relationships between people, goods and messages in the context of GIs, I am interested not only in the restructuring necessary for internationally certified “local” goods to be traded globally, but the capacity of this process to transform relationships to the idea of place itself.

The reification of place in the current food marketplace has different implications for rural producers of traditional products (now made readily identifiable as belonging to a specific country or ethnicity) than it does for cosmopolitan consumers in faraway locales who may covet these goods for their representational value. However, it is not my purpose to analyze the impact of global trade on local food production; just who benefits economically from designation of origin certifications is a subject unto itself. However, I am interested in how this formalized notion of place as it appears in GIs fosters a mythological link between the arena of production to the arena of consumption (though that link may in fact be concrete). Just who really benefits from GIs both economically but also more ephemerally is far from clear, even to those involved in highly charged trade talks about the nature and scope of protections they should afford.

Roots of Geographical Indications

Determining which foods are deserving of protected status and why is a cause of contention among members of the WTO, which has jurisdiction over the global administration of trademarks, copyrights and patents under the auspices of the TRIPs

Agreement (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights). In response to a push to codify the link between place and taste by members of the European Union, Geographical Indications were established for global trade purposes at the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1994. Functioning like collective trademarks, GIs are defined in the Agreement as:

Indications which identify a good as originating in the territory of a Member, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin.⁶

Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada offers its own explanation:

In other words, there must be a link between what the good is like and where it is produced. This link informs consumers of a certain quality or characteristic of the good, which may then be factored into the purchasing decision.⁷

Whatever the motivations behind these purchasing decisions, exposure to a global marketplace has created trade possibilities for small-scale food providers on a scale that was not previously possible and has thus “raised the value of putative GI rights.”

(Raustiala and Munzer 2006: 1) However, preferences for provenance are not entirely new, nor is tightly controlled origin labeling, and thus “place-making” as the basis for intellectual property rights, an entirely novel commercial, or cultural, enterprise. TRIPs

⁶ As defined in Section 3 of the Uruguay Round Agreement, Part II, World Trade Organization. TRIPS - Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights. <http://www.wto.org/English/docs_e/legal_e/27-trips_04b_e.htm>

⁷ Agriculture and Agri-food Canada, (September 2004) “Agri-Food Trade Policy Agreement on Trade-Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)” <<<http://www.agr.gc.ca/itpd-dpci/english/topics/trips.htm#geo>>>

legislation finds its roots in the French Appellation d'Origine Controlée (AOC), a hierarchical classification system originally applied to wines from specific terrains, or *terroirs*.⁸ The AOC system dates back to the late nineteenth century, which food history scholar Kolleen Guy notes marked a revolution in consumption that led the French, self-consciously seeking ways to express unity, fraternity and identity, to develop a “complex relationship with food and drink.”

By the turn of the century, innate, national taste and ‘authentic’ quality wines were so intertwined, so ‘rooted’ in France, that it was difficult to invoke one without eliciting the other. Although French luxury wines could serve as symbols of social stratification, the wines of France, more generally, and the unique *terroir* that produced them were encrusted with myths of national genius. (Guy 2002: 41)

Romanticized or not, the French national genius for fine wine that supersedes class has repeatedly faced the American national genius for expansive entrepreneurship and individualism across the negotiating table in recent years.

Old World history and New World hybridity

If there has been a divide in the WTO between the EU and the US over food policy since the signing of GATT, TRIPs discussions have further fragmented the organization. Of particular concern at the Doha Round of trade talks in 2005 were amendments to Articles 22 and 23 of the treaty, which would extend higher protections previously

⁸ Italy has had a similar controlled wine appellation system since 1963, the Denominazione di Origine Controllata (DOC).

granted to alcohol to a wider range of goods. European nations advanced a proposition for a global database of products to be associated with a region, a multilateral registry system in which participating countries would not produce foods or mislead the public about the geographical origin of a good determined to be the exclusive domain of other countries—theoretically setting up an even playing field based on reciprocity. The US, Australia and Canada, among others, opposed the formal recognition of GI-related place names as unique for the purposes of labeling agricultural products, preferring, in broad strokes, to leave the fate of traditional food products to the rules of the neoliberal free market. Canada, for instance, “does not believe the extension of enhanced GI protection beyond wines and spirits is necessary.”⁹

The lack of cohesion on food-related aspects of TRIPs was duly noted in Oxford’s *Journal of International Economic Law* shortly after the Doha Round: “WTO Members are as divided over their capacity to take advantage of GI protection no less than they are as to the means of regulation.” (Evans and Blakeney 2006) Given that most of the products to win protection thus far are EU-based, North America may rightfully have a case of Euro envy along with real economic concerns. The same is true for developing countries weighing possible trade advantages, despite reassurances that they will eventually catch up. That this has led to further divisions within an organization is no surprise to Duncan Matthews, who in *Globalising Intellectual Property*, contends that the WTO was initially shaped by a series of private industry alliances linked to government actors for the purposes of protecting their commercial interests across the globe:

⁹ From an Agriculture and Agri-food Canada trade policy report (September 2004) “Agri-Food Trade Policy Agreement on Trade-Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs)” <<<http://www.agr.gc.ca/itpd-dpci/english/topics/trips.htm#geo>>>

As the adverse effects of the TRIPs agreement begin to be felt in developing countries, opposition to the agreement has become more vocal. Again, it is global corporate actors that have sought to counter opposition by using a range of strategies, from assistance and educational programs to economic coercion and recourse to legal proceedings under both the civil and the criminal provisions of developing countries' national law. (Matthews 2002: 7)

TRIPs-related turmoil is not only internal, of course. Canadian law researcher Rosemary J. Coombe notes that civil movements have mobilized around “access to drugs, patents on lifeforms, farmers rights and food security,” citing political scientist Susan Sell’s description of this conflict as the “tension between the commercial and social agendas for intellectual property.” (Coombe 2003:14)

Popular media discourse following the feta ruling reflects the ambivalence about a trademarked food map, and the commercial and social agendas that might be shaping it. A celebratory article in the *New York Times* was swept up in the poetry of authenticity:

If there were a culinary equivalent of the Elgin Marbles for the Greeks, that would surely be their white, tangy national cheese, feta. But unlike the famous carvings from the Parthenon, which Lord Elgin carted off two centuries ago, the country's national cheese was recently returned to Greece by the European Union.

(Kochilas 2006: 1)

The article points out that while US-made fetas tend to use either cow milk or goat milk, “real feta” appeals to Americans' appreciation for big flavours and authenticity. “People

always respond to the real thing,” enthuses one restaurant owner. In fact, as the text mentions without irony, “the real thing” comes in many different forms from different localities: it is produced in seven different GI-protected regions of Greece, and ranges from hard and salty to creamy and mild depending on seasonality and grazing material. And, perhaps even more ironically for a name with so much to gain, “feta is so ubiquitous in Greece that in some parts of the country people often refer to it simply as ‘cheese.’”

While the *Times* article, admittedly published in the newspaper’s food section, positioned feta as a Greek cultural icon, a *Globe and Mail* headline read, “Trade rules will spoil your dinner.” Suggesting that the “The Old World is going to war against the New World’s pantry,” journalist Doug Saunders warned of the continental divide arising from the proposed global register of place-named foods. “Within months you may well discover that cheddar cheese cannot exist unless it has been imported, at great cost, from the hills of Somerset, England. Canadian cheddar, all of it, could soon be banned by the World Trade Organization.” (Saunders 2005) Similarly, a 2003 article in *European Time* magazine juxtaposed two incarnations of Parmesan to illustrate the issue that has stalled progress on TRIPs: one, an Italian hand-moulded wheel left to age for at least a year using techniques first employed by Benedictine monks some 700 years ago, the other, a green can of grated cheese manufactured by American food giant Kraft to the tune of 60 million pounds per year. (Gumbel 2003: 1)

Clearly it is not only differing trade agendas that complicate TRIPs negotiations, but also contested visions of place, culture and authenticity, and the virtues associated with them. Conflicts about what virtues are being commodified under GI labels and just who can claim what about where, how and for whom a particular edible item is produced

suggest a deeper ideological divide. Discussions and definitions of traditional foods appear to be more easily applicable in an Old World context, particularly European states with a long culinary heritage and identifiable regional cuisines. In New World nations, national dishes are often not as well established and harder to trace, particularly in areas populated by waves of immigrants recreating or reinventing traditional foodways. Europe then, might always have more natural capital than Canada. That said, the idea of freezing food in time and place is problematic in any given locale: just how far back and where do you go to find the origins of a product?

As discussed earlier, the development of formalized place-based labelling has much stronger roots in *terroir*-oriented Europe, where small-scale output by a group of producers from a limited area of land has long been validated—one need think only of France’s AOC system and its legacy of proud *paysans*. Based on the success of certification marks for wine and to a lesser extent cheese in certain member countries, it appears Europeans are not only more familiar with the concept of “place-making,” but are also increasingly demanding protection for traditionally produced goods and the rural communities that create them. German economic researchers Frank Thiediga and Bertil Sylvander have remarked that in the last decade the European community observed that consumers were attaching more importance to the quality of their foodstuffs, leading to a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy that reflected “a paradigmatic change from a *quantity* to a *quality* oriented food policy.” (Thiediga and Sylvander 2000: 5)

At first glance, the GI system would appear to represent new or continuing opportunities for alternative agricultural economies at a time when many of the world’s farmers face pressure to conform to high-yield, export-driven models of output. Benefits

such as legal support and market access for formally recognized small- to medium-scale producers would appear to challenge the “bigger is better” mandate of multinational corporations. Production of GI goods is necessarily restricted in quantity, confined by the limitations of land and to some extent the traditional techniques employed to create them. Thiediga and Sylvander propose that production under protected designation of origin works as a collective monopoly, or club, in which the benefit of all is ensured by group actions that bring economic benefits and also assure the immateriality of the good.

In contrast, the industrialized production model of the American agro-food system, in which multinational companies operate like giant grocery stores, shipping and stocking primary ingredients and finished products over a vast territory, could be viewed as essentially placeless. One might well add classless to the description; in a land with an outward-looking agricultural economy shaped to meet the demands of export, it is more difficult to find a peasant past to deify, as France does its *paysans*. The tensions between supporting local economies and free market imperatives are evident in the key findings of the Food Safety Working Group, created in March 2009 by the Obama administration to help to ensure the safety of the US food supply. On one hand, it notes that the US imports food from more than 150 different countries, half the fresh fruit consumed and 75 percent of seafood consumed in the country is derived from soils or waters outside American borders. On the other, it states, “Trade in food is critical to our diet and permits our farmers and other food producers to sell their goods abroad.”

(www.foodsafetyworkinggroup.gov, 2009) Promoting localist purchasing without appearing protectionist, and similarly validating the regional output of domestic farmers without appearing to subsidize them, is a slippery slope (and something for which France

has been roundly criticized by free market economists, as has the European Union's entire Common Agricultural Policy).

If consumers are beginning to adopt localist and locationist purchasing patterns in the US and Canada, it has been mirrored, respectively, in the resurgence of farmers markets and demand for place-identified niche products; it has also found non-state-sponsored expression in activist and foodie circles. However, this has as yet effected little change in agricultural policy or formal recognition of *terroir* as a determining factor in taste on this continent, with the exception of Charlevoix lamb, which earned its own PGI appellation from the Quebec government in 2009. For the time being, anyway, one might cheekily categorize the divide between North America and Europe as process foods versus processed foods.

A further complication is that in the period leading up to the opening of formerly discreet markets to wider competition through global trade, many place names have become generic terms even though they are derived from actual geographic locations. As in the example of cheddar, there is a lot to lose for food manufacturers that have already invested in displaced brand names before it became a small world after all. If there are divides between New World and Old, developed and developing, there are also differences within Europe's north and "Roman" south. Even within the European Community, geographical names can float between the generic and the full legal protection.

In the Northern European member states, the food names are kept in a delicate balance by the—as of yet—unharmonised competition laws. This leads to the use of *relocalising* additions (i.e. *original, real*) to identify *authentic* products and to

delocalising additions (i.e. *style, type, method*) for products made outside the region. (Thiediga and Sylvander 2000: 5)

While differing agricultural histories and certification systems inform one end of the debate, contrasting approaches to intellectual property law inform the other. The US has historically seen it as the responsibility of the individual to protect their goods against potential infringements using legal recourse if need be; Europe, on the whole, has more experience with collectively owned rights similar to GIs, which are not the property of an individual or business. The GI registration system serves the interests of enterprises that might not otherwise pursue trademark violations in the face of infringements by mega-corporations seeking to cash in the cachet of a specialty good. But to harmonize these differences in countries with varying trademarks already in place is difficult to say the least: to this day, the Parma ham from Parma, mentioned earlier for its added-value cachet, can't call itself that in Canada, "because a food company called Maple Leaf Meats registered the Parma name as its own back in 1971." (Gumbel 2003: 2)

Towards a global database of place-based foods

As debates over the legitimation of place-based foods rage on at the popular and policy levels, let us turn to the first link in the chain, the role of producers, specifically to the ways in which place-based commodification might support alternative agricultural practices and sustain farmers who operate outside an increasingly industrialized system. If place is a resource available to all, as the EU global register proposes, there are advantages for specialty food producers in both Westernized and developing nations in

making use of this form of natural capital. Barham relates the potential benefits with adherence to GI certification, and value-based labels in general, to the reaffirmation of values associated with local places. Often, though not always, heritage food producers employ traditional techniques that work with the environment rather than against it, fostering sustainable development through a less interventionist approach than large-scale agriculture. This in turn encourages the development of agro-tourism and the inherent preservation of the landscape for visitors, as well as promoting viable family farms engaged in diversified production through stabilized incomes for rural populations (Barham 2003).

Sustainable development analyst Dwijen Rangnekar has pointed out that there more “substantive economic assessment of the functioning of GIs is and by corollary of the case for or against GI-extension” is required, to quantify benefits too growers, processors, manufacturers, traders and consumers. (Rangnekar 2002: 7) Nevertheless, the symbolic capital of origin labels does translate into dollars and cents, possibly accounting for as much as 30 percent of overall food sales due to their higher value (Barham 2003: 1), and case studies indicate that GI products fetch higher prices—Parma ham, for instance, retails for almost double the price of other hams in European stores (Gumbel 2003: 2). The success of such goods rests on proper positioning: “Exploiting this niche, in particular against the trend towards de-localised and homogenised agri-food, requires effective marketing.” (Rangnekar 2002: 3) Barham suggests that GIs could potentially represent a concrete celebration of the diversity of local places under globalization, in which localized collective work can be formally recognized on the global stage. “Such projects can become unexpected sites of resistance to homogenizing forces within the

global, depending on the nature of their attachment to it.” (Barham 2007: 294)

This attachment is precisely the sticking point, for even if all products were created equal under the EU’s proposed food register, the playing field simply isn’t even to start with. Developing countries may be so caught up in internal struggles for national security or stability that they are not in a position to make complaints about inadequate intellectual property protection nor to secure it in the first place (Matthews 2002: 2). In bringing processes and information systems into line with those formats established by the EU and the WTO, much of the costs fall on countries that are not up to speed. (Rangnekar 2002: 5) Thus, in the race to have foods formally authenticated, access to technology is another concern. The initial agreement was written before the dot.com revolution; since then, e-filing has been seen as one way to lessen the bureaucracy.

Delegates from developing countries are concerned that the paperless-filing revolution will leave their own cash-strapped IP offices far behind. There have been pledges of legal and tech support, but this still has to be worked out on a country-by-country basis. (Barracough 2006: 6)

Furthermore, whatever the means by which TRIPs is implemented and complied with and whatever natural capital might be at stake, at least some of the real picture would appear to unfold in standard behind-the-scenes business dealings. A 2003 report by a Montreal law firm found that unlike Australian and US interests that are fighting even alcohol-related decisions of Article 22, Canadian winemakers were willing to take the loss of certain generic names—Chablis and Champagne, for example—in a tit for tat exchange of designations of origin, your Merlot for my Rye Whiskey.

In return, the EU has agreed to simplify the certification process of Canadian wines which, as a consequence, will be given easier and better access to the European market. It has also agreed to protect Canadian appellations, such as Okanagan Valley, Niagara Falls or Canadian Whiskey for instance as well as denominations such as “Rye Whiskey” which the European Union will consider as an exclusively Canadian product. (Nadon and Boze 2005: 4)

Thus in examining the role of regulators as agents of authenticity, it is important to look at the WTO itself with a critical eye. Matthews argues that multinational companies were in fact the instigators of TRIPs, seeking to protect their own intellectual property through international law in anticipation of the economic impacts of widespread counterfeiting in different forms, and that they remains the main guardians of “trade regulation capable of protecting global commercial interests to an extent not previously witnessed in relation to international protection of intellectual property rights” (Matthews 2002: 1) In *The Political Economy of Property and Commons*, Yochai Benkler echoes this idea:

With increasing economic globalization, the role of borders is diminishing somewhat as supranational agencies increasingly set agendas for trade and the flow of goods and capital. Organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the European Union and accords such as the North American Free Trade Agreement seek to construct a global neoliberal contextual space in which to regulate transnational flows of capital, trade, people and culture.

Underlying the global regime of intellectual property protection is the question of to what extent international law should and can arbitrate issues of culture. The GI system itself may represent yet another form of hegemony; bringing foods with traditional cachet under the control of world governing bodies might actually undermine some of the very qualities that give them their added value. Thiediga and Sylvander hold that for heritage foodstuffs validated by longstanding quality policies, harmonization might in fact eat away at the very cultural differences it seeks to protect.

By forcing all geographical indications into the *Roman* system, the Commission does not only jeopardise the loss of confidence of people in those countries and regions who have different systems of geographical indications, but it also endangers the acquisitional potential of the traditional protection systems in place. (...) The INAO as the French *hostclub* for geographical indications might be asked if they want to sacrifice their *cultural capital* and the European Commission might be questioned if *harmonisation* means to extinguish the differences or just to reconcile the contraries. (Thiediga and Sylvander 2000: 17)

On the point of cultural capital in particular, the *Globe and Mail's* Doug Saunders's offers this social critique:

This is a fundamental fight over a basic concept of culture. There are too many Europeans who wish to declare culture dead: It existed once, and created products and artifacts. *Now we will freeze those artifacts, and never allow them to change, and pass laws ensuring they won't change.* But culture

doesn't work that way: It is fluid and organic, dependent on millions of felicitous exchanges, and it shifts and changes constantly. (Saunders 2005)

In considering the processes of commodification and spatialization, I don't want to overlook another aspect of the production of culture, that which takes place at the popular level. GIs and similar designations of origin may protect intellectual property at the point of sale, but cannot account for how such products are perceived after that. Cooking, what happens after the trip to the supermarket and before the meal, for John Fiske, is the art of being in between consumption and production, "using *their* products for *our* purposes":

The basis of a theory of everyday life is not the products, the system that distributes them, or the consumer information, but the specific uses they are put to, the individual acts of consumption-production, the creativities produced from commodities. (Fiske 1989: 37)

Fiske contends that, "Culture is a living, active process: it can be developed only from within, it cannot be imposed from without or above." This of course hints at the need for a far deeper discussion of the site of cultural production beyond the scope of this thesis—whether it can be located, quantified and commodified in the first place. However, given the ever-shifting nature of culture, the various levels of the performative nature of food as culture, and the complexity of the question of culture as intellectual property, I return to my contention that GIs attempt to transform culture into the concrete by communicating an emphasis on place in order to fix in space, time and consumable form the ever-elusive

authentic. Could commodification be used for purposes of protection, and thus resistance?

If regulators and producers operate as agents of authenticity, so too do consumers involved in the politics and economics of origin-oriented consumption, that in which provenance is clearly indicated, regulated and would thus appear to affect buying decisions. I have already contended that trends towards place-based purchasing suggest that uprooted global citizens, activists, officials and cosmopolitan foodies are displacing—though not necessarily misplacing—concerns about the greater food system, national identities, the privatization of seed, and perhaps even the new global order onto the marketplace. In lieu of exploring further avenues of inquiry about the extent to which the consumerism can be a venue for political expression, let us return for a moment to the issue of class (as all political economists eventually must). Like the two categories of wine emerging in France during a time of upheaval, one highly classified, the other common, we are witnessing a division between highly classified and common foods. Framed in a discussion of genetically modified crops, Benkler profiles the preference for artisan-mode production versus industrial outputs:

These social-economic and environmental-health-consumers' concerns tend also to be aligned with protectionist lobbies, not only for economic purposes, but also reflecting a strong cultural attachment to the farming landscape and human ecology, particularly in Europe. (Benkler 2006: 334)

While this form of locationist purchasing does represent an alternative to higher-output, more easily accessible, mass-market foods, I question whether its growing popularity

represents the wishes and desires of a social movement or the profit interests of marketers, or in fact whether the two have been joined in corporatizing the virtues of “country”—in its meanings as both land and nation. If this natural capital has been deemed worth protecting as intellectual property and worth producing, distributing and consuming on a global scale, it is only available to those with the actual capital to acquire its added value, those who can afford to get a taste of place and to savour the virtues of the authentic. The current interest in authenticating foods through place may be encouraged by governing bodies because it is controllable and its effects consumable, and so assigning geographic significance and celebrating the difference of location are a form of corporate branding that protects traditional cultural values only as a side-effect, or only to the extent that they serve a marketing goal. If such intentions were telegraphed, we might imagine, instead of a certification mark, products tagged with the slogan “WTO approved” or better yet “100 international bureaucrats can’t be wrong!”

The story of the cheese formerly known as feta could be seen as a victory of country over city, past over future, classified over common. I maintain that the WTO’s formal recognition of geography as the basis for a new form of intellectual property problematizes this dichotomy, appearing on the surface to bridge the gap by at once supporting rural development by preserving the unique features of local food production while quantifying those values for mass market consumption. However, I caution against eating wholesale the vision of a harmonious heterotopia the system seeks to communicate, because it overlooks the contested, and often class-based, realities of the marketplace and the competing roles of the agents of authenticity engaged in it, the producers, regulators and consumers actively negotiating the space between the local and

the global in a rapidly universalizing world. If place is the sign of alimentary authenticity, we may be able to answer one question: just whose intellectual property is it? But we must return to another: just whose authenticity is it?

CONCLUSION

TRACKING THE FUTURE:

THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE YUMMY

I began this research with a bad attitude – by which I mean a good versus bad attitude, one that reflected an assumption of necessarily oppositional forces operating in the current food marketplace: local *versus* global, rural *versus* urban, earnest producer *versus* bourgeois consumer. In the chaotic charms of a farmers market like Marché Jean-Talon *versus* the controlled environment of a WTO-regulated product like Greek feta cheese, I saw a parallel with terrain familiar to me as a casual restaurant reviewer: the perceived genuine, unpolished experience of mom-and-pop eateries pitted against the perceived artifice of the hegemonic haute cuisine dining experience. Delving more deeply into the current emphasis on place as a marker of alimentary authenticity, the story became more complex, place became places, authenticity became authenticities, and a larger sense of a place called authenticity began to emerge. And as this work comes to an end, I find that many things I may have assumed to be in opposition are not in fact as far apart as they might seem.

In as much as this final chapter serves as a synthesis, it is also a stimulus for further avenues of inquiry on the relevance of place as a communicative vehicle for alimentary authenticity. I will first revisit the questions central to this thesis: How can foods be global commodities while maintaining local distinctions? Once a place-based product or a place itself is packaged for consumption, do we lose the very qualities that

made it authentic in the first place? Whose authenticity is it? Looking to the future, I will discuss new visualization models that may reshape the way we think about food, place and authenticity. Who or what will do the work of place-making? How will producers, consumers and bureaucrats negotiate the space of the authentic?

Synthesis package

This research situates the food marketplace as a site for the constitution of identity in the late-capitalist era. With the uprootings and re-routings resulting from economic globalization, people are less sure about their place in the world. With the concomitant homogenization and standardization of the food supply, underscored by health and safety fears, people are less sure about the places that their food comes from. Trends towards localism (a taste of here) and locationism (a taste of there) represent an alternative to higher-output, more easily accessible, mass-market foods; these are evidenced in the resurgence of farmers markets and the rise of international legislation surrounding origin-labeled products. I contend that consumer preoccupation with provenance speaks to longing for knowable places. That somewhere doesn't have to be a specific place, though it is often represented that way on packaging and in publicity. I argue that the varied practices and processes behind the authentication of food mutually uphold a larger narrative of a natural, often nostalgic, pre-commodified place from which good food originates. It is in this space, real or imagined, where authenticity resides.

Governing bodies at the municipal and international levels have responded to origin-motivated consumption by seeking ways to further control, codify and capitalize on the values associated with place, or what I call natural capital. This is evidenced in

both the renovations to Marché Jean-Talon by the city of Montreal in 2004 and the trademarking of feta cheese by the WTO through Geographical Indication protection in 2005. I probe whether these initiatives ultimately represent the protection of tradition and assurance of quality in a modernizing world, or yet another form of control in an already industrialized food system. These two case studies were used to explore representations of authenticity at the local and global levels, respectively, and explore how the lived experience of localist and locationist foods is mediated by commodification. Ultimately, if authenticity's very selling point is what Barthes calls "signs which do not look like signs" (Barthes 1977: 119), has it been coopted by a capitalist system?

In her work on localizing taste in the United States, Amy Trubek suggests that a more entrepreneurial approach may be needed to translate the placebound virtues of terroir to a New World context, but warns also that it could serve the interests of bigger business:

In the global marketplace... national attempts to control and support specific markets are increasingly under assault, in part because of the increased importance of supranational entities such as the European Union, NAFTA, and the World Trade Organization... new methods of capturing consumer markets are always vulnerable to the consolidating and industrializing impulses of modern capitalism. The next chapter of the story of the taste for place will have to include some instrumental means for continuing to make food and drink more than commodities, through economic incentives, research and policy priorities, and cultural programs. (Trubek 2008: 249)

While Trubek makes a case for taste as emanating from local places, taste as a consideration is peripheral to this work. Framed in the context of a place of authenticity, the issue might be whether food products from that special somewhere taste better than food products from nowhere (or everywhere, given that ingredients may travel halfway across the planet to be processed into a food product). However, I share her questioning of whether the interest in place-based foods supports a social agenda to revalorize food communities or the commercial interests of savvy marketers.

When I pour maple syrup over my pancakes, I want to know that the guy in the plaid jacket with the dog pictured on the can might be pouring some of that same maple syrup, too. I'd like to think that I could find that sugar shack in the woods, the one with the smoke coming from the chimney, knock on the door and tell him his syrup is delicious. I don't want to think that demand for maple syrup was so high that he is selling it all for export, nor do I want to think that he wouldn't eat it because he knows something I don't know. What's more, I prefer that he appreciate maple syrup for the same reasons that I do; it is not just the taste of maple syrup I am after – despite my role as consumer, I want this producer and I to share values. And I certainly don't want to think that this place I see illustrated on the packaging does not, in fact, exist at all.

By way of conclusion, I suggest that what matters most, when authenticity is construed as a shared space, is not just what it tastes like, but how closely the actual place where the food is produced and the representation of that place purchased by the consumer resemble each other. In other words, the experience for the person cultivating or transforming the food product should not in fact be so different from the experience of that product, and the image of that product, consumed by the purchaser. In consuming a

food product, then, we might consume something that is very close to the lived experience of a place. In this way, authenticity might be seen to pre-exist its commodification and continue to be embodied in a product in spite of it.

So how do our two case studies stack up? The feta-producing hillsides of Greece and Montreal's Marché Jean-Talon can both be seen alternately as sites of resistance, and as cogs in the process of commodification. These are in some ways successful stories of localism and its associated values, and they suggest locationism as an avenue for the global practice of localism; to bring back Fiske, a forum for "using *their* products for *our* purposes." However, these two sites also confound our understanding of place-based authenticity: the first must remain fixed to retain its authenticity, the second must remain fluid.

In positioning a taste of place as intellectual property, the Geographical Indication awarded to feta cheese appears to be the ultimate illustration of commodification. GIs also offer a safe and heavily surveilled platform for the performance of national or regional identities on the world stage. In creating a food hierarchy, these certification processes may also serve the tastes of a more privileged class of consumers who can afford to consume certified authentic products. Yet the system does appear to support alternative economies on the ground. Given that these food systems are often collectively organized, maintain traditional techniques of production that are more in harmony with the landscape than industrialized methods, and are limited in how much they can produce, it seems that rural life, and the values associated with it, do appear to benefit from heritage designation. Certainly, Greek feta producers stand to gain financially from their monopoly on the name. However, Danish and German – and with them, Bulgarian

and Canadian – producers, while perhaps principled, adhering to traditional modes of production in picturesque rural communities, stand to lose.

Place-based foods present an appealing capitalist conundrum on several counts – many of which could apply to farmers markets as well. They embody the particularities of the places where they are produced, yet they derive added value from the very fact that the global market system that trades them also threatens to wipe them out. They speak to the values of rural places and nostalgia for times past, but often find support in modern, urban settings. Many locally produced commodities are necessarily limited in quantity, yet those that obtain international recognition open themselves to a potentially enormous world marketplace; similarly, a farmers market that grows too big will lose its cachet and its farmers would be unable to keep up with demand. Many place-based foods are manufactured by age-old techniques, yet are administered by the same governing bodies that rationalize standardization and homogenization in the interests of public health and safety (and for ease of transportation over vast distances). They represent a new form of intellectual property on the global scene, but they do so for being anachronistic, stopped in time and rooted in a place. They may have originated as peasant food – for us by us – but often command exclusivity on the economic market – for them by us (or vice versa). In a final paradox, consumers purchase an authenticated food product for the promise of its place-based packaging, yet they yearn for the contents in its pre-commodified form.

Montreal's Marché Jean-Talon might more easily be pointed to as a site of resistance, however it too is full of paradoxes. As a site where different practitioners of the city's culinary identity come to meet and eat, it embraces a number of co-existing, and sometimes competing, authenticities. While farmers markets and localism are often

strongly linked, this Marché finds itself at the intersection of the global and the local. To reflect its urban reality, it must encompass the different motivations of the consumers and producers under its roof; it must respond to the needs of the marketplace while maintaining its natural being-there. Montreal is a bit of a mess, so is its Marché. There is B-grade produce, there is fine cheese, there are minivans zigzagging through a narrow road of pedestrians, there are cute boutiques where the public can be served in French, English and probably a third, fourth or fifth language as well. Its central conundrum is that it must remain iconic and fluid at the same time.

To simply celebrate the market as a space of much-touted multiculturalism is to overlook the contested visions of this fragile heterotopia, the issues of class difference that continue to manifest there, and the potential for control of the space and its representations by a bourgeois elite. The modern Marché may represent “a new form of ‘consumption space’” (Holloway & Kneafsey 2000: 285) that is both conservative and alternative. Without the rich, long and arguably hegemonic culinary heritage of Europe behind it, the Marché could be seen as space where concerns about the food system and culinary identity can be displaced (though again not necessarily misplaced) by recent immigrants to Canada, localist activists and cosmopolitan foodies alike. Most significantly, we find at the Marché a reflection of wider trends towards the negation of difference on one hand – a one-for-all, all-for-one place - and the celebration of difference on the other – from one place and not from another. Its visitors revel in the seasonality of *tire-à-neige* from a nearby sugar bush, but they also snap up Parma ham and preserved lemons from overseas.

This work positions Marché Jean-Talon at the front lines of alimentary authenticity, and finds in the anxieties expressed with regards to its recent renovation and continuing transformation an echo of deeper concerns about the loss of place in the deterritorialized, late-capitalist society. I anticipate heated debates about origin labeling in this province. Quebec producers appear to have one foot in the Old World, and the other in the New. Legislative strategies like Geographical Indications, which would seek to define the authentic along the lines of place-oriented terroir, may be ill suited to an Old World scenario they seem like looking back in time instead of looking forward. The New World might be a century behind in codifying terroir and capitalizing on it, but it also frees perception of food places from the weight of history; despite the province's French sensibilities, the particular place-based framework that underpins appellations and geographical certifications appears to be at odds with the diverse food scenes like that of Montreal.

If the world food map is going to be increasingly legislated, one challenge for the future will be to determine what makes place now. Among the risks of "unreflexive localism" are that it can first, "deny the politics of the local, with potentially problematic social justice consequences. Second, it can lead to proposed solutions, based on alternative standards of purity and perfection, that are vulnerable to corporate cooptation." (Dupuis and Goodman 2005: 359) With that in mind, is there an approach to marketing of place-based foods from the province of Quebec that would acknowledge both the rich heritage of regional food production in the province and the vibrant, multiethnic, immigrant-driven reality so central to the identity of Montreal? Place as a vehicle for the communication of authenticity would appear to be a great leveler, but

when applied through the parameters of terroir, and its inherent emphasis on historical attachment to plots of land and savoir-faire, some places (Old World) start with more of it than others (New World). Terroir is a valuable communicative tool for understanding and revitalizing the values of place, but when such local places are brought to the global level, we have to think about what we mean by local. Without acknowledging immigration or multiculturalism, the only regional food there would be in Quebec would be First Nations. Wave upon wave of people have immigrated to Quebec, carrying culinary heritage with them, these traditions have be reimagined and reinvented in a new place. What place do these products really belong to, how far do we look to find their origins? That's why the Marché is so interesting - it problematizes what we think of as local and what we think of as global, in fact what we think of as place. Looking at the Marché, I believe we are seeing the idea of place in development, what it would look life if different people had a stake in it.

Will the province's culinary actors – farmers, politicians, consumers, journalists – embrace the term terroir and use it as a conceptual basis for origin labeling? Or will they seek more inclusive paradigm that might reflect the particularities of local and global encapsulated by Marché Jean-Talon? Who will decide for what purposes authenticity is defined and applied in the marketplace? These questions demand thinking beyond the dichotomies that are too easily seen to shape the quest for authenticity in the food marketplace, and suggest potential for investigation in the realm of oral history, policy and cultural geography beyond the scope of this work.

Stimulus package

Let's return to Italy for a moment, where Walter Benjamin ate his simple meal of local wine and fish in an osteria, surrounded by simple folk. It doesn't really matter exactly *where* the modest restaurant was. Substitute the name of the neighbourhood, the dress of the locals, the details of the cuisine, one terroir for another – and he could have had a similar experience in many other cities or countries. It may, however, matter *when* Benjamin's osteria existed¹⁰ – if authenticity originates in a pre-commodified, pre-mediatised place, it was perhaps easier to come upon such a dining experience a century ago before the rise of the industrialized food and the mass media. Even if such an idea is driven by nostalgia, we have seen that the recent reification of place in the marketplace is certainly in part response to the rise of a transnational food system that is essentially placeless.

However, what we can do more easily now than we could then is pinpoint that osteria on a map, log the specifics of that meal, determine the ratio of Walter Benjamins to regulars that the restaurant could seat at one time while maintaining its ambiance, create parameters adjusted for cultural difference, and then pull out from Rome, from Italy, to a world view, and we could point to other places that fit the criteria for offering comparable authentic experiences. Using such an algorithm, we could potentially create a

¹⁰ If we may employ the ever-useful McDonald's meter: there were no McDonald's in Italy in the 1920s (the first opened in 1986); there are now 290 outlets, and some even serve spinach and Parmigiano Reggiano croquettes. Italian restaurants have also proliferated well beyond national borders, so much so that in 2002, Italy's right-wing agriculture minister Giovanni Alemanno proposed to create a certificate of authenticity to be displayed in windows of worthy Italian restaurants outside their country of origin (<http://da-nico.co.uk/authenticity.html> 2009). La Guarnizione di Approvazione would be similar to the DOC system used for wines, ensuring customers that the establishment was supplied by reputable distributors and adhered to made-in-Italy standards, while protecting that reputation of real Italian food from undue damage caused by cream in carbonara and other such blasphemies.¹⁰

virtual map of the shared space of authenticity, and perhaps even keep it up to date with Twitter feeds from like-minded foodies.

While the scenario I have just described – and its inevitable iPhone apps – are for the moment hypothetical, I end this work with a survey of three technological applications that demand some rethinking about our spatial relationship with edible products and the places that create them. Locative media that can locate, track and perhaps even quantify place-based authenticity – most notably, Radio Frequency Identification (RFID), Global Positioning Systems (GPS) and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) – have the potential to reshape the dynamics of localist and locationist practices. By tying data to geographical spaces, they can create a transparent – rather than mythological – link between the arena of production and the arena of consumption, changing our relationship to place at both ends.

RFID tags have found numerous applications in the food industry. Inserted into a product, a location-aware chip makes it possible to account for it every step of the way as it passes through the supply chain. For manufacturers, this is touted as a means of monitoring the threat of theft, loss and counterfeiting from a remote location; it also offers a scientific model for a guarantee of traceability and quality for consumers. The Dairy Farmers of America, which produces a third of bottled milk, cheese and butter products in the US, announced in May 2006 that it was implementing RFID capabilities at two processing plants, to be met on the other end by Wal-Mart's 1000 RFID-enabled stores. (RFID Journal, 2006) In July 2009, the Danish dairy industry began to use SmarterFarming chips monitor the movements and health of individual cows in its herds, TekVet in the United States implemented a similar system that reads the temperature of

beef cattle every hour to check for signs of illness. (RFID Journal, 2009)¹¹ Data trails generated by RFID transponders also keep tabs on cheese as it ripens in Germany, northern Spain's blue queso cabrales, and the whereabouts of wheels of Parmigiano Romano.

The need for tighter controls on the grounds of consumer protection is a refrain of the industrialized food system, and perhaps a self-serving one in a context where big companies have greater capacities and resources to meet stringent standards than do small operators. In early 2009, the US government made a "long overdue" pledge to strengthen surveillance and enforcement, in order to "through a transparent process, build a food safety system that will meet the challenges posed by a global food supply in the 21st century." (www.foodsafetyworkinggroup.gov 2009)

Will these tracking capacities be used to reinforce the strict regulations of GI certification or could they render the bureaucracy behind such protections redundant? Will so-called reliable labeling, that can follow the process from raw milk to wrapped product, including serial numbers that customers can use to find out which farmer supplied the milk for the finished product, engender the same level of trust as a face-to-face encounter with a merchant at a farmers market or artisanal packaging? Could it be used to ensure that producers are living lives of "rural innocence" promised by the labeling, the equivalent of 1-800-TRACK-A-PEASANT?

Beyond their corporate applications, tracking technologies are also a platform for creative explorations of food and space. Amsterdam artist Esther Polack uses GPS tracers to create a visual chronicle of food production that is a non-commercial iteration of

¹¹ Given the chilling details of the meat industry recounted by Eric Schlosser in *Fast Food Nation*, it's hard to say whether this is reassuring or revolting.

peasant tracking. Her first project used radiographic signals to map the nodes where milk stopped on its way from the udder of a Latvian cow to Italian-run cheese factory to a market in Utrecht to its eventual consumption by Dutch citizens. Tracking the movements of participants involved in the product's journey, she created a virtual milkline through a borderless map of Europe. (www.milkproject.net, 2004)

In late 2009, Polack was bringing the technology to Nigeria, recording the routes of both Fulani herdsmen and deliverers of Peak packaged milk products, which are transported all over the country from a central hub in Lagos. The project will create a large sand drawing and a film that shows migration patterns and delivery routes. Polack notes, "By mapping ever-changing Fulani migration routes, and modern Peak transports this project will create a contemporary form for depicting pastoral landscape. No matter how different their lifestyles might seem, the two groups can be considered colleagues in a shared workplace." (www.nomadicmilk.net, 2009) This work renders visible the normally unseen connections between producer and consumer, allowing viewers to visualize the mobility of food items, the work of producers and the landscapes in which they originate. It is interesting for the purposes of this project because it recasts authenticity as a moving target, seeks to communicate the lived experience of food production through place, and suggests that the continuously unfolding stories of those places matter as much as the geographic place itself.

Another revisualization of spatial context of authenticity can be found in the Farmland Values Project, an initiative sponsored by United States Department of Agriculture. Led by UNC Asheville economist Leah Greden Mathews, the goal was to create a quantitative assessment tool to assess the multiple benefits of farmland in

Western North Carolina, beyond access to local food. Among the associated values offered by farmscapes were jobs and income for farmers, scenic beauty, visible links to agricultural heritage, and open space. In this region, real estate overlooking fertile fields was being snapped up by well-to-do retirees, with the attraction of being able to sit on the deck, watch farmers at work and hear the cows low. Overdevelopment threatened to destroy the very things that made it attractive in the first place.

The project engaged the local population in focus groups and surveys, gathering comments that could be refrains from Raymond Williams: “Somehow that landscape of farmland creates a feeling of timelessness, peace and strength that reaches out to suburban and city dwellers who feel a longing for something lasting and comforting and eternal.” (www.unca.edu/farmlandvalues, 2009) It also entailed a community mapping project using Google Earth to have participants pinpoint locations of scenic or cultural significance. This input was then used to augment a USDA assessment tool for assessing land value, layering GIS data to create maps that account for soil survey, land use, and cultural value or scenic value.

The study found that to maintain pastoral views of dewy sunrises and hay stacks, residents and visitors were willing to pay – according to research results released in 2009, \$184 and \$195 USD a year. That’s on top of a premium for place-based foods. While Farmland Values might sound like the ultimate in post-modern voyeurism or rural nostalgia for hire, it could also be seen as an inspiring example of making your natural capital dollars work for you. Monetizing a view of farmers at work in fields, and incorporating that value into real estate assessment may fetishize farming, but it allows

both producer and consumer to share in the perpetuation of mutually constituted authentic spaces.

In conclusion, this thesis itself has in a way served as a locative device for place-based food in the modern marketplace, tracking expressions of its authenticity through the tensions of maintaining local distinctions within the time-space compression of globalization. In a capitalist system, the commodification of authenticity through place has consumers forever searching for a Shangri-la, at once reassuring us that such a place exists, and encouraging us to consume a taste of it, all the while reinforcing that it is a place where we are not. In recognizing that, and taking stock where we are right now and how we got here, we might begin to engage in a shared space of alimentary authenticity, to create a wider sense of for us by us that valorizes producers and consumers, and to imagine a future in which authenticity is user driven.

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APPENDIX

Photos © Sarah Musgrave, 2009

*Figs. 1 – 7 **Marché overview***

1 – fresh produce stand; 2 – happy butcher at Les fermes Saint-Vincent organic meat shop; 3 – single-origin spices at Olives & Epices boutique; 4 – shopping for root vegetables at Sami Fruit (RIP); 5 – apple butter salesperson; 6 – Les Cochons Touts Ronds, selling cured meats from Les Îles de la Madeleine; 7 – winter produce stand.

*Fig. 8 – 15 **Montrealicity***

8 – William J. Walter’s European sausages; 9 – An-Nasr halal butcher shop; 10 – fresh lamb and Moroccan street food behind the awning at L’Olivier; 11 – “qui lait cru!?!” cheese shop advertises “three friends, three cheesemongers”; 12 – Chez Nino, fresh fruit and vegetable stand; 13 – blood oranges at Chez Nino, imported from Italy; 14 – a jumble of boxes from a jumble of places; 15 – the Marché’s new daisy-fresh signage.

*Fig. 16 – 25 **Artisanicity***

16 – Au Pain doré’s “boulangerie artisanale” celebrates 50 years; 17 – more artisanal baking announced in the doorway of qui lait cru!?!; 18 – Le Marché des Saveurs de Québec “house of artisanal wine and drinks”; 19 – Aunt May’s pepper sauce from Barbados; 20 – Elsa’s Story preserves: “taste, enjoy, remember”; 21 – hand-drawn turnips and taters; 22 – hand-drawn bell pepper; 23 – frozen cranberries “sold here”; 24 – ruler-straight sign for English cucumbers; 25 – an ephemeral sign for artisanal meats, Charcuterie Ar—sanale.

*Fig. 26 – 32 **Terroiricity***

26 – SAQ Terroirs d’ici; 27 – an invitation to “Come in and taste your Quebec terroir” in the window of Le Marché des Saveurs; 28 – Plaisir du Terroir fondue mix at Hamel cheese shop; 29 – terroir is a rustic place, Hamel’s imported cheeses; 30 – La Route de l’érable, an agro-tourism initiative by provincial maple syrup producers; 31 – classic maple syrup cans from Sucrerie Denis & Frères; 32 – tire à glace, rare spring treat of maple syrup on snow, only \$1.

*Fig. 33 – 40 **Regionalicity***

33 – Calasparra rice; 34 – “red rose brand” burlap basmati; 35 – Tilda basmati; 36 – Japanese “premium sweet rice” by way of California; 37 – Duchy Originals shortbread, Prince Charles approved; 38 – “Le Prestige” Cahors du Cèdre, certified appellation Cahors contrôlée; 39 – DOP certified extra-virgin olive oil; 40 – Charlevoix veal, Quebec’s next PGI?

*Fig. 41 – 44 **Geographicity***

41 – WTO-approved Greek feta; 42 – goat milk feta, origin unknown; 43 – Quebec feta, illegal in the EU; 44 – Schwartz’s deli mustard, putting Montreal on the map?

APPENDIX - CHAPTER 2

A PLACE OF TASTE: AN ILLUSTRATED TOUR OF MARCHÉ JEAN-TALON



Fig. 1 - Marché Overview

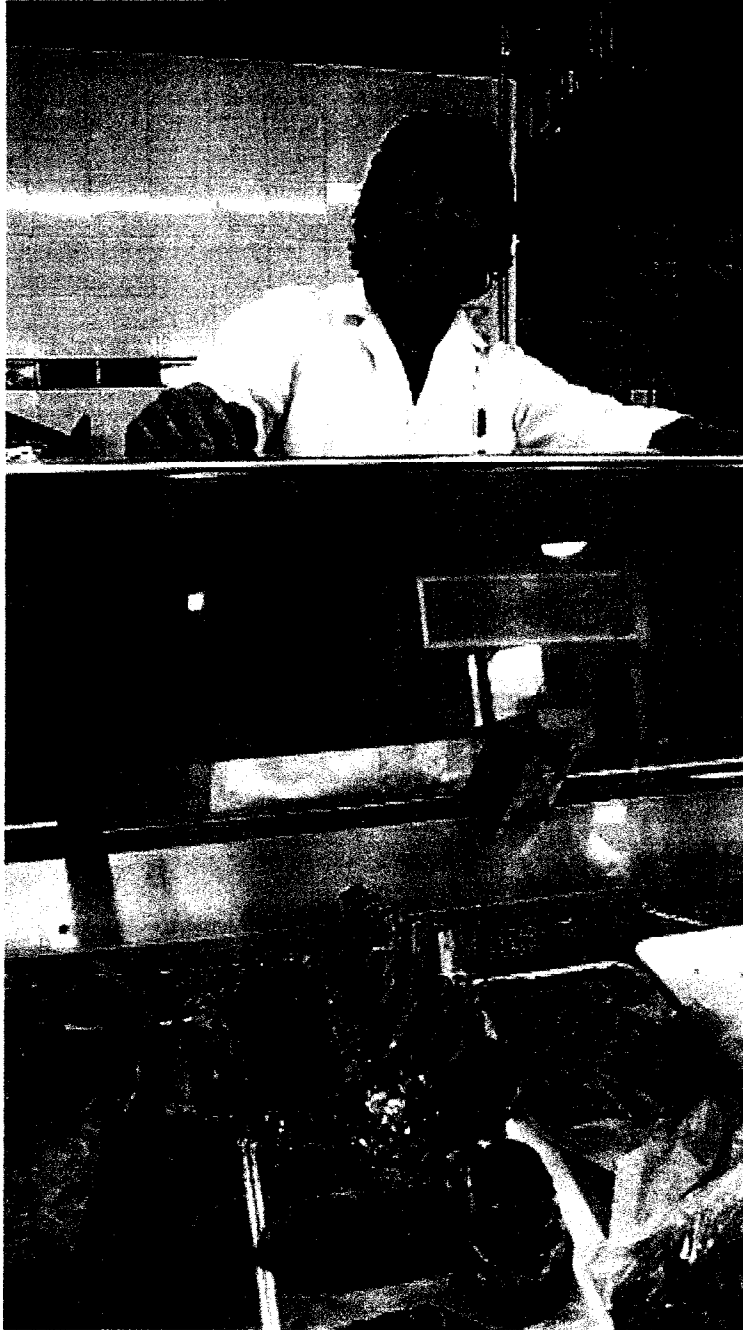


Fig. 2 - Marché Overview



Fig. 3 - Marché Overview



Fig. 4 - Marché Overview

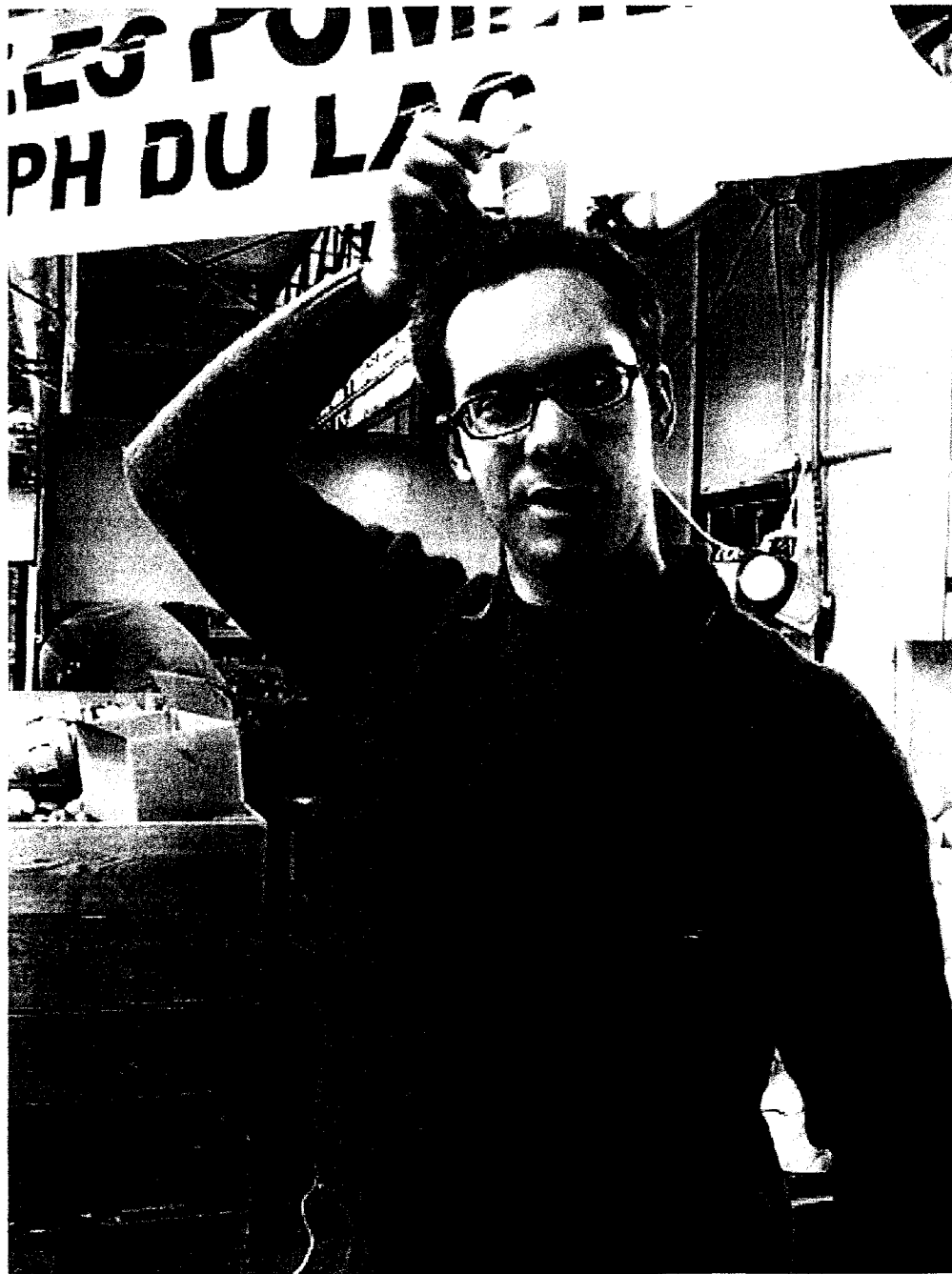


Fig. 5 - Marché Overview



Fig. 6 - Marché Overview

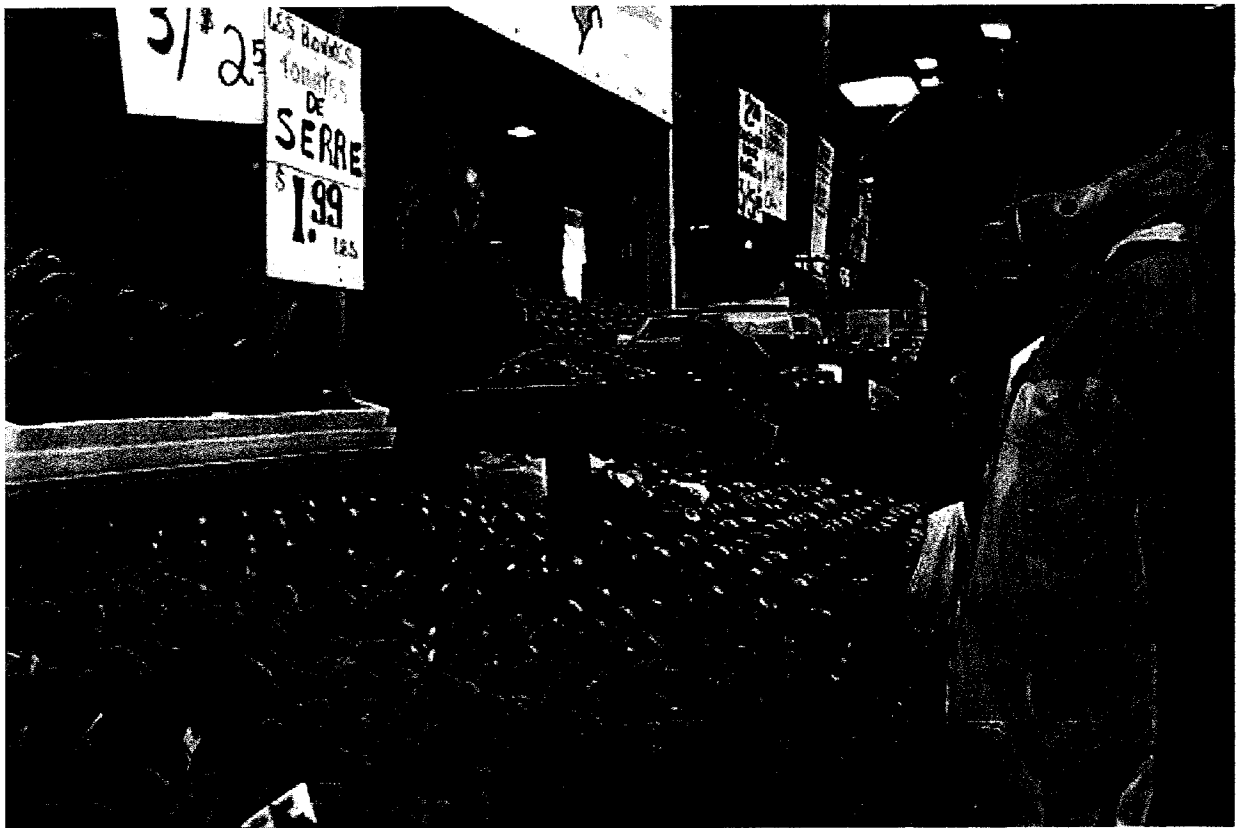


Fig. 7 - Marché Overview

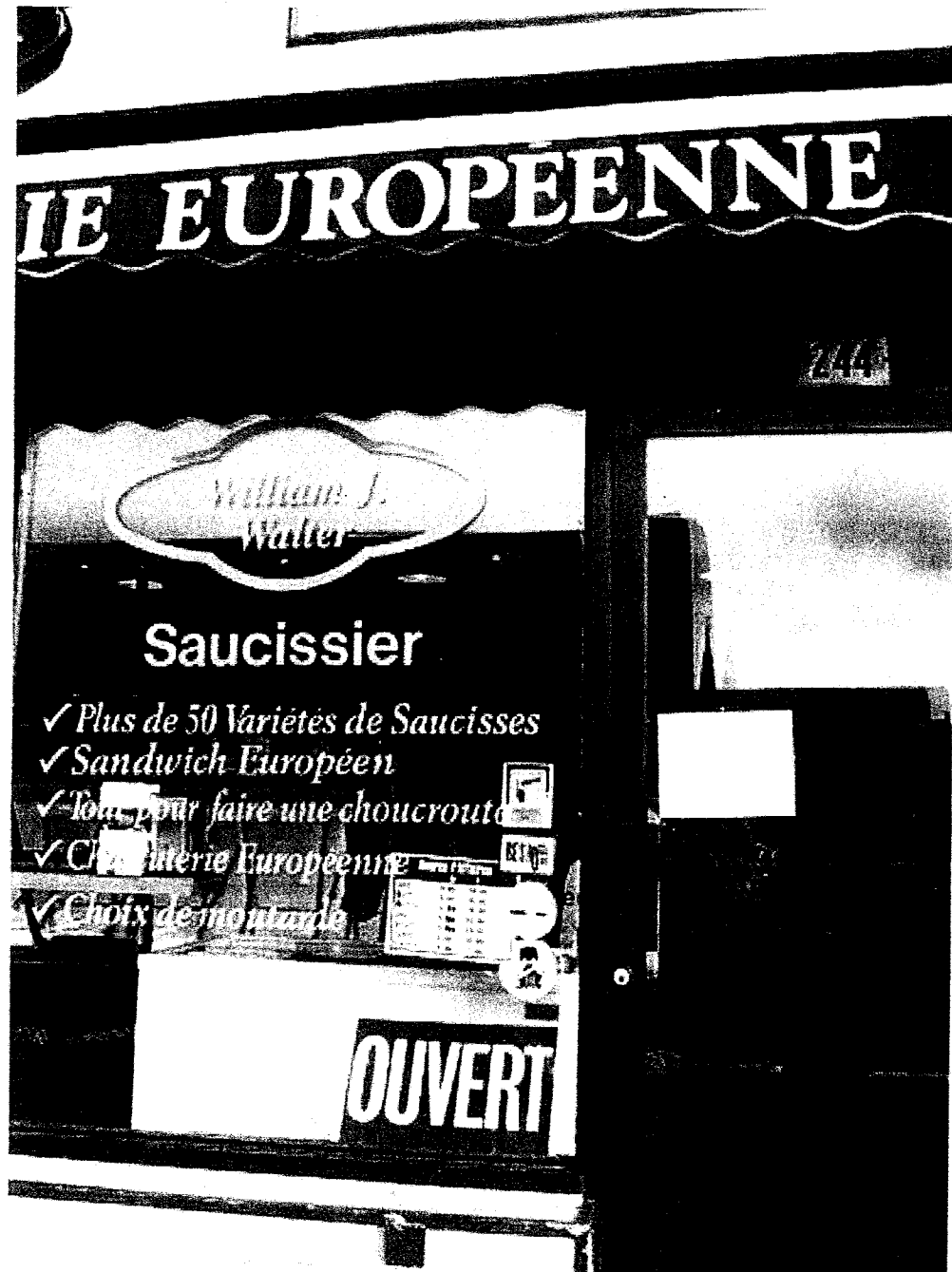


Fig. 8 - Montreality



Fig. 9 - Montrealicity



Fig. 10 - Montrealicity

qui lait cru !?!

FROMAGERIE



Fig. 11 - Montrealicity



Fig. 12 - Montrealicity



Fig. 13 - Montrealicity



Fig. 14 - Montrealicity



Fig. 15 - Montrealicity

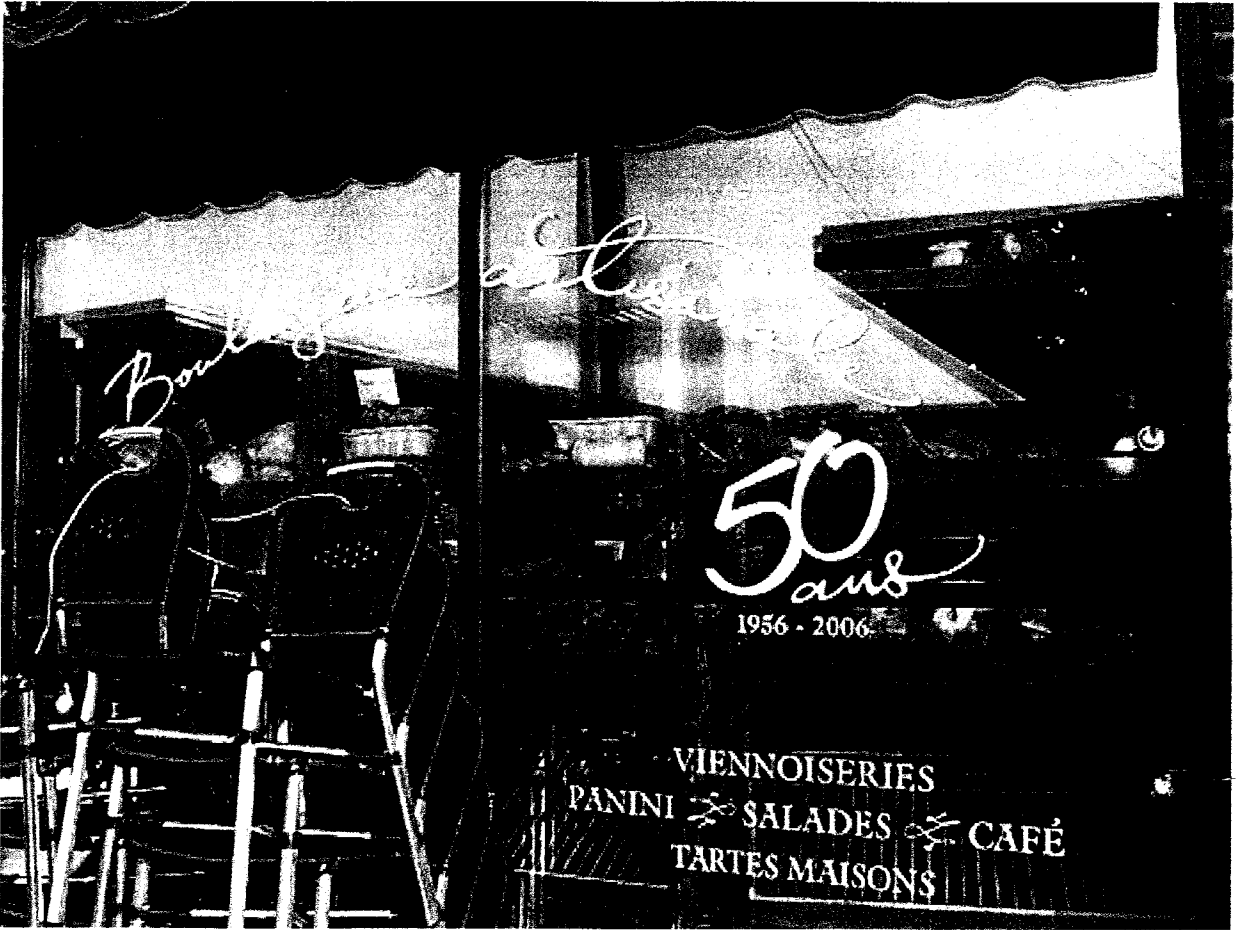


Fig. 16 - Artisanicity



Fig. 17 - Artisanicity

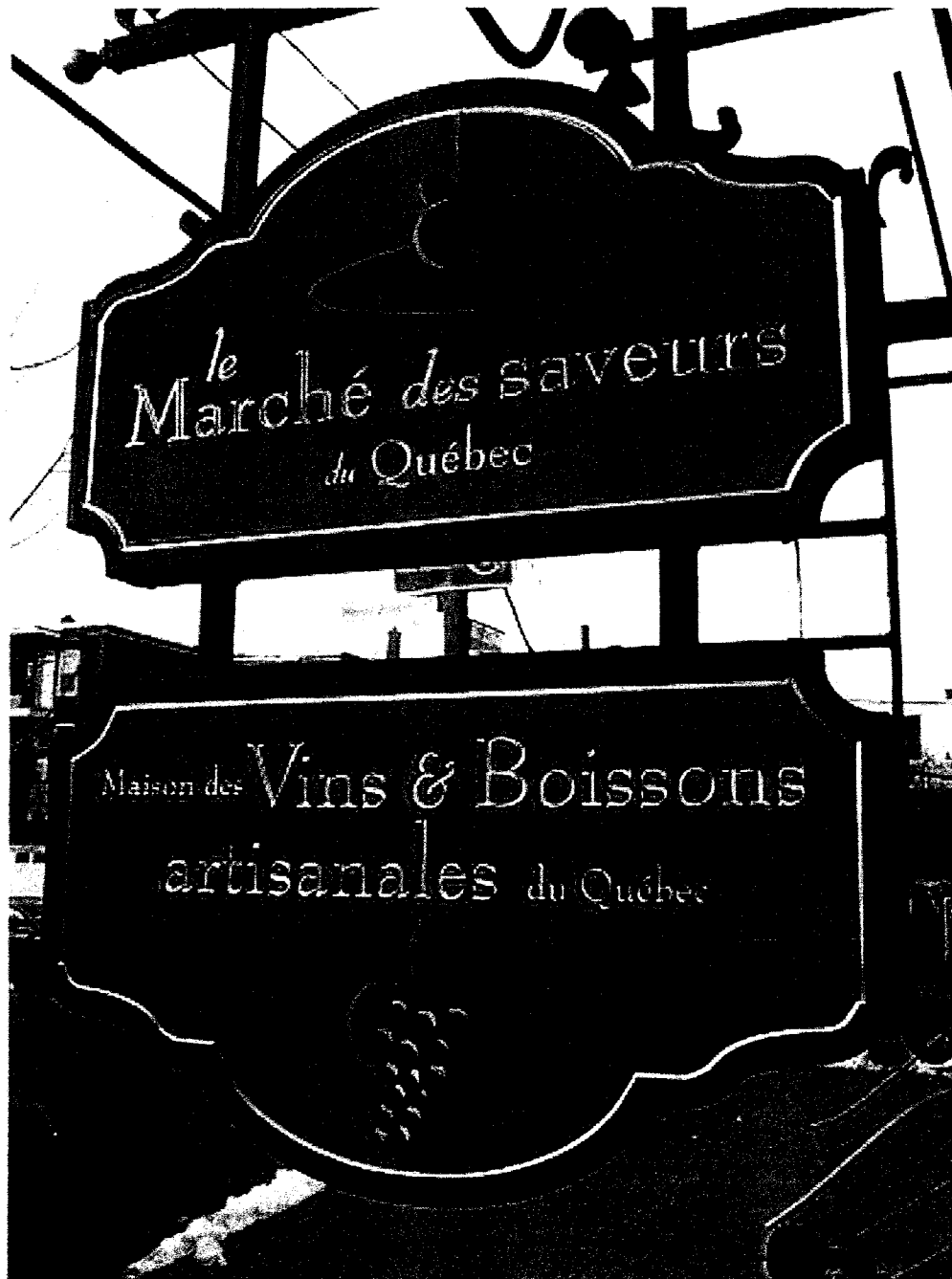


Fig. 18 - Artisanicity

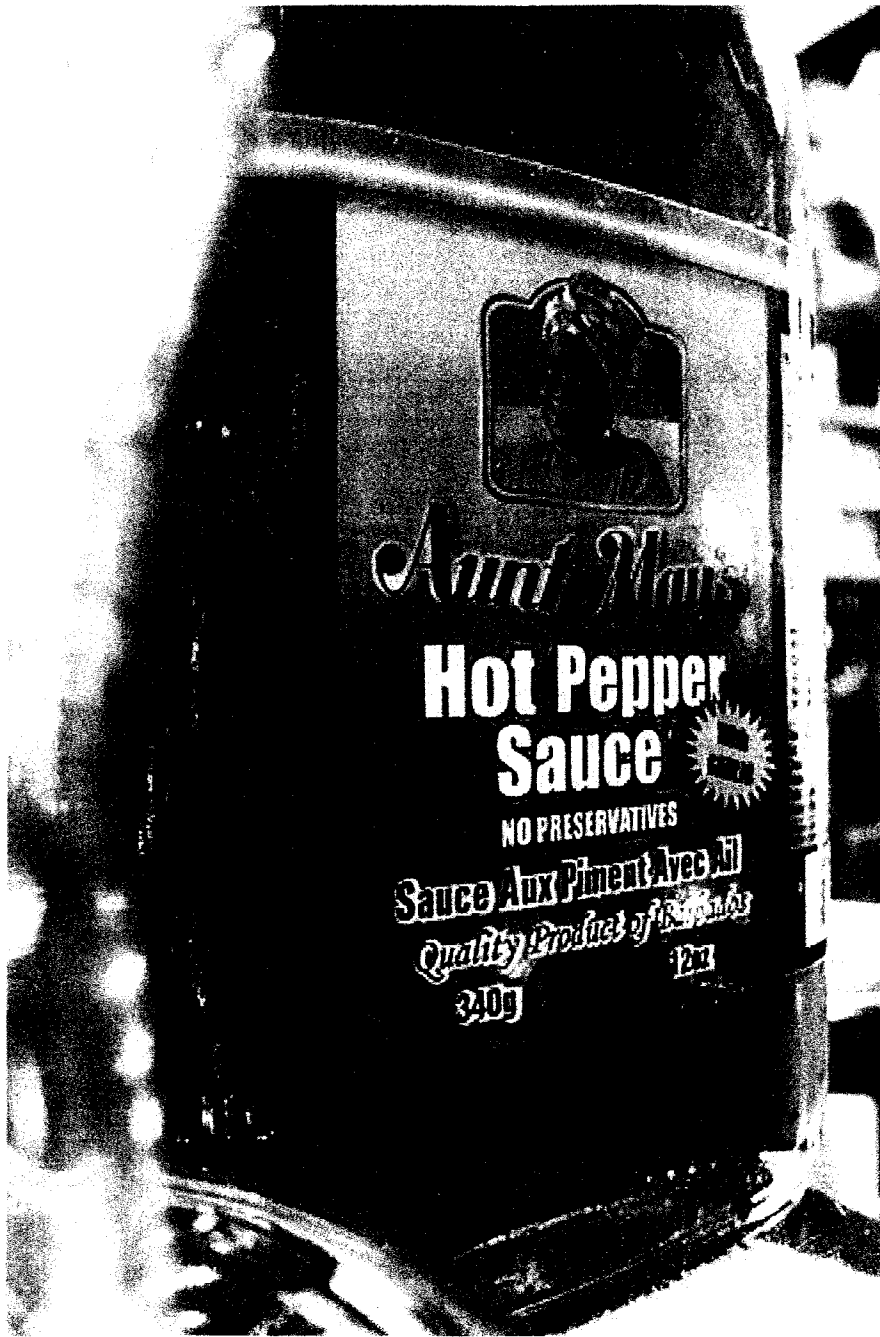


Fig. 19 - Artisanicity

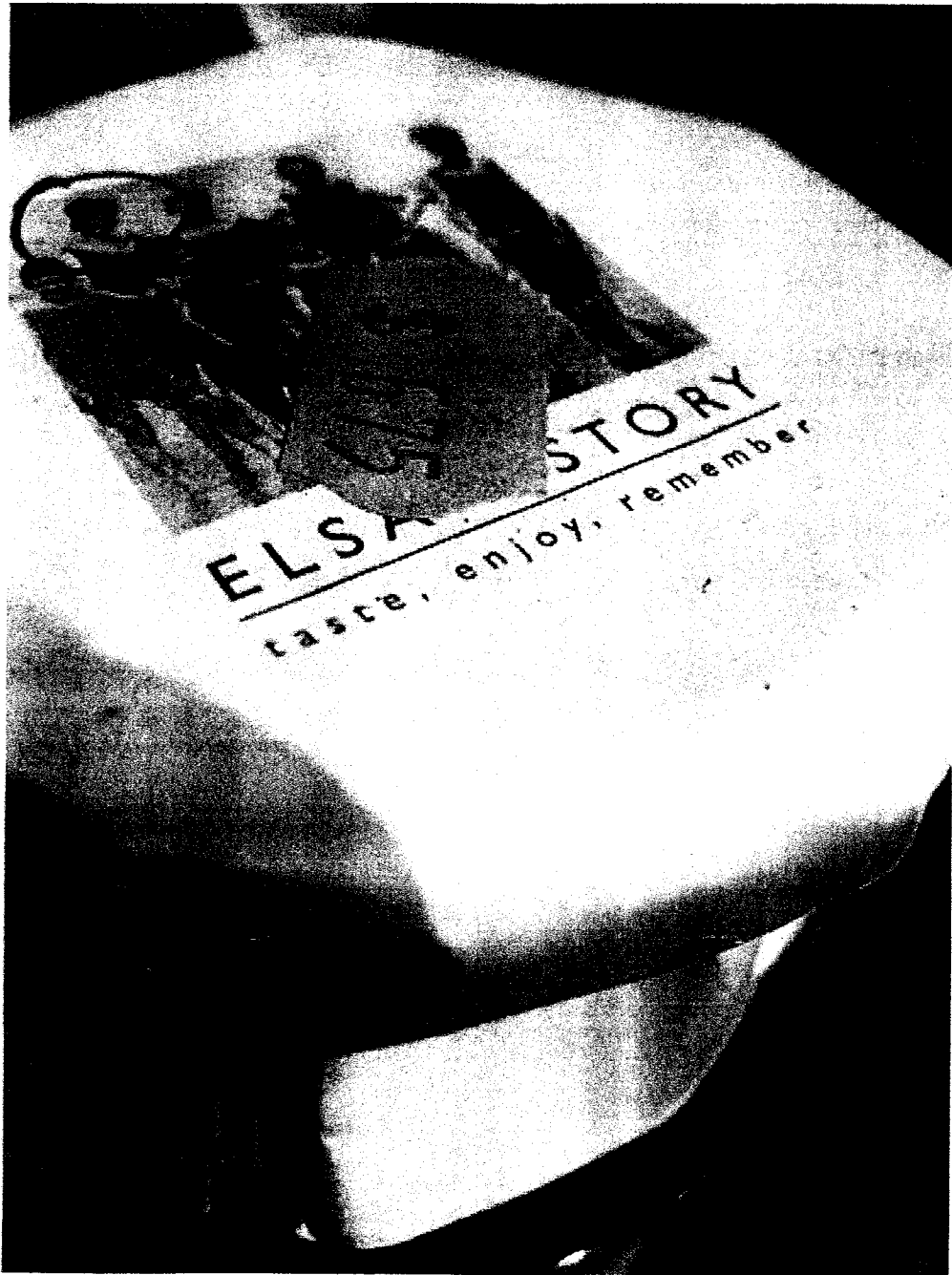


Fig. 20 - Artisanicity

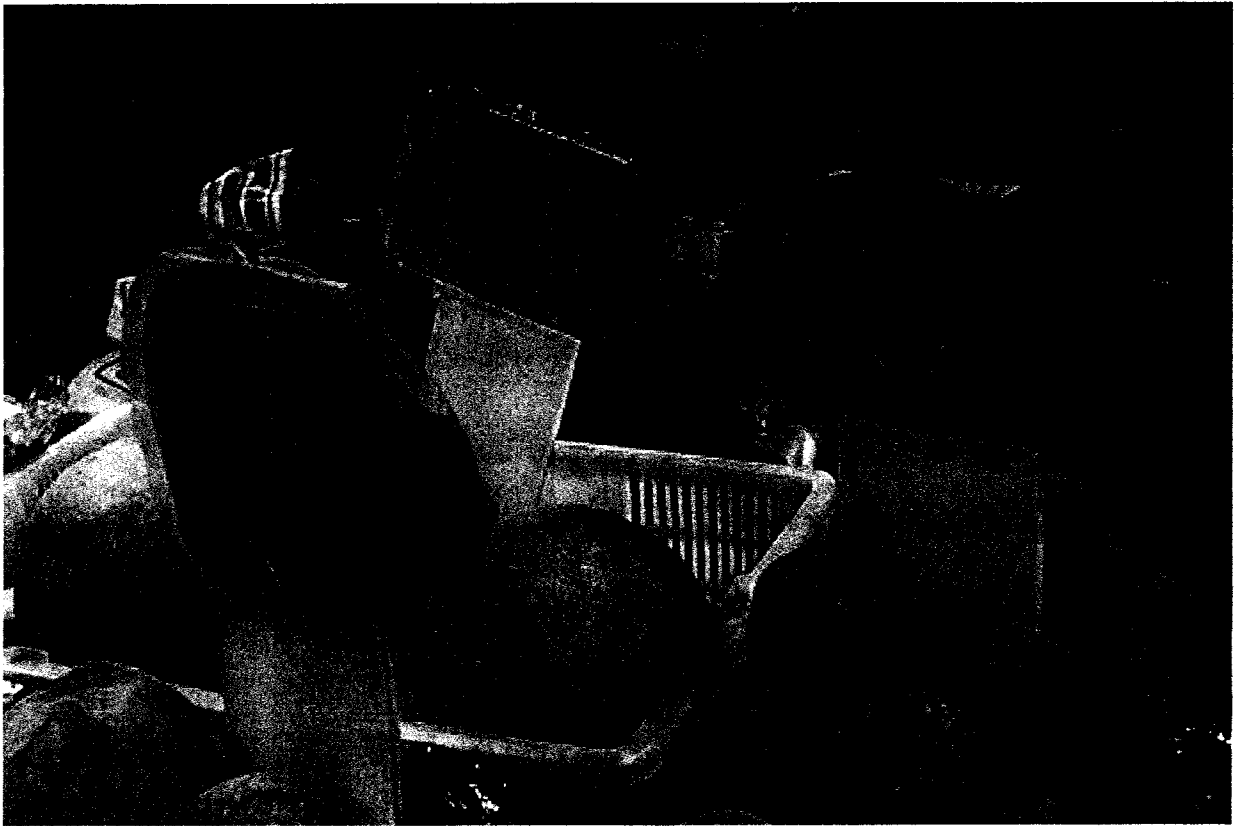


Fig. 21 - Artisanicity



Fig. 22 - Artisanicity



Fig. 23 - Artisanicity

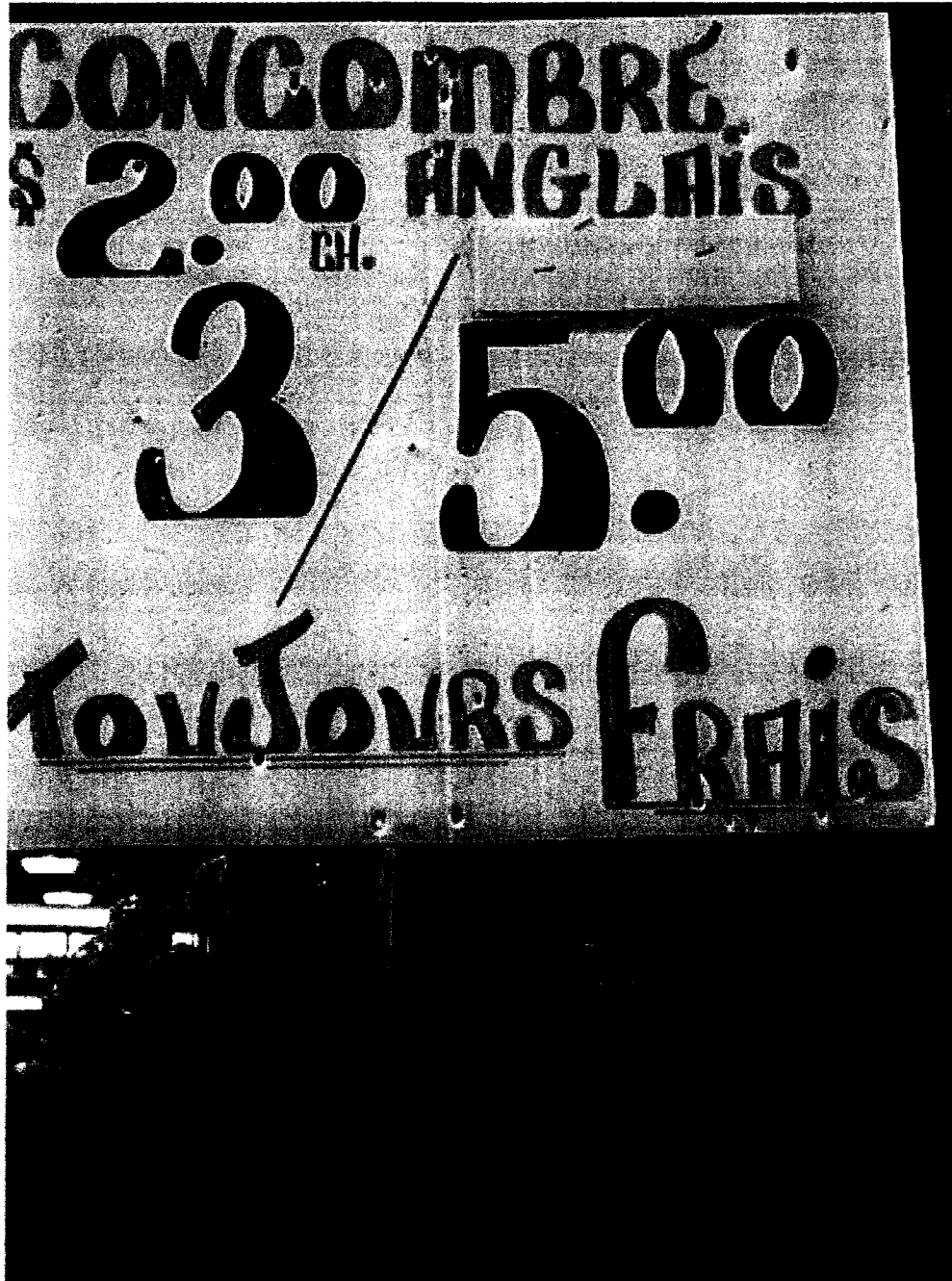


Fig. 24 - Artisanicity

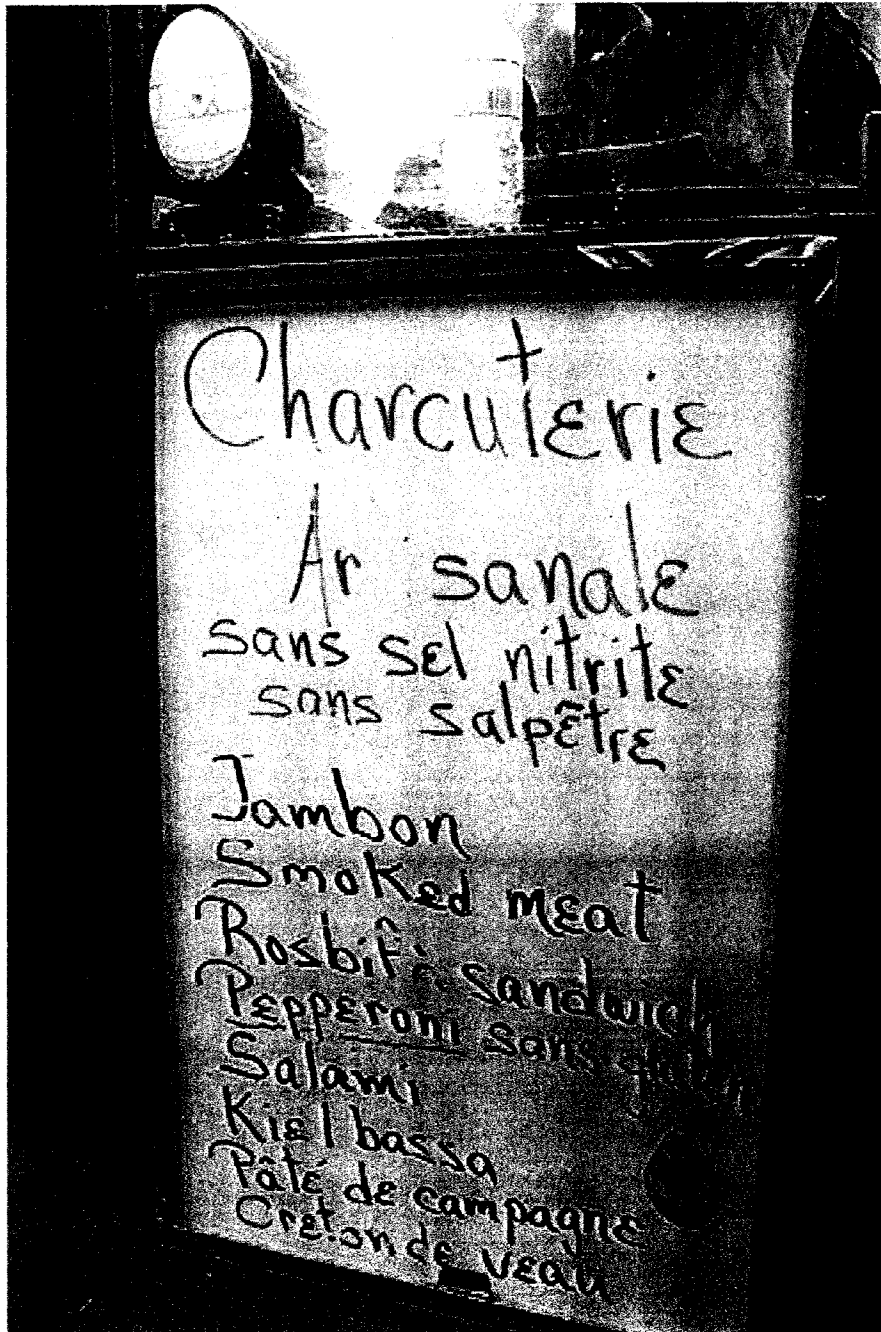


Fig. 25 - Artisanicity



Fig. 26 - Terroiricity



Fig. 27 - Terroiricity



Fig. 28 - Terroiricity



Fig. 29 - Terroiricity

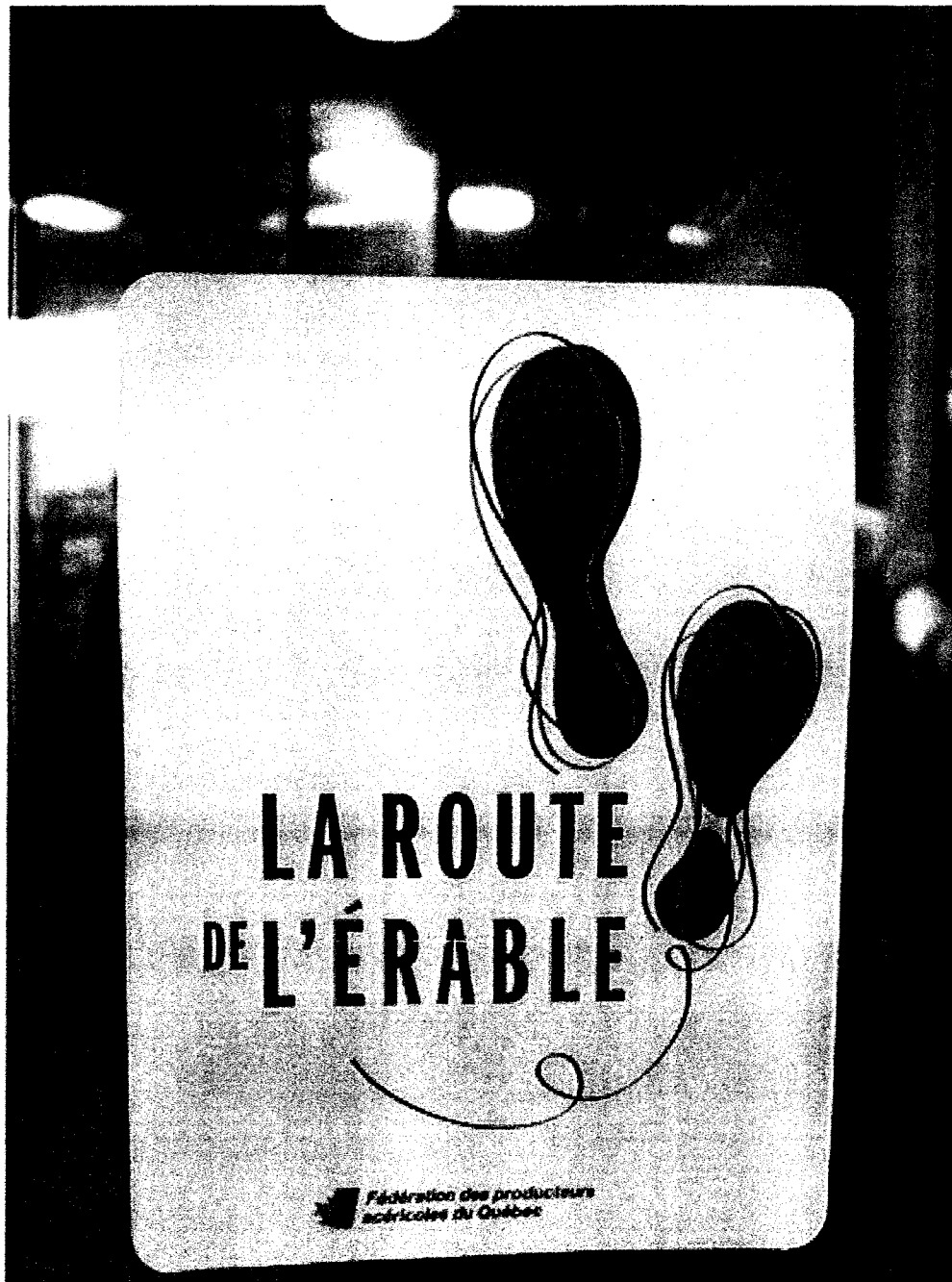


Fig. 30 - Terroiricity

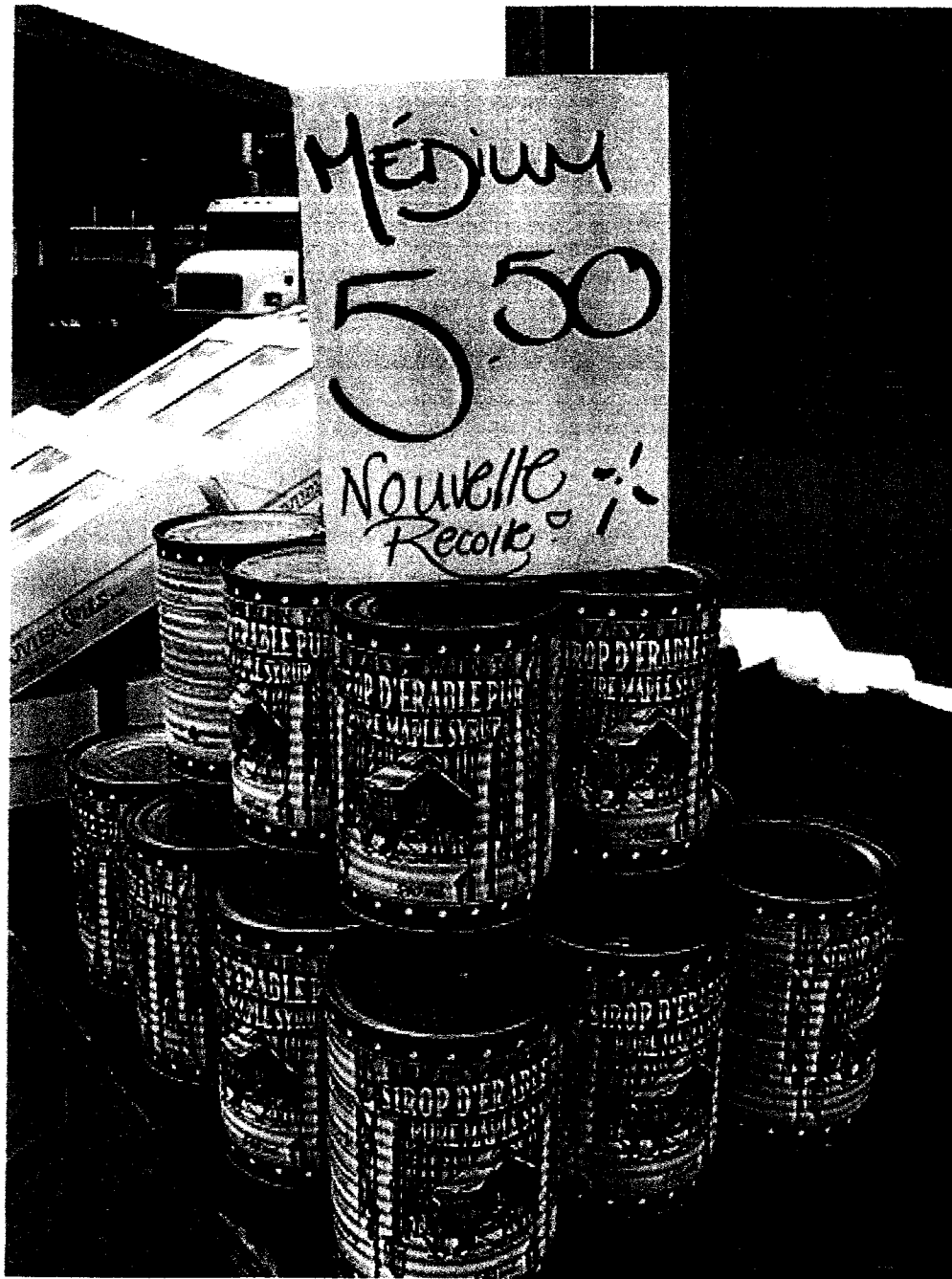


Fig. 31 - Terroiricity

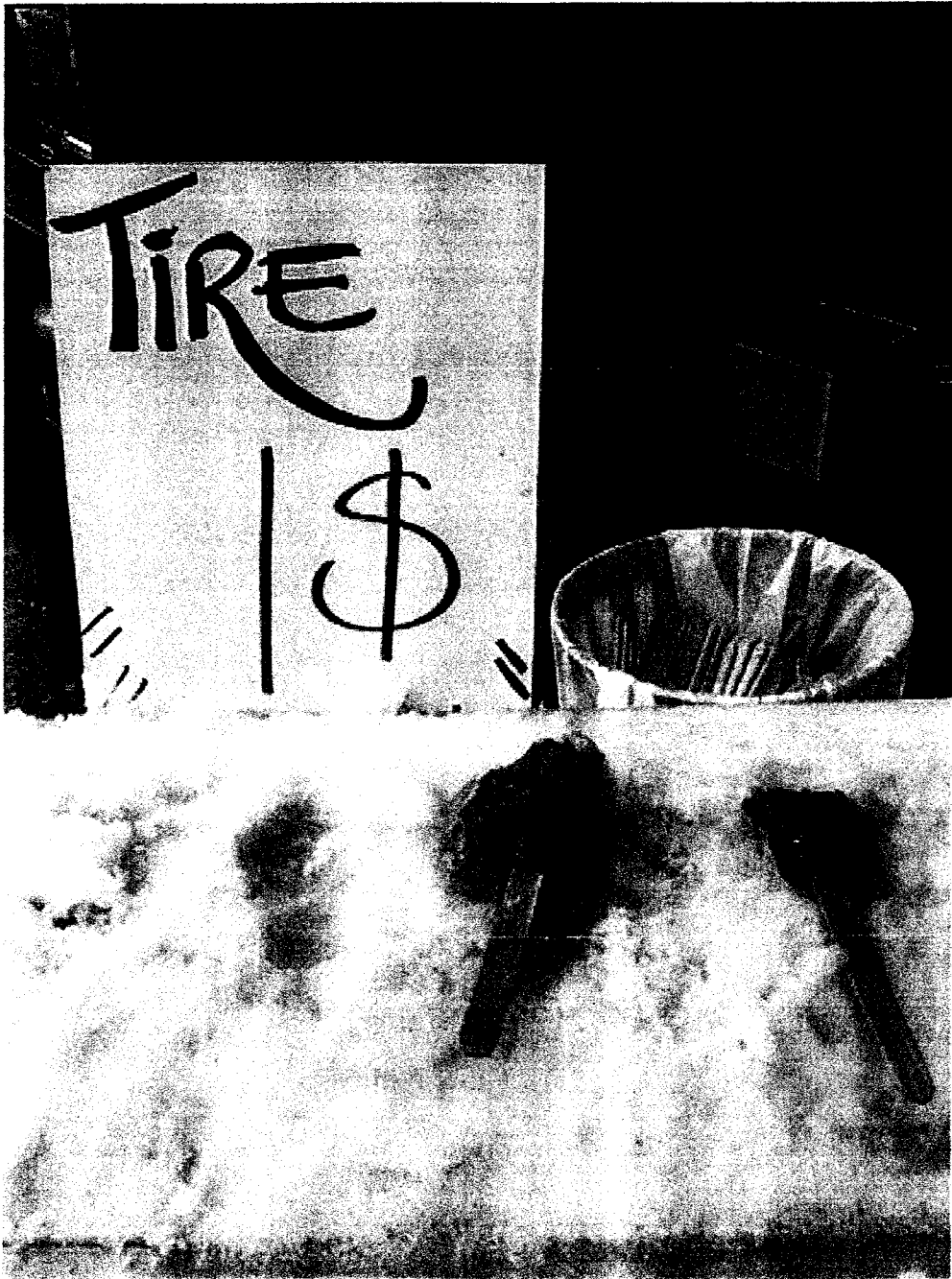


Fig. 32 - Terroiricity

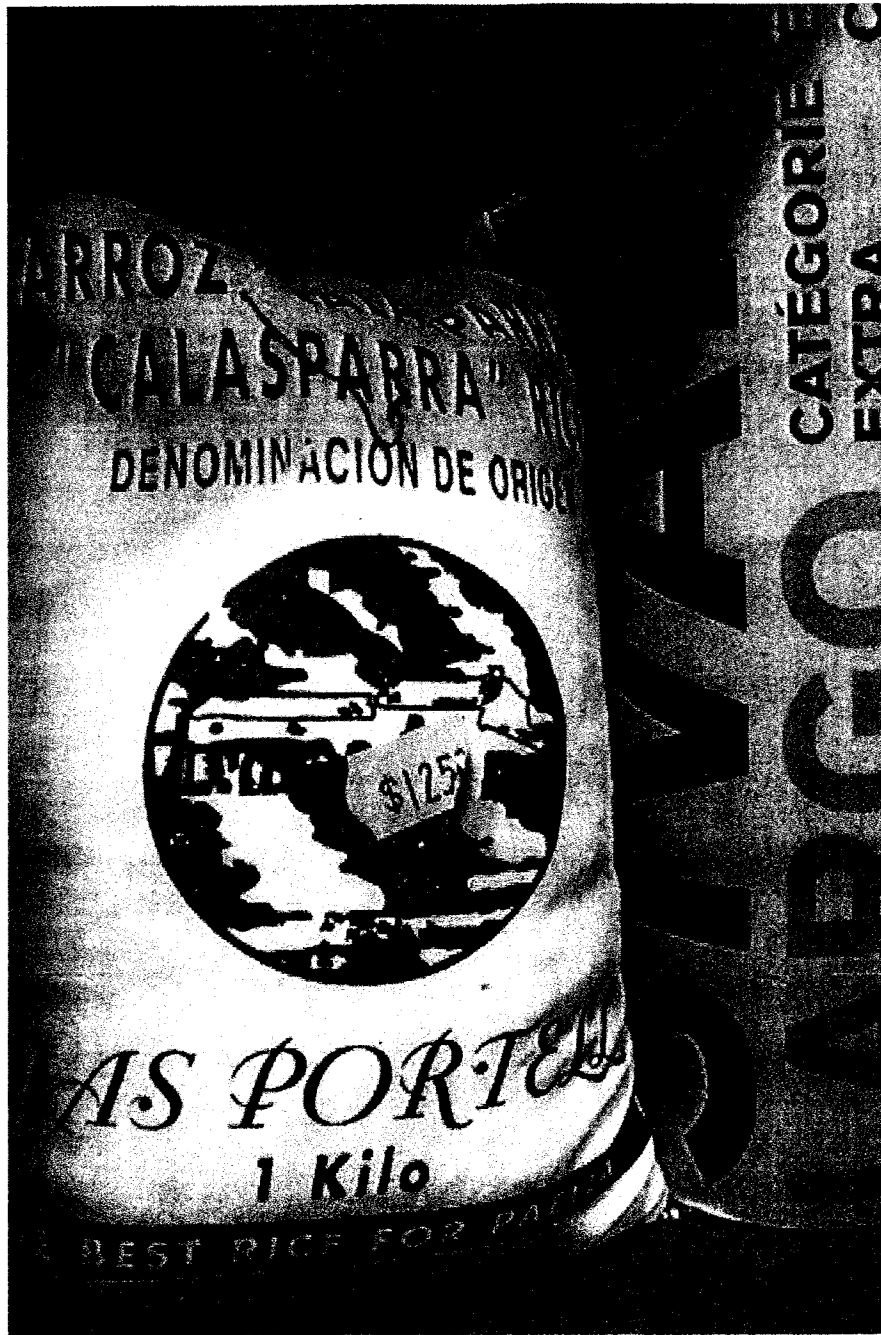


Fig. 33 - Regionalicity

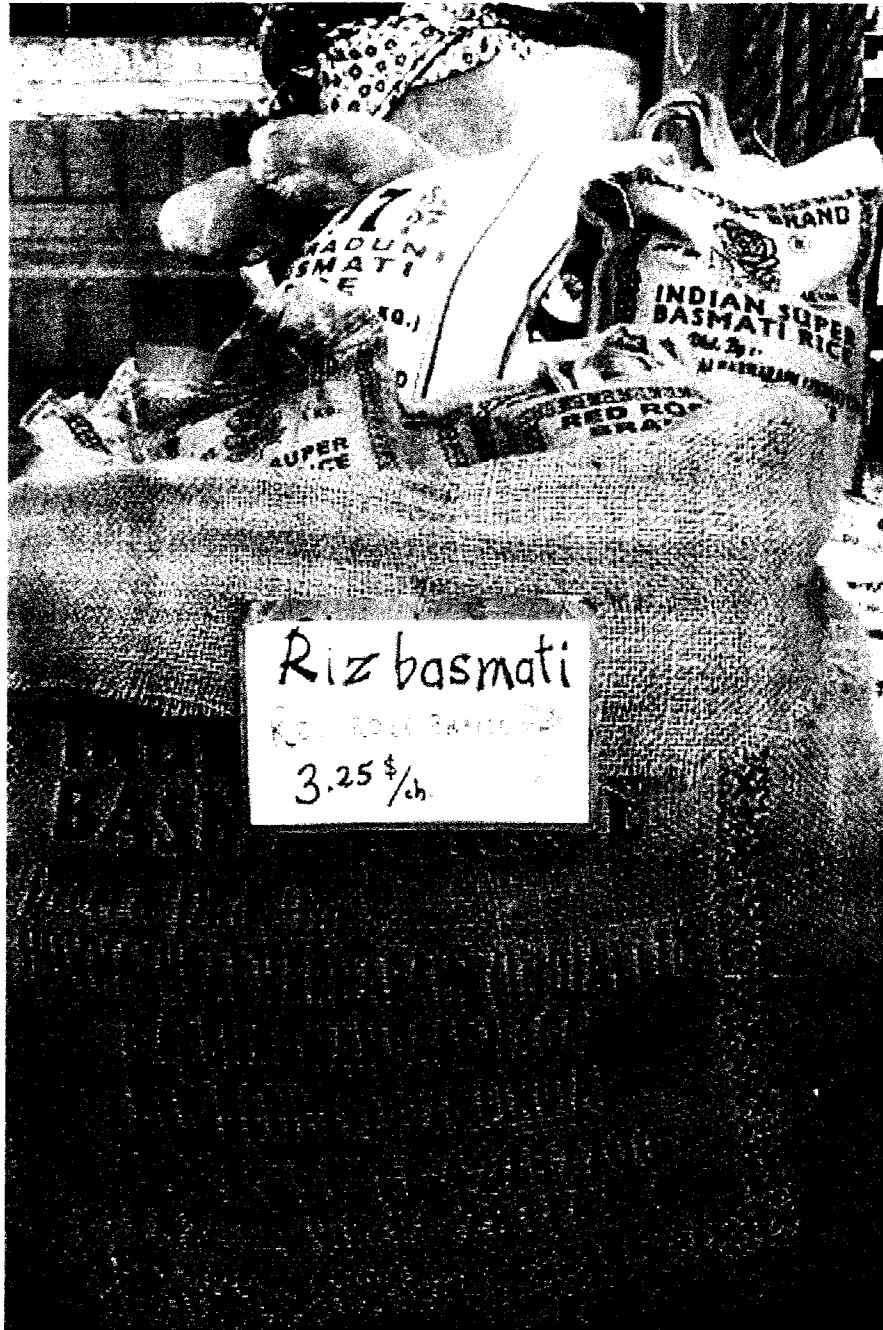


Fig. 34 - Regionalicity

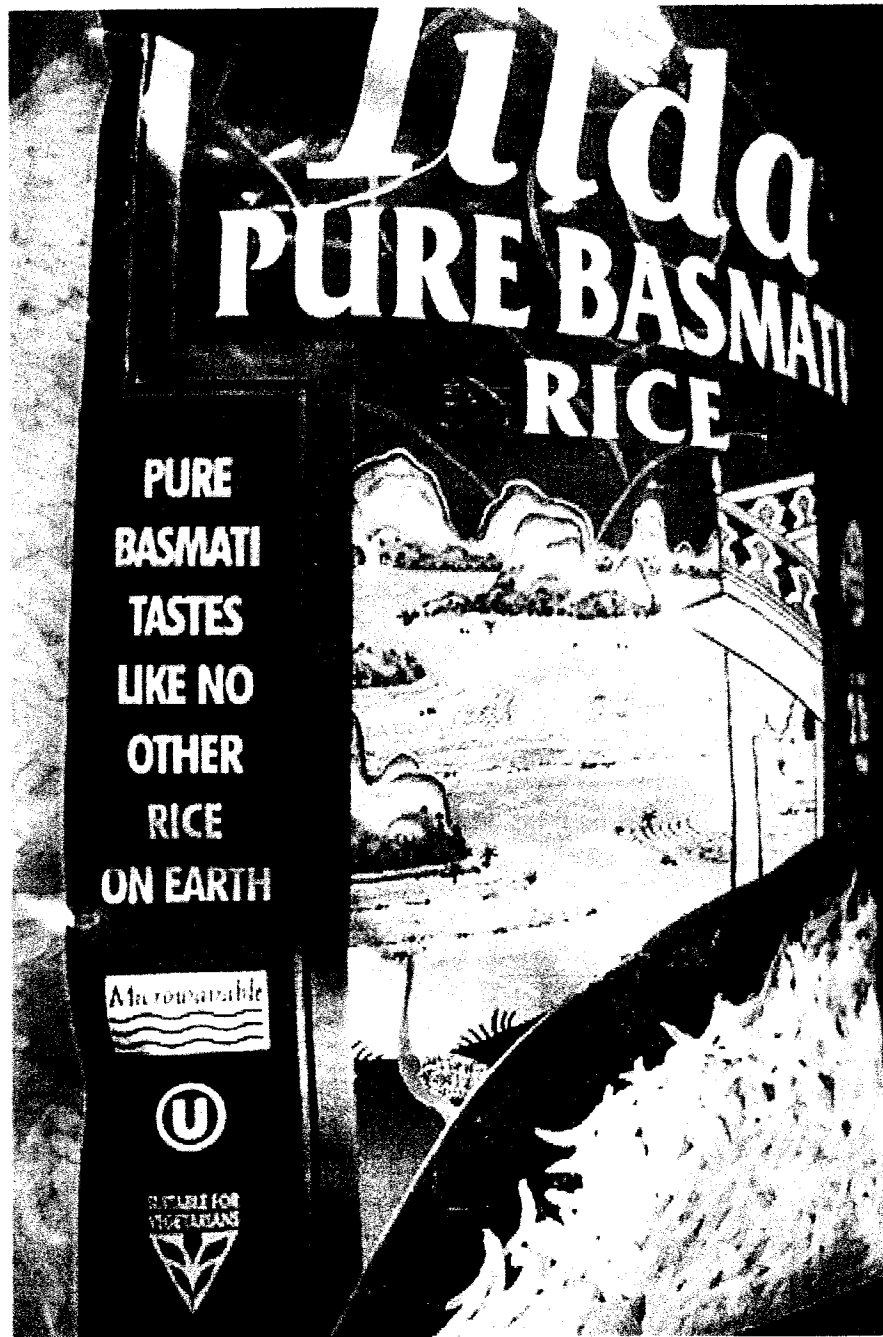


Fig. 35 - Regionalicity



Fig. 36 - Regionalicity

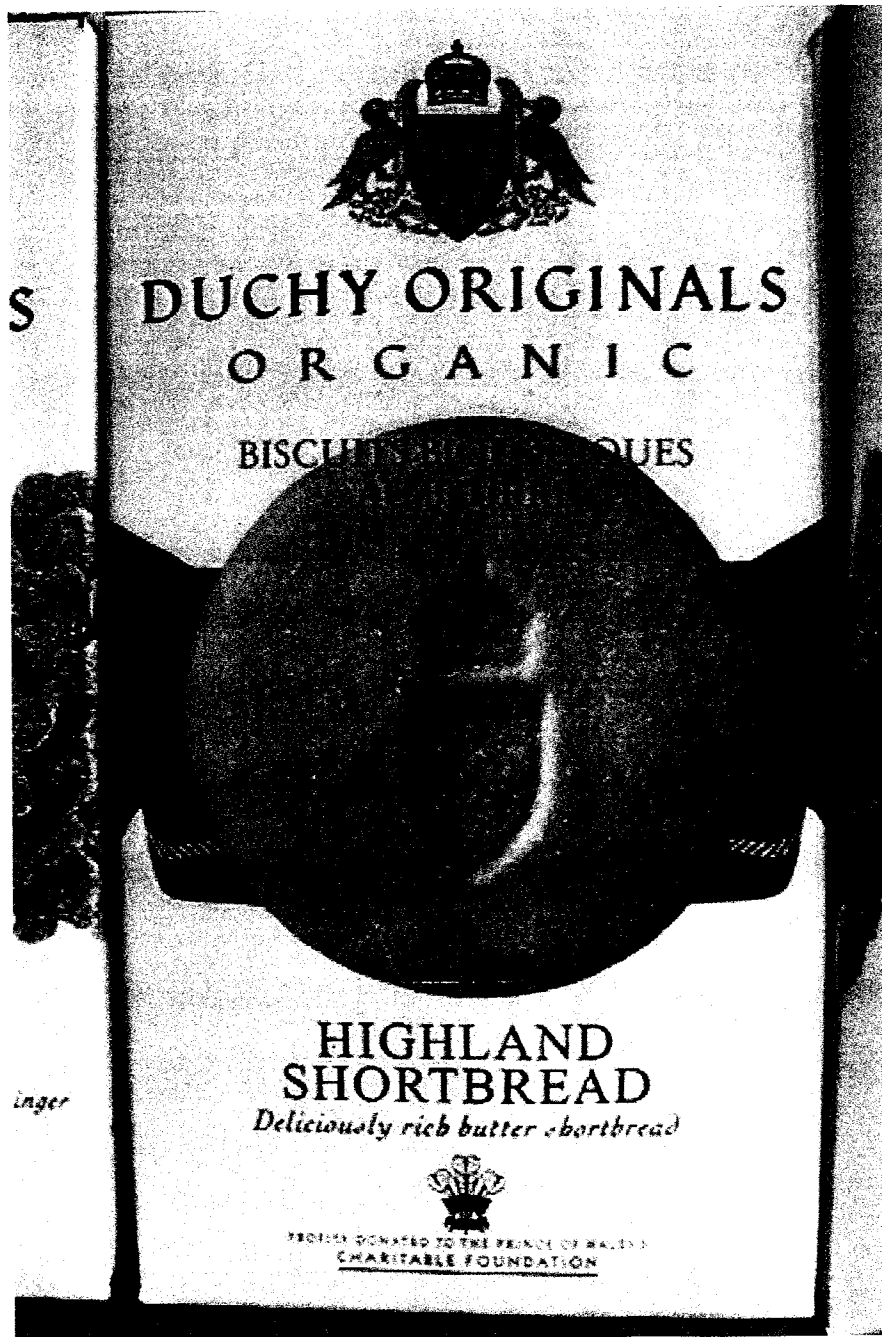


Fig. 37 - Regionalicity

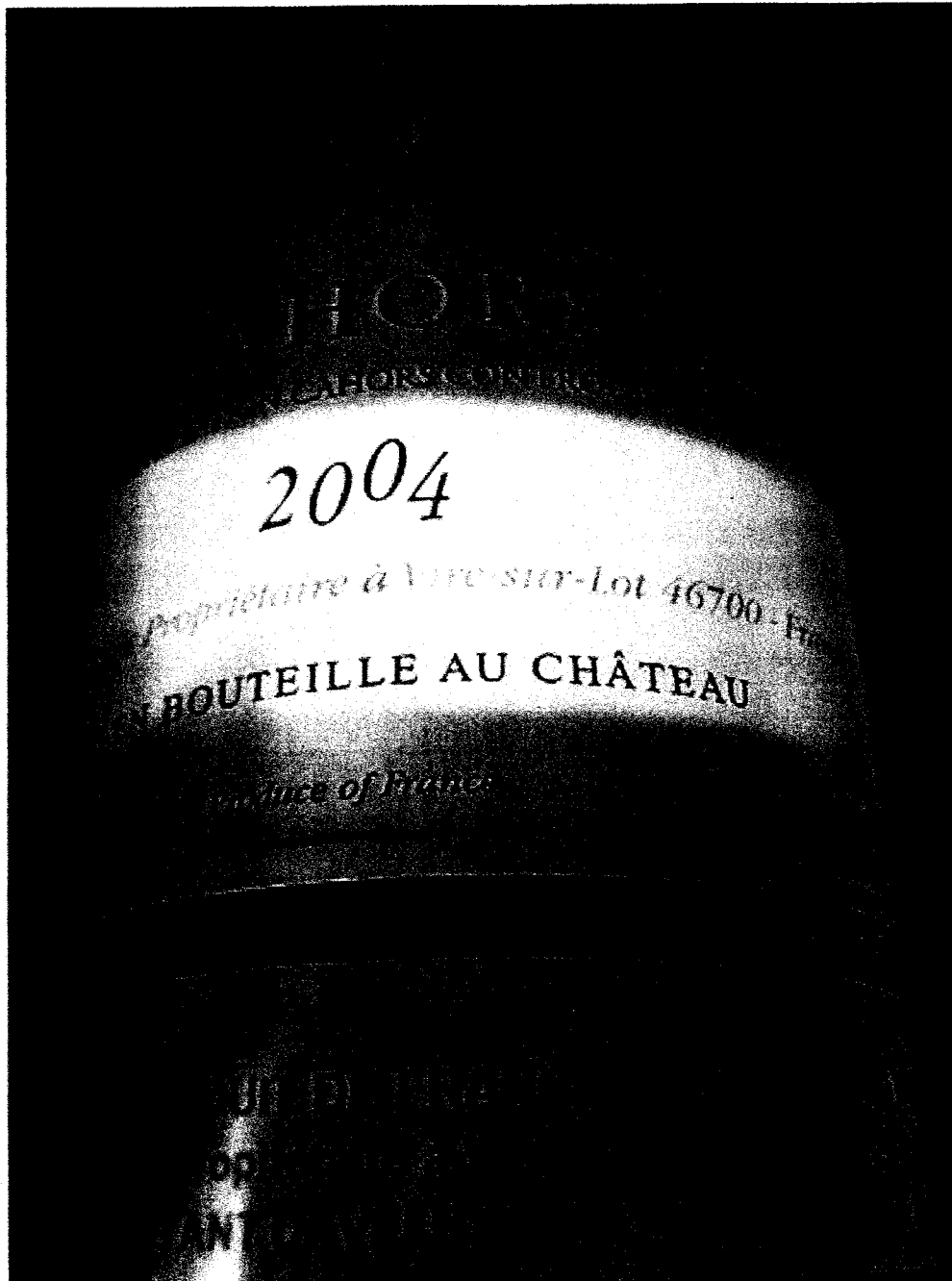


Fig. 38 - Regionalicity



Fig. 39 - Regionalicity



Fig. 40 - Regionalicity

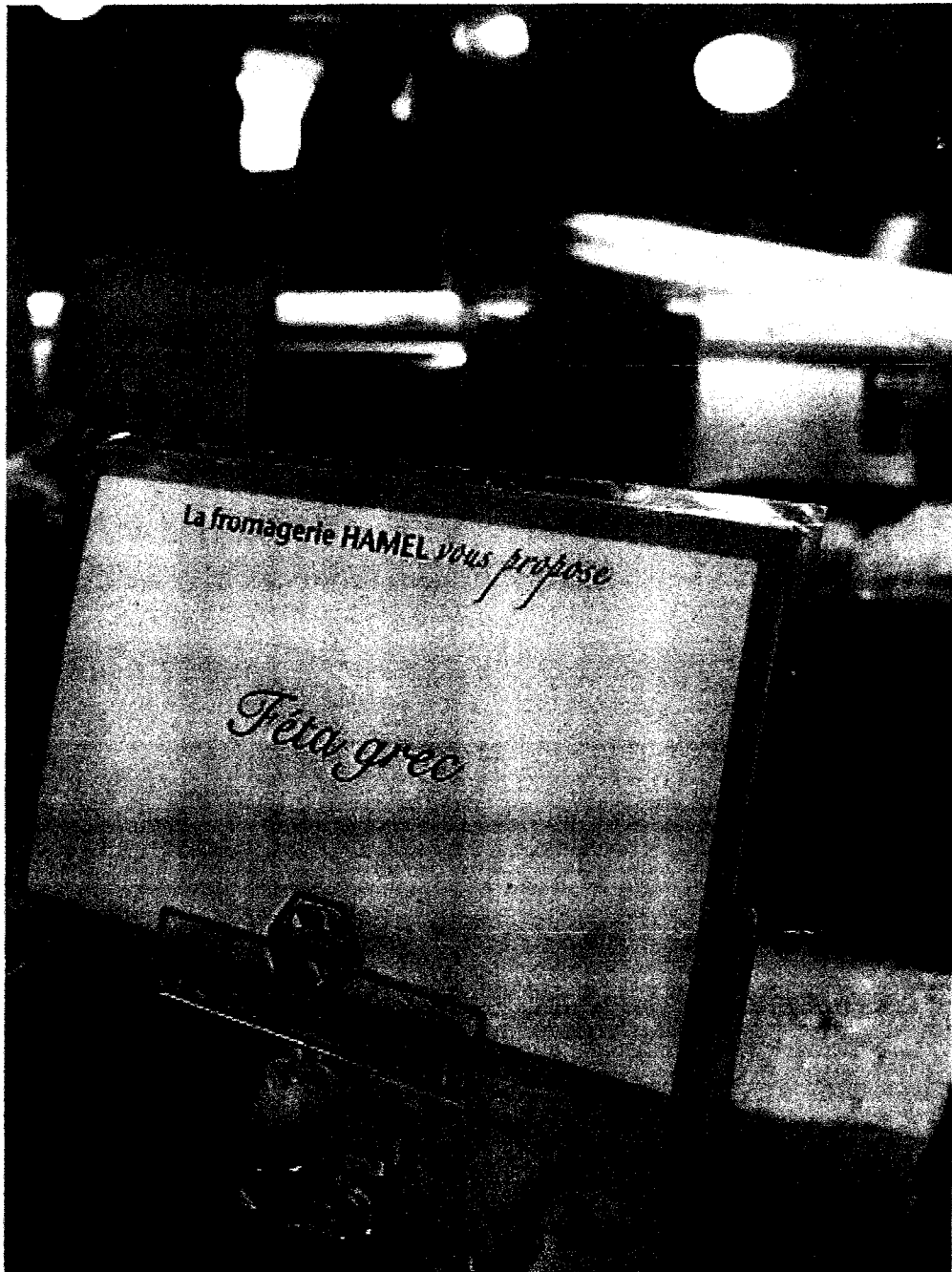


Fig. 41 - Geographicity

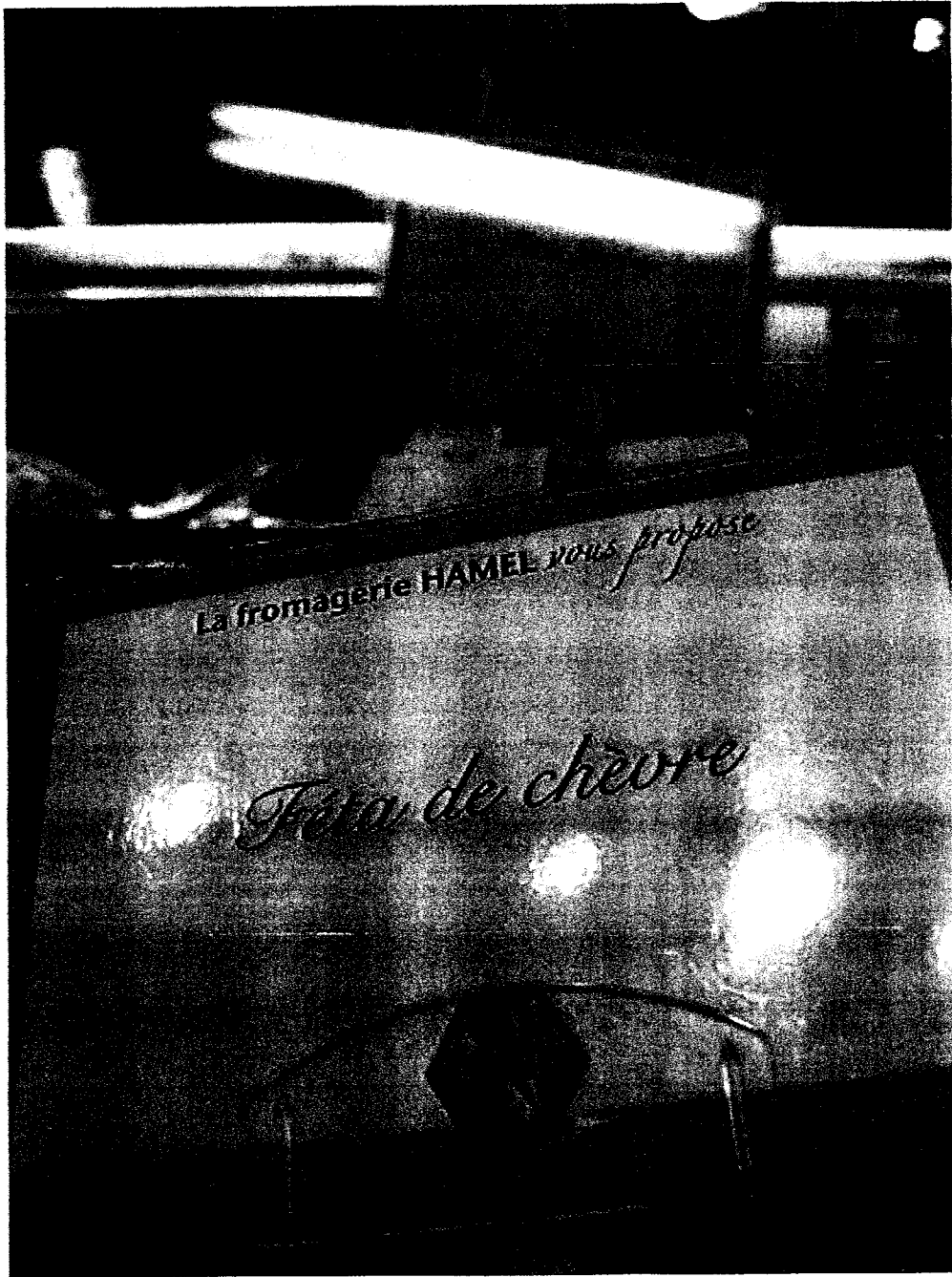


Fig. 42 - Geographicity



Fig. 43 - Geographicity



Fig. 44 - Geographicity