

Fostering Food Systems Transformation?
An Examination of Planning in the Central Puget Sound Region

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Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2015

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Program Authorized to offer Degree:
Interdisciplinary Urban Design and Planning

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Abstract

My two primary research questions were: How and to what extent does planning in the Central Puget Sound Region address food systems issues? and What is the relationship of food systems planning to food sovereignty? I conducted a qualitative evaluation of planning practice in the Central Puget Sound region. Specifically, I examined 58 comprehensive plans, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, and the City of Seattle's food systems efforts. My data collection tools included document analysis, meeting observation, and interviews.

The first main finding of this dissertation is that planning is paying increasing, yet still incomplete attention to food systems issues. Among comprehensive plans, many food systems issues are not well addressed. At the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and City of Seattle, there is evidence of increased capacity for food governance, particularly in terms of staff support, integration into regulatory and legal frameworks, and the formation of joint-actor partnerships and networks. However, food does not yet have a strong mandate, adequate resources, full buy-in from leadership and staff, or engagement from citizens particularly those from traditionally marginalized communities. The ability of local government to intervene and affect food systems change is questionable.

Second, planning practice is not strongly aligned with food sovereignty. In their practice, planners pay attention to some aspects of food sovereignty but do not give full attention to the six rich and multi-faceted principles of food sovereignty. Among the three units of analysis, there is a lack of attention to important aspects of food sovereignty including the right to food, access to farmland by small-scale and diverse farmers, good working conditions for all food systems workers, the full spectrum of relocalized food systems activities, community ownership and decision-making, and agro-ecological production practices.

I identify several contributions of my work. First, I provide one possible resolution about the ongoing debate about whether government can play a role in food sovereignty. I suggest that planners can engage in radical incrementalism, by adopting a values-explicit approach to food systems change. I also propose clear direction for planners to support food sovereignty in urban areas in the United States.

Keywords: food policy council, food sovereignty, food systems planning, urban food governance

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been completed without the great support that I have received from so many people over the years. I wish to offer my most heartfelt thanks to the following people:

To my advisor, Branden Born for encouraging me to bring my two career interests- food systems transformation and urban planning- together, for simultaneously both challenging and supporting me, and for mentoring me in all aspects of academic life;

To my other Reading Committee members, including Mark Purcell for inspiring me to critically question the State and to write about one thing well rather than try to write about everything and do so poorly, to Clare Ryan for helping me think carefully through the research design and articulate my questions and findings clearly, to Brad Gaolach for being an outside voice in many ways and for reading my drafts carefully; to Sara Curran for going above and beyond the traditional Graduate School Representative role, and to all of you for collaborating together and realizing all the potential benefits and none of the pitfalls of committees;

To my husband, Christian, who washed more than his fair share of dishes and loads of laundry to give me more time to work, listened to many practice talks, and gave up his computer and our shared social time on many weeknights and weekends- all while recovering from a traumatic brain injury in 2012. Your tenacity inspires me;

To my parents, who passed their love of reading and learning to me, and whose careers in civil engineering and teaching certainly influenced my path. My father passed away years ago; my mother while I worked on this dissertation. I wish I could have celebrated its completion with them;

To my family, both my own and my in-laws, for supporting me emotionally as I eschewed typical career and financial goals in favor of this crazy PhD dream- I am proud to be the first Dr. in both families, and I know I won't be the last;

To my fellow student PhD colleagues in the College of Built Environments, for reading drafts of various papers, sharing beers, commiserating, attending my practice job talk and giving me much needed feedback, and generally being a support network over the past five years;

To my two reading groups, Becoming Poor and Food Politics, for forcing me to read authors and pieces I otherwise would not have, and for helping me to connect my thinking to larger philosophical debates about the purpose of life, good governance, and revolution;

To all of those who engage in food systems planning and food activism in the Central Puget Sound region: I greatly appreciate and respect all you do, and it is my deep hope that this dissertation deepens and enriches our collective movement towards food systems transformation. I especially thank those who took time to speak with me or allowed me to observe meetings;

To the Teaching Team and office staff at Program on Environment, for providing me a warm and friendly work environment and for challenging me to not just be a better researcher but also a better teacher and mentor;

To my students, for stimulating me, giving me hope about the future, and making me translate what I have learned to areas outside of my own window of expertise; and

To my friends, who have given me plenty of creative outlets for blowing off steam and maintaining a healthy work/life balance.

Chapter One: Introduction

This dissertation examines the role of planning in fostering food systems transformation. Food studies scholars and activists argue that a transformative approach to food systems change requires going beyond the concepts of food security, food justice, local and sustainability to include a food sovereignty orientation. Food sovereignty, initiated as a social movement by peasants in the global south, is now an active global movement. At its core, food sovereignty involves a critique of the neoliberal industrial corporate food system. Food sovereignty calls for a rejection of the notion of food as commodity and instead, prioritizes food for communities and for people. Food sovereignty also calls for good working conditions for small-scale food producers and food systems workers, the relocalization of food systems (enhanced by fair trading practices), local control and decision-making, the enhancement of food-related knowledge and skills by all people, and agro-ecological food production practices.

Since 2000, planners have been engaging more explicitly in food systems issues. Jurisdictions have hired food systems planners, produced food systems plans, and raised attention to issues like farmers markets, food access, and urban agriculture. However, some of the early tools of planning engagement in food systems issues- e.g. locating grocery stores in so-called food deserts- are not transformation-oriented. It is unclear whether planning engagement in food systems issues is likely to perpetuate the current system, or foster radical transformation.

Purpose of the study

This study examines food systems planning in the Central Puget Sound Region of Washington state. This region was selected because of its strong planning tradition and its history of food activism and food policy innovation. Specifically, I examined 58 comprehensive plans, the Puget Sound Region Food Policy Council, and the City of Seattle's food systems

planning efforts. The purpose was two-fold. The first step was to examine how food systems planning is practiced, including the gaps and the level of saturation and institutionalization. The second step was to assess whether planning is contributing to food systems transformation, defined in this study as food sovereignty.

Research Questions

My two primary research questions were: How and to what extent does planning in the Puget Sound Region address food systems issues? and What is the relationship of food systems planning to food sovereignty?

Significance of the Problem

As a group of food planning scholars concurred at two recent Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning conferences (2013 in Dublin, Ireland and 2014 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), the first wave of modern food systems planning- to get planners to pay explicit attention to food issues- has been largely achieved. Now there is a need for critical reflection of practice, to examine whether attention by planners is leading to transformation, or further entrenching the problems of the neoliberal corporate food system. This study is the first known to engage in this wave of research. In doing so, this study contributes to an understanding of the actual and potential role of planning- and more broadly, local government in the United States- in fostering food systems transformation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Neoliberalism and the Corporate Food Regime

Neoliberal ideology has a large influence on the U.S. food system. Some scholars call the corporate-dominated food system “a food regime” (Friedmann, 1993; McMichael, 2009).

Transnational capital increasingly dominates control over land, seed and food. Food-related policies of many nation-states, from agricultural subsidies to regulatory, labor and land-use planning laws, are designed to prioritize exchange value over use value and individual profit over social good, and to facilitate international capitalist trade (Windfuhr & Jonsén, 2005).

Wealth creation for a few takes priority over public interest issues such as health, justice, and environmental sustainability (Lang & Caraher, 1998; MacRae, 1999).

Federal-level food policy in the U.S. is an example of a neoliberal approach to food systems governance. Food & Drug Administration oversight of food is minimal, while recent cuts to food assistance and the National School Lunch program reflect an ongoing withdrawal of government from social service provision. Meanwhile, the U.S. government has established itself as a promoter of market activity, seen in such agreements as the North American Free Trade Agreement, which enables cheap corn, meat and other agricultural products to be produced in the U.S. by Farm Bill-subsidized corporations and then dumped in Mexico, where it threatens Mexican community food security (McMichael, 2009). The U.S. also exports its corporate food regime to other parts of the world, notably Africa, in the name of foreign aid and “increasing food security” (Eric Holt-Giménez & Altieri, 2012). Food is just one area where the U.S. government (among other national governments) has adopted neoliberalized policies. Lefebvre (2009) identified the current period in history as an unprecedented one in which the primary role of the state, across all sectors from housing to health care, is in promoting, financing,

subsidizing, and regulating capitalist growth. This is happening not only at the national scale, but also at state and local levels.

The corporate food regime is implicated in significant economic, environmental, and social problems. Economically, the wealth of the world's food economies is concentrated the hands of ever fewer large agri-food corporations (Howard, Kleiner, & Green, 2009; McMichael, 2009). The numbers of farms and farmers have both decreased in the U.S., while the scale of farming operations has increased dramatically (Pimbert, 2009). Workers across the food system in packaging, transport, sales, tend to receive low pay and face tough working conditions. Environmental problems include conversion of forests, loss of biodiversity, degradation of soil and water resources, pollution of air and water, greenhouse gas emissions, and the collapse of fisheries (Kloppenburg, Lezberg, Master, & Stevenson, 2000; Koc & Dahlberg, 1999; Pimbert, 2009). Social problems include an increase in diet-related diseases and obesity (Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2014). Substantial disparities exist based on demographics (e.g., race-ethnicity and gender), geographic region, and socioeconomic status. Paradoxically, food insecurity has risen alongside obesity. An estimated 14.3% of American households were food-insecure in 2013 (Coleman-Jensen, Gregory, & Singh, 2014).

Cities are particularly affected. Some problems are *of* cities—meaning particular to cities—and others are *in* cities but can occur anywhere (Roberts, 2013). For instance, cities suffer from food insecurity, which is concentrated in certain neighborhoods, and connected to a variety of social problems, ranging from the outsourcing of jobs, cutbacks in social benefits and food assistance, and zoning and regulations that limit availability of affordable housing. This quagmire creates challenges for local governments and community-based organizations that attempt to address these problems.

Food Sovereignty

While a variety of orientations (e.g. food security and food justice) are proposed to address the problems of the food system, many activists and scholars identify food sovereignty as the orientation most likely to lead to systems change. Food sovereignty emerged as a peasants' movement in Africa and Latin America (particularly associated with la Via Campesina), and has subsequently expanded across the globe. Its proponents seek transformation of society as a whole through the vehicle of food and agriculture. They fight for communities' rights to produce for themselves and to enhance long-term food access, rather than to remain dependent on international markets to solve short-term hunger. As Lappé, Collin, & Rosset (1998) say, "...if enabling people to feed themselves is to be the priority, then all social relationships must be reconstructed" and "it is not a simple call to put food into hungry mouths"

Food sovereignty places questions of what food is produced, where, how, by whom, and at what scale at the center of public debate, and raises similar questions about food consumption and distribution (Desmarais & Wittman, 2013). Conversely, a food security orientation is often operationalized via food aid to the Global South, and perpetuates neoliberal ideologies, power imbalances, and short-term solutions, rather than offering visions for food systems transformation. Table 1 below indicates how food security and food sovereignty may be depicted as on different ends of a spectrum of food politics, and their related discourses and transformative potential. Holt-Giménez & Shattuck (2011) further distinguish among the progressive and radical trends. The progressive trend, with discourses of food justice and community food security, focuses on local empowerment, including supporting local farms, fostering sustainable agriculture production, and eating locally and seasonally, but does not adequately challenge structural racism, power inequities or the realities of neoliberal capitalism.

For food systems transformation to be possible, the progressive trend must align with the radical trend, or food sovereignty, to contest neoliberal capitalism and foster food democracy (Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). The question marks in the column on the far right indicate that food sovereignty is not the end of the possible spectrum. For now it represents the current horizon, and, once reached, we may see future horizons, representing even greater transformation and democracy (Deleuze, 1987; Purcell & Born, 2013).

Table 1: Spectrum of Food Systems Orientations

Politics	Neoliberalism	Reformism	Progressivism	Radicalism	?
Transformation Potential	None/ Business as Usual	Transitional		Transformational	?
Discourse	Food enterprise	Food security	Food justice/ Community food security/ food democracy	Food sovereignty	?

Adapted from Holt Giménez & Shattuck, 2011

While food sovereignty is anti-capitalist, it is not anti-market or anti-trade. Food sovereignty distinguishes among capitalist markets, which are privilege-riddled and pervaded by persistent poverty, ecological destruction, radical inequalities of wealth, and concentrated power, and non-capitalist markets and trade. Food sovereignty proposes to strengthen small-scale farmers by invigorating the non-capitalist market and fair and ethical trading practices.

Food sovereignty is explicitly political, vocalizing a critique of neoliberalized capitalism, calling for political action, and elaborating an alternative policy paradigm for food, fisheries, agriculture, pastoralism, and forest use (Pimbert, 2009; Rose, 2013). The food sovereignty movement argues “for a mass re-politicization of food politics, through a call for people to figure out for themselves what they want the right to food to mean in their communities, bearing in mind the community’s needs, climate, geography, food preferences, social mix and history...” (Patel, Balakrishnan, & Narayan, 2007, p. 91). Food sovereignty is best understood as a transformative process hinged on some over-riding principles rather than a prescriptive set of

policies or action (Pimbert, 2009). The conceptual framework for food sovereignty is evolving continually. Participants in the first International Food Sovereignty Forum, held in Nyéléni, Mali in 2007, established some general agreement over food sovereignty.

While there is some global agreement, much less is known about what food sovereignty movements look like in specific places, as the route toward food sovereignty is context-specific (Desmarais et al., 2013). It is not entirely clear what food sovereignty¹ looks like in the United States. Unlike in Latin America and Africa, the U.S. has no major peasant base and farmers comprise less than 1% of the population. Production in many places is intensely commercial, and has been organized around international as well as local and national markets since the colonial period (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014- speaking of Canada, but true of the U.S. as well). Nevertheless, there is a burgeoning food movement among Americans. This food movement includes Native American communities demanding rights to control their own food systems, as well as urban-dwelling activists, among others. In fact, one characteristic of the food movement is the diversity of its participants and their motivations. Many of the issues food movement activists care about—geographic specificity, simplicity, personal connection, history and tradition, ethnic connection, environmental preservation, health and wellness—are congruent with the food sovereignty framework (Desmarais & Wittman, 2014; Sage, 2014). This is important, as some scholars (Allen, 2010; Holt-Giménez & Shattuck, 2011; Schiavoni & Patel, 2009) argue that urban dweller activist participation in North America is critical to growing a global movement. Food sovereignty efforts in the U.S. expand the attention to the working conditions of food systems employees, beyond just farmers. Also, food sovereignty movements

¹ I am aware that the term “sovereignty” is a complicated one in the U.S., where it is conflated with notions of state protectionism and indigenous rights. While I acknowledge that there may be a phrase that would resonate better in the U.S. with the intention of Food sovereignty, I continue to use that phrase, since it is commonly used in pertinent literature and around the world.

in the U.S. represent a more direct and visible rejection of food corporations in the country where many are headquartered.

In the following paragraphs, I present the six principles of food sovereignty, adapted for the U.S. context. I use the same six principles developed at the International Food Sovereignty Forum held in Nyéléni, Mali in 2007, with Akram-Lodhi's (2013) definition of the principles as a base for my discussion. I also draw from other writers, as cited, to add relevant U.S. context. For example, I note where food sovereignty efforts can be responsive to critiques of the U.S. alternative food movement, discussed in greater detail on the following pages.

Principle #1: Focuses on food as a right and food for people/community. Food sovereignty advocates for the right to (healthy and culturally appropriate) food to be at the center of food, agriculture, livestock and fisheries policies. Food sovereignty promotes short-term and long-term anti-hunger by empowering people to provide for their own food needs, rather than relying on corporate markets or charity. Food sovereignty addresses poverty, war, lack of access to land, and other structural drivers of hunger. It rejects the proposition that food is just another commodity of international agri-business and celebrates food as an important aspect of culture and community building. A focus on food for people also prioritizes food justice, contests all forms of food-related injustices (e.g. gender-based, race and ethnicity-based, and class-based), and engages in solidarity and alliance-building with other food justice efforts to work toward these changes (Slocum, 2015).

Principle #2: Values small-scale food providers and food systems workers. Food sovereignty values and supports the contributions of indigenous peoples, peasants, people from diverse cultural backgrounds, small-scale family farmers, pastoralists, artisanal fisherfolk, forest dwellers, women and men, and agricultural and fisheries workers (including migrants) to

cultivating, growing or harvesting food. Food sovereignty supports efforts that enable these people, particularly those who have been traditionally marginalized, to access and utilize food-producing land and resources. Food sovereignty recognizes the structural factors that cause race, class, gender and other disparities in land access. It includes a call for land reform that “expresses a truly pro-working poor class bias in land issues – especially the core idea of the rural working classes being able to exercise full and effective control over the land where they live and work” (Borras & Franco, 2012, p. 6). Food sovereignty prioritizes small-scale food producers over corporations, and rejects those policies, actions and programs that undervalue small-scale producers, threaten their livelihoods and eliminate them. Food sovereignty also advocates for fair wages and good working conditions for all food systems workers (including migrant) in processing, transporting, distribution, preparing, serving, food waste management and all other fields (Patel, 2009).

Principle #3: Relocalizes food systems. Food sovereignty brings food providers and consumers closer together; makes providers and consumers central to decision-making on food issues, programs and policies; and protects food providers from the dumping of cheap food and food aid into local markets. Food sovereignty values food practices that are locally based and supports the idea of relocalizing eating preferences as one strategy to build sustainable food systems and resilient communities, and to reduce the carbon emissions and other externalities associated with long distance food transportation. In addition to relocalizing production, food sovereignty also prioritizes relocalized food processing, distribution, locally-owned retail, and food waste management. Food sovereignty does not fall into the so-called “local trap,” however (Born & Purcell, 2006). Instead, food sovereignty demands that local food systems also be sustainable and just, and encourages fair, ethical trading practices with nearby and more distant

communities. Food sovereignty resists governance structures, agreements and practices that depend on unsustainable and inequitable international trade and that give power to remote and unaccountable corporations.

Principle #4: Makes decisions locally/ Encourages food democracy. Food sovereignty seeks to give control over territory, land, water, seeds, livestock and fish stocks to local food providers who can use and share them. It rejects the privatization of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts and intellectual property rights. Instead, food sovereignty creates mechanisms for local decision-making, supports community-based initiatives, and fosters public and cooperative ownership models. Food sovereignty also encourages food democracy, which is the idea that people can and should be actively participating in shaping the food system, rather than simply acting as consumers. In Hassanein's (2003) words, "food democracy is about citizens having the power to determine agro-food policies and practices locally, regionally, nationally, and globally." While food sovereignty engages organizations and communities and individuals in decision-making, there is also recognition of the critique of the retrenchment and devolution of government in protecting public welfare. Food sovereignty recognizes a role, albeit contested (as discussed below), for formal government in ensuring a social safety net and in protecting the right to food and to food-producing resources.

Principle #5: Builds food-related knowledge and skills/ Develops food citizens. Food sovereignty prioritizes locally-based knowledge and respects the ingenuity of indigenous peoples, small-scale farmers and food producers. Food sovereignty develops appropriate research systems to support those with locally-based knowledge to pass on their wisdom to future generations. Food sovereignty particularly respects indigenous knowledge and culturally diverse practices. It rejects technologies that undermine, threaten or contaminate these, e.g.

genetic engineering. Food sovereignty fosters the development of people as food citizens. As food citizens, people are not passive consumers, but engage in behaviors- from making responsible food choices to engaging in policy- that support the development of a democratic, socially and economically just, and environmentally sustainable food system (Wilkins, 2005). As such, food sovereignty encourages people to develop such skills as gardening, animal husbandry, food preparation, and food waste reutilization.

Principle #6: Works with nature/Agro-ecology. Food sovereignty advocates for food production that works with, rather than against, nature. Food sovereignty emphasizes diverse, low external input food production and harvesting methods that maximize the contribution of ecosystems and improve resilience and adaptation, especially in the face of climate change. Food sovereignty rejects methods that harm beneficial ecosystem functions and depend on fossil fuel energy, including intensive monocultures and livestock factories, destructive fishing practices, and other industrialized production methods. Instead, food sovereignty fosters agro-ecology-based production practices, or the application of ecological, systems-based thinking to food production (Wezel et al., 2011).

These six principles of food sovereignty suggest a values-based orientation for food systems work in the United States. However, many alternative food movement projects in the United States have been critiqued for falling short of food sovereignty, and for focusing on the less robust concepts of food security and food justice than complete transformation. Critics of alternative food movement projects (Allen, 2010; Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, & Warner, 2003; DeLind, 1994; Guthman, 2007, 2008) claim that they do not foster systems transformation, but instead reproduce existing inequalities as well as neoliberal forms, spaces of governance, discourses, and mentalities. These critiques can be grouped under five main themes as follows:

1. Alternative food movement projects emphasize market-based, highly individualized purchasing decisions in lieu of social or political change (Guthman, 2004). The focus on consumer capitalist behavior—namely the purchase of organic, local and healthy food—is emphasized as the primary driver of social change, limiting opportunities for collective or political action (Alkon, 2013). Allen & Hinrichs (in Maye, Holloway, & Kneafsey, 2007) question the validity of “fighting capitalism with capitalism.” As an example, Guthman (2008) demonstrated that leaders of California alternative food projects avoid direct opposition to powerful political and economic structures and instead frame their programs in terms of the rights of consumers to choose alternatives. Raj Patel characterizes this practice as “ethical hedonism” for wealthy consumers, noting how it excludes lower-income communities and people (Patel 2009). Without addressing either the sources of affordability or the particular dynamics of the agro-industrial food system, projects will have limited effect on those who cannot afford more expensive food (Allen, 2010; Guthman, 2008).

2. Alternative food projects often further devolution by assuming functions that were formerly the state’s responsibility. For example, nonprofit and community organizations have developed programs and infrastructure to feed the hungry, via food banks and meal programs, in response to diminishing entitlements and the growth of the working poor (Poppendieck, 1999). By filling in the gaps, these organizations in effect enable the devolution to continue. The lack of formal safety nets, and the shifting of responsibility for coping with food insecurity away from the state toward the individual and household level has tended to reduce any political response to the growing urban food insecurity (Maxwell, 1999).

3. Community food systems projects often reproduce neoliberal values of individualism and self-improvement. For example, a major focus on addressing obesity has been on nutrition

education, with the premise that people are individually responsible for making healthy choices. This focus on individual consumption practices (Allen, 2010) ignores the deep, systemic inequities that cause or exacerbate food access disparities (Guthman, 2008, p. 443), and also functions as a kind of problem closure, when the definition of the problem frames subsequent studies of the problem's causes and consequences, precluding alternative conceptualizations of the problem (Born, 2014; Guthman, 2011).

4. Projects often over-focus on a romantic, historicized or culturally narrow idea of “local.” The conflation of local falsely assumes that social justice and ecological sustainability can be achieved by proximity and that governance is most effective and accountable when done at the local level—neither of which is universally true (Allen, 1999; Born & Purcell, 2006; Kloppenburg et al., 1996). In fact, local is anything but liberatory for the traditionally marginalized (Allen, 1999). Gray argues that the advice to “buy local” promotes individual health at the expense of protecting the wellbeing of the farmworkers, many of whom suffer poor working and living conditions. Also, while problems of food security are often visible at the local level, they are rooted in larger, national and global political economic structures, hence insolvable at the local scale. Localism can also foster an “otherness” that reduces the field of whom we care about, often along the lines of race, nationality, class, and gender. For example, people may focus on 100-mile diets and ignore the plight of farmers working 150 miles or 1,000 miles away. Critics point out that the specific practices of capitalism are more problematic than globalism itself, and that local action must be in addition to, not instead of, national and international politics.

5. Food systems efforts are paternalistic and elitist, furthering relations of power and privilege. In particular, the alterative food movement is criticized for being a Caucasian, middle-

to-upper-class movement, a critique common to the broader environmental movement as well.

Rather than acknowledging the overwhelmingly Caucasian middle-class make-up, participants of alternative food projects tend to adopt a position of colorblindness and to adopt a rhetoric of “if they only knew,” reinforcing ideas about how and what one should eat while ignoring cultural differences around food priorities and needs, as well as histories of structural inequity (Guthman, 2007; 2008). The narrow attention to distributional outcomes is problematic in that it reproduces a racial divide that bolsters the food narratives and desires of a largely white, wealthy population, while reinforcing alternative food practices rooted in a market ideology (Lindemann, 2014).

Allen (1999) points out that merely inviting non-whites to participate is an illusion of inclusion, as people whose perspectives are heard are often most confident, loudest, and at times whitest.

Guthman (2008) similarly argues that the tools of community participation and input have often been employed to build trust and obtain “buy-in,” rather than foster actual democracy. Even when group members are committed to the ideas of combating racism and pursuing food justice, they often find it hard to keep the themes of trauma, exploitation, dispossession, and labor in active consideration. Slocum (2015) identifies three barriers to true inclusivity: (a) the ease of doing typical food projects compared to the seemingly overwhelming task of seeking food justice; (b) the silencing of food justice analysis through charity; and (c) the belief that the dominant group (white people’s) needs should be acted upon before those of marginalized groups (Latino and other nonwhite and/or undocumented farm laborers).

Beyond these five broad critiques of the alternative food movement, specific strategies have been examined and critiqued in depth according to the above list. I focus on six that are typical in food systems planning: Farm to School, farm direct sales, urban agriculture, food desert solutions, food banks, and farmland preservation.

First, Allen & Guthman (2006) argue that Farm to School advocates essentially reproduce neoliberal forms and practices, particularly contingent labor relationships, private funding sources, and the devolution of responsibility. They also reveal how Farm to School advocates employ the rhetoric of neoliberal values, including personal responsibility and individual success, entrepreneurship, consumerism and choice, and devolution.

Direct sales strategies, including farmers markets and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), are also critiqued. Alkon & Mares (2012) argue that the market-based approach of farmers markets keeps local food out of reach of lower-income, food-insecure residents. Allen (1999) critiques farmers markets, along with CSAs, for being appropriate only for the most privileged people with time and money. Efforts to reduce prices for poorer residents are often limited to grant funding. Meanwhile, Allen (1999) notes “a contradiction between making food affordable and providing a decent return for the farm unit in the absence of public subsidy.”

Third, urban agriculture potentially obscures structural and spatial drivers of food insecurity. While empowering marginalized people to transform their individual lives, attention to urban agriculture often fails to explicitly challenge the systemic conditions that produce marginalization and food insecurity (Pudup, 2008). The focus on grow-your-own reinforces notions of individual responsibility and self-improvement—a limiting idea for marginalized communities likely strapped for time, energy and resources.

Regarding food desert solutions, the phrase “food desert” itself is critiqued for portraying a bleak urban environment and for its potentially racialized implications linking people of color to those landscapes (McClintock, 2008; Shannon, 2014). Food desert measurement in terms of proximity to grocery stores both ignores other potential sources of food in neighborhoods and people’s resourcefulness, and validates a policy approach that emphasizes supply-oriented issues

rather than demand-oriented ones of affordability and need (Battersby, 2012; Guthman, 2011). Bedore (2010) argues that work on “food deserts is a spatialized form of neoliberal paternalism that bounds health problems within low-income communities.” The result is to geographically place the blame in poor neighborhoods, rather than in policies and actors that shape both urban food systems and peoples’ food choices (Shannon, 2014). The latter also can lead to supermarket solicitation, which is problematic for two main reasons. First, the environmental and social benefits of large corporate-owned grocery stores are suspect. Supermarkets have been charged with abusing their power, squeezing suppliers, underpaying workers, reducing retail diversity, and fostering unsustainable consumption (Morgan, 2014). Second, initiatives to solve food deserts aim to produce new kinds of citizens whose rational, nutritious food shopping demands little of the state (Shannon, 2014). This approach thereby limits citizen action to consumer action. Instead of focusing on grocery stores, critics advocate engaging neighborhood members in a conversation about their needs and desires for healthy food, and be open to a wide range of possibilities from locally owned food cooperatives and small ethnic grocers to urban gardens and community kitchens.

Fifth, food bank critics claim that food banks may address immediate needs but not long-term food insecurity, instead creating a dependency on a second-tier system of donated or bulk-purchased food (Poppendieck, 1999). Food banks meanwhile provide volunteers and others the illusion of solving the food security problem, thus deflecting attention away from the structural causes of hunger and poverty, as well as government responsibilities to ensure the right to food (DeLind, 1994).

Finally, farmland preservation efforts are critiqued for not encouraging or requiring ecologically responsible practices, and for not addressing unequal access to land (Brent, 2013).

The current approach to farmland preservation effectively underwrites a continuation of the dominant, industrial production model and ownership by the wealthy class and corporations. Even when the discourse around farmland preservation references the need to protect farmers and make land more affordable, the mechanisms in place fall short. Notably, easements do not resolve the affordability problem, and they do nothing to forward a widespread redistribution of land wealth. An overall critique of farmland preservation is its farm-centrism, which tends to valorize and romanticize the approach to land ownership and food production practiced by early European settlers, and devalue and ignore indigenous food systems and practices.

The above critiques of six common strategies of the alternative food movement provide a useful reflection on practice. In response, many alternative food activists have shifted their strategies (Allen, 1999). Many activists now emphasize not food entitlement, but self-reliance, and universal access to safe, culturally acceptable, nutritious foods through ecologically sound local and regional food production (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010). Meanwhile, radical food justice focuses on the underlying racial and economic inequities in the food system, and argues that projects need to be created by, not just for, low-income communities of color (Alkon & Mares, 2012).

One potential problem with engaging heavily in critique is that while a neoliberal lens can illuminate problematic characteristics, it may underestimate those aspects of the alternative food movement that push toward emancipatory possibilities (Andrée, Ballamingie, & Sinclair-Waters, 2014). As Kloppenburg & Hassanein (2006) argue, a focus on local food movements, while not singularly leading to social justice and ecological sustainability, offers actors an important political space for acting. They agree with critics like Allen & Guthman that “we are embedded in an overarching neoliberal structure that shapes and constrains action in various

ways” (p. 420). However, they argue, “At issue is what we decide to do within those confines.” Community gardens and urban farming projects can be seen as ways of developing resistance, building community, establishing alternatives to the corporate food system (Lindemann, 2014), and forging the “right to the city” (Purcell & Tyman, 2014). Finally, the conceptualization of the food movement as elitist and bourgeoisie misses the reality that it comprises diverse communities, including people of color, low-income people, and tribes (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011).

Similarly and speaking beyond food issues, Gibson-Graham (1996, 2006) argue that identifying all resistance efforts as inherently neoliberal (a so-called reading for dominance) does little to build an emancipatory movement. Instead, they argue that a more useful framing is a reading for difference, focused on identifying and strengthening those existing initiatives (e.g. market-based, noncapitalist) that are alternatives to the capitalist system. Gibson-Graham’s suggestions about reading for difference could reframe the alternative food movement not just as reproducing the dominance of hegemonic neoliberalism, but also as comprising diverse, emergent institutions and practices (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 54) that foster other values, such as food sovereignty.

Several studies have analyzed food systems projects for their ability to contribute to the development of diverse community food economies and food sovereignty. For example, Harris (2009) compared a neoliberal reading and a reading for difference of a 100-mile diet experiment. He concluded that such experiments should not be dismissed as stuck within neoliberalism but viewed as one approach to support diverse community economies and food sovereignty. Alkon (2013) also argues for a non-capital-centric reading of three U.S. food justice efforts: (1) worker-owned food businesses, (2) advocacy campaigns to improve the wages and conditions of food

system workers, and (3) political campaigns that seek to restrict the power of the food regime, such as by limiting GM seeds. While these efforts do not directly confront neoliberalism, they challenge it in ways that capital-centric strategies do not, thereby creating: (1) roles for urban residents in the Global North as more than consumers, (2) resistance to the big food corporations in their own home territory, and (3) opportunities for convergence among U.S. food activists and the global food sovereignty movement.

Challenges and Contradictions of Food Sovereignty

Food sovereignty has contradictions and challenges, including its potential co-option by protectionist or nationalist efforts, questions about scale, and its relationship to the state. First, food sovereignty efforts can be co-opted by protectionist or nationalist efforts. In Bolivia, for example, the federal government has adopted an anti-neoliberal, pro-food sovereignty discourse, mainly in response to United States' foreign policy and aid (Cockburn, 2013). In practice however, Bolivia's agricultural development efforts are entrenched in a neoliberal framework, focused on strengthening Bolivian's autonomy from the U.S, not strengthening food sovereignty. In Cockburn's words (2013, p. 17),

The risk in broadening the concept of food sovereignty to incorporate State-controlled genetically modified, mono-cropping and use of agri-chemicals is that it diminishes it to the status of a 'buzzword' that will do little to protect and foster agrobiodiversity or the food security of small farmers.

This case of Bolivia represents a challenge for food sovereignty movements to distinguish their efforts from protectionism and nationalism.

A second challenge of food sovereignty is a lack of clarity about the ideal scale. Its principles call for a relocalization of food production and trade, away from industrial scale

production or international trade to local and regional scale food systems (Kurtz, 2013).

However, food sovereignty discourse is not clear about the geographic scales at which it can and should be achieved.

A third contradiction is that there is not agreement about the role of the state. On the one hand, food sovereignty may require the authority and legitimacy of established governments (McKay, Nehring, & Walsh-Dilley, 2014). For example, the state may be the only existing authority to redistribute land and resources and to declare and enforce food as a right. A pro-poor gender-responsive state may be uniquely capable of intervention in global markets to reorient the purpose of trade away from the neoliberal objective of increased profitability and towards the more human-focused objective of improvements in the well-being of women and men. As Akram-Lodhi (2013) notes:

While changes in the food system may be initiated from within communities and social movements, as is currently the case, these changes cannot be generalized without the involvement of a state that responds to the assertion of popular economic sovereignty by managing markets to the extent needed to extensively tame capitalist impulses. (p. 14)

On the other hand, it is argued that the state cannot lead food sovereignty efforts. To do so would go against the very idea of food sovereignty, a concept developed out of resistance *against* the state (Edelman, 2014; Patel, 2009). Indeed, in many worldwide examples, the state has facilitated the very policies and structures that the food sovereignty movement seeks to dismantle. Food sovereignty ultimately calls for direct control over food systems, which suggests the need to dismantle of existing government, shift power, and develop new forms of more radically democratic government.

Rather than rely on the state or dismiss its utility altogether, a third approach is to utilize a relationship with the existing state as a necessary step toward its complete overhaul. Patel (2009) suggests that the state can be part of ensuring food sovereignty, but such a state would be different from our modern state, and more ‘de-centered’ (using a term from Litfin, 1998). Likewise Pimbert argues that food sovereignty calls for more participatory, democratic, citizen-based decision-making, as opposed to government or market-based decision-making (Pimbert, 2009).

Leading food sovereignty activists and scholars suggest that the appropriate relationship with the state is context-specific, as in some cases existing government structures may offer more emancipatory possibility than in others. In practice, activists such as leaders of La Via Campesina have different and ever-evolving strategies about their relationships to government. Their strategies are often pragmatic and highly dependent on the local context.

If in fact state intervention toward food sovereignty is possible and desirable (at least in the short-term), then key categories for policy direction, according to Desmarais et al. (2013) and Pimbert (2009), that may foster food sovereignty include: protecting peoples’ right to culturally appropriate, healthy, affordable food; gender-responsive redistributive land reform, particularly around improving access to land for small-scale farmers; preserving and utilizing local and indigenous seed and livestock varieties, indigenous food systems, and uncultivated foods; protecting and adopting non-private ownership models of water and other resources needed for food production; ensuring fair treatment of food system workers; reassertion of agricultural research and extension as a public, not private, good; and development of mechanisms for local-decision-making; efforts to foster food system (re)localization, including support for local supply chains and processing and distribution capacities (without falling into a local trap); enforcement

of trade rules to protect local producers and ensure fair trade practices; building preferences by consumers for, and supporting their access to, local food; and advancing agro-ecology and sustainable food production methods. This list provides some initial direction for my focus on planning and food sovereignty.

Planning and Food Sovereignty

The planning profession has only recently begun to pay explicit attention to food systems issues. Attention by planners however, is no guarantee of an alignment with transformation. In fact, critics of planning practice argue that as it is commonly practiced, planning is complicit in and in fact perpetuates neoliberalization by preserving entrenched power and enabling market forces, all behind a facade of serving and protecting the public interest (Almendinger, 2002; Purcell, 2009). Some early research suggests that food systems planning is also being captured or limited to some degree by neoliberal influences. For example, in Edmonton, Canada, farmland preservation efforts are superseded by the pro-development narrative still prevalent in many North American cities (Beckie, Hanson, & Schrader, 2013). Despite initial progressive changes in municipal policy, the Edmonton City council ultimately sided with a pro-growth agenda in zoning farmland for residential development, equating the value of this land according to short-term exchange value rather than long-term use value.

In another case, Bedore (2010) points out as problematic that the Baltimore Food Policy Initiative (BFPI) is closely aligned with the pro-growth coalition in the city. The Initiative's efforts around urban agriculture and healthy food access, among other objectives, foster the growth coalition's prosperity by fixing the issues capital flight and low property values and by increasing the city's positive image. The Baltimore Food Policy Initiative is tactic-agnostic in its support for healthy food access, and resists critiquing any approaches, even grocery store

incentivization which was pointed out as problematic earlier. As such, Bedore argues that the Baltimore Food Policy Initiative risks co-option.

A final example of critique has been on efforts in New York City (Morgan, 2009). While supporters claim that the City's FoodWorks strategy enables healthier food options in poor neighborhoods, critics allege that it does nothing to challenge the mainstream food industry or address the underlying causes of food poverty.

While these individual case studies point out problematic tendencies and risks of co-option on an individual scale, there has not been an evaluation of planning practice more broadly. However, an initial scan reveals some similarly problematic tendencies. Planning scholars and the American Planning Association's *Policy Guide to Community Food Systems* (APA, 2007) have promoted planning "solutions" to food systems problems, such as the siting of grocery stores in poor neighborhoods, the expansion of farmers markets, development of Farm to School efforts, and food carts. These kinds of strategies have been critiqued in broader literature for employing the rhetoric of neoliberal values, including personal responsibility and individual success, entrepreneurship, consumerism and choice, and devolution (Guthman, 2008).

In some cities, planners virtually "give away the store" to lure grocery stores into their neighborhoods and cities (Donald, 2013) rather than examining opportunities for more locally owned and operated and small- and medium-sized businesses that source locally. Similarly, planning has focused on enhancing individual market alternatives— via farmers markets and Community Supported Agriculture, for example rather than radically changing the public policy environment to support agro-ecological farming practices.

Born (2013) critiques food systems planning research as well as practice, arguing that most research is empirical and reductionist, following a rational technocratic planning

epistemology that fails to acknowledge or challenge the neoliberal economic philosophy of the state. Instead, planning research identifies and measures food deserts and “obeseogenic” environments and offers simplistic solutions like the inclusion of grocery stores in food deserts. Such a research approach will not lead to a radical transformation of the food system, and Born (2013) argues that “Those who seek a fundamentally different food system based on democratic and ecological principles need to look elsewhere for solutions.”

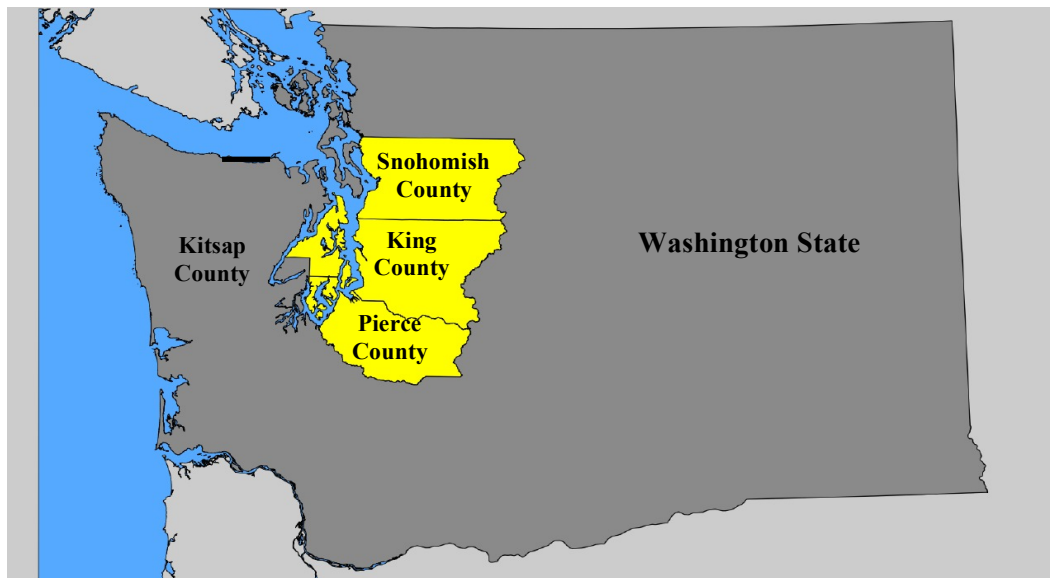
These are preliminary assessments, and they suggest a need for deeper examination of food systems planning practice in terms of its development over the past fifteen years and its relationship to neoliberalism and food sovereignty. In this dissertation, I examine planning practice in the Puget Sound Region and explore the following questions and subquestions:

1. How, and to what extent, is food systems planning practiced in the Puget Sound region by municipal actors?
 - a. How and to what extent do comprehensive plans address food systems issues?
Which aspects of the food system are addressed and not addressed in these plans?
 - b. What is the capacity of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council in terms of urban food governance post 2010 (when it was established)?
 - c. What is the capacity of the City of Seattle in terms of urban food governance post 2008 (when the Local Food Action Initiative was passed)?
2. What is the relationship of food systems planning to food sovereignty?
 - a. How do food-related policies in comprehensive plans support (or not) the principles of food sovereignty?

- b. What do Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council members say and do regarding food sovereignty?
- c. What do City of Seattle employees say and do regarding food sovereignty?

Chapter Two: Background About the Central Puget Sound Region

For my research, I focused on Washington state's Central Puget Sound region, which comprises four counties, over 80 municipalities and tribes, and 6 major transit agencies, and is loosely coordinated by the Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC), a metropolitan planning organization. See Figure 1 below for a map. I selected this region for several reasons. First, the region is in a state (Washington) with a strong legal basis for planning, spurred by the 1990 Growth Management Act. The Act requires most jurisdictions to have a comprehensive plan and to engage in long-term planning to balance population growth and other goals including farmland protection and environmental quality, among others. Second, the region has strong food systems activist communities, a history of food systems planning, and a reputation for progressive planning practice (Born & Horst, 2014). Notably, Puget Sound has one of the country's only Food Policy Councils hosted by a Metropolitan Planning Organization. Its largest city, Seattle, has hired a Food Policy Coordinator, passed a series of food-related policies, and created a Food Action Plan. Finally, I bring some insider access and insight. I participated in various food systems projects and planning in Puget Sound for five years prior to my research. My familiarity with the region allowed me access to many meetings and enabled me to build trust with many of the interviewees. I had to take precaution not to bring my own existing perceptions or bias into the research, as described in a future section.

Figure 1: Map of Central Puget Sound Region

Map created by author, with GIS Files from Washington state

The region, encompassing the urban cities of Seattle, Bellevue, Tacoma and Everett as well as suburbs, rural land, coastlines, rich farmland, and forests, is home to almost four million people (PSRC, 2013). The region's population is predicted to grow considerably in the next decades.

Urban and suburban development now characterize the region. Most of the region's residents live in urban, suburban, and exurban communities and rely largely on food imported from outside the region (American Farmland Trust, 2012). Prior to European settlement of the area, which started in earnest in the mid-1800s, the region was home to numerous Native American tribes, who enjoyed abundance, diversity, and diets of more than 300 food items. Salmon played—and continues to play—a prominent role in their culture and diet. Today, the tribes are largely marginalized on reservations.

The developed urban and suburban regions are built on top of some of the nation's most fertile farmland. The remaining farmland, some of it policy-protected, faces pressure from development (American Farmland Trust, 2012). Retail and processing have become centralized, so regional food industries and traders are small and marginalized, leading to the so-called missing infrastructure of the middle. Salmon and other fish populations are threatened, as are the animals, cultures, and businesses that depend on them. Ocean acidification and water pollution in the Puget Sound threaten the important shellfish industry and endanger health. Diet-related health disparities in the region hew closely to lines of race and socioeconomic status (Communities Count, 2013). Like elsewhere, broader issues related to poverty and income inequity present major challenges to ending hunger.

The region's food system is ultimately embedded within and influenced by the global, industrial capitalist food system, critiqued for its negative environmental and social impacts, consolidation of power and wealth, and lack of transparency and democracy (Koc & Dahlberg, 1999). In this complex context, local governments have begun to formalize food systems planning. For my research, I focused on three avenues of planning in the region: comprehensive plans, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, and the City of Seattle. While these planning tools and approaches were not designed expressly for the purpose of food sovereignty, they have influence over the food system and as such, they have the potential to support the food sovereignty movement. Below I provide some background on each, as well as rationale for inclusion in this study.

Background on Comprehensive Plans

Comprehensive plans are a potentially important food policy vehicle in the Puget Sound region. As codified in Chapter 36.70A of the Revised Code of Washington, comprehensive plans

must include strategies for land use, housing, capital facilities, utilities, transportation, economic development, and parks and recreation. All municipalities in the region are required to have a comprehensive plan. Municipalities have an opportunity to amend the plan annually and are required to complete major updates periodically. Food issues other than farmland protection are not explicitly required.

Regional and county planning also direct local jurisdictions in addressing the food system in their comprehensive plans. VISION 2040, the central Puget Sound region's long-range growth management, transportation, and economic development framework, addresses the importance of conserving agricultural land, supporting the local food economy, and building healthy communities. At the county-level, King County has added several Countywide Planning Policies in the past few years to address the food system and local jurisdictions' roles in supporting food production and food access. The Countywide Planning Policies coordinate comprehensive plans of jurisdictions in the same county for regional issues or issues affecting common borders. Local comprehensive plans should be consistent with the countywide planning policies, but the Growth Management Act permits flexibility in implementing these policies in jurisdictional planning.

The comprehensive plan is widely viewed by planners in the region as an important guiding document. The comprehensive plan provides a framework to plan for long-term growth and a community vision, articulating direction for the municipal programs and policies that implement the plan. Because state law guides them, plans are also somewhat comparable among the various jurisdictions in the Central Puget Sound region.

Background on Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council

The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is a policy influencer. Its mission is to influence policy at various levels, including among the counties and cities within the Central

Puget Sound Region. The Council was established in 2010. It grew out of the Seattle/King County Acting Food Policy Council, which met regularly from 2006-2009. Local leaders (including government employees, academics, non-profit directors, activists, and private consultants), intentionally formed the Seattle/King County Acting Food Policy Council as an interim group, with the hope that it would lead to the formation of a more formal group. The Seattle/King County Acting Food Policy Council produced a series of briefing papers and an early regional food system assessment, and successfully got food and agriculture included in the 2007 King County Climate Action Plan. Acting Food Policy Council leaders aimed to establish their organization as a formal advisory body to local government on the grounds that, by being more institutionalized in government, the organization would have greater influence. It also would send a symbol of food as a recognized aspect of local government.

Originally, the Acting Food Policy Council sought King County as its formal host. However, in 2009, amid political and financial developments, it became clear that King County would not take that role. Leaders subsequently pursued PSRC as the host, so as not to lose momentum. Also, PSRC held some distinct advantages as host as a Metropolitan Planning Organization. PSRC coordinates numerous urban and rural jurisdictions, has leverage over regional land use planning and regional economic development, and is a technical adviser over jurisdictions' comprehensive plans. However, the organization also has some limitations that affect the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, including restrictions on lobbying for state or federal policy change (though those are interpreted in different ways), differing priorities across the region and within PSRC itself, relative lack of authority over local policy-making and implementation, and no historical engagement in food issues beyond agricultural land preservation.

The Council membership roster comprises about 30 representatives from county and city-level government, businesses, institutions, non-profits, and community organizations. The representatives stand for different aspects of the food system (e.g. production, distribution, consumption) as well as different issues areas (e.g. farmland protection, anti-hunger).

As its established vision, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council envisions “a thriving, inclusive and just local and regional food system that enhances the health of: people, diverse communities, economies, and environments” (Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, 2011). As its working mission, the Council “develops just and integrated policy and action recommendations that promote health, sustain and strengthen the local and regional food system, and engage and partner with agriculture, business, communities and governments in the four-county region.” The Council has identified seven goal areas: agriculture, economic development, education, environment, equity, health, and policy.

Since 2010, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has met formally on a regular (monthly for the first four years; now bi-monthly) basis for two-hour meetings, many of which comprise a presentation or two by particular food systems actors, followed by brief council discussion and time for announcements and sharing. Some meetings have engaged members in work, such as in developing the 2014-2017 action plan or in reviewing draft policy language. A steering committee also meets regularly via conference call to plan meetings and to provide overall guidance to Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. PSRC staff provide administrative support for the Food Policy Council. Their staff time and other operating costs (e.g. meeting space, website space) were funded in the first four years by grants from the City of Seattle and the State of Washington. As part of the grant requirements, the Food Policy Council has completed reports providing technical advice to the City of Seattle about comprehensive plan

policies and on assessing urban agriculture activity. Under a contract with the state of Washington, the Food Policy Council developed a set of policy blueprints and is technical adviser to other jurisdictions on such issues as farmers markets, urban agriculture, local food procurement, and rural farmland preservation. In fall 2014, PSRC's Executive Committee approved annual funding of thirty thousand dollars to continue support for the Food Policy Council.

Background on City of Seattle

The City of Seattle is a leader in food policy. Seattle is Washington's largest city (and the 23rd most populous in the country), with almost 650,000 people (City of Seattle, 2014). The city has experienced rapid population growth in the past few decades, partially fueled by tech industry expansion. Many people are concerned about this trend's effect on cost of living and gentrification (Atkins, 2014; Romano, 2015). More than a third of Seattle's population is people of color, a small increase from previous decades. Data show significant disparities in Seattle residents' social and economic well-being (City of Seattle, 2014).

Seattle residents have a long a history of interest in food systems sustainability and justice issues, as shown by the establishment of the Puget Sound Consumers Cooperative in 1953, Seattle Tilth in 1973, and Central Food Co-op in 1978. More recent years have seen a huge growth in neighborhood and community-based organizations, nonprofits, and entrepreneurial for-profits addressing a wide range of food issues, from anti-hunger and nutrition education to urban agriculture and local farm support.

Seattle has a strong mayor/council form of government and a long progressive governance tradition. More recently it has been a leader in sustainability (Krueger & Agyeman,

2005) and in food systems governance (Hatfield, 2012), most notably in its community garden and supportive urban agriculture policies and its anti-hunger initiatives.

Seattle's City government engagement in food systems, like in other cities, actually has a long history. In 1907, the Seattle City Council established the then newly built Pike Place as a public market where citizens could purchase fresh farm produce directly from local growers (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, 2015). When developers planned to demolish the market in the 1970s, a citizen activist group called "Friends of the Market" advocated for and subsequently garnered a citizens' vote to preserve the market. In 2008, voters approved a Pike Place Market Levy (Ordinance 122737), which generated about \$70 million in property taxes over six years for major repairs, infrastructure, and accessibility upgrades to buildings owned by the Pike Place Market Preservation and Development Authority. In 2015, the City Council approved additional funding of \$34 million for an expansion project that will include new shops, an underground parking garage and a new public plaza and walkway (Cornwell, 2015).

Seattle started the P-Patch Community Gardens program in 1973 with the purchase of the Picardo farm. Originally managed by the Department of Human Resources, the program has faced threats from development and budget crunches over the years, yet survived and thrived (Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, 2013). The P-Patch program is now one of the country's largest community gardening programs, with more than 80 gardens and 6,100 gardeners, and it is expanding into food forests and community-supported agriculture. Many of its community gardeners have become active leaders in community food systems advocacy and community organizations.

Seattle also began to fund emergency food programs in the 1980s. It is now one of the largest funders of emergency food programming, including of food banks and hot meal

programs. Seattle has thus been seen in the past few decades as a national leader on certain food-related issues.

The first decade of the 21st century saw increased interest in more coordinated food systems governance. Seattle passed a council resolution supporting local food systems in 2008, hired its first food systems policy coordinator in 2012, and released a food systems plan in 2012. In these initiatives the City builds on what staff call a “tradition of progressive leadership” (City of Seattle, 2012, p. 6). This expansion of attention to food was spurred by many causes. One was expressed interest by residents and organizations. As a Council member explained, “We were seeing a bunch of food-related inquires from the public, in particular, about things we didn't know much about—for example, the implications of planting food in the parking strip, and questions about, ‘Can you process food at home and sell it?’.”

Another cause was an alignment of food systems issues with other City priorities around environmental sustainability and supporting immigrant communities. In 2000, the City created the Office of Sustainability & Environment (OSE), which released Seattle’s first Climate Action Plan in 2006 to meet the Kyoto Protocol’s goals and, in 2013, released an updated plan with a goal of carbon neutrality by 2050. This attention to sustainability spurred interest in food systems issues. Said one council member, “The timing was right—there was this right intersection of public interest and government interest in sustainability.” Individual Council members and government staff also helped to raise the profile of food in these sustainability initiatives.

At first the City focused on small-scale activities, e.g., working with the Seattle Housing Authority to establish more community gardens. Recognizing a need for more coordinated action, then-Council President Richard Conlin and others spurred Council passage of the Local Food Action Initiative (LFAI, Resolution 31019) in 2008. The LFAI provided a rationale for

City engagement in the food system. The LFAI also identified a set of specific departmental-level tasks including:

- identify permanent locations for farmers markets (Office of Economic Development);
- assess City purchasing and procurement policies and to identify policy and procedure changes that would strengthen the City's support of the local food economy(Office of Economic Development);
- identify additional locations and infrastructure for community gardens, food bank gardens, and community kitchens (Department of Neighborhoods)
- review land use code to enable urban agriculture and market gardening (Department of Planning and Development)
- support increased diversion of surplus edible food from the commercial waste stream in addition to recycling food waste for compost (Seattle Public Utilities); and
- plan for better management of the food system in emergencies and disasters (Office of Emergence Management).

The LFAI also committed Seattle to the creation of an Interdepartmental Team on Food (IDT), the development of a Food Policy Action Plan, and coordination with other jurisdictions to forge a Regional Food Policy Council. Subsequently, the City initiated an IDT and hired a Food Policy Coordinator. The Coordinator oversaw the creation of the City's first Food Action Plan, released in 2012. In addition, the City implemented a variety of food-related pilot programs across various departments and made policy changes. It is a leader in both the Central Puget Sound region, and across the country, where it is often seen as a leader of progressive politics

and innovative initiatives. Other jurisdictions will be influenced by and follow Seattle's lead. As such, it is worthy of further examination.

Chapter Three: Methods

My research questions, about the how's and why's and nuances of planning language and practice, necessitated a qualitative approach. Other scholars who have examined food systems planning informed my research design. Notably, in their seminal article on the absence of food systems planning, Pothukuchi & Kaufman (2000) examined planning practice, research, and education. Their research units of analysis included planning journals, texts, and classic writings, which gave them a broad sweep of the field. To investigate on-the-ground food systems practice, they surveyed 22 city planning agencies, identified reasons for the absence of focus on food issues, and suggested proposals for planning involvement to strengthen community food systems. Twelve years later, Hodgson (2012) surveyed more than 500 planners across the U.S. and selected 21 comprehensive plans for analysis, including interviews with planners in fifteen of the jurisdictions.

My approach follows those of these scholars, in that I also used both a broad survey element and an in-depth element. I first evaluated comprehensive plans for 58 Puget Sound municipalities. I examined a broad range of comprehensive plans to understand how every jurisdiction in the Central Puget Sound region, from the largest county and city to the smallest town of 1,000 people, is addressing food systems issues. I followed up the examination of plans by investigating planning practice, as practiced by the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and by the City of Seattle. My attention to practice, not just plans, was inspired by planning scholars Hoch (1992, 2011) and Throgmorton (2003), who emphasized that plans are only one aspect of planning practice, and that planners' agency, stories, and relationships are worthy of examination. Had I looked at only plans, I would have missed many details of food systems planning. The reason for my selection of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council

and City of Seattle, better explained in Chapter Two, is that the former serves as a policy influencer in the region while the latter serves as a policy leader. My methods of data collection for the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council included participant observation, analysis of documents, and interviews. For the City of Seattle, my methods included analysis of documents and interviews. These are further discussed below.

Data Collection

Comprehensive plans. I attempted to obtain copies of the most recent comprehensive plan for each jurisdiction (county and municipality) in the Central Puget Sound Region as of 2011 and 2012. I found most comprehensive plans on the jurisdictions' websites, and in some cases received a copy via email from an employee. In total, I collected and evaluated 58 plans. For each comprehensive plan, I identified all food-related policies (as noted earlier, I only focused on land-based food systems). To identify all food-related policies, I used a key word search with the following words: agriculture/al, animal/s, bakery, bees, bistro, café, chicken/s, compost, crop/s, diet, diner, farm/er/ing/land, food, fowl, garden (community, rooftop, etc.), grocer/y, hunger/hungry, hunting, livestock, market, meat, nutrition/ous, organic, poultry, process/ing, restaurant, slaughter/ing, urban agriculture, and waste (yard, food, etc.). Numbered visions, goals, objectives, policies, and strategies were all counted, though general text was not. I included each of these categories because there is no one standard approach to organizing and formatting comprehensive plans in the region, and what constitutes a goal in one plan is considered a policy in another and an objective in another. I entered all food-related policies into a Microsoft™ Excel spreadsheet. I then conducted further analysis via counting and coding, discussed in sections below.

Observation of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. Another source of data, relevant to the analysis of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, was participant observation. The aim of my participant observation was to gain a close and intimate familiarity with the Council, the individual members and their practices. In 2010 and 2011, I gained some exposure to the Council when I served as intern for the Council. That exposure provided me some context and introduction to the various people involved, and enabled me to do some early focusing of my research questions. I engaged in more formal observation as part of this project starting in January 2014. I observed the Council's monthly (which turned to bi-monthly in 2015) meetings from January 2014 through June 2015. I took notes on specific conversations, exact things said, and sources of tension. My own notes provided an important source of insight because the formal public meeting notes are very short and record only the main themes in a conversation and decisions. The observations also provided triangulation to other forms of data, including interviews and documents. I subsequently analyzed my observation notes using the same approach I used for other data sources, discussed below.

Documents, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and City of Seattle. For the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, I examined documents including the organization's vision and mission statement, five years of meeting notes from 2010-2014, its policy outputs (including four Policy Blueprints), its formalized action plan, and annual reports on accomplishments (all available on the Food Policy Council website). For the City of Seattle, the main written documents I examined were the Local Food Action Initiative (a City Council Resolution passed in 2008), the Food Action Plan (published in 2012), and Recommendations of the King County Foods and Farm Roundtable (published in 2014). I also scrutinized web-based content from various departments about their food-related policies and programs. This included

the programs and policies identified on the Office of Sustainability's Food program website (<http://www.seattle.gov/environment/food>). All of the text from these documents was analyzed following the same process as the observations and interviews, described below

Interviews, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and City of Seattle. For both the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and the City of Seattle, I conducted semi-structured interviews. I used both purposive sampling and snowball techniques to select interviewees. For the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, I interviewed nineteen people in total. Interviewees included past and current Food Policy Council participants, leaders and staff members. I intentionally interviewed a range of governmental and non-governmental actors as well as participants reflecting a diversity of interests, values and backgrounds. To gain insight into other Food Policy Councils, I also conducted five interviews of representatives of other Councils across North America, specifically three identified by the interviewees themselves as "successful" and two as "failed."

For the City of Seattle, I interviewed fourteen people total including two elected officials, former and current Seattle City Council members as well as their staff, and current and past employees in the Departments of Human Services, Neighborhoods, Parks and Recreation, Planning and Development, Public Health, Transportation, and the Offices of Sustainability and Economic Development. I also interviewed three leaders outside of city government who work on community-based food systems issues and are affected by the City's funding and policy decisions around food. These non-city based interviewees included community-based food systems project leaders, food systems topical experts, and political activists.

My goal for both cases was to interview enough people to assure that most or all of the perceptions were uncovered. To that end, I sought both breadth and saturation, or when the

collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). When I began to hear many repetitive stories or similar perspectives over and over, I determined I was near the end of completing interviews.

I contacted people by email to request their interview participation. For the Puget Sound Regional Council, I attended a meeting in August 2014 to explain my research. I did not need gate-keepers (Hatch, 2002), a common practice in some qualitative research, because I have been active in the Puget Sound region's food systems planning scene for years and have a good reputation with many of its participants. In Seattle, I contacted each interviewee individually over e-mail.

My interviewing goal was to understand something from the subject's point of view and to uncover the meaning of their experiences. I used a semi-structured approach with a set of themes to ask about, so I neither followed a rigid questionnaire nor left the conversation completely open. I began each interview by introducing myself and explaining my research purpose, then began asking questions. I asked members questions specifically derived from Research Questions #1 and #2. For a specific interview guide, see Appendix A.

The interviews were conducted in-person or over the phone, and lasted 45 minutes to one hour each. I took notes on a laptop or in a notebook and transcribed the interviews within 48 hours of conducting them. The transcription process acquainted me well with the data (Riessman, 1993). For five of the 33 total interviews I used an audio recorder (specifically, the application Mini Recorder on a Windows phone), when the interviewee allowed it. It is possible that my note-taking missed specific language, compared to the audio recordings. I attempted to account for this by writing rapidly, repeating notes back to interviewees to verify their accuracy, and sending written accounts of each interview to every interviewee for their approval.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Washington approved my interview process. Following typical IRB protocol, I obtained informed consent from each participant before interviewing that person. As stated in the consent form, I let participants know their participation was completely voluntary, I acknowledged the risk that interviewees might find some of the questions about their job or role in the food system as sensitive, and I suggested that interviewees would potentially experience benefits such as enhanced reflection and clarity on their participation in food systems planning and the role of the organization/activities discussed. Finally, I promised to keep all transcripts, notes and identifiable information confidential. One person expressed some hesitations about being identifiable in my write-up. I worked with this person to reach an agreement on the steps I would take to protect their identity.

Data Analysis

The methods described in preceding paragraphs—plan and document review, observations, and interviews— produced three kinds of textual data: excerpts of documents, direct quotations from the interview, and meeting notes. In the analysis phase, I used a deductive approach in establishing the primary codes, meaning that I used pre-determined themes that I drew from literature (Van Manen, 1990). In further defining the themes, however, I drew both from the literature and from my own analysis- letting the themes emerge from the data. Thus, my approach was a deductive-inductive hybrid.

I generally followed Braun & Clarke's (2006) step-by-step guidelines: (1) familiarizing yourself with your data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) reading through each transcript to immerse in the data, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) writing the analysis. For the comprehensive plan policies, I copied and pasted all of those into a spreadsheet in Microsoft™ Excel. As for the data on the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and

City of Seattle, I saved all data into Microsoft™ Word and then as an .rtf file. I then uploaded each .rtf document into the Text Analysis Markup System (TAMS) Analyzer data analysis tool for further analysis. I selected TAMS because it offers a package of textual analysis and qualitative research for Macintosh OS X, my work and home computer operating platform.

For each of the three sources of data—the comprehensive plans, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, and City of Seattle—I had two sets of initial codes for each of the two sets of questions. After all data was uploaded and initially coded, I then read and reread it and checked and reapplied the themes throughout the data. More detail about coding for each question is provided below.

Question one coding process. For the first question (*How and to what extent does planning address food systems issues?*), I used different coding to analyze the comprehensive plans and the Food Policy Council and City of Seattle, described as follows. First, the analysis for comprehensive plans was based on counting policies and categorizing them by food systems topics. My protocol built upon frameworks of earlier comprehensive plan evaluation, which focused on specific topics including: sustainable development (Berke & Conroy, 2000), climate change to (Baynham & Stevens, 2013; Tang, Brody, Quinn, Chang, & Wei, 2010), drought resilience (Fu & Tang, 2013), and natural hazard mitigation (Brody, 2003). For example, in their evaluation of 30 comprehensive plans to determine how well their policies supported sustainable development Berke & Conroy (2000) looked for evidence of support of used six specific principles. I similarly looked for support of specific food topics.

There is no one way to conduct plan evaluation. Some plan evaluations assess presence of support, while others attempt to assess the degree of support on a qualitative scale. As an example of the latter, Berke & Godshalk, in a meta-analysis of plan evaluations, identified external characteristics (organization and presentation, inter-organizational coordination, and compliance) and internal characteristics (issues identification and vision, goals, fact base, policies, implementation details, monitoring and evaluation, and internal consistency). In my study, I focused only on the presence of policies. In this study, I did not attempt to analyze plan or policy quality in this way. Instead, I focused only on the attention to food systems topics.

As mentioned earlier, all food-related policies from the 58 comprehensive plans were entered in an Excel database. Subsequently, I counted each jurisdiction's number of food policies. Finally, I coded each policy for its fit into eleven food systems categories based on Hodgson's (2012) national study of food-related policies in comprehensive plans. These eleven categories were: access and availability, food assistance, distribution, food education, food waste, local sourcing, marketing and advertising, processing, retail, rural agriculture, and urban agriculture. (See Appendix B for a Coding Dictionary, and Appendix E for a coding example). For this question, I only coded the appropriate category. I did not attempt to assess the degree of support on a qualitative scale.

I also counted the number of food-related policies in each jurisdiction. To compare among jurisdictions, I grouped them by type and population size (e.g. counties and large, medium and small). Population size serves as a sort of proxy for the capacity of the planning staff, as larger jurisdictions likely have larger planning staff. I did not group jurisdictions by type, e.g. suburban and rural, though that could be useful in future research. While I used the

grouping to examine patterns, I did not attempt to examine causality, for example among number of planning staff and number of food-related policies.

For the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and the City of Seattle, I examined the textual data for evidence or absence of urban food governance capacity. For this part, my five primary codes were the five conditions Mendes (2008) identified as necessary for effective food governance, including:

1. legal status and authority;
2. staffing, organizational location, and expertise;
3. integration of food policy into existing regulatory and legal frameworks;
4. involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making; and
5. citizen and stakeholder participation mechanisms, including by marginalized populations.

For each piece of text (whether from written documents or interviews), I identified the relevant primary code. As an example, if an interviewee was talking about support from the mayor or city council, I coded that as *legal status and authority*. I also used subcodes, including:

1. Strong capacity
2. Weak capacity
3. Lack of capacity
4. Suggestion for future

As a brief example, this is a quote from one of the interviewees of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council: “For the Food Policy Council, I don’t see us sufficiently focused on policy actions. We’ve done some reports have some half finished products.” I coded this first

as *integration of food policy into existing regulatory and legal frameworks*, and second, as demonstrating *weak capacity*. See Appendix C for a coding dictionary, with more detail on the decision rules, and Appendix F for a detailed example of coding.

Question two coding process. In coding for the second question (*What is the relationship to food sovereignty?*), I coded all three sets of data using the same set of themes, namely the six food sovereignty principles:

1. Food for people/food as a right
2. Values small-scale food providers and food systems workers
3. Localizes food systems
4. Local decision-making
5. Builds food-related knowledge and skills
6. Works with nature /agro-ecology

Since each principle is complex, I also identified a detailed set of subcodes that further comprises each principle, shown in Appendix D. I drew from literature on food sovereignty in developing the principles out in more detail, though I also added elements about responsivity to critique of alternative food movements. I also added to and modified the list, in a deductive fashion, as I examined my data. In doing this, I developed a framework for food sovereignty that is adapted to the U.S. urban context. I emphasize that each of the principles is inter-related, meaning that food one principle cannot be fully supported in isolation of the other five principles.

In addition to the first set of codes, I also used a set of subcodes, including:

1. Support- strong
2. Support- weak

3. Mixed/Inconclusive
4. Lack of support
5. Explicitly against

As a brief example, the following is an excerpt from the Seattle Food Action Plan:

Support and expand the Good Food Bag program at community centers and city-supported licensed childcare facilities, linking low-income families with local food sources to provide healthy foods at low cost. The Good Food Bag provides affordable food to families via volunteer efforts at community centers and other Farm to Table sites. The program meets people where they are by forming distribution sites around “natural hubs”- places where families and/or food buyers for those families congregate.

I coded this excerpt as related to *Food Sovereignty Principle #1* (Food for People), noting that it showed some evidence of the aspects of anti-hunger, right to food, and food as community building. In terms of subcodes, I evaluated this as *weak support*, because the excerpt, especially in the context of the surrounding text, shows support for some but not all of the aspects of food sovereignty Principle #1. For example, there is no attention to long-term food security or addressing the drivers of hunger. The full coding dictionary for Question #2 and a more detailed example of my coding is available in Appendix E and G.

Trustworthiness

A central issue in qualitative research is trustworthiness, also known as credibility. Thus qualitative researchers utilize various validation strategies to make their studies credible and rigorous, particularly to minimize potential bias and observer effect (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Credibility for this study was achieved using the validation strategies of data triangulation, researcher reflexivity, thick description, stakeholder checks, and peer checks.

In terms of data triangulation, I interviewed various participants, observed meetings, and analyzed documents. To enhance my researcher reflexivity, I kept a reflective journal and field notes throughout the process (Marshall & Rossmann, 2010). I recorded my reactions, assumptions, expectations, and biases about the research process. I checked against these throughout the analysis phase. I also used this journal to examine my personal assumptions and goals and clarify my individual biases, belief systems and subjectivities (Russell & Kelly, 2002).

In terms of thick description, I provided rich detail about my observations, interviews, and analyses. I often used direct quotes, to use interviewees' own words rather than my own.

Fourth, I used stakeholder checks. I checked with stakeholders progressively during the research project, both formally and informally. During the interviews, I restated or summarized information and then questioned the participant to determine accuracy. After each interview, I sent my transcription to the interviewee to enable them to comment, fix errors, or provide additional information. Of those participants that responded, they affirmed that the summaries reflect their views, feelings, and experiences. Finally, I gave participants an opportunity to see the dissertation and provide written or oral commentary. Some interviewees provided clarification, which I used to make changes to my analysis and interpretation. Overall, the process of stakeholder checks served to decrease the incidence of incorrect data and the incorrect interpretation of data, and helped provide findings that are authentic, original and reliable. Finally, I used peer debriefing. In particular, I utilized checks with my peer community and project supervisors. I presented preliminary findings of my work at two conferences (AESOP/ACSP Dublin, Ireland 2013, ACSP Philadelphia 2104) as a way to solicit feedback and have assumptions challenged. I also conducted frequent debriefing sessions with my primary supervisor, also a member of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. Another member

of the reading committee is also a member of Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. They provided a sounding board for testing my developing ideas and interpretations, ensuring accurate descriptions, and recognizing my own biases and preferences.

Limitations

Limitations in this research include potential researcher bias. Despite my efforts to enhance my reflexivity and clarify my positionality in this research, I am still a flawed, biased observer, and some important observations may have escaped my observation.

The comprehensive plan evaluation is limited. Many policies affect the food system without intentionally doing so or without explicitly mentioning food; I was unable to evaluate all of those policies. Also, plans are consistently updated, so this evaluation only represents a point in time. Not all of the plans are from the same year, so it may be the case that the more recent plans have more food policies than older ones. I attempted to control for this bias in several ways. First, I focused on plans within Washington state, a state that requires regular updating of comprehensive plans- which allowed for more consistency than in a state that has no requirements about comprehensive plans. I also examined plans within a particular update window period, which following Washington's laws means that most plans were probably produced from within a six to seven year time period. If I had wanted to specifically examine how policies have changed over time, I would have utilized a pretest-posttest design and compared jurisdictions' first comprehensive plans from the 1980's and 1990's to their most recent ones. A future study may also compare to plans that are currently being updated as part of the 2015-2017 update cycle.

Another limit to the plan evaluation is that I only categorized jurisdictions by population size. Another way to categorize the jurisdictions would be by type- for example, urban, suburban

and rural. To do that, I could have evaluated metrics including jurisdiction size, population density, location (e.g. distance from downtown Seattle or Interstate 5), zoning, and/or land use to characterize different jurisdictions.

A third limit to the comprehensive plan evaluation is that plans are only one part of planning practice, and may not be reflective of implementation actual practice on the ground. To address that limit, I expanded my analysis to include not only comprehensive plans- which are one of planning's most basic tools- to also include examinations of two planning actors- the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and the City of Seattle. A future study could examine the implementation of specific policies, and the impacts to metrics (e.g. food insecurity).

This study is also limited in its focus and scope. The focus is on land-based food systems. Water-based food systems are also very important in the Puget Sound Region and are worthy of further research. A related limit is the place-based focus. While studying the Central Puget Sound region enabled me to take an in-depth look at one region, it did not enable a broader understanding of food systems planning across the United States or across the world, or the contextualization of these specific cases within a broader social change movement. Within qualitative, case-based research, there are always questions about the generalizability of findings outside of the particular case.

A final limit is an incomplete and evolving understanding of food sovereignty- both my own, and in the literature. Other scholars of food sovereignty have reflected on the complexity and multiple interpretations of food sovereignty. One ongoing source of debate in food sovereignty literature is the role of the government, with some arguing that government is needed to protect and enforce rights. As Patel (2009) calls it, food sovereignty is a "big tent." He

does declare, however, that food sovereignty's multiple geographies have, despite their variety, a few core principles. As my starting point for this research, I used the six principles of food sovereignty agreed upon at the Declaration of Nyéléni, and I adapted these for what I saw as most relevant for the American urban context, particularly in light of recent critiques of the U.S. food movement. I admit that my portrayal of food sovereignty is only an early attempt, and that future social movements, research and developments may lead us to a better shared understanding of food sovereignty. Thus, my study is limited by my current understanding of the concept.

Chapter Four: Findings

Question One: How, and to what extent, is food systems planning practiced?

Question one: Comprehensive plans. For this study, I examined 58 comprehensive plans in the Central Puget Sound region, including the plans for the four counties and 54 towns and cities. For most jurisdictions, the most current plan as of 2012 was used. Exceptions included the four counties and the cities of Des Moines, Federal Way, and Seattle. For these seven jurisdictions, the most up-to-date plan as of early 2014 was used. Most of the region's counties and cities have already integrated food, to at least some degree, into their comprehensive plans. All four (100%) of the counties and 47 out of 60 (78%) of cities have at least one food-related policy. This is much higher than nationally, where only about 10% of plans had a food-related policy (Hodgson, 2012). The number of policies in plans varied widely. The county comprehensive plans contained, in total, almost 280 policies (see Figures 3-6). King (pop. 2 million) and Snohomish (pop. 733,063) Counties had 109 and 89 food policies, respectively, or about five times as many as Kitsap County (pop. 254,991) with 24 policies, and almost twice the number as Pierce County (pop. 811,611), with 56 policies.

Figure 2: Number of Policies by County

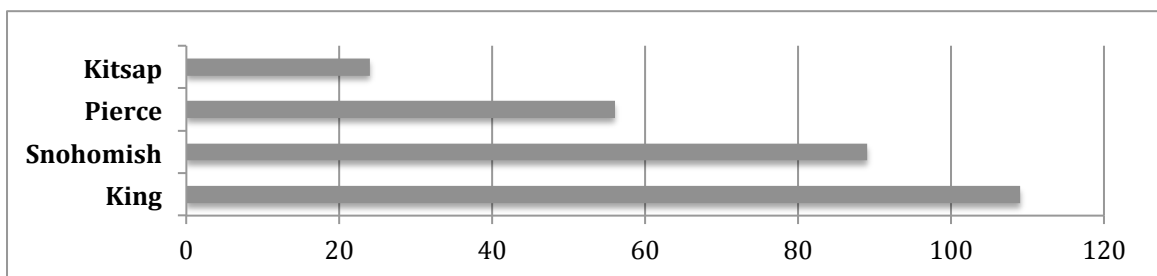


Figure 3: Number of Policies by Large-Sized Cities (population > 1 million)

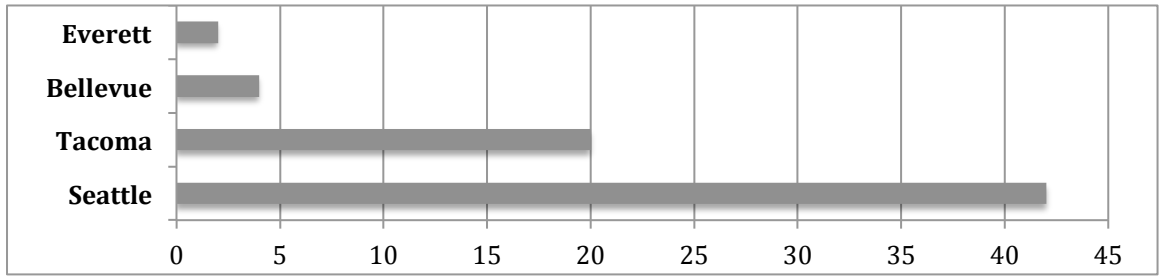


Figure 4: Number of Policies by Medium-Sized Cities (population 15,000-100,000)

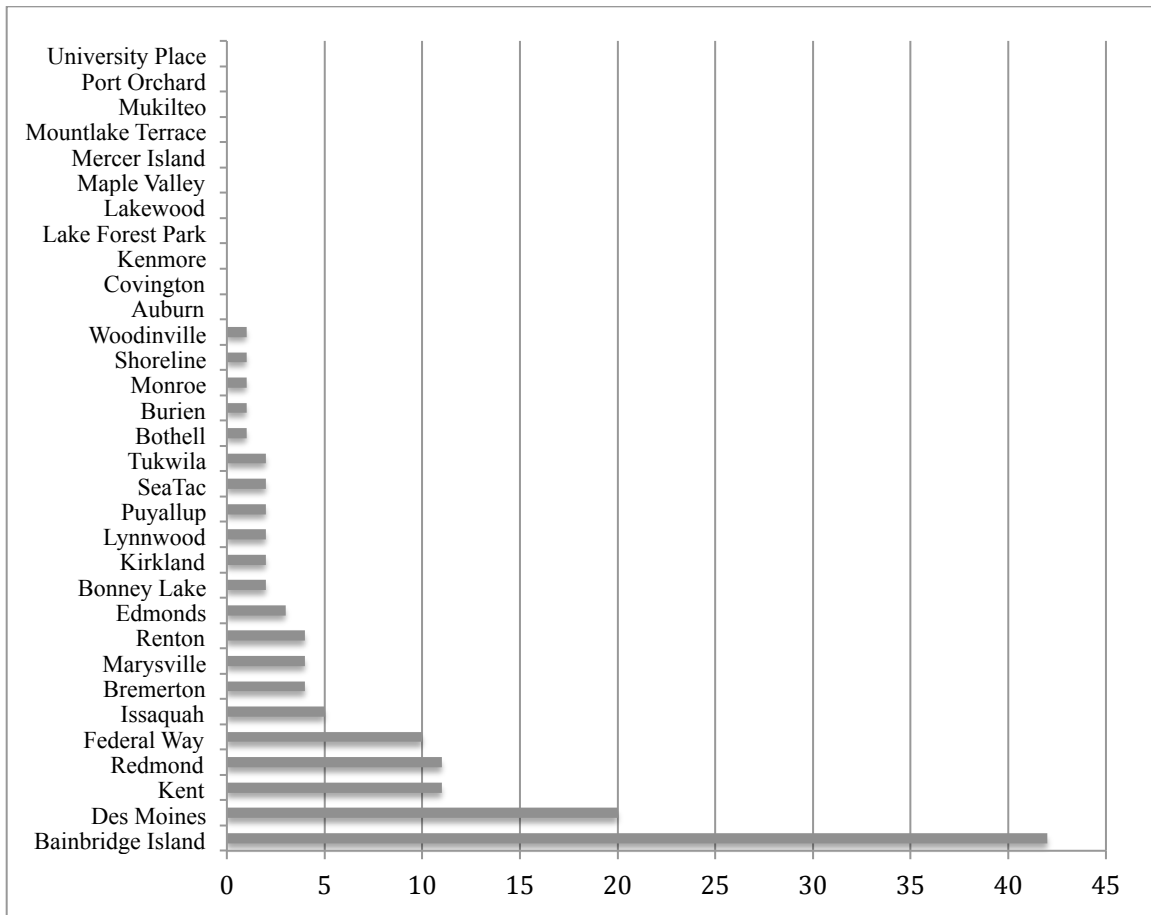
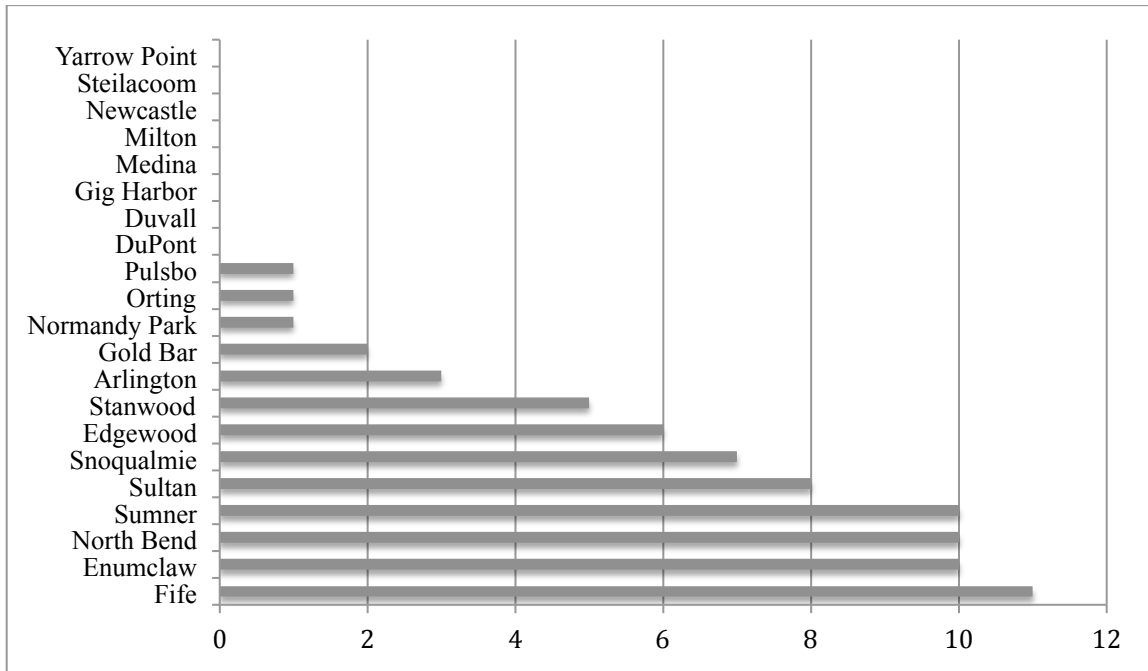


Figure 5: Number of Policies by Small Town/City (population under 15,000)



As for the city comprehensive plans, 69 policies were found among plans for large cities (over 100,000 people), again, with wide variation. Seattle (pop. 634,535) had 37 policies, and Tacoma (pop. 202,010) had 26 policies compared to Bellevue (pop. 133,992), with four policies, and Everett (pop. 105,370), with two policies.

Among medium-sized cities (pop. 15,000-100,000), Bainbridge Island (pop. 23,623), a suburban community with a historically agricultural landscape had the most policies with 42. The suburban communities of Kent and Redmond had eleven, while Federal Way had ten. On the other hand, the suburban communities of Auburn, Covington, Kenmore, Lake Forest Park, Lakewood, Maple Valley, Mercer Island, Mountlake Terrace, Mukilteo, Port Orchard, and University Place had zero food-related policies.

Among the small cities/towns (pop. under 15,000), Enumclaw, Fife, North Bend, and Sumner each had ten policies, while Du Pont, Duvall, Gig Harbor, Valley, Medina, Mercer Island, Milton, Mountlake Terrace, Newcastle, Steilacoom, and Yarrow Point had zero.

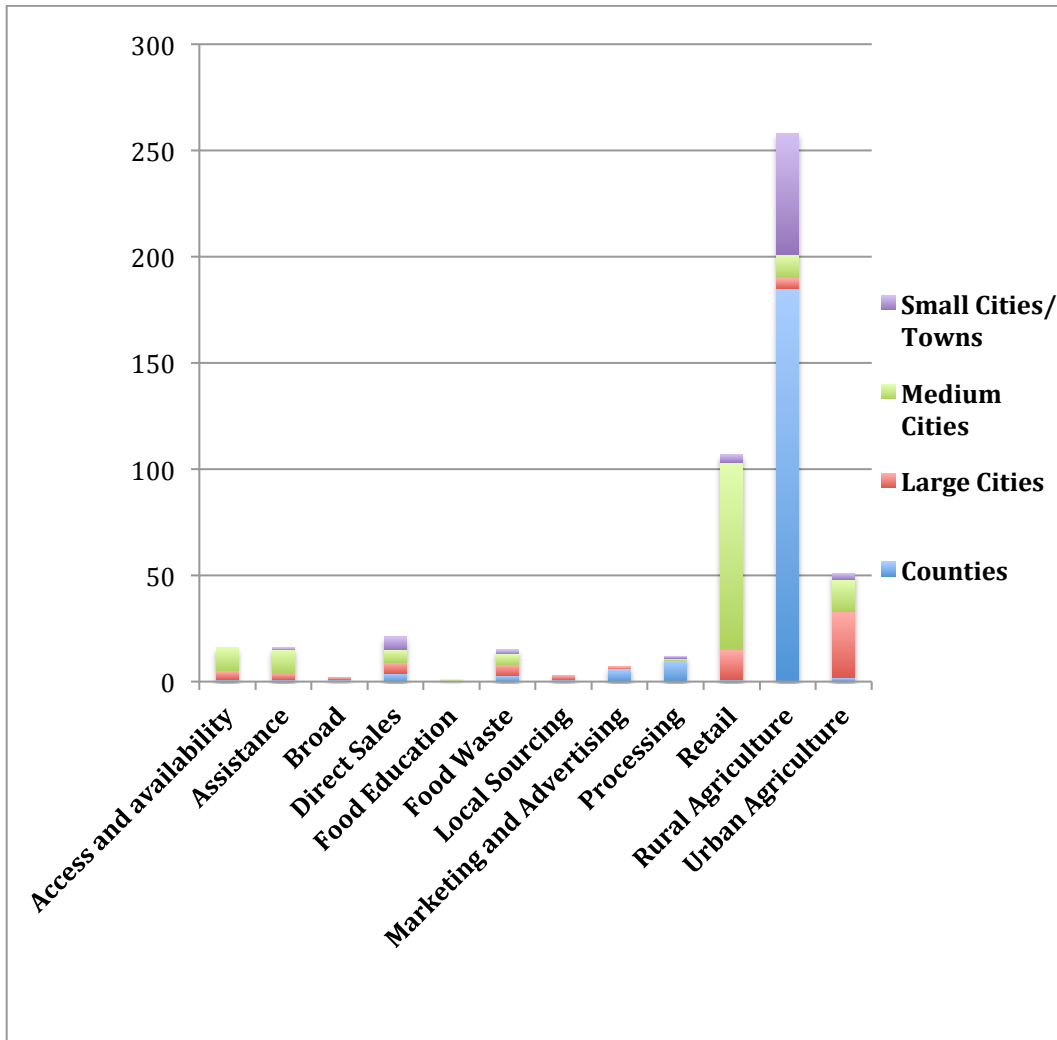
There was not a consistent trend among city size and number of policies. I expected that larger cities, with more resources and likely larger planning staffs, would have more food-related policies, but that was not the case. Some smaller cities had more policies than larger ones. This demonstrates that individual context and planner agency likely play roles in getting food-related policies in comprehensive plans.

No comprehensive plan included a stand-alone food element. Instead, comprehensive plans incorporated food policies into more traditional, required elements. For example, rural and land use elements contained policies on farmland protection, while environment and natural resource elements contained environmental-related restrictions on agriculture and promotion of sustainable farming practices. Downtown and sub-area elements had policies on community gardens, roof gardens, farmers markets, food retail, land use, and food access.

Some jurisdictions used new elements focused on urban forestry, sustainability, and health to add food-related policies to their comprehensive plans. For instance, Tacoma had a series of policies promoting urban agriculture in its new urban forestry element. These policies addressed issues related to programming and partnerships, education, community gardens, plant section, land and zoning, private gardens in new housing developments, and security. Urban agriculture was also addressed, though in less detail, in the open space, habitat and recreation element. The cities of Edmonds, Everett, and North Bend included food-related policies that encourage local food production and distribution through community gardens and farmers markets in the sustainability elements of their plans. In Des Moines, staff recently included policies to increase access to healthy food and limit unhealthy food and drink in city programs/facilities into the health element of its comprehensive plan.

There was also wide variation in which topics were addressed (see Figure 6). As in the national scan (Hodgson, 2012), rural agriculture was the food issue most addressed overall, by just over half of all 509 policies in the Puget Sound region. Rural agriculture was the issue most addressed in county, medium-sized and small-sized city comprehensive plans. This may be unsurprising since the state Growth Management Act requires attention to farmland protection in comprehensive plans. Among the four large cities, the top two addressed topics were urban agriculture (31 policies) and retail (14 policies).

Figure 6: Policies, by Food Systems Topics



Synthesis. Comprehensive plans contain a dearth of food-related policies. Only a handful of counties and cities have a significant number of such policies; many have none at all. This disparity in food policy attention is likely attributable to leadership, staff and resource capacity (due in part to population size), degree of demand from local residents, community norms and values, policies in other plans, and level of political will. Plans do not take a balanced, holistic approach to the food system. Instead, food production is the topic comprehensive plans address most often; retail and urban agriculture are also addressed, albeit unevenly. Plans do not consistently mention other important aspects of the food system: food access, assistance, education, environmental issues, processing, waste recovery, etc. Both counties and cities have significant opportunities for expanded policy attention to broader food system issues.

Question one: Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. Since its beginnings in 2010, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has achieved some results in enhancing Mendes's (2008) factors of urban food governance capacity, albeit in a limited capacity. The results are summarized in Table 2 below, and discussed in the following paragraphs.

Table 2: Puget Sound Regional Council's Impact on Food Governance Capacity post 2010

Puget Sound Regional Food Governance Capacity	Overall Evaluation of Change in Capacity Post 2010	Details on Changes to Capacity post 2010
1. Legal status and authority	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengths and challenges with PSRC as host (e.g. convener, quasi-governmental, limited authority) • No binding or legal authority • 2014 decision by PSRC Executive Committee to fund Council for \$30,000 annually for first time • Food not well represented in primary documents (e.g. VISION 2040)
2. Staff support and organizational location	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three PSRC staff members with allotted time (meeting support, administrative, some project-based) to Food Policy Council • Increased requests by PSRC staff for consultation/advice from Food Policy Council • Attention to food largely dependent on individual interest
3. Integration of food policy	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food not increased in VISION 2040 or

into regulatory and legal frameworks		<p>Transportation 2040; potential additions in next update</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of several policy blueprints and toolkits; completion of workshops and field trips on issues and policies • Anecdotal observations of increased food-related policies in jurisdictions' comprehensive plans • No specific measurable policy outcomes • Debates over policy leverage and approach
4. Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation (albeit uneven) by representatives of various food systems sectors and issues, and by governmental, non-governmental, and for-profit organizations • Partnerships with state of Washington, King County, City of Seattle on grant-funded projects • Ongoing challenges with geographic representation, diversity of membership, and inclusivity
5. Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus not on citizens at large • Some limited opportunities for citizen participation at meetings and via email • No particular attention to marginalized populations

1. Legal status and authority (mixed). The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council was formed in 2010 with a goal of achieving more legal status and authority, and it has had some success. In the past five years, the Council has gained some support and authorization from leaders at PSRC, increased the interest by PSRC staff in food-related issues, received dedicated funding, and achieved recognition among its governmental partners. In the beginning of the Food Policy Council's existence, some members were frustrated by the support and commitment from PSRC. Commented one member about the early years, "PSRC seemed to be a reluctant host—there is very little drive train through PSRC." Another called it a "shotgun marriage." This is problematic for the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, since as Roberts (personal communication, 2014) points out, "Food Policy Councils should be organized wherever someone in authority wants to hear from informed and engaged citizens about how to improve food policies... They shouldn't waste our time setting up a Food Policy Council if they don't want to do anything." It was not 100% clear in the beginning that PSRC would substantively support the

Council and listen to its recommendations. They did not start, as Toronto did, by developing a food charter and giving the Food Policy Council a mandate to address it—which Roberts (personal communication, 2014) calls a sign that “they have said they will use the time donated by food advocates wisely and respectfully.”

Since then, a recent sign of increased status and authority of the Food Policy Council is that the PSRC Executive Board committed \$30,000 in its annual budget, starting in 2014, to support the Council. While this is an important step, many interviewees don’t believe it is enough. Commenting on the lack of funding, one interviewee asked, “One question is how do you fund it? Food is super hot right now. But who funds its- the public- which public?”

An area where there is weak authority is that food is not yet well represented in the main guiding documents for PSRC and region, Vision 2040 and Transportation 2040. However, the Council believes that there will be opportunities to include more food-related policy in these documents in the next round of updates. There also has been discussion about including the food system sector as a stand-alone industry cluster in the region’s economic development planning efforts. A co-chair reflected on these incremental gains in a public meeting:

It took us two years to get PSRC to accept that food has any significance—we have gained that credibility at least. We are nowhere near getting a Food Policy 2040 plan... we are not at that point yet, but that doesn’t mean that couldn’t be a goal for us.

To raise the potential for increasing the leverage of food within PSRC, one member requested in 2014 that staff bring news from the broader agency to the group. Subsequently, the Council has been more intentional about hearing updates about what is going on more broadly at PSRC and identifying areas for intervention and action.

Another sign of the Food Policy Council's tentatively increasing status and authority is its recognition by the broader region. Food Policy Council meetings are regularly well-attended, with one to two dozen observers (often government employees and representatives of food systems organizations) from around the region. The Food Policy Council's webpage is one of the most-visited on the PSRC website. Additionally, governmental partners, notably Washington state, King County and the City of Seattle, reference the Puget Sound Regional Policy Council in their own food-related policies, plans, and decision-making. All three mentioned jurisdictions have partnered with the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council on policy and planning-related projects.

The ability of the Food Policy Council to further increase its status and authority faces strengths and weaknesses related to its particular location at PSRC. One strength is that PSRC serves as a convener of the four counties, and it encompasses many food producing areas as well as major population centers. However, it is only quasi-governmental and does not have strong mechanisms for policy-making in the region. Its area of influence is not as direct as that of one city or county. Even in its more historical areas of focus, regional transportation, land use, and economic development planning, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has not had strong authority. Amid a regional context including values of decentralization, jurisdictional fragmentation, and some suburban-central city conflict, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has focused on fostering regional harmony, rather than on pushing a particular agenda. This may in part be due to its funding model, which relies on voluntary contributions from member jurisdictions. Its approach is symptomatic of regional planning broadly in the U.S., which functions less in a top-down way and more via incremental development of social capital, institutions, ad hoc partnerships, and frameworks of incentives and mandates between existing

levels of government (Wheeler, 2000, 2002). One interviewee commented, “When I look around, I don’t see an institutional model that is having success... Fundamentally it comes down to there just isn’t good regional governance anywhere.” This creates some challenges for food governance, since the Puget Sound Regional Council does not have much authority or leverage and rather only has the capacity to make recommendations and set an example.

Another condition that brings both potential and challenge is that Puget Sound Regional Council is relatively new to the food scene, so to speak. PSRC paid little explicit attention to food in the past two decades, other than issues related to farmland preservation and some limited attention to specialty food in economic development. Other than these exceptions, there are only a few mentions of the food system in PSRC’s most important documents, Vision 2040, Transportation 2040, and the Regional Economic Strategy. This lack of explicit attention to the food system has been true for many Metropolitan Planning Organizations for decades, though this is changing as other MPO’s, such as the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, are adopting food systems policies and plans. At this point, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is the only MPO-hosted multi-stakeholder Food Policy Council in the nation. PSRC’s lack of historical engagement on food, and its quasi-governmental status, bring with it both potential and challenges. One interviewee reflected,

PSRC is a weird entity. There are not other peer agencies like us working on food systems, so we are figuring it out as we go... It is not as obvious as city- or county-focused Food Policy Councils, which are more focused, clearer about where they can have an impact. The makeup of PSRC—plus PSRC being an MPO, and therefore quasi-governmental—it is a level of government most people are not aware of... We’re strange

bedfellows—not exactly the right term, but still... A lot happens on the fly. It's like a courtship; we're all getting to know one another.

While the Food Policy Council has achieved some level of recognition as an influential body in terms of decision-making about the food system, it is not the exclusive forum for food-related decision-making. In the past five years, the City of Seattle and each of the counties have led some of their own collaborative processes on food systems. There also have been several attempts at starting a state roundtable. As such, participants don't view the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council as the only venue for food policy collaboration in the region. A concern mentioned by interviewees is that the multiple efforts spread participants thin, and potentially undermine the Food Policy Council's relevancy. One member reflected, "There is so much going on... and I don't know that the Food Policy Council is the intermediary of all of this." Another reflected on redundancy, noting that "all of the groups are doing all of the same things." Another said,

Another thorn in the side is all these competing organizations—King County Kitchen Cabinet, the Pike Place Market Initiative—I don't fully understand why these are organized as separate organizations. Why do these operate on the side? If I could wave my magic wand, I'd bring them all together. I mean this is crazy! All these different groups, all that time and energy, all the money spent on each individual effort... Looking from above, it really needs more strategy.

2. Staffing, organizational location, and expertise (mixed.) I evaluated the Food Policy Council as mixed in terms of its staffing, expertise and training, interdepartmental communication and cooperation. In terms of staff, three PSRC employees provide administrative support to the Council to plan meetings, take and post meeting notes, and advance some projects. Interviewees

see this support as critical. Nevertheless, at public meetings and in interviews, members emphasize that the level of staffing and leadership on the Food Policy Council is not sufficient. Staff themselves have commented in meetings that they are unable to implement the myriad projects identified by the Council, due to their limited paid time. Said one interviewee, “We are relying on part-time staff, and a volunteer-led, largely powerless group... Changing the food system requires a lot of tools—land use, economic development... It seems unlikely that the Food Policy Council can do that.” There also questions about whether the staff has sufficient expertise and influence. Another commented, “The leadership is not about pushing an agenda. The staff is weak there...and perhaps underpowered, and so then the leaders on the Council must step up—and they really have not.”

In signs of positive development in this capacity factor, the Council has opened up new pathways for interdepartmental coordination and communication around food. PSRC staff working in other areas (land use, growth management, comprehensive plans, transportation, economic development) are increasingly asking the Food Policy Council for guidance. For example, staff have come to Council meetings and requested Council input on rural transportation planning, the development of Healthy Communities Toolkits, and in discussion on the potential identification of food as an economic cluster. Thus, there appears to be growing appreciation by PSRC staff and leadership of the expertise of the Food Policy Council. One interviewee noted,

Placing the Food Policy Council at Puget Sound Regional Council is doing exactly what I hoped it would when I started in that some of the other staff of Puget Sound Regional Council are starting to wake up—having sat at some of those meetings at PSRC and

seeing looks at the places—and now the economic development and transportation people, now they are saying ‘Oh, food!’ And that’s exactly what I said would happen. However, the level of support appears to be uneven throughout PSRC and dependent on the interest of particular members, rather than common practice or required. Another interviewee commented that merely getting additional employees to pay attention to food is not enough, as many do not have sufficient knowledge about the food system, federal policy, the food industry, or the food movement.

3. Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks (mixed.) The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has achieved some important, albeit limited success at integrating food policy into existing regulatory and legal frameworks. The Council has hosted several field trips examining policy issues around agriculture, as well as some training sessions for public health practitioners and urban planners. Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council’s main policy-related outputs include a set of Policy Blueprints, a report on issues about farmers markets for the City of Seattle, and a report with suggestions for new food policies in the City of Seattle Comprehensive Plan. The Food Policy Council has also provided input and advice on PSRC’s Healthy Communities Planning toolkit. In the report on Seattle’s Comprehensive Plan, the Food Policy Council articulated a larger vision for the role of government in food policy, and a wide range of suggested policies, including:

- enabling the use of public land for growing food, distribution, and sales;
- encouraging locally based food production and distribution;
- purchasing of local and regional food;
- discouragement of fast food;

- enhancing walk, bicycle, and transit access to grocery stores and other healthy food retail, community gardens, food banks, and farmers markets;
- fostering organic farming techniques, rainwater capture, and innovative practices that protect soil and water resources;
- the use of native seed;
- ending hunger;
- committing to support and fund community-based program; and
- ensuring youth have access to gardens and garden/food curriculum.

These recommended policies are currently recommendations only, but they provide a basis for further development and experimentation in Seattle and throughout the region. There are indications that the City will adopt some (though not all) of the policies in the next Comprehensive Plan update. Whether Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council can influence other, likely less receptive cities to adopt this kind broader set of food policies remains to be seen.

Outside of influence on Seattle and at the regional-level, it is unclear whether the Puget Sound Food Policy Council has influenced any other local jurisdictions to make specific policy changes. Some interviewees suspect that the Food Policy Council has created more attention to food: “The policy blueprints—there has been a lot of interest, a lot of local support. We’ve done a lot of outreach around that, and there has been a great reception by local government.” However, besides the vague feelings, the specific effects are hard to assess, since, as one interviewee noted, “We don’t know the weight of the actions. We don’t have that part of the feedback loop.” Another said,

Some good work has been done, in that white paper around farmers markets—and maybe that was useful for the people on the inside game—but did somebody document the outcomes? No. And you cannot take the credit if it cannot be accounted for. It takes some good qualitative research to document that. What happened? Did Chris Curtis have better luck getting the Link station at Capitol Hill to have a farmers market?... We won't know if the white paper had any policy outcomes, because we have not studied it.

A challenge in terms of the Council's influence on legal and regulatory frameworks is that while the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council agrees on what it doesn't want (e.g., big factory farms, reliance on industrial food, unhealthy eating, and hunger), it has not clearly articulated what it *does* want. The Council's mission uses abstract words: “thriving,” “inclusive,” “just,” and “health.” All members agree with those terms. In practice, though, the words function like what Markusen (1999) calls a “fuzzy concept”—one that posits a phenomenon that possesses two or more alternative meanings and thus cannot be applied reliably by different people. A risk is that the terms may be used as ideological tools or intangible platitudes only, much as Gunder (2006) describes the planning ideal of sustainable development, which has been used largely to foster economic growth, while addressing social and environmental goals shallowly. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council lacks shared or concrete ideas, for example, about who should farm, what farming or food harvesting practices should entail, what trading agreements should look like, and the specific role of government. One member suggested there would be some benefit to declaring specific tangible goals, like that a certain percentage of food produced locally are consumed locally.

Another challenge in terms of institutionalizing food policy into legal and regulatory frameworks is the lack of clarity and agreement on the role of the Council itself, and its theory of

change. Emerson, Nabatchi, & Balogh (2011) declared that collaborative actions are more likely to be implemented if (1) a shared theory of action is identified explicitly among the collaboration partners, and (2) the collaborative dynamics function to generate the needed capacity for joint action. Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council lacks in these areas. Many Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council members emphasize repeatedly that they want the Council to be a policy leader. In fact, the name Food *Policy* Council was distinctly chosen over Advisory Council (more commonly used by similarly formed boards at Puget Sound Regional Council, such as the Bicycle/Pedestrian Advisory Board) because its early founders wanted the Council to be active in making, not just advising on policy. As one member put it, “We are supposed to be the think tank for linking the policy system together.” One interviewee expressed that,

We bring disparate entities together to collaborate—we create real opportunities, especially among jurisdictions. It is a huge region, really diverse, so it is good to see jurisdictions collaborating. I also enjoy seeing linkages among projects, information sharing... it unearths exciting opportunities.

However, simply bringing people together has not proven to measurably improve shared capacity or generate shared action. Members agree that in its first four years the Food Policy Council did a lot of talking about policy but took little action. One said, “They [the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council leaders and members] keep talking about policy, though there is a thing as policy in action. It needs to hit the ground. Otherwise, it is just talk.” Another noted how the organization has “focused a lot more on networking as opposed to policy development.” One member summed up the problem by noting, “We have not launched a policy initiative. There is not a real policy outcome focus.”

Members also have had some disagreement about which level of policy engagement is appropriate. Some hope to advocate for state and national-level policy change, while others focus more on the local level. While some members have tried to focus the Council's attention on state and federal-level policy, others have resisted that. One reason is the Council's position at Puget Sound Regional Council: since Puget Sound Regional Council receives federal and state funds (largely from transportation grants and pass-through dollars) it as an organization is prohibited from lobbying at those levels. Under staff guidance, the Food Policy Council leadership has interpreted this to mean that the Food Policy Council is not allowed to organize around federal or state policy. Rather than send a letter on behalf of the Food Policy Council, members are encouraged to send individual letters from their own organizations. This lack of engagement frustrates some members. Some would like the Food Policy Council to take a more active role in state-level policy. One interviewee commented,

PSRC staff, they always say they can't do advocacy, but that is a very narrow view of advocacy, a narrow view of their job... Strategic staff would understand how to share information. I think they are being too careful, too unwilling to take a risk... Maybe it is them not being a match, or maybe they're being handcuffed by leadership. But the work needs a leader. It [advocacy] is a perceived, not a real limit...

On such specific issues as a state-level initiative about labeling genetically modified foods (I-522), the Council did not take a stance. As one interviewee mentioned, this is notably different from other local government actors, such as the City of Seattle, which adopted a City Council Resolution on the issue. Instead, the Council hosted a debate meant to inform members but not lead to a Council action. One member commented in an interview, "It seemed like it was just a courtesy that I-522 was discussed at all. It felt like just going through the motions. It is

frustrating that they are not willing to act politically.” The member believes that the Food Policy Council could be bolder and take some policy stances without violating the clauses against lobbying. Another member noted, “I sit on another council that is more effective. We send letters to federal and state decision makers, put pressure on them, we put our names on policy. This group is a different body of people.” However, other members do not want the Food Policy Council to engage at the state and federal levels. Some think their influence is simply stronger at the local level, and engaging in state and federal battles is just a losing battle, in light of the increasing neoliberalization of federal policy and erosion of interest in the public good. This lack of agreement on the theory of change is an ongoing challenge to the Council’s ability to influence policy.

When the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has worked on policy, it has mostly been at the local (e.g. city or county level) and via a soft approach, such as creating model policies, providing recommendations, and convening people. The Council has sent letters on local issues, such as a letter signed by the previous chair Richard Conlin in support of King County funding Washington State University Extension. Some members deem the soft approach insufficient, lamenting the Council’s lack of direct follow-up, noting that policy suggestions will remain merely suggestions and not be acted upon. One interviewee reflected, “The farmers market stuff seems exciting—we made a report with recommendations, okay—but did we go speak to Council, to OED [Office of Economic Development] to move things, make them respond?” Another member said,

The issue papers, they were good, but they were not fully disseminated. If it were me in charge, I would have found some money or the right people, got a little graphics on them, put them on the Food Policy Council list-serve asking people to contact us, get them to Departments

of Health, really leveraged their success, got them in the hands of the 80-plus cities and towns, in the hands of leaders.

The frustration is noted by other members. One member wryly noted at a Council meeting, reflecting on the slowness of work by the Council, “Bureaucracies are not known for innovation.” Another interviewee commented, “The Food Policy Council is so bound by process—and God knows PSRC doesn’t want to take any action.” In an interviewee, another commented, “From our nonprofit/advocacy members, I see some frustration at what they see as a lack of visible movement... A lot of our members are like: let’s get this grant, let’s do this project—but direct action is really not our scene. We don’t really do that. We don’t even have policies enabling that or guiding that...”

A final challenge in regards to institutionalizing policy change is that over the past five years, many meetings have consisted of presentations about various local projects. While members find these interesting and personally enlightening, the presentations have not been directly linked to any sort of policy or action agenda. The Council has discussed this and recently decided to reorganize meetings—and, relatedly, subcommittees—so that they are more action-oriented. It remains to be seen how this will work out.

4. Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making (mixed). The explicit purpose of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is to bring together joint-actor partnerships and networks to influence policy. The Council has succeeded, to some degree, in doing this. One thing most interviewees agreed on is the Council has effectively brought together some diverse people and influenced some shared knowledge-building and trust-building. However, participants also identified four major issues to the Council being a successful joint-actor partnership, including geographic inclusivity, diversity, imbalances among

members, and a lack of clarity about roles. The Council is actively seeking to address each of these.

First, there is mixed representation geographically. Some governmental representatives, such as representatives from most of the counties, Public Health and Agriculture Districts, and local universities, have participated consistently. However, the region's suburban cities have not been consistent in their engagement. One member commented on how suburban city representatives' declining involvement is problematic: "They could be very valuable people, for example, in keeping the suburban context heard, but their participation has not been there." As for reasons, there is a perception by some about an over-focus on Seattle and King County. One member noted, "I get frustrated up in King County—I struggle with our approach at Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council—it is very King and Seattle-centric." Another said, "We hear a lot about what is going on in Seattle—but it doesn't seem relevant to us." At a monthly Council meeting in spring 2015, one member suggested that meetings be held at various locations throughout the region, to make it easier for others to attend. The suggestion was briefly debated, with some members believing that the current location in downtown Seattle is most accessible for the most members and that joining by phone is an option. Another member said, "We *have* to figure out how to do it (move the meetings), if we want to show we care about other parts of the region." As of this time, geographic diversity on the Council remains an issue.

Second, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council faces challenges with participant diversity and inclusivity. On this issue, the Council is self-aware about critiques of the food movement as elitist and white. Their conversations around food security and food access have emphasized cultural relevance. Food Policy Council members also generally agree on the importance and value of having diverse voices "at" and not just "on" the table. In multiple

monthly meetings over the past five years, members have voiced concern about the lack of diversity at the table. One member noted in an interview, “There is a crisis of diversity at the table.” Another Council member commented, reflecting on the membership and beyond: “In general in the food movement, there are not enough people of color. We need more black and brown leadership. We need them to be supported, because the food movement is not a priority for them. It is really a white, middle/upper class focused movement so far.” Likewise, another said, “I am worried that whatever we come up will be inadequate because of the council makeup.” Another interviewee commented on the larger issue of diverse participation, “We have representatives from some big organizations—well-funded, well-connected big-picture thinkers—and we have some trouble hearing from the people who are in the trenches doing the day to day work... What do we do about that?” Another participant commented, “Here we are, talking about food insecurity, and no one around this table has ever experienced food security... So we are making decisions for people instead of with people.” At the May 2015 meeting, when membership was discussed, participants again brought up the lack of diversity. One member pointed out that new recruitment had not led to more people of color. She commented,

It is not just about the look- it is about the ideas that come out of this table because of who is here. We have *got* to address institutional racism... It is important to acknowledge our work tends to be racist, and there has to be a different strategy to get different results... It takes extraordinary effort to change institutional racism.

The Council members have collectively taken efforts to seek and invite people from diverse backgrounds to join the Council or to bring their perspectives to certain meetings. However, actually getting diverse representation at meetings has proven difficult. Evidence of this is in the

membership of the Food Policy Council and both the whiteness and professionalization of meetings. Most of the Food Policy Council participants are American-born and white, and most of them represent either government or the professionalized nonprofit sector. At the October 2014 meeting, about two-thirds of participants were representing local government. Only one was a person of color. Specifically identified as missing from the Council were minority business owners of farms and food businesses, fishermen, Cambodian flower farmers, berry farmers, farm laborers, representatives of producer and consumer-owned cooperatives and other alternative business models, and food purchasers from such institutions as universities, schools, daycare centers, and healthcare providers. For example, referencing farm laborer representation, no one from Familias Unidas is on the Council, even though it is currently coordinating a protest against poor working conditions on a major berry farm in the region (albeit in a county outside of the MPO boundaries). One interviewee reflected on that gap specifically, “This is an area where real policy could be passed—so we don’t hear that story.”

As one member noted, it is easy to identify the problem and hard to solve it. For example, staff have tried to recruit participants from local tribes and community-based organizations representing communities of color and low-income areas. In summer and fall 2014, some of the members called inactive Council members to hear about their concerns and interests in Council participation. There has been some success. In spring 2015, the Council successfully recruited representatives from an employee-owned cooperative and from a social justice focused organization. Despite these efforts, overall participation from diverse organizations and diverse individuals (ethnically, and socio-economically) remains low. It may be that the barriers to participation remain too high; and benefits too low. The Council has acknowledged that it is not just an issue of recruitment but also retention. At the May 2015 meeting, one member

commented, “Speaking of diversity... how can we onboard people, engage them- so it is not just how do we find them but also how to make it meaningful for them.” To investigate why previously active members of color are no longer involved, several Council members again committed to contacting them and asking “what can we do- differently in how we talk, how meetings go, where they are held, and overall to keep them engaged.”

While direct participation by diverse members and communities remains low, the Food Policy Council has made other efforts to hear from diverse voices outside of formal membership. For example, to bring in other viewpoints and perspectives, the Equity Subcommittee looked into the idea of listening sessions to hear directly from diverse peoples about their priorities in terms of food systems change. However, the effort dissipated after one of its leaders withdrew from the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council (for other reasons). She commented that she never felt the value of listening sessions was well understood by the Council:

When I raised the idea of listening sessions in Council, what kept being heard was that we need to go present who we are to others. But my idea was that we listen to them, not they listen to us [emphasis added, based on speaker’s emphasis]. It seemed like a basic idea to me. It may be that the Food Policy Council thinks the Food Policy Council knows everything they need to know... But we're missing the mostly poor, low-income, health compromised... The most impacted are not at the table; processes are not in place to hear them.

In another effort to enhance diverse perspectives, Council members have invited various speakers and conducted field trips to see on-the-ground issues. Meanwhile, individual members themselves seek to understand issues by attending, for example, conferences on Native American

food sovereignty. To some interviewees, this is a more effective way to bring in diverse viewpoints and perspectives to the Council.

Another issue related to inclusivity is that the focus of the Food Policy Council on being harmonious and cooperative may be counterproductive to pushing systems change, particularly with tribes, whose main concerns—hunting and fishing rights—are not prioritized in the consensus seeking process. Instead, the focus has been on farming and agriculture. Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council members themselves have conflicted viewpoints on whether the collaborative model is effective. One commented,

I think the consensus based approach has worked pretty well. It's all felt quite collegial, felt good. I've heard on other Food Policy Councils there can be some tensions—not to say we don't have any, but overall the group agreement seems to work really well. Everyone voices opinions, and then we all are okay... we have avoided ongoing emotional tension. We have pretty good continuing participation—good attendance and engagement.

But another had a different viewpoint: “Maybe we'd be better off without the Food Policy Council. Maybe it is masking the demand for a better system—serving as some kind of pressure relief valve.” Another member commented in a public meeting the need for the Food Policy Council to “respect multiple people's viewpoints. We are meant to be a big tent and therefore we are going to have many views.” However, there is no real process for soliciting diverse viewpoints, as the focus is more on gaining consensus on action items and not on hearing about the interests of otherwise oppressed and minority groups.

Others (Coplen & Cuneo, 2015; McCullagh & Santo, 2012) have written about the many challenges of fostering inclusivity on Food Policy Councils specifically, so the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is no exception. A complete evaluation of it in this regard is out of

the scope of this work, though the point is made that it remains a challenge for the Council. At the core, the issue about inclusivity is much deeper than simply counting the number of representatives of diverse communities. Even when people from diverse backgrounds are at the decision-making table, they can still be tokenized and disrespected. Another problem is that communicative planning processes do not necessarily challenge existing power relations (Purcell, 2009), nor do they seem capable of combating neoliberalism.

A third challenge in terms of the Food Policy Council's efficacy as a joint-actor partnership is that there are significant imbalances in power and resources among members. Notably, certain stakeholders do not have the time, energy, or liberty to engage in time-intensive collaborative processes. Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council puts a much larger burden on representatives from the community-based organizations and nonprofit sector than it does on government. Government employees are able to attend the meetings "on the clock," while farmers often give up precious farm time, and representatives from nonprofits and community organizations often attend unpaid and/or must determine whether the outcomes justify their time and attendance. One PSRC participant notes that all the meeting time

...is a huge burden to nonprofits. They take our knowledge and our expertise, time and time again. I question whether, organizationally, it is worth it... I have become so frustrated at a decade long conversation that seems to have an inability to move beyond talking to action. We are talking about raising money to keep PSRC going, when we all need to money to survive. There have been so few results from the high level conversation... Everyone's spinning wheels. We can compile ten years of strategic plans and documents.... And, on the ground, there are very real needs.

Imbalance also occurs when some stakeholders do not have the skill or expertise to engage in discussions about highly technical problems. Representatives of community-based organizations particularly voiced this concern. One member commented, “I never heard of PSRC until our Executive Director asked me to take his place, and I still had to find out what it’s about. I am still not really there... I get hung up on policy things.” Another member noted,

Policy tables feel so disempowering. It took me almost one and a half years to say anything at a Food Policy Council meeting, and even then I would preclude it with ‘I don’t know, but...’ You know, they invite you to the table, but you don’t get a guidebook about how it really works, why to stay, where the power is. You need to learn the basics of policy speech. So a lot of community-based groups drop from the tables. I’m one of the only ones still doing it. And I need a translator—it’s like each word, statement has layers and layers of meaning.

Another tension for Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is the varying levels of expertise and interest in different policy levels members bring to the meetings. Some of the representatives of local government on the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council want to focus on local and county-level policy change, particularly in comprehensive plans. Yet other members, particularly those working on state and federal level advocacy or in nonprofit and community-based organizations, have less understanding of local government or Comprehensive plans. One member reflected,

Some of it is a level of familiarity thing—some people work on other things. They are not familiar with comprehensive plans. I have been a planner so long it is hard to imagine not knowing about them. But it is really important to understand that not everyone does. It is

hard—we are supposed to be a policy council—but there are different points of entry. I really want the work of the Food Policy Council to be relevant to what PSRC does.

A final struggle in terms of the solidness of the joint-actor partnership is that there is not always clarity of roles and responsibilities. There is not a common agreement about who is the leader of the effort. On the one hand, staff and co-chairs want to see collaborative effort and want buy-in from all members. Yet many members want to see more distinct leadership. One interviewee commented, “There is a little confusion about who is running the show.” Comparing it to a King County-led effort, she went on,

The King County Kitchen Cabinet—it is different, you have a county executive being the driver of the show—at the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, you don't have one person to take credit, or to help get X to happen—but the Food Policy Council needs someone to harness the existing potential. It can't just be the co-chairs—it needs to be a combination of the staff members and a set of leaders on the council. You need thought leaders who understand politics.

A related challenge is that the roles of each individual member have not always been entirely clear. Many interviewees commented on how participants are not effectively engaged outside of meeting attendance, and their resources and connections have not been maximized. Staff members also noted this. One interviewee commented that a major challenge is “getting the council to a place of autonomy, where individual members have a role beyond listening/talking: to do some work on committees outside of the meetings.” Another commented,

If I were the leader of the coalition, now that there is a strategic plan in place I would have each member offer input on the strategic plan, then commit to how they will provide resources, what relationships they have access to, to actually implement the plan. The

leadership should be asking people, ‘What are your ideas, in terms of getting things done?’

This interviewee feels not enough of this has been happening at the Council, and that members attend meetings but do not engage as needed outside of that time. As of spring 2015, the Food Policy Council re-established several working committees, and it remains to be seen how effectively it can engage people in deeper work.

Despite all the challenges described above, the joint-actor partnership model has helped build member knowledge and relationships of trust. In interviews, many members expressed how much they learned from the conversations and presentations about various aspects and concerns of the food systems. Many members commented that they have learned more about issues farmers face, for example. In addition, most interviewees expressed that Council’s greatest benefit so far has been in relationship building and sharing perspectives across various parts of the food systems and the region. These subtle gains may be the most important benefit of the Council so far, though it is difficult to assess what value the increased knowledge and education of members, and their enhanced relationships, has on food systems change.

While there has been some gains, trust and shared understanding are incomplete. One example is regarding the relationship among policy makers with farmers. One member commented:

I don’t have a solution for this—but observe it—all of us talk about food and are engaged in these efforts to get into the community... And when you look at this list of people involved... It is the consumers who are driving this, not the farmers. Sometimes the farmers are the antagonists... I don’t get why the farmers antagonize... They don’t seem to embrace our ideas that we are putting together a system. I find that curious. I don’t

know if we'll get them on board as we go further along... Or if farmers will just bitch and moan.

One possible source of this lack of trust is that farmers often face the brunt of being asked to provide many services, including access to fresh and healthy food and environmental stewardship, while facing steep costs and regulations, and at a serious disadvantage compared to other heavily subsidized producers in the global market. As one example, one member pointed out that “increasing the number of farmers markets is not a ‘favor’ to farmers. Farmers are stretched thin by selling at multiple farmers markets... There is a tension around the goals of farmers markets and if they simply are offloading cost onto farmers.” This is one example of the an ongoing tension among farmers and policy makers.

Given the real challenges, many interviewees are patient about the need to move slowly and build trust. However, as time has passed, members are also frustrated at the slowness of the process and lack confidence that it will move successfully from problem identification to action. One member commented,

And that is where the Food Policy Council is now—how do they step into the solutions role? And how to do that while still keeping everyone on board? How to decide three things to work on and still maintain interest by those sectors that are not directly engaged? For example, if you pick farming issues, what’s in it for anti-hunger or public health? That’s where the trust-building and education of the earlier phase comes into play.”

5. Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations (mixed). The Council has made some, albeit limited, progress in establishing a place for citizen participation in food systems decision-making. For example, the Council offers a public comment period at every

meeting, and hundreds of people have signed up to receive emails from the Council. The comment periods seem largely a custom or expectation, and not really about inviting and engaging citizen participation. Most members of the Council do not believe that engaging citizens is the key role of the Council, as they see other organizations as better suited for that.

Some members reflect that an ongoing challenge to effectively engaging the public is that food movement in the Puget Sound region has been quite siloed, and the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has yet to bring it fully together. As one member put it,

...there is no well-formed public interest around the food system. People like local food, and manifest it by buying locally. But there is not much political interest and it is not clear that people understand that they can do more than just shop at a farmers market. It really is not a well-formed political issue. It is a long way from being a mature political issue—so that puts limits on what can get done. I mean, I haven't seen tractors pulling into city council demanding local procurement... there is little literacy on what needs to be done.

That argument is perhaps incomplete. Many interested people attend and even comment at Council meetings, and many groups are engaged in some level of advocacy work on food. A more realistic description of the challenge is that the food movement is more activated by sub-issues like anti-hunger and farmland protection, and in specific geographic locations (e.g. specific cities, counties, state-wide, or nation-wide), not at the scale of the Puget Sound Regional Council. The Council has yet to determine how to effectively engage with this diversity of mobilized groups. The regional food movement also has a complex history of both cooperation and conflict. In terms of conflict, for example, farmers and environmentalists have sometimes been portrayed (whether accurate or not) as having opposite goals in terms of enabling farming

as an activity and salmon habitat protection. In that specific case, numerous efforts have been attempted to forge stronger alliances among farmers and environmentalists (Snohomish Sustainable Lands Strategy, for one), with varying degrees of success. Some tension remains, in part because the region's remaining farmland is largely located in floodplains near rivers.

However, it is not always that the food movement has tensions- it may be more accurate to note that they focus on different aspects of food systems problems and support different strategies and solutions. This again creates some challenges for the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council in that there is not a clear and salient agenda coming from a mobilized and coordinated food movement, nor is there a clear path by which to gauge community priorities.

Synthesis. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has increased its urban food governance capacity in notable ways. The Council is incrementally gaining attention from PSRC leadership and staff, and it is likely that future regional planning efforts like Vision 2040 will pay more explicit attention to food. The Council has created policy blueprints and toolkits, and it is likely, though not confirmed, that these are influencing at least some more responsive jurisdiction in the region. The Council also has had some success at developing trust and shared knowledge among its members. However, many challenges remain, notably in gaining real authority over decision-making, taking a clear role on implementing food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks at all scales, fostering an inclusive membership and equality among its members, and engaging meaningful community participation. While not explicitly studied in this research, the Council is facing challenges common to other collaborative processes. This is an area worthy of further research.

Question one: City of Seattle. Seattle’s food policy implementation capacity has increased in some but not all area post the passage of the Local Food Action Initiative in 2008. I have assessed the food governance capacity of Seattle as mixed in each of the five factors, summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Seattle’s Urban Food Governance Capacities

City of Seattle Food Governance Capacity	Overall Capacity Post 2008	Details on Change in Capacity
Legal status and authority	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous strong champion at City Council. Now no strong opposition, but no strong champion in council or mayor’s office. • Some connections to legal mandates (e.g. Comprehensive Plan, Climate Action Plan) • Local Food Action Initiative, 2008 (non-binding Resolution) • Food Action Plan, 2012 (no real implementation power) • Some increased budget for staff and pilot projects, but no reliable significant source of funds, and ongoing competition with other values.
Staffing, organizational location, and expertise	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food Policy Coordinator has convening power but no direct authority. • Interdepartmental Team on Food fosters coordination across departments at staff level. • Varied departmental interest and support.
Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some policy changes (e.g. urban agriculture, street use, onsite sales) have been adopted in land use code. • Increased language on food policy in Comprehensive Plan.
Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City formally partners with King County (Farm and Foods Roundtable), Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, and Washington State (via a working food systems roundtable). These partnerships experience some of their own challenges.
Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations	MIXED	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some formal mechanisms via City hearing and budgeting processes. • Reliance on ad hoc processes. • Some outreach efforts to engage marginalized populations specifically designed according to best practices.

1. Legal status and authority (mixed). The City of Seattle has achieved mixed success in increasing the legal status and authority of food, in terms of support from elected officials, connection to broad City mandates, and funding. First, support by elected leadership has increased in recent years. One staff member commented, “I think there has been a significant cultural shift around food, policy-making, and leadership at the City. Now it’s a no-brainer—nobody questions that we are talking about food policy, com[rehensive] planning about food.” At the advent of the Local Food Action Initiative (LFAI) in 2008, the mayor at the time, Greg Nickels, did not support it because, according to one interviewee, Nickels said, “That is not what we do.” The subsequent mayor, Michael McGinn, showed more support for food-related issues. He made funding available to hire a half-time Food Policy Coordinator. The current Mayor Ed Murray has continued funding the Coordinator position. He also has shown vocal, though not significant financial, support for the Fresh Bucks program, stating in a press release that “The Fresh Bucks program is a great way to boost the purchasing power of low income families while also contributing significantly to local businesses... Growing this program is a win-win for Seattle residents and our local economy” (City of Seattle, Office of the Mayor, 2015). However, food is not a consistently strong mayoral priority. As a City employee said:

The mayor has never had food policy as a top priority—so really it is up to us to bring ideas forward. The...mayors have been supportive, but they haven’t really rocked the boat, raised a lot of attention about it, brought big money or anything.

Mayors tend to prioritize issues with historically higher profiles, as another interviewee said: “Mayors fundamentally are about potholes. They have to focus on things that are important to everybody. Food can’t do that.”

Some of the City councilors have shown strong leadership on food systems issues, notably past council president Richard Conlin. Conlin and his staff were instrumental in the passage of the LFAI and the urban agriculture code update. Only one other council member, Mike O'Brien, is seen as particularly supportive of food issues. However, interviewees noted that O'Brien is "generally supportive of sustainability issues" but that he focuses on "bigger" issues and his staff has "very little capacity to take on new work." Over the past few years, Council members have generally voted in favor food-related policy and programming. This is a distinct change from the past, when two to three of Council members consistently voted against any food-related proposals. One interviewee said,

They [Council members] are seeing that it is more politically damaging to stomp on something that has a lot of enthusiasm than to continue funding and supporting it... Also, it doesn't take a lot of resources, so for not much put in by government, the level of satisfaction is tremendous. They also see that it is impactful, while it is not a huge commitment in terms of resources.

However, support by City Council remains limited and not substantive. Now that Conlin is not on the City Council, the Council lacks a leader who champions food. One interviewee commented that that "Most of our work is supported by the mayor and the council—no one says no—but having a champion versus having no one opposed is a different thing."

Second, there has been some increase in terms of broad City mandates regarding food. Notably, the City's 2008 Local Food Action Initiatives and the 2012 Food Action Plan have helped to raise the status of food, spur pilot projects, initiate policy changes, and expand food-related programming. Yet both the LFAI and the Food Action Plan are more advisory and inspirational than authoritarian. Released in 2012, the Food Action Plan aims to connect all of

the City's food-related efforts to the City's many departments and various goals by identifying four main goals: (1) healthy food for all, (2) grow local, (3) strengthen the local economy, and (4) prevent food waste. It also establishes a loose 3-to-5-year action plan identifying Seattle's next steps to reach these goals. The Food Action Plan is an enabling and coordinating plan rather than an implementation or strategic one. One employee who contributed to it described it as "pretty broad...a multi-pronged strategy about pushing everything forward. It is more of a putting together of various things than a coherent plan or strategy. It has kind of a fundamental weakness—and maybe that is to be expected among a collection of plans." The Food Action Plan identifies the City's role in the food system as facilitator (removing barriers), funder of service providers of public goods that are not financially sustainable, and partner with private entities. The Food Action Plan does not channel resources or prioritize strategies. Employees commented that the plan has made progress on achieving low-hanging fruit, but they did not anticipate any significant expansion in food-related projects or programming any time soon.

Apart from the specific food-related LFAI and Food Action Plan, food is represented partially but not fully in other initiatives and documents with legal authority. Notably, as of 2012 Seattle had 42 food-related policies in its Comprehensive Plan, addressing issues ranging from urban agriculture to access to healthy food. This number is a big increase since prior to the Local Food Action Initiative, when the Comprehensive Plan contained only a few food-related policies, mainly about community gardens. There are remaining gaps. As discussed earlier, Seattle contracted with PSRC in 2012 to research and recommend additional policies and strategies for consideration in future plan updates. It remains to be seen whether the City will adopt many of those policies.

Food is also addressed in Seattle's Climate Action Plan (adopted in June 2013), which mentions that climate change may pose a risk to food systems and food prices. The Climate Action Plan includes a Food Systems section as well as individual action items around food in other sections. The action items are about implanting the Food Action Plan, supporting community gardening and urban agriculture, participating in farmland preservation near the City, and reducing food waste through enhanced efficiency, composting services, and donation programs. Food is not featured as part of Performance Seattle, a City initiative to track indicators on topics like community and economic development, housing human services and education, public safety, utilities and environment. However, food is included in the City's environmental progress report, *Moving the Needle*, put out by the Office of Sustainability and the Environment.

Finally, there is some increased funding for food, though interviewees agree that the funding is not sufficient. Since food-related activities are dispersed among the departments and not always identified as food-related, the exact portion of the City budget that goes to food issues in total is hard to determine. Interviewees pointed out that Seattle is among the nation's leaders in financial support for food and meal access and for community garden programming. In the 2014 budget, the budget for the Human Services Department included \$3 million in operational support to seventeen local food banks, nine emergency congregate meal program sites, meal and grocery home delivery, food bank transportation, food distribution, and systems support (Food Action Plan, p. 18). About \$136 thousand went to the Human Services Department's Farm-to-Table program (which provides local produce to City-supported childcare and senior meal programs). Funding was doubled from previous years to \$100 thousand for the Fresh Bucks program. The P-Patch program, operated by the Department of Neighborhoods, was funded at \$777 thousand annually, similar to previous years.

Seattle also invests over \$3 million in food-related contracts annually. Most of those dollars are not explicitly spent on local, healthy, sustainable food. A strategy detailed in the Food Action Plan suggests,

We can use those dollars to support food that is healthy, local, and sustainably produced, ensuring that our purchasing and contracting dollars support food production that preserves our health and our environment. Purchasing and contracting standards can also increase the amount of healthy, local, sustainably produced food available to food bank recipients and children at childcare centers, many of whom are at-risk for food insecurity and/or diet—related disease. (City of Seattle, 2012)

While many interviewees believe there is general support for purchasing healthy, local and sustainably produced food, a challenge is that local and healthy food tends to cost more and requires more coordination and space in terms of storage, processing and preparation. To date, such procurement efforts as the Farm-to-Table project mentioned earlier remain pilot projects, and have not become standard practice.

Outside of the City budget, federal grants, private donations and levies have also funded pilot projects, service improvements, and other food systems initiatives. For example, the Office of Economic Development's Healthy Foods Here corner store project used federal grants, and the recent P-Patch expansion relied on the voter-approved Parks and Green Spaces Levy. Similarly, the Office of Education leveraged the Families and Education Levy, passed in 2011, to fund school gardens and healthier snacks in preschools (with some prodding by Councilor Conlin's office). These kinds of funds enable pilot efforts, yet their short-term nature provides little stability to food systems projects. A Department of Neighborhoods staff member said, "If we could get more money, we could do more. Right now our focus is on maintaining current

resources.” One concrete limit imposed by lack of funds is the City’s inability to reserve more land for community gardens and other urban agriculture. Interviewees mentioned that there is far more demand than space for community gardens in some of the City’s denser neighborhoods, but no money to purchase the land. To outside activists, the lack of City funding for urban agriculture is emblematic of lots of talk and no action, as one interviewee commented: “The government pushes for more urban farming, but there is not enough land... If the City actually committed to land to agriculture, now that would be a bold move.”

Funding constraints are also a challenge for community groups that use City funds. For instance, the Human Services Department, which channels funds to community groups for anti-hunger programming, can never fully fund applicants. “We only have a finite amount of funding, so can’t fund everybody,” said one department employee. “We can only do more if there are more funds.” Other groups receiving financial or in-kind support from the City include community kitchen organizations. One of its representatives appreciates the group’s ability to use City property at a discounted cost or for free, but sometimes the organization faces prohibitory high costs to using City rental space. Also, limited funding hampers its ability to buy local, fresh and organic foods, as a representative explained: “So here we are, doing a program, building community, talking about an equitable food system, [and] we don’t have enough money to buy sustainability, equitably produced foods.” Commenting on how some grant requirements limit the amount that can be spent on food, she added, “If the main premise is supporting food—that is very limiting—if you want to put values where values are—you have to spend more money.”

Schools also lack funds to prepare healthy, local sustainable food. “As much as we talk about that [school lunch] being a priority—but at the end of the day—if all you have is \$1.32—you get locked into this commodity food system.” said an interviewee.

Constrained resources are not an easily resolved issue. Without major budgeting decision changes, revenue changes (e.g. from taxes), or significant new funds from outside donors or grantors, the City will find it difficult to even incrementally expand its services and programs. Interviewees do not anticipate any major budget shifts soon. “[The Food Policy Coordinator] does not have the capacity to launch big programs,” said an interviewee. “There is no taste for that, no big money...”

Finally, the many disparate efforts to raise funds have not yet been fully coalesced into one organized effort or so-called “game changer.” “We are all looking for a keystone project,” an interviewee said. “We have done lots of miscellaneous efforts. We have not come up with a central project that would tie it all together.” Another commented,

One of the challenges we have is so many things we are trying to do in the food systems world. We try to put them all in a bucket and try to hold all of them—and encoding all of them, we have a hard time going deep enough...

2. Staffing and organizational location (mixed). The City has had some mixed progress in advancing staffing, organizational location and interdepartmental commitment and coordination around food-related issues. In terms of staffing, a Food Policy Coordinator was hired in 2010 as the first position designed to guide Citywide efforts around food. The Coordinator spurred the creation of the Food Action Plan and continues to oversee its implementation, convenes the Interdepartmental Team on Food, and coordinates policy and programming across the City. The position is housed in the Office of Sustainability and Environment, which is organized at an

administrative level rather than a specific departmental level. The location in enables the Food Policy Coordinator to work across departments and access decision-makers more directly. However, the position's setup also makes it hard for the Coordinator to inspire departmental-level change. As one interviewee noted, "Cities are bureaucracies—food does not tie into just one agency or department—each agency has its own goals and objectives and five year plans. [The current Food Policy Coordinator] really has the job of herding cats." Meanwhile, the Coordinator has neither direct authority over other staff nor direct influence over departmental plans and budgets. Nevertheless, interviewees felt strongly that such a paid position is crucial as a kind of inside powerbroker and policy entrepreneur (Kingdon, 1985; Minstrom, 2000). One staff member commented, "Having someone like [the Food Policy Coordinator]... she is so good at hearing that there is interest in something and trying to find City partners to make that happen."

Second, there is some increase in interdepartmental support and coordination around food. One obvious channel for interdepartmental efforts is the Interdepartmental Team (IDT) on Food, which involves members of multiple departments in regular meetings. At first, no department stepped forward to commit staff support to hosting the IDT. However, after some time, departments began almost competing with each other to be the leader. As one interviewee explained, "The IDT went from a pariah of policy to this thing everybody wanted a piece of... The ownership around food policy was pulled in a lot of directions—by Parks, Neighborhoods, Economic Development, etc. All of them said, 'Oh, we've been doing food all along.'"

The IDT plays a role in helping connect the Food Policy Coordinator to broader City staff. The Coordinator reflected on the Interdepartmental Team on Food as follows:

It is helpful to have connections. The City has over 10,000 employees, so it is helpful to have somewhere a place to turn, a good entrance point to talk to people. I think there is a lot of value in having those multiple perspectives. You need all those perspectives.

The Interdepartmental Team on Food is also a forum for idea-generation and problem-solving, as one interviewee commented: “Whether or not they [problems] can be resolved at the Interdepartmental Team, it is still a good forum to bring people together to be thinking together, we can then go back to their departments.” The Interdepartmental Team has helped to establish food as a more visible part of the City’s initiatives, and has inspired individual actors to integrate and elevate attention to food. An interviewee commented, “Another source of ideas has been interdepartmental conversations, via the IDT. The IDT has really been helpful in seeing our work as part of a bigger whole, in coordinating with other services, programming, developing innovative ideas.” Another observed, “Food is all over the place—nothing like before. I think we are on the path.” A third interviewee noted “this slight shift of getting people to think about what they do normally.” Finally, an interviewee reflected that it is “...interesting to me, because people start to wake up and see connections that have been forgotten. There is something innate in this that connects to people’s passions... It’s not just an intellectual thing. People get engaged because it means something to them.”

Yet this forum has its limits and trade-offs. The IDT is comprised of staff-level employees rather than high-level decision makers. One interviewee said, “A leadership level might better understand what opportunities are, make more decisions—so that’s a tension with the Interdepartmental Team. The level of decision-making is not very high.” The Interdepartmental Team has not caused the Citywide change in food policy interviewees believe

is needed, due in part to a lack of shared priorities, no implementation authority, and limits to its efficacy as a working group. One Interdepartmental Team member commented,

There is some confusion and disagreement on the role of the Interdepartmental Team on Food. There is a diversity of opinions among individual members about the extent of funding, focus on local versus regional issues, and whether urban food production should be prioritized over increasing density. This lack of agreement is an ongoing challenge to the IDT's work.

In addition to having a representative on the IDT, some departments have elevated their attention to food in their regular work, often under the influence and tenacity of staff serving as inside powerbrokers or policy entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 1985; Minstrom, 2000). Some departments have expanded their food-related programming, initiated pilot efforts, and made policy changes. First, at Public Health–Seattle & King County, one employee described a “sea change” that occurred around 2008, when leadership really began to prioritize food: “There has been a huge change. We were the only public health agency to link food systems to public health.” Notably, Public Health–Seattle & King County was one of the nation's first public health departments to create a Healthy Eating & Active Living Project Manager position. Subsequently, Public Health–Seattle & King County received \$15.51 million from Communities Putting Prevention to Work (CPPW) a national initiative to prevent chronic disease and promote health through policy changes from 2010-2013. This initiative addressed obesity and tobacco use. Most of the funds were used for community grants and contracts to more than 50 partners. While much of the money was directed to South King County, some of it supported Seattle's nutrition education initiative for child care providers, expanded grocery bag services, allowed for the purchase of more local foods by participating partner schools and child care providers, and funded the Healthy Foods Here corner store project. In the latter project, Public Health–Seattle &

King County collaborated with the Office of Economic Development to consult with corner stores in south Seattle to improve their ability to offer healthy food. Follow-up visits to the stores revealed that many do have healthier inventory now. However, the City can no longer support similar efforts, as one Office of Economic Development employee explained: “We were able to do all that because we had the grant, but it was super-labor-intensive, and without the grant, we don’t have the capacity to continue doing that work.”

Second, the Department of Neighborhoods has expanded its food-related focus and services. With funds from a voter-passed Parks Levy, the department facilitated construction and expansion of 15 community gardens in diverse neighborhoods. Demand for gardening access still outstrips available space in the city’s denser neighborhoods. The Department of Neighborhoods also established several market gardens at Seattle Housing Authority sites. The goal is for the market gardens to become financially self-supporting, but this has not yet happened. This program demands much City staff time, making its expansion unlikely. Yet a positive effect, as a Department of Neighborhoods employee noted, is that public housing residents now shop at the farm stands, thus contributing to community building and food security. The department also started the Seattle Large Tracts Farm program to provide City farmers opportunities to grow businesses, but challenges to this program include finding appropriate land, the costs to prepare it, negotiating usage agreements with other City departments, and soliciting qualified farmers.

Third, under the umbrella of its Good Food program, the Parks and Recreation Department has coordinated 135 food-related activities, including: healthy food choice offerings, community kitchens, shared meals for the elderly, food distribution sites, and onsite composting and rainwater catchment. The department has also collaborated with the Department of

Neighborhoods to establish community gardens on park land, as well as an urban farm, the Rainier Beach Urban Farm and Wetland. Regarding community kitchens, the Parks and Recreation Department subsidizes the use of community centers by local nonprofits and community groups, which, according to a community kitchens organization representative, helps these nonprofits and groups to provide programming.

Finally, staff at the Office of Economic Development, in partnership with the Food Policy Coordinator, have spearheaded the expansion of the Fresh Bucks pilot program at farmers markets. The program enables low-income shoppers who receive federal food assistance to double their money up to \$10 per market per day to purchase fresh fruits, vegetables, and edible plant starts. Private donors provided initial funding, though subsequently the City contributed funds to continue the program. Beyond its benefits for shoppers and farmers, the program's strongest effect, according to one interviewee, is that "it is normalized that we can provide an extra subsidy."

Not all City departments have initiated or expanded programming related to food issues. Schools have not, in part because the City of Seattle has no authority over Seattle Public Schools, which the Seattle School District manages. One interviewee commented, "Schools—I do see them quietly doing stuff, some really good stuff—but not in a big way that creates leadership." Through its Office of Education and Families and Education levy, the City has been able to support schools' food-related programming efforts to some degree. Nor has the Office of Emergency Management incorporated food issues into its agenda; interviewees commented that a holistic vision of sustainable, local, healthy food systems is not currently part of emergency planning. Finally, a Department of Planning and Development (DPD) interviewee said that department leadership and colleagues "saw my planning as trivial planning. DPD really is not

holistically interested in food or health or sustainability... *Every planner should have that focus.*”

The Food Policy Coordinator has identified inconsistent buy-in from departmental leaders as a huge gap in elevating food systems work. One recommendation from an interviewee was,

We need to forge better relationships among various departments like public health and planning. As a planner, I did not know anyone in public health. I now do, and she asks me, ‘Why doesn’t anyone from Department of Planning and Development call me?’ And I am, like, ‘We think of you as the people who regulate commercial kitchens and drinking water, not really people who think about healthy neighborhoods and urban design.’ We need to stop using toolkits, and instead have a real intergovernmental structure, adopt a health in all policy approach.

How and whether this can happen around food policy remains unclear. The above examples demonstrate the utility of pilot programming and experimentation. However, they also demonstrate their reliance on staff initiative and passion, as well as challenges regarding ongoing funding and support from leadership.

3. Institutionalization of food policy across legal and regulatory structures (mixed).

There has been some mixed progress in institutionalizing food policy into existing legal and regulatory structures. The importance of this institutionalization is recognized in the Food Action Plan, which under the theme of “Healthy Food for All,” aims to “Integrate policies supportive of food access into City of Seattle plans and efforts.” More specifically, the Plan calls to:

Integrate food access policies into the Comprehensive Plan, the Transportation Strategic Plan, Pedestrian and Bicycle Master Plans, the neighborhood planning process, and other relevant plans so that planning processes include consideration of the availability of healthy food (City of Seattle, 2012).

Interviewees also recognize the necessity of institutionalizing food issues into existing legal and regulatory frameworks so, as one interviewee commented, “our priorities and the way we institutionalize [don’t] go away when the trend changes.” Another said, “While programs are good, they might not have the long-lasting effect that policy change would on changing City government.”

Below I discuss examples of legal and regulatory changes that have been achieved in area of: urban agriculture, healthy food access, mobile food and public spaces, farmers markets, nutrition and labeling standards, and food packaging. First, in terms of urban agriculture, the City brought a lot of attention to the issue by declaring 2010 the “Year of Urban Agriculture.” That year, a number of changes were made to make regulations around urban agriculture more flexible and permissive. Specifically, the City updated the land use code to define and allow “urban farms” and “community gardens” in all zones, with some limitations in industrial zones. Restrictions on animal-raising were reduced, and sales of items produced onsite were explicitly allowed. Concurrently, the Department of Transportation changed land use code to enable people to grow food in parking strips along street-right of-ways, with no permit required unless a raised bed or tree is installed. The Department of Transportation is also investigating how it can support communities interested in using Department-owned property (parcels, parking spaces, or street-ends) for food-growing purposes such as orchards or community gardens. Seattle’s move is in contrast to other cities, like Los Angeles which ordered the removal of vegetable beds and fruit trees from planting strips (Lopez, 2013).

Second, regarding policy and regulatory changes around healthy living, the Department of Planning and Development has conducted several pilot Healthy Living Assessments as part of its neighborhood planning process. An interviewee mentioned that the goal initially was to make

access to healthy food a required component of site plan reviews for larger developments. While this has not been politically feasible, the Department has had some success in piloting the tool.

According to one planner,

It is making a difference in how we think, how we do day-to-day work. How do we shift the lens? It is not a big transformative thing, but rather a slow incremental change in thinking... So now, those people at the Department of Planning and Development, working on neighborhood planning, they are bringing the lens. Health Impact Assessment is not a perfect tool, but the project was a good success.

In the Rainier Beach neighborhood of South Seattle, the Healthy Living Assessment ensured that food was part of the conversation on neighborhood planning. Consequently, residents have shown interest in creating a neighborhood food innovation district, a project now in the early visioning stages.

Third, changes in mobile food and public space regulation policy have occurred. The Office of Economic Development and the mayor's office jointly passed legislation in 2011 (Ordinance 123659) streamlining street-food vending rules and regulations, following a series of pilot projects on that subject. The 2009 Pedestrian Master Plan included a vending pilot project as a key tactic for reclaiming and activating public spaces (Ngo, 2012).

Fourth, there has been policy and regulatory change around farmers markets. In 2009, City staff enacted comprehensive permitting and fee reforms to better support farmers markets. The farmers market permitting process was streamlined and operation fees reduced in Seattle parks and on City-owned right-of-ways. In 2010, as part of a suite of land use code updates, farmers markets were defined as a multipurpose sales use, allowing them in more zones. In 2014,

the City also contracted with the Regional Food Policy Council, which provided Seattle a report identifying remaining persistent obstacles and potential strategies to overcome them.

Fifth, Public Health–Seattle & King County has spearheaded regulatory changes around nutrition and labeling standards at restaurants. The King County Board of Health passed legislation in July 2007 requiring all food establishments to stop using products that contain 0.5 grams or more of artificial trans fat per serving. In 2012, the Board of Health established menu-labeling requirements for all restaurants with a minimum number of stores.

Finally, the City passed a series of regulatory changes linking food packaging with its “zero waste” goals. Expanded polystyrene (EPS, also called Styrofoam) was banned in food service businesses by 2009. By 2010, all food service business were required to implement compostable or recyclable packaging alternatives, rather than throw-away food service containers, cups and other products.

It is difficult to assess the effects of Seattle’s food policy changes, due to its short timeframe, complexity of drivers, and difficulty of measurement. When interviewees were asked about measurable impacts, one person mentioned that Seattle’s Transfer of Development Rights program, in partnership with King County, has led to the preservation of thousands of acres of farmland, and is poised to preserve even more farmland in the coming decade. However, that program has not come directly out of the new food policy agenda, but more out of a longer-term focus on growth management.

Most changes are difficult assess, as there is no established tracking method for them. One interviewee noted that the purpose of not requiring permits for urban agriculture, meant to lower barriers to it, makes it difficult to gauge how many people are growing food. Interviewees also did not expect food-related policies to change significantly in the short-term, in light of the

many upstream drivers of food systems problems. Research is underway by a University of Washington professor to examine the impacts of the new minimum wage legislation on hunger and healthy food access, which will add to existing knowledge on that issue.

In terms of more qualitative assessments, interviewees broadly agreed that the City's food advocacy has had incrementally positive effects on intermediate outcomes, but that those effects have been limited. "That's hard," one said, continuing:

In lots of ways, it has been a silver buckshot approach—no one big thing that is revolutionary. Probably the City most notably has been an effective cheerleader of food—has helped create a momentum, helped people see food as important in their lives. But in terms of measurable impact, well, everything is small and incremental—Double Bucks at farmers markets, P-Patches—these are small numbers of participants overall. Allowing more chickens and greenhouses has helped a small number of people—has helped a fringe become more mainstream...

Interviewees generally agreed that more work needs to be done: "We haven't succeeded in making local food the norm rather than the option for urban hippies," said one staff member.

4. *Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making (mixed)*. The City of Seattle has taken concerted effort to expand its joint-actor partnerships and networks in food-related planning and policy-making. The LFAI and Food Action Plan urge the City to engage in the Regional Food Policy Council and in state-level food policy collaboration. Seattle elected officials and employees have been very active in these ongoing partnerships, as well as in time-limited collaborations with King County, Pike Place Market, and other regional partners. One elected official noted on the need to for the City to partner:

The reality is that the City can't change the food system by itself... One challenge is that the farmers are not even in the City. So we've laid some groundwork, but we can't address the issue of farmland preservation alone.

These partnerships have their own challenges as well. "We have not yet figured out a regional strategy among growers, distributors, processors—and no strategic funding," said an interviewee. "The Food Policy Council, King County Kitchen Cabinet, etc.—none of them seem to be doing anything."

5. Citizen participation mechanisms, including marginalized populations (mixed). The City has formalized processes for engaging citizens in food-related work. More ad hoc methods, reliant on personal relationships, are also utilized when formal mechanisms are recognized as insufficient. To many interviewees, citizen participation is critical to pushing the City's food policy efforts. As an elected official pointed out, "Our strength is really our constituency—really, they are ahead of us, in terms of policy."

One formalized approach to citizen engagement was used during the creation of the Food Action Plan. For a year the Food Policy Coordinator convened 150-plus stakeholders to provide input into the plan. Hearings about changes to land use code or other regulations have also been citizen participation opportunities. Public turnout has been strong at these hearings; at a hearing on the urban agriculture code update, "The approval council hearing turned out to be a love-fest," a Department of Planning and Development staffer said. "It was packed with maybe 150 supporters." At a hearing on the City's expansion of the Fresh Bucks program, "we had an overwhelming number of people testify," said a staffer. "So there is a lot of public support."

The City also engages citizens and organizations by offering funding via a formal grant application process. For example, the Department of Neighborhoods has a grant process for

community gardens, and the Human Services Department has one for funding anti-hunger and feeding programs. Staff members recognize the challenges these funding processes pose— notably that competitive grant processes tend to favor well-organized communities and organizations over disenfranchised ones. A Human Services Department employee commented that applications from the communities needing services the most tend to score poorly on their applications. The Human Services Department is considering altering its application process to better support programs from underserved communities, with priority for race and social justice issues. Experiencing a similar challenge with community garden funding applications, the Department of Neighborhoods began to prioritize certain neighborhoods and communities in their community garden grant process several years ago.

Departmental communication with citizens and stakeholders is often more ad hoc than formalized. For example, the Human Services Department hears its “inner advocates” demand more fresh fruits and vegetables and more culturally relevant foods in its anti-hunger and meal programs. This real-time communication has inspired actual purchasing changes. Meanwhile, a Seattle nonprofit leader is pleased with the openness and responsiveness of City staff:

Wow, I have a connection at the Human Services Department, and I can call her and email her, and she will be responsive... and that to me has been hugely empowering.

Before, I felt like I don't know how to access that, that bridge into City government—that they are making that effort, that they value my input... it feels like a pretty big step in the right direction.

Finally, the City, at least at times, prioritizes engagement by marginalized populations. As a core value, the Food Action Plan supports inclusive community participation in program and policy development and focuses on building diverse and collaborative relationships with community

organizations, businesses, and governmental entities. (City of Seattle, 2012, p. 13). As a crosscutting strategy, the Food Action Plan calls for increasing inclusive communication and engagement opportunities for the public. The Food Action Plan also calls for engaging communities most at risk for diet-related diseases, as well as immigrant and refugee communities, to identify strategies to improve their access to healthy, culturally appropriate food. Some departments, where staff commitment is high, practice these strategies. As mentioned earlier, the Departments of Neighborhoods and Health and Human Services have or are considering modifying grant application processes to enable more participation by diverse organizations and neighborhoods. Some departments are intentionally working to create more inclusive outreach. For example, the Department of Parks and Recreation uses a Racial Equity Toolkit and Inclusive Outreach and Public Education Guide to inform its approach to outreach. One staff member commented,

These two toolkits have been immensely helpful. We utilize the tools in reviewing programs and plans to be more intentional about being inclusive and open in reaching out to diverse community members- for example in developing community gardens, we ask what kinds of veggies to grow.

The Department continues to have challenges. As an employee noted,

People from affluent, highly educated communities seem more able to work at a high-level policy place, and are more able to access the system. Communities with lower socioeconomic status, they have less time, education- all of the barriers they face- so there is a different way that community members are able to interact. So if we have a major goal to engage those communities, then we need to know the barriers and be able to meet people where they are at.

To address these gaps, the Department translates its outreach materials into various languages and works with community-based organization. This may be one reason that participation by historically under-represented populations has increased by ten percent in recent years, according to the interviewee. The Department's efforts are supported by the City's broad Race and Social Justice Initiative. Said one Department of Parks and Recreation employee about the Department's efforts to engage marginalized populations, "We would do it anyways, but we are excited to have the infrastructure and support [via the City's broad Race and Social Justice Initiative] to meet those goals." Recently, the Department of Parks and Recreation obtained grant funding from the National Recreation and Park Association to hire someone to engage with historically under-represented communities. Specifically, the Department hired a Community Food Activator to connect people in the Central District to existing food-related resources. However, not every department has as deep of a commitment to engaging historically marginalized communities.

An ongoing challenge to the City's efforts to expand public engagement is that the food movement does not have a coordinated coalition that represents its interests. This poses a challenge to City employees who are often strapped for time and resources. Reflected on the urban agriculture code update process, one interviewee noted: "Because the food-interested people were politically fractured, it wasn't really possible to do the typical stakeholder meeting outreach." Instead, the interviewee reached out to specific urban agriculture organizations and spoke at community neighborhood district meetings. While "fractured," food interest citizens are also considered passionate about their causes, as the interviewee noted: "The level of community engagement and passion really caught me off guard, and once it got momentum, it really got going."

Interviewees said citizens are more easily mobilized around specific issues:

We see some push from citizens; they support the P-Patch program... But it is really isolated by interest groups, some on farmers, small businesses. When they voice interest, it forces political decision-makers, staff to address it. There is an engaged public, though who it is depends on the issue.

Another reflected,

A challenge is that we talk about how food systems have a lot of interrelated goals, and we work toward all of them, and it is right and true. But people hear that, and they have a hard time figuring out, what does it mean—a concrete goal, and what are we trying to do... On the specific issues, there is an engaged public who has an opinion... When we have specific tasks, projects, and programs, we are able to bring the public in.

While a citizen base can be mobilized around a specific project or task, mobilization is generally not consistent. This has implications in elections. In the prior two mayoral elections, candidates were asked by Food Policy Council members (previously, from the Acting Food Policy Council, and more recently from the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council) to respond to food policy questions over email. However, no advocacy coalition has ever hosted a food forum or public event, nor has food been a major issue in the media in regards to elections. Interviewees reflected on how other citizen coalitions in Seattle are more coordinated, hence more effective: “It really takes some organized policy drivers—and not being ashamed of having an agenda.”

Whether the diverse local food movement will be mobilized into a coordinated force for influencing local decision-making and policy remains to be seen.

Synthesis. The City of Seattle has enhanced its capacity in urban food systems governance since 2008, when the Local Food Action Initiative was adopted. There is greater

support from elected officials, a formal Food Action Plan, an Interdepartmental Team on Food, new staff and resources, changes to land use code and other regulations to foster more local, healthy, sustainable food systems, and greater programming and pilot efforts from many of the City's departments. Yet significant hurdles remain. While food has increased in visibility, it is still considered a fringe interest and is marginalized compared to other "accepted" functions of City government, such as transportation, public safety, and fostering residential development. While departments have increased their attention to food, they have not demonstrated enough energy or long-term commitment to ensure that food is not merely the "flavor of the year," as one interviewee put it. The Food Action Plan contains many worthy ideas but little implementation strength. Many pilot programs have been initiated, but with no clear funding source for their expansion. A new revenue stream seems necessary for this purpose. However, revenue generation options identified by interviewees—private donations, tax reform, a new levy, etc.—are difficult to manifest. Without addressing these funding limitations, it is unlikely that food will go beyond being a marginalized and niche interest in most departments and decisions. Finally, challenges to joint-actor partnerships and meaningful citizen engagement remain.

Question Two: What is the Relationship between Planning and Food Sovereignty?

Question two: Comprehensive plans. The 58 plans do not provide balanced support of all six food sovereignty principles. The plans vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. On the whole, the plans support some of the six food sovereignty principles, though not to the complete and full extent of the meaning of the principle. Other principles go almost unaddressed. The following analysis is organized according to the six principles.

Food sovereignty principle #1: Food for people/Food as a right. The comprehensive plans pay only limited attention to this first principle. Those few policies that address the principle only focus on short-term food assistance and geographic access to healthy food. They offer limited attention to long-term food security and economic and other access. No policies go so far as to challenge the idea of food as a commodity, identify food as a right, or to address the structural drivers of hunger like poverty.

The two most common strategies mentioned in comprehensive plans to address hunger are supporting food assistance and fostering access to cooking and gardening space. Regarding the former, cities including Des Moines (Healthy Des Moines, 12-03-03), Edmonds (Sustainability Element, Community Health Goal F) Issaquah (Human Services Element 1.1), Kirkland (Human Services 3.4), Tukwila (Goal 15.1), and Seattle (Human Development-13, Beacon Hill-P13, Rainier Beach B-G16) have established policies to support food assistance programs and food banks. Regarding the latter, Seattle also encourages home and community gardens, farmers markets, community kitchens, and other collaborative initiatives to promote food security (Human Development-13.6). Tacoma encourages new affordable housing units to contain designated yard or other shared space for residents to garden in (Urban Forestry-Urban Agriculture-8).

These policy approaches, however, are limited in that they only focus on short-term hunger. Poppendiek (1999) has critiqued the food bank model on the grounds that it only provides emergency, temporary relief to hunger. Food banks typically do not address structural inequities such as wage disparity, the growing number of people in poverty, the uneven costs of food in different neighborhoods, and the rising costs of housing, health care and other basic needs. Additionally, the food bank model relies heavily on a nonprofit and volunteer network,

relieving government of its duty to guarantee the right to food and thus contributing to the abrogation of government responsibility for social welfare. The policies about increasing access to gardening space presume that the individual is both the problem and the solution; this ignores social, political and economic drivers of the food insecurity problem (Pudup, 2008).

Another limit to the policy attention is that the focus on food is limited to food only, and usually does not include rights to resources necessary for food production such as soil, water, seed, shellfish, salmon, fruit trees, berries, and mushrooms. People's rights to make decisions about their food system are likewise not mentioned.

Beyond the narrow focus on short-term hunger, no explicit attention is paid to broader issues of equity or justice as related to food. One exception is that King County has broad policies that generally support an equitable food system, though it offers no explanation and no clear strategies to address the problem (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-672 and R-675). Among cities, no policies explicitly mention equity or justice and food.

Another important aspect of the first principle of food sovereignty (*Food for people/Food as a right*) is increasing access to healthy, affordable, culturally relevant, and local food. Some comprehensive plans partially address this aspect, through policies about enhancing geographic access to healthy and/or local food or limiting access to unhealthy food. For example, King County has a policy to promote better access to healthy food for rural residents (Rural-517), and another that encourages stands or small outlets offering fresh fruit and produce and locally produced value-added food products to set up shop in urban centers (Land Use-159). The large urban cities of Tacoma (Downtown Element, 2.3E.B and 2.1.D.B) and Seattle have policies to encourage the location of grocery stores, farmers markets, and community food gardens in particular neighborhoods (Urban Village-10.5). The suburban City of Des Moines has policies

supporting land use mixes that promote access to shopping in a safe, walkable environment (Land Use 2-02-08), while Edmonds calls for partnerships to increase access to health-promoting foods and beverages in the community and promote healthy eating (Sustainability Element, B.6). Federal Way has a policy to “provide access to healthy food resources for all residents through opportunities for urban agricultural activities, such as farmers markets, farmstands, community supported agriculture [CSA], drop-off sites, community gardens, pea patches, school gardens, home gardens, and urban farms.” (LUG 9)

Regarding limiting access to unhealthy foods, King County and the cities of Bellevue (Downtown S-DT-16) and Auburn (Land Use 85) discourage fast food in their urban centers (Land Use-Ag Objective 15). The language suggests that these limits are more about urban form than about food quality or health, thus they are not explicitly about the first food sovereignty principle, but may have the impact of reducing access to unhealthy food.

These above examples focus on geographic, consumer-oriented access to healthy and local food. They largely adopt a market-based approach to food system problems, a strategy that has been critiqued. The assumption is that by increasing physical access to healthy food (or decreasing access to unhealthy food), people will eat better, or at least have the opportunity to do so. Yet these policies fail to address economic and other barriers to healthy food access. For example, they do not address that fresh, local produce often costs more than other foods. They also limit action to consumer action only, and do not bring up issues of community or political action.

There are some exceptions where policies go beyond geographic access and address the need for systems and political change. Des Moines has a policy to remove physical *and regulatory* barriers to healthy food (Land Use 2-01-02) and to support policies, systems, and

environmental changes in increased access to healthy foods, emphasizing school-aged children (Healthy Des Moines Element 12-03-01). While not specific, these policies highlight that policy and systems changes are needed. In other cases, policies use governments' influence to increase healthy food access. For example, Des Moines has a policy to provide healthy food and drink at City-sponsored events and City facilities (Healthy Des Moines Element 12-03-02). Seattle has policies addressing nutrition standards in City purchasing programs (Human Development 13.5). These examples use a political tool—City procurement—to influence the availability of healthy food. Finally, Federal Way encourages farmers markets to accept public benefits such as food stamp electronic benefit cards, senior farmer market vouchers, and Women, Infant & Children (WIC) benefits (LU-P54). This approach broadens the use of government benefits and strengthens an argument for people's rights to culturally appropriate, healthy, affordable food.

In sum, there is limited policy attention in the comprehensive plans to the first principle of food sovereignty (*Food for people/Food as a right*). Most of the existing policies only address short-term food assistance or geographic access to healthy food, with limited attention to long-term food security and economic and other access. No policies go so far as to challenge the idea of food as a commodity, identify food as a right, or to address the structural drivers of hunger like poverty.

Food sovereignty principle #2: Support for small-scale food producers and all food systems workers. The comprehensive plans bring attention to some aspects of the second principle of food sovereignty, but do not give consideration to the principle in all of its complexity. Policies that focus on conserving farmland and supporting farming as an activity are common among the plans. These provide some support for small-scale farmers in that they (if implemented) protect farmland from development and provide some financial and other support

to farmers. However, the policies do not, with a few exceptions, explicitly call attention to small-scale farmers (as opposed to large-scale, corporate farms, for example). Critical issues like affordability and access by minority and new farmers are not addressed. Finally, no policy attention is given to the working conditions of farm laborers or other food systems employees.

As examples of broad farmland protection policies, Pierce County has a policy that emphasizes programs to strengthen the agricultural base (19A.5), while Snohomish County has a policy to maintain a sufficient inventory of land to meet agricultural needs (Natural Environment Policies 1.A.2). Kitsap County has policy that highlights agriculture as an important rural activity in designated rural areas (Rural Lands, RL-60). The counties, as well as medium and small-sized cities, also have a range of specific policies to conserve farmland, including: identifying and zoning agricultural lands; Purchase and Transfer of Development Rights programs; right-to-farm and anti-nuisance laws; limiting intrusion of nonagricultural uses, infrastructure, and urban services; using rural zoning and minimum lot sizes; minimizing fees and environmental regulations; incentivizing farming with tax breaks and reduced permitting and other costs; supporting agencies and organizations that play a role in agricultural conservation; using or acquiring public land to create a lease-back program to farmers; supporting local and regional direct marketing campaigns; and prioritizing local procurement.

Some of the urban cities without abundant farmland have farm and farming policies as well. Tacoma, for example, has a policy to consider being the receiving site of dense development in a Transfer of Development agreement with neighboring jurisdictions (Land Use-GGD-12). Similarly, Seattle seeks to participate in development rights transfer with regional partners (Land Use 5.5).

Farmland conservation policies only implicitly support small-scale farmers, by attempting to protect farmland from other development. However, by themselves they do not guarantee access by all farmers or help new and minority farmers overcome barriers like cost. Among the 58 plans reviewed, only two policies, both by King County, address issues of access by small-scale farmers specifically: “Farmland owned by King County shall make affordable farmland available for use by small-scale and new farmers” (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-673); and “King County should work with other jurisdictions, farm advocacy groups and others to support Farmlink and other programs that help new farmers get started, gain access to farmland and develop successful marketing methods.” (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-659) These two are exceptions, and they do not go in great detail or offer strong strategies to solve the problems of access.

The limits of traditional farmland conservation policies to resolve issues of access are already seen on the ground. For example, in King County, conserved farmland has been bought for use as luxury residences or raising horses or llamas for recreation (personal communication with King County Conservation District staff, 2014). The open space is maintained, but the farm use is not. Meanwhile, the rising costs of land in the region have made the purchase of farmland less and less possible for new, low-income, and minority farmers. It is possible that local farmland will be purchased by large corporations, and thus will not serve to maintain the livelihood of small-scale farmers- a concern heightened by predictions that Washington’s climate will become more like California’s in future years, and thus be more attractive to large-scale agribusiness (discussed at Puget Sound Regional Council meeting, 2014).

Another common policy approach across the comprehensive plans focuses on reducing legal and financial barriers to farming and incentivizing farmers by streamlining permitting and

providing tax breaks. One example is “Incentives for agricultural industry enhancement such as improved permit processing for designated farmlands and value assessment of farm residences in designated farmland areas at farm rates shall be investigated.” (Snohomish County, Comprehensive Plan, LU Policies 7.D.2) These sorts of strategies may help small-scale farmers and food producers. However, they are not explicitly about or for small-scale farmers in particular. Like farmland conservation efforts, these policies may end up not helping small-scale farmers, and only serving larger-scale farmers. Another risk is that most conservation and incentive-focused policies are generally not tightly linked with attention to ecologically or socially responsible practices (also key to the sixth principle of food sovereignty, *Works with nature/Agro-ecology*). The lack of attention to type of practices creates a risk that policies that protect farming may, even unintentionally, protect and enable environmentally destructive and poor labor practices. This is happening in other parts of the county. For example, right-to-farm laws have historically been passed to protect farmers from nuisance lawsuits filed by neighbors. But recent legislation passed in a few states in the Midwest under the same name, but with vaguer policies, may actually be preventing jurisdictions from regulating issues ranging from pollution and pesticide use to workers rights violations or animal abuse (Lerner, 2015).

Another gap in comprehensive plan policies is that they do not address the working conditions of farm employees. The only policy about this is by King County, where on-site housing is addressed in the policy “On-site housing for farm employees shall be allowed where this can be accomplished without unnecessarily removing land from agricultural use or conflicting with other public interests. King County should address the regulatory constraints that make it difficult for farmers to offer housing for farm employees.” (Rural Areas and Natural

Resource Lands, R-648) Other issues such as farm worker wages and working conditions are not addressed in this or any of the 58 comprehensive plans.

Also not addressed is the issue of working conditions of other food systems employees, nor the topic of equity in terms of effects on small-scale food producers in other regions. Regarding the former, no policies address the reality that food systems workers tend to make low wages and face poor working conditions (Allen, 2010). Regarding the latter, there is no discussion of the reliance on low-cost food from areas such as Eastern Washington, a major producer of fruit and grains and heavily reliant on undocumented immigrants from Central America, many of whom receive low wages, endure harsh working conditions, and, ironically, face food insecurity (Sanchez, 2012).

Food sovereignty principle #3: Relocalizes food systems. The principle of relocalizing food systems is about the whole range of food systems activities, from production through processing, distribution, consumption, access and food waste reutilization. The comprehensive plans in the Central Puget Sound region bring some attention to relocalizing food production, but with a narrow Westernized, farm-centric focus and without addressing the relocalization other food systems activities.

Among the 58 plans, some policies express broad support for the concept or relocalizing the food system in the context of strengthening the local food economy. King County (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-604) and Snohomish County (Economic Development, 6) both have policies that broadly support agriculture as part of regional economic development. Among cities, Seattle has a broad policy strengthening the local food system in the local economy (Economic Development-11.5). In addition, neighborhood-specific plans call for an

abundant local food economy that draws on urban agriculture and other regional food sources (Bitter Lake-G19).

Local production is the aspect most addressed by policies. The policies about farmland conservation and about enabling and incentivizing farming as an activity, mentioned in the previous discussion on principle #2 (*Support for small-scale food producers and food systems workers*), establish some support for relocalizing food systems. However, there are gaps. Most of the existing policies about food production include a farm-centric orientation, with only limited attention to other food production practices including animal-raising, agro-forestry practices, and hunting and gathering. (These issues may be addressed in places other than comprehensive plans, but worth noting). For example, animal-raising is only minimally addressed. King County has a policy about working with farmers and ranchers to reduce barriers and create incentives for raising livestock (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-671). Otherwise, no county comprehensive plan directly discusses animals, other than in the context of environmental management practices on farms (e.g., keeping cattle out of streams). Among cities, only one comprehensive plan policy addresses animals. Edgewood has a policy to supports farm animals on large parcels (Community Character, 33). No other City comprehensive plan discusses animals.

Similarly, only a few jurisdictions address urban agriculture. Among counties, King County has a policy about creating and supporting community gardens and other community-based food growing projects—including making use of its public facilities or properties (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-517 and Facilities and Utilities, F-206). Among cities, Tacoma has an extensive set of policies to promote community and private gardens, e.g., establishing a model community garden program, implementing educational programming

around urban gardening, encouraging new development to include food gardening space (Urban Forestry-Urban Agriculture 1-10, Open Space C-4.1 and Downtown 2.3). Seattle has general policies to continue promoting local food production and home and community gardens (Human Development-13.6 and Urban Village-57), as well as a very specific policy, with a measurable level of service standard, for establishing one community garden per 2,500 households downtown (Denny Triangle-13). Seattle's plan also has policies to consider using City land for gardens and orchards (Human Development-13.7 and Urban Villages-57.5 and G37). It is also unique in identifying a sustainable urban forest as a potential provider of food (Environment-22). Several suburban and rural cities including Edmonds (Community Health Goal F 4.504.6) and Sultan (Land Use 9.3.2) include policies to promote the use of public or private vacant lots for urban agriculture and/or community gardening. Finally, Federal Way has a goal to promote urban agriculture through existing and new programming and partnerships (Land Use Goal 11), and specific policies to encourage and support the use of public lands for urban agriculture support joint-use agreements for publicly or privately owned sites for such uses as urban farms, and to consider development incentives, grants, and other funding sources to support development of urban agriculture sites and programming (Land Use Polices 56-58). These policies are exceptions, and urban agriculture is generally not well addressed in most plans.

The farm-centric orientation of the policies essentially maintains the dominance of farms as the way to produce food. Animal-raising and urban agriculture receive little attention, and other practices like agro-forestry and hunting are not mentioned at all. This farm-centrism ignores an array of diverse food systems practices, including the long history of native food systems in the region, potentially perpetuating a romanticized American agrarian imaginary that

ignores some racially harmful history. It also ignores the diverse practices (historic, current, and desired) of diverse cultural groups.

Beyond focusing on production, the comprehensive plans also contain some policies that support processing and address infrastructure needs. However, the number of supportive policies are few, and some policies actually limit or prohibit processing. As examples of supportive policies, King County has policies allowing agricultural processing appropriate for its location (R-659 and 513), committing the county to working with interested parties to address the infrastructure and regulatory needs of processing and packing (Sustainable Agriculture and Farming, R-660), and committing to collaborate with other counties and businesses on incentivizing mobile food processing facilities (Economic Development, 503). Snohomish County has a policy to assist in developing a farm product processing facility (Land Use 7.C.1). Kitsap County, meanwhile, explicitly allows on-farm processing and community kitchens (Rural Lands-87) but limits slaughtering facilities, meatpacking or commercial feed lots to identified farming areas (Rural Lands-83). Bainbridge Island (Economy 1.4 and 2.4), Seattle (Human Development-13.6), and Sultan (LU 9.3) are the only three cities to explicitly support local food processing. Fife, meanwhile, explicitly prohibits animal slaughtering and processing (Land Use 6.1.1).

Regarding the relocalization of distribution, access and consumption, some policies address aspects like direct sales and procurement. However, those policies are exceptions, and generally, the relocalization of distribution, access and consumption is not well addressed. As an examples of a supportive policy, King County has a broad policy of commitment to working with farmers, ranchers and others to promote sales to consumers, institutions, restaurants, and retail enterprises (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-660). More specific policies call

for supporting local-based organizations and initiatives that support direct sales activities (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-657), as well as farmers markets and agriculture processing businesses that benefit both the cities and the farms by improving access to locally grown agricultural products (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, 652). Snohomish County has a policy to establish an information distribution site to facilitate direct sales of local farm products (Land Use, 6.1.2), and Pierce aims to protect farmers markets and roadside stands (Land Use-Ag Objective 22).

The topic of direct sales also received attention among cities, with a total of 12 policies focused on supporting farmers markets, community supported agriculture, roadside stands, and other direct sales venues. For example, Federal Way has a policy to “Coordinate with local and regional organizations to promote local farmers markets” (Land Use Policy 55); and one to “Encourage farmers markets to accept public benefits such as food stamp electronic benefit cards, senior farmer market vouchers and Women, Infant, Children (WIC) benefits.” (Land Use Policy 54) Tacoma has a policy to “implement an education and outreach program to increase the awareness of the benefits of locally and sustainably grown food.” (Urban Forest Policy Element. UF-UA-2) Stanwood has strategies to expand its retail area, provide wider shopping opportunities, and build on trends in agricultural-based activities such as niche foods, e.g., cheese, organic farming, and wineries (Economic Development Strategy 1).

While the support for direct sales of local food is one aspect of building relocalized, community-based, ecological economies, they run the risk of focusing on scale, which is not a direct substitute for other values of justice and sustainability (Born & Purcell, 2006). The focus remains on enabling more consumer access, rather than on changing larger policies and structure that make local food more expansive.

The comprehensive plans largely lack policies to direct government purchases toward supporting locally produced food. Exceptions include a policy by Pierce County to prioritize purchasing locally grown produce for the County's purchasing programs (Land Use Agriculture, Obj. 20), and by King County encouraging the consideration of local food procurement policies (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-673). No cities or towns have policies about local food procurement, though Tacoma has a policy that focuses on encouraging the use of native and/or regionally produced seeds or plants in urban agriculture (Urban Forestry-Urban Agriculture-4).

Another gap in comprehensive plans is little focus on the relocalization of places where most food is currently purchased, including restaurants, grocery stores and other retail outlets. Mid-sized city policies give attention to food retail. Tacoma has a typical policy to “prioritize the placement of a grocery or drug store as an anchor to these areas,” speaking about identified retail nodes (Downtown, 2.1D.B). The policies broadly encourage grocery stores, without explicit support for locally owned, producer-owned, worker-owned, or consumer-owned cooperative grocers. Similarly, Tacoma has a policy about restaurants: “This district should contain uses and buildings with the greatest intensity and height to produce a concentration of jobs, shops, meeting facilities, entertainment and restaurants within close proximity to each other.” (5 District Policies A.1) Similar policies exist in other jurisdictions’ comprehensive plans. Without explicit support for such alternatives as locally-owned restaurants and cooperatively owned grocers, corporate-owned grocers and chain restaurants may dominate the food retail scene in these jurisdictions, missing opportunities for relocalization of this aspect of the food system.

Food sovereignty principle #4: Local control/Local decision-making. This principle has three main aspects: (a) fostering mechanisms for localized decision-making about agro-food

policies and practices, (b) collaborating with and providing support to community organizations, and (c) fostering non-privatized, public and collaborative ownership models, all while being conscious of the dangers of devolution of government responsibility to the private and non-profit sector, or to individuals. In terms of the first, a few county and city policies foster local decision-making. Snohomish County has a policy to encourage participation by the agriculture community in planning: “The county shall expand opportunities for the agriculture community to participate in economic development, code development and public policy initiatives.”

(Snohomish County, LU Policies 7.C.8) King County has a policy to continue to partner cross-jurisdictionally, for example, via the Regional Food Policy Council: “King County will continue to partner with organizations that support programs and strategies that strengthen the interdependence and linkage between the rural and urban economies, such as the Regional Food Policy Council and Puget Sound Fresh.” (King County, ED-604) It also has a policy about collaboration with the agricultural sector in planning for water: “King County recognizes that a regional water planning process will be a collaborative process. Address the water needs of other specific sectors of the local economy.” (Services, Facilities, and Utilities, F-231)

Among cities, Des Moines has a policy to “Participate in the Healthy Highline Communities Coalition to coordinate with surrounding communities to improve access to physical activity and healthy foods, and facilitate the long-term implementation of the Healthy Des Moines Initiative.” (Healthy Des Moines Element, Goal 12-01-01) A few policies discuss increasing participation on food system decision-making, but these are focused specifically on involving the agricultural community in economic development planning in King County (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-604) and Snohomish County (Economic Development, 6, 7.C). Enumclaw, meanwhile, has a policy to include growers and the farmers market association

in its community business development efforts (Land Use 19 Policy A). The policies mentioned in this paragraph are limited in terms of who they involve in decision-making and do not fully achieve democratization of government structures and processes. They also are unique policies among the 58 comprehensive plans, demonstrating gaps in most jurisdictions' plans regarding mechanisms for representation and participation by food system sectors and actors besides agricultural producers.

In terms of collaborating with and providing support to community organizations, policies exist in a handful of the 58 comprehensive plans about supporting community organizations in meeting the needs of the hungry, improving access to healthy food, and enhancing urban agriculture opportunities. Examples, such as policies by Des Moines (Healthy Des Moines, 12-03-03), Edmonds (Sustainability Element, Community Health Goal F) Issaquah (Human Services Element 1.1), Kirkland (Human Services 3.4), Tukwila (Goal 15.1), and Seattle (Human Development-13, Beacon Hill-P13, Rainier Beach B-G16) to support food assistance programs and food banks were given in preceding sections. These policies provide support for the concepts of community ownership and civic engagement in the food system and establish a policy basis for government support of these organizations. A risk, however, is that such approaches enable devolution, or the retrenchment of government funding and active engagement in issues. For example, jurisdictions may have vague policies to support community-run food banks, which places the responsibility to address hunger on volunteers while providing a public image that the problem is being addressed.

Among the 58 plans, minimal attention is paid to public or cooperative ownership of land for agricultural production or other resources like soil, water and seeds. However, King County has a few policies about public ownership of farmland (Rural and Resource Lands R-673 and

Parks, Open Space and Cultural Resources P-115). King County, along with some cities including Tacoma and Seattle, has policies about using public land to enable community gardening. Yet most comprehensive plans do not have policies that promote more public, communal or cooperative ownership models of agricultural land. King County also has some of the only policies about public ownership and management of water for agriculture: “Public watersheds must be managed to protect downstream fish and agriculture resources.” (F-253) Most jurisdictions do not have community or public water ownership policies in their comprehensive plans, and none have policies about public or cooperative ownership of seeds.

Food sovereignty principle #5: Builds food-related knowledge and skills. Key aspects of this principle are support for community-based research and technical assistance in support of local food systems, food-related education, and support for native knowledge and diverse food systems practices. Regarding the first, King County has explicit policies to support Washington State University Extension for its research and education programs that assist small-scale commercial farmers, and to collaborate with Washington State University Extension, the University of Washington, and King Conservation District to develop information on the likely impacts of climate change on agriculture in King County, and to develop mitigation and adaptation strategies that are appropriate for King County’s soils and farm economy (Rural Areas and Resource Lands R-657 and R-669).² Snohomish County has a policy to provide technical assistance to manage, maintain or enhance critical areas on or in proximity to lands used for commercial agriculture (Natural Environment, 4.B.2).

² It should be noted that despite the policy, King County has reduced funding for Washington State Extension services in recent years. This is one example of how comprehensive plans are not always implemented, and how plans alone do not drive policy. Examining whether each policy is actually implemented is outside of the scope of this study, though future sections examine one City’s (Seattle) on-the-ground efforts around food policy.

Among cities, Snoqualmie (Environment, 5.C.8.2) and Bainbridge Island (AQ 1.8) have policies to provide education and technical assistance on the storage and application of pesticides and fertilizers. Bainbridge Island also has a policy to cooperate with Washington State Extension Service and the Kitsap Conservation District to facilitate the development of Best Management Practices (AG 2.4). Tukwila has policies to provide business technical assistance on recycling and composting (Solid Waste, 12.1.38). While these policies identify particular areas of support for farmers or other aspects of the food system, they have gaps regarding larger support for community-based, localized research and technical assistance.

Gaps exist in food-related education as well. Some policies exist which focus on educating about the benefits of sustainable and locally grown food and about increasing self-reliance. Snohomish County (Land Use 7.C) and King County (Economic Development-602) have policies prioritizing education, programs and partnerships about the importance of local agriculture. Among cities, Tacoma has a policy to implement an education and outreach program about locally and sustainably grown food (Urban Forestry-Urban Agriculture-3), while Seattle has a policy, in one of its neighborhood plans, to create opportunities for education on urban agriculture practices (Bitter Lake-P42). These policies are important for highlighting the importance of individual behavior change and social norms. However, a limit of these policies is that they may focus on educating citizens to be better consumers, not necessarily citizens. There are no policies about educating citizens about larger food policy, structural drivers of problems, or the political economy of food.³

Regarding the third aspect, there are no explicit policies among the 58 plans about recognizing, honoring and supporting the traditional food systems knowledge of indigenous

³ There are existing community and non-profit organizations that focus on consumer food-related education. The efforts of other organizations is beyond the scope of this part of the research, which looked only at comprehensive plan policy.

groups. Notably, the policies all speak to crop production practices, not to such practices as hunting, gathering, foraging, or food forests.

Food sovereignty principle #6: Works with nature/Agro-ecology. The comprehensive plans pay limited attention to broad topics of sustainable agriculture, climate change, waste, and ecological production practices. King County, for example, has a policy to prioritize its programs to help build and support a sustainable, reliable, equitable and resilient local food system (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-675). King County also explicitly addresses the effect of climate change by calling for collaborative research on effects and the development of mitigation and adaptation strategies (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-666). King County also addresses the importance of reducing the distance food must travel from farm to table (Rural Areas and Natural Resource Lands, R-674 and R-662). Among cities, Seattle's comprehensive plan is the only one to encourage food-related efforts (local food production and composting) specifically as a way to decrease the climate effects of the food system (Environment, 15.8 and Utilities 12.5). That rationale is unaddressed elsewhere. The dearth of attention to the relationship between food and climate change is a major gap.

Another aspect of sustainability mentioned by some comprehensive plans is that of food waste. Among counties, Pierce County (19A.90.060) and King County have policies supporting organics recycling/composting (Environment-455) Among cities, Seattle has the strongest policies, including one to prevent food waste as part of a long-term goal of diverting 100% of the City's solid waste (Utilities-12) and encouraging residents to reduce food waste (Utilities-12.5). North Bend (Environmental Sustainability 10, 10.6) and Everett (Parks and Recreational Element, 9.3.2). have policies to encourage composting in specific settings. This focus on waste brings attention to one aspect of a sustainable food system, but is still rather limited by its

concept of food waste as an issue to be managed, rather than as a potential source of natural fertilizers, a critical component of soil building.

A third aspect of sustainability, receiving the most attention by comprehensive plans, is education and technical assistance regarding environmentally responsible production practices. The four counties have between three (Pierce) and 21 (King) policies about environmentally responsible practices including agricultural best management practices and farm management plans. All counties except Pierce have policies on providing technical assistance to farmers about environmental regulations. Among city comprehensive plans, there are 25 total policies across the sixty cities. Tacoma (Urban Forestry-Urban Agriculture-3), Lynnwood (Environmental Resources Element, ER-5.17), Marysville (Small Farms, Land Use-53), Mukileto (HA15), and Seattle (Environment, 12.5) have policies encouraging environmentally responsible food production, mainly promoting reduction of pesticides, herbicides and artificial fertilizers in food production. These policies all speak to the idea of sustainable production, but in their focus on technical definitions like Best Management Practices and farm management plans, and in their limited focus on chemicals, they present a narrow definition of sustainable food production, not an agro-ecological view. An agro-ecological view is less about one recipe for success for sustainability and more about the integration of ecological processes into agricultural production. Another limit is that the policies take mainly a soft approach to encouraging better practices, rather than restricting, prohibiting, regulating, or taxing unsustainable practices.

With a broader focus, Snohomish County promotes the use of innovative practices by farmers in protecting existing land, soil and water resources (Land Use 7.C.6). King County has explicit policies to support innovative strategies to process greywater onsite and to process dairy and other livestock waste (F-245, R-661). King County supports innovative greywater

processing technologies for safe use on-site in the Agriculture and Rural Zones (F-263) and to process dairy and other livestock waste to reduce nutrients and to create other products such as energy and compost in the Agriculture and Rural zoning classifications. (R-664)

Finally, no policies advocate on-site energy production or support farmers in the provision of ecosystem services, for example, in carbon uptake or biodiversity enhancement.

Question two: Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council. Now I examine the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council's relationship with the six principles of food sovereignty. The Food Policy Council has a complex and at times contradictory relationship to these principles. Many individual members that I interviewed expressed an understanding of the problems with a neoliberal food system and demonstrated a deep commitment to many food sovereignty principles. However, the Council's discourse and actions are notably less radical and less deeply committed to all six principles than many individuals mean to be.

Food sovereignty principle #1: Food for people/Food as a right. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has heeded some but not all aspects of the first principle of food sovereignty, which focuses on: (a) the right to food over the long-term, which includes addressing the structural drivers of hunger, (b) the resources to provide one's own food, and (c) the expansion of universal access to healthy, local, affordable, and culturally appropriate food. Regarding the right to food, the Food Policy Council includes some representation by people working for anti-hunger organizations, and has hosted talks and presentations about hunger. In interviews, Food Policy Council members demonstrated a sophisticated understanding of the problems and limits of addressing hunger as simply an issue of food access, and of the need to address economic inequities and poverty. One interviewee noted, "When I think about attacking hunger... we need to work on poverty. We get everyone earning a livable wage, and enough

employment, then hunger is not an issue.” Another considered anti-hunger efforts as part of broader efforts, including affordable housing, to reduce poverty:

We need more innovative affordable housing policies. One kind of promising...effort I see is at High Point, where, if you are good on your rent, there are some pathways to ownership, some upward mobility that communities of color have real pathways to. So the question is, how can we help communities in these dynamics? This might sound off topic from food—but it is not. If peoples’ other expenses are reduced—if they are not working three jobs—then may have more time, money and energy for food.

Another member, affiliated with an anti-hunger organization, articulated a multi-pronged approach that goes much deeper than the traditional food banking model, critiqued for pushing corporatism and voluntarism (DeLind, 1994; Poppendieck, 1999). Besides calling for more food, she also called for federal funds to help low-income people afford more food. As she put it, it is “better to help the people standing in line get out of line.” Others commented on the role of government in wealth redistribution: “There is such a wealth gap here in Seattle—let’s use the wealth so everybody can be healthy, better for everyone.” A final interviewee reflected on the role of government in addressing inequities:

I see government’s main role: to manage the commons, the kinds of places/areas where there are inequities and where resources are in short supply. Food is one of those areas where there are gross inequities. Government can play a mediating role between business and the personal world. Government makes rules about commerce—that affects all of us, we all buy food; people don’t grow their own food. So I see government working at that general intersection. There is so much inequity, some don’t have the money to buy food; others don’t have access to healthy food. In this situation, the government’s role is to balance out inequity.

However, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has neither identified nor followed through on clear strategies for addressing hunger or its drivers, including poverty. Nor has the Food Policy Council taken a visible stand by declaring that the right to food is about creating enabling environments and conditions for people to feed themselves; by insisting that nutritious food is not simply a basic need, but a fundamental human right; and by defining food insecurity and hunger clearly and convincingly. While the Council has learned that no comprehensive plan in the region has language around rights to food (Horst, 2011), it has not recommended such language by any jurisdiction. The Food Policy Council has discussed enabling the right to resources to provide one's own food—e.g., many young, new, and minority farmers struggle to access land and water to farm, and Native American tribes lack access to historical hunting, fishing, and gathering grounds—but has (as of yet) not taken follow-up action on these issues.

Finally, the Council has emphasized expanding access to healthy, local, affordable, and culturally appropriate food. They have hosted conversations on such issues as food deserts and access by all income groups to farmers markets. In developing a policy blueprint on farmers markets, the Council discussed how they are often inaccessible to poor and other communities. Attempting to respond to that gap, the Food Policy Council included language in its farmers market policy blueprint about farmers market food assistance programs:

Some jurisdictions have launched programs that increase or match food assistance benefits used to purchase fresh food at farmers markets. These programs have been effective in both serving low-income customers and encouraging shopping at farmers markets. Fresh Bucks, Health Bucks, Double Up Food Bucks, and Market Bucks are a

few examples. Funding for such programs has come from a variety of sources, including city and county-managed funds (Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, 2014).

Similarly, their report on farmers markets for the City of Seattle identified such challenges as providing access for low-income and EBT shoppers and clearing up market manager and vendor confusion about food assistance program requirements and eligibility, and such strategies as providing support for collective marketing, developing incentives for markets in neighborhoods with limited food access (i.e., fee waivers, other financial incentives), and funding Fresh Bucks. The report commented,

As farmers markets are private sector entities in Seattle, the role of municipal government in these issues has been more limited. Building on the public benefits farmers markets offer, however, the City could be an effective partner in reducing barriers to consumer access. The obstacles in this issue area concern the difficulty of increasing consumer awareness and access of farmers markets, overcoming a limited budget for marketing, and attracting and providing access for low-income shoppers (Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council, 2014).

This indicates that the Food Policy Council is thinking beyond just geographic access to consider economic and other factors that affect access to healthy local food. The Food Policy Council also hosted a Public Health Summit to discuss the linkages between food policy and public health and how to better align food and health to foster positive health outcomes. Yet the Council to date has only discussed the larger drivers of hunger and food insecurity, including poverty; the growing income gap in the region; rising costs of housing, health care and other necessities; and institutionalized racism. The Food Policy Council has not identified specific policies or strategies to address these drivers directly.

Food sovereignty principle #2: Support for small-scale food producers and all food systems workers. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has brought attention to the some aspects of this principle, but does not give consideration to the principle in all of its complexity. In an effort to better understand the issues faced by small-scale farmers and food producers, the Council has organized farm tours and invited panels of small-scale farmers and ranchers and niche food processors to present at Council meetings. The Council's strategies have focused mainly on farmland preservation and on removing regulatory barriers and providing support to farmers. Notably, the Council produced a policy blueprint on rural farmland preservation, and also made "Promote/stimulate a comprehensive region-wide strategy to preserve farmland and keep land in production" (PSRC, 2014) a top strategy in its 2014-2017 Action Plan.

The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council recognizes the limited nature of this approach, but members have commented on the urgency of keeping the remaining land; without it, farming is not possible. In meetings, members have had lengthy discussions and demonstrated understanding that the barriers to small-scale farmers farming in the region go far beyond that of land conservation. Members acknowledge the pressures of land values, suburban development, and farmers' inability to compete with subsidized agribusiness. As one member commented, the "problem is that saving farms won't do much." A risk exists that wealthy property owners will buy farmland as rural estates, or that large agri-business will buy the properties, particularly in light of projections about climate change impacts, which may make the region one of the country's most suitable for production. Nor do farmland conservation strategies solve issues of affordability or help new, low-income and minority farmers access land. While Council members acknowledge the scope of the problem is far bigger than mere farmland conservation, the

Council faces enormous challenges in building the political will and capacity to conserve agricultural land, let alone address other challenges, like land access and tenure for small-scale farmers and food producers.

Another gap is that the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has not addressed issues around labor or working conditions for non-farm-based food systems workers. During some of its initial meetings, several council members emphasized the need to consider labor issues. One member, a union representative, noted,

There are health issues for grocery workers, as well as farm workers. Grocery workers often work while sick, because they have no sick leave benefits. They also cannot afford to buy local, because they are underpaid. There may be issues around labeling for mid-size local meat producers.

Another said, “Labor should be considered in policy—living wage, access to necessities. Poor work conditions still exist.” While labor issues were raised frequently at the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council’s initial meetings, as the representatives of those organizations stopped attending meetings, the issue has gone under-represented. The Council has not made it one of their top goals in its 2014-2017 action plan, though it does come up in conversation occasionally at monthly meetings.

Food sovereignty principle #3: Relocalizes food systems. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council demonstrates mixed support for relocalizing food system production through production, processing, distribution, access, consumption and food waste recovery. The leadership tries to solicit representation from people in each of these parts of the food system, though keeping all spots full has not been easy. Regarding production, the Council focuses on farmland preservation and supporting farming as an activity, as discussed earlier. There are some

limits to this focus on relocalizing food production. First, the Council's focus on local food is at times narrow and historically and culturally specific. As one member noted, the current focus on the local food system is market-driven, and about what can be grown in the region profitably. The Council rarely discusses what was cultivated in the region for hundreds of years prior to European contact, or what grows naturally in the forest and sea. Attention is paid to growing blueberries, kale, and cows in the region—items that are commercially viable and promoted by public health experts—while other locally sourced foods including nettles, huckleberries and elk are largely ignored in conversation. Members are developing a greater understanding of the diversity of food systems, but with some prodding. In its early meetings, when the Food Policy Council was deciding its mission and vision, members frequently addressed the need to consider food production at multiple scales and types, and to include fisheries, backyard production and other practices. However, over the years the Council conversations have focused largely on farms and ranches. One Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council member, a tribal representative, once commented at a meeting that the food system in discussion at most meetings was very much about farms, and scarcely resembled the food system her ancestors had nurtured for thousands of years pre-European arrival. She noted how the Council's narrow vision of food system revitalization in the U.S. makes the conversation less diverse, less culturally appropriate and less place-based. Most Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council members received the critique with humility and openness, and invited her to give a more in-depth presentation, in which she mentioned how Muckleshoot—just one tribe—ate more than 300 types of foods, all locally harvested, hunted and fished. She also described current challenges the tribe faces in increasing access to their previous fishing and hunting grounds.

This exchange caused the Food Policy Council to partially expand its concept of food systems and to become less farm-centric and more respectful of diverse food systems—but more in conversation than in action. As months have passed since that event, the tribal members have not been attending regularly, and the Council has not maintained a consistent focus on native foods. The Action Plan adopted in fall 2014 heavily focuses on farmland preservation with scant mention of other food practices. Likewise, policies for supporting farming and urban agriculture were included in recommendations for the City of Seattle’s comprehensive plan, but there was no mention of salmon, foraging, or native and indigenous food systems. This uncritical view of local farming disregards other options. For example, by not mentioning hunting and gathering as part of the local food system, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is unlikely to address policy and other barriers that keep indigenous groups from developing more food autonomy.

Another limit in the Council’s focus on relocalizing food production is that the prioritization of local farming assumes that all food production activities are “good” without explicitly considering that not all food producers engage in agro-ecological production and fair labor practices. The strategy, “Preserve farmland and keep land in production” is also limited by its lack of mention of other values, such as being farmed by small-scale farmers, being collaboratively owned, following land stewardship practices, implementing fair labor practices, and being geared for local consumption. Not bringing up these other values risks diminishment of that general support for “local” to the status of a ‘buzzword’ that will hardly protect and foster other values such as agro-biodiversity, diverse food harvesting practices, or the food security of small farmers. While this critique has some resonance, it is also true that the Food Policy Council is aware of and reflective about over-conflation of local. For example, in the May 2015 meeting,

there was a discussion about how local food is not always healthy food, in the context of including local food at schools. As one member noted, “You can source it locally but turn it into junk.” The Council struggles with both promoting relocalization without ignoring other values.

Beyond food production, this principle also calls for attention to relocalizing processing, food distribution, access and consumption. Regarding the first, while members have raised the issue of the lack of small and mid-scale processing in the region, the Council has not developed significant action on processing. The Council has put more focus into relocalizing food distribution by focusing on enabling direct sales and encouraging local food procurement. Notably, the Council produced policy blueprints on farmers markets and local food procurement. The Council also created a report, funded by the City of Seattle, identifying persistent obstacles to farmers markets and potential strategies to overcome them.

However, the Council has not had robust discussion about supporting more localized forms of food retail, such as locally-owned or cooperative grocers. Gaps also remain in terms of developing more demand for local food, opening more local markets to local farmers, and enabling diverse communities’ access to local food. One area of gaps noted by interviewees is that chain grocery stores do not prioritize local food. One interviewee reflected, “I think of berries and cherries. We grow a lot of them here, so why is it hard for them to be sold at grocery stores, why do we sell berries from South America? Seasonality should be at grocery stores.” Another gap is public schools. Others commented, in interviewees and in the Council’s monthly meetings, on the challenges of getting public schools to serve local food. One limit in this regard is that school districts are separate entities from local government in the region.

The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has focused little on food waste reutilization, perhaps because of the lack of participation by representatives from that sector. Or

it may be a situation in which the lack of attention to the issue dampened their interest in attending. Regardless, the Council has not brought much attention to the potential for expanding and innovating local food waste reutilization efforts.

Regarding the focus on relocalization overall, the Food Policy Council continuously recognizes the opportunity for greater economic development around local food. For example, the Council has discussed incorporating a food focus into PSRC's Regional Economic Strategy. However, the Council has not articulated the kind of economic development it favors and has not prioritized community-based, socially just and ecologically responsible economic development. This potentially represents a conflation of local, without explicit prioritization of food sovereignty. It may also contribute to the strengthening of the neoliberal capitalist model food economy in the region, rather than the opposite. A specific example of this risk is in the ongoing discussion of food hubs. The Food Policy Council has repeatedly expressed a desire to see more mid-sized infrastructure for processing and wholesale of locally produced food items. However, in these discussions, the Council has not mentioned that many food-processing jobs pay below-living wages, nor has the Council articulated a model of a food hub that would address this problem. Similarly, in their comprehensive plan recommendations for Seattle, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council included some broad recommendations about strengthening the food economy, but said nothing specific about encouraging alternative ownership models or supporting locally-based, values-driven organizations and businesses over corporations.

Nevertheless, some individual members are very thoughtful about the need to direct economic development efforts away from a purely capitalist model. One reflected on an "interesting cultural problem—we need to grow farmers who have the knowledge and desire to be environmentalist—but all that is usurped by capitalism, which is all about the most money for

the least effort.” Another said, “We have to shift from a money-focused to a people- and Earth-focused society. If we use the same lens, we get stuck in market-driven capitalism—we have to change the lens. We cannot stay in that value system and survive.” Council members express a wariness of corporate power, but are not entirely clear on how to support alternative economic models. One suggested imposing community benefit requirements, reflecting on where they have been implemented,

I don't think it has gone perfectly, but it is a move in the right direction. I like the requirement that really gives the City the right and power to oversee the process. It also looks at outcomes—this many Cambodians, whites, Latinos, families, etc., have jobs. Often we write policy but don't examine the outcomes, of who does it affect and how? This process gives the community a chance to check the outcomes, and to be part of a solution and not just surveyed and counted as part of the problem to be solved

In its first five years, this discussion has not moved into strategizing for action. On a larger picture, the Council continues to struggle with supporting and fostering new economic models in their push for food systems relocalization.

Food sovereignty principle #4: Local control/Decision-making. Aspects of this principle include: (a) development of mechanisms for local decision-making, (b) support for community initiatives and organizations (not the same as devolution), and (c) fostering of public, cooperative ownership models over land and other food systems resources, such as water and seed. In terms of the first, many members see the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council's primary role as an establisher of clear mechanisms for local decision-making on food systems issues. Many interviewees commented on the overall lack of public, democratic engagement on such issues in the United States. For example, one interviewee reflected, “There is significant corporate control

of the food system and I want to be part of the movement for local control. I would like to see democratic participation in the food system.” Commenting on the need for participation by those who are most affected, another noted,

We need more equitable systems of power—I think of who is able to influence the Farm Bill, and who is benefitting... The cuts to food stamps have huge impacts, but they [those who are impacted] have no or very limited influence. How do they get themselves in systems of power, get engaged and have influence?

The Council provides a positive step in this direction, by opening opportunities for people to participate in decision-making about their local food systems. However, it is most effective at engaging its official members, albeit with some trials, as discussed previously. It has not meaningfully attempted to develop opportunities for food democracy and citizenship for the broader community, in part because, at a high level, many members don't identify that as the key role for the Food Policy Council. At a tangible level, Council meetings are not well designed to respond to citizen input. Over the past four years, a number of people, representing various community-based organizations and nonprofits, have made citizen comments on such topics as urging more inclusion of indigenous people on the council, valuing the role of foraging and wild plants in the food system, requesting support for sailboat-transported Community Supported Agriculture as a model of economic development, and considering community kitchens and processing as essential elements of the food system. The Food Policy Council has also heard requests to help organizations outreach to landlords, arrange sewer waivers, and find space for production. In general, the Council has listened to the comments and responded directly and politely, but has not established mechanisms for deep engagement or follow-up. Nor has the Council created opportunities for education about food policy in terms of local governance and

voting, or used its leverage to establish food as an important issue in campaigns for local elected officials or in appointments.

In terms of the second aspect, support for community-led initiatives and organizations, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council has supported some community-led food systems initiatives. In its first years of meetings, it invited speakers from various community organizations, which connected the Council to some on-the-ground efforts through, for example, healthy eating presentations from the Delridge Food Cooperative, a locally-based, alternative ownership strategy to improve food access in an identified food desert, and Clean Greens, a community-based effort to strengthen cultural food traditions and healthy eating in an African-American neighborhood.

While the Council members acknowledge the transformative potential of these efforts, the Council has yet to conceive a way to support, connect or scale up these efforts. When organizations have spoken, many of them have noted their limits, concern, and needs. One Council member committed to helping one organization to seek grant funding. But the Council has not always identified ways to connect these organizations to media, elected officials, government staff, or resources.

One area of debate is the Council's avoidance of direct connection to projects or initiatives, seeing itself more as a policy creator. Many members emphasize that the unique role of the Food Policy Council *is* to focus on policy, and thus they focus on identifying policy best practices and recommendations. This goes against advice from Toronto Food Policy Council leader Wayne Roberts, who in a personal interview advised,

Don't start with policy. Start by identifying the problems faced by ordinary people and by building their confidence that there are solutions—cost-effective, doable, pleasant

alternatives that are worth working for. We don't need to invent the problems people have. We don't even need to get people angry about the existence of problems that today's systems aren't addressing meaningfully. We need to win their confidence in themselves and us to work together on policies that emerge in the course of a process of working together. It's not that I want to ban the use of the P word for policy. It just has to be put in its place, as the means to an end, which is to solve a problem people feel strongly about.

In terms of the final aspect of the principle of local control and local decision-making, the Food Policy Council has not explicitly prioritized fostering public or cooperative ownership models of land or other resources for growing food. It has not brought up the issue of ownership and operates under the assumption of mainly private ownership of capital and food systems resources. It has not had robust discussions, for example, about cooperative land ownership models, community seed banking, or worker-owned food cooperatives.

Food sovereignty principle #5: Builds food-related knowledge and skills. This has three main aspects: (a) support for community-based research and publicly provided technical assistance, (b) education of food citizens, and (c) support of native knowledge and diverse practices. Regarding the first, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council members have acknowledged the merits of providing government support for community-based research and technical assistance, but have not been able to influence policy or budgeting changes therewith. The Food Policy Council has written a letter critiquing cuts and supporting additional funding by King County and other counties for Extension services. However, the Council has not successfully halted an ongoing retrenchment in government funding or identified new government support venues. It is limited to some degree by its context, hosted by PSRC, which

has no direct authority over any local government, does not have its own taxation or funding authority, nor does it provide any direct services or programming.

Regarding education of food citizens, this has not been an area of focus of the Council. The Council has offered education and technical assistance to other jurisdictions, in terms of developing policies, but has not focused on broader education of citizens at large. Some members see the role of the Council as a supporter of other organizations that work more directly with citizens, rather than being directly involved with education themselves.

The Food Policy Council has shown some limited support for the third aspect, support for native knowledge and diverse practices. The Council has two seats for tribal members, though they have not attended consistently. One tribal member, an occasional attendee, commented on the reasons for and challenges of monthly meeting attendance:

Someone has to be the voice of tribal issues. You know, the tribes are inundated with requests for participation. Many tribal members are discouraged to spend hours at a meeting in downtown Seattle on a Friday morning where they might not even get to speak.

Meanwhile, much of the discussion has been regarding a Westernized notion of a food system, as discussed earlier. This member also mentioned how her participation has been both challenging and valued:

There was a presentation given in a meeting about what people are eating—lots of potatoes, chicken, beef. It might not be what people prefer to eat, but it's easy to access. In indigenous communities, it's the easy thing, too. To hunt and gather in today's world, you need vacation time. At the closing statement, there was some discussion that Christmas tree farms could be used for food instead. So I responded with a comment—

you know, over 300 kinds of food were harvested from food forests, pre-white contact, so we don't need to eradicate trees to grow more farmland! What communities want, many want more duck, more elk. I was impressed with how the statement was received—people were very supportive. Time was made for me to give a presentation on Food sovereignty at a future meeting. I have felt heard so far—so while it was stressful to speak up—it was one of my first meetings—it has been rewarding. A hundred years ago it wouldn't have been this way. There has been much progress in terms of ethics, practice, how to listen...

While there has been some progress in how the Council values and understand native food systems, the Council does not offer consistent support for native food systems knowledge and practices, or incorporate that into its ongoing discourse and work. Notably, as participation by tribal members has waned in the past year and half, attention to native food systems issues has also declined

Food sovereignty principle #6: Works with nature/Agro-ecology. Though members frequently mention and support this principle in conversation and individual interviews, the Council has given it little explicit attention. In its attempt to be as collaborative and welcoming as possible to all types of farmers and food producers, the Council invites a diverse array of farmers and food producers to the table. It has not criticized any farming practices. Nor has it explicitly championed agro-ecological food production practices. This represent a possible conflation local with sustainable, which is risky since some local farming practices are not unsustainable and in fact are ecologically destructive (Food & Water Watch, 2014). There has been some discussion of the need to balance support for farmers with environmental protections. At a spring 2015 meeting, during a discussion on the use of publicly-owned farmland, one

member suggested requiring ecologically sound food production practice on publicly owned farmland. In that member's words, "this is how we transform the system." However, other Council members protested the idea, arguing that it would contribute to the "over-regulation of farmers." One participant, who is a food producer, commented, "The hair on the back of my neck stands when you tell me what to do. Telling me what to do is naïve." Another member admitted that publicly owned farmland in the region has not been well-managed, but resisted "telling farmers what to do." Clearly, this is an area of contention for the Council. The Council has not yet succeeded in integrating the principle of working with nature or agro-ecology into efforts to support farmers.

The Food Policy Council has also faced challenges in prioritizing other food-related environmental issues. This may be due to the lack of members representing environmental concerns. For example, food-related waste is a major regional issue, but while there is a spot for them, there are currently no members representing food waste or composting. There has been no attention to innovative agro-ecological practices, like renewable energy production on farms, re-utilization of human waste, or greywater recycling.

Question two: City of Seattle. Now I turn to the relationship between the City of Seattle's food systems planning efforts and food sovereignty. Many actors involved in Seattle's food systems planning efforts are evidently aware of the main critiques of the neoliberal food system, and express a desire for major systems changes. They also show sophistication in avoiding the pitfalls of alternative food systems efforts, e.g., elitism and the local trap. I identify some the interviewees as government insiders, trying to use their influence to effect "radical incrementalism," or a pragmatic acceptance of incrementalism accompanied by a vision of long-term structural change. That said, the City's food systems efforts contain mixed and incomplete

support for all six food sovereignty principles. Seattle's overall support for food sovereignty is best described as a work in progress.

Food sovereignty principle #1: Food for people/Food as a right. The City addresses some but not all aspects of the first principle of food sovereignty, which focuses on: (a) the right to food, (b) the resources to provide one's own food, and (c) the expansion of universal access to healthy, local, affordable, and culturally appropriate food. Regarding the right to food, the Local Food Action Initiatives states that food and water are "sustaining and enduring necessities and are among the basic essentials for life" and that a roof overhead and food to eat are among Seattle's six main community goals. Similarly, the Food Action Plan suggests that "All Seattle residents should have enough to eat and access to affordable, local, healthy, sustainable, culturally appropriate food" (City of Seattle, 2015). The City's actions, including anti-hunger and meal program funding, also demonstrate tangible commitment to anti-hunger. Seattle has funded anti-hunger programming since the 1970s in a way that surpasses most North American cities. Recently, the City has increased its outreach through venues beyond the traditional food bank, e.g., schools and childcare and senior centers.

City staff recognize that there are limits of their anti-hunger efforts. One interviewee noted that just keeping up with the need is difficult: "Our population is growing, and our seniors are growing, so some form of service is needed to help those that slip through the cracks." Even if fully funded, food-focused programming does not address the main causes of hunger, which go beyond access to food and include poverty, rising levels of economic disparity, institutional racism, and the high costs of other basic needs, including housing and health care. Interviewees recognize this. One interviewee made the distinction, "There is emergency food hunger, and there is everyday sustenance hunger. How do we maintain so people get the food they need, so it

is not an emergency?” Another said, “I think the area of hunger and food security is big—and really, it starts to get at poverty, income inequality,” said one interviewee. Another interviewee went on to say:

I think about attacking hunger—there are two directions that I go. We need to work on poverty. We get everyone earning a livable wage, and enough employment... Then hunger is not an issue. Number two, we need to work on reforming the emergency food system to work better, more integrated with our regular alternative food system... But this conversation is making me think about all of the labor issues strikes by food chain workers. How do we make sure that we are taking that into account as part of our food systems work?... This is how we are looking more systematically...

Another staff member noted,

A question nagging for me—I think we have to address the economics of the food system. And yet the reality is that we have this highly subsidized system, and how do we create something to compete with that? We need living-wage jobs, reasonably compensated jobs, and building a food system that works. Yet we don’t have that subsidy; that is something that has to be called out. You know the group of funders out there trying to find market-based solutions. How's that going to work when there is \$22 million going to the marketplace right now, none of which is supporting the work we do?

Many interviewees also question who really benefits from emergency food services. “The emergency food system—it is corporatized now,” one said.

There is this idea of all the grocery manufacturers who can offload to food banks. We have built an industry around it. It’s not about hunger for everyone. There is this driving force that all about the economics of it—the benefit is to big corporations—of donating

excess food, donations... so until that is changed... I don't know how we change the system. Poverty is the issue. We have an industry around that now.... And the system has only sprung up in the last 40-50 years... And we have to untangle it. How do we undo it? Not that we want to stop feeding people, but we want to stop doing it in the way that the benefit stops going to the corporate interests behind it.

Staff also recognize that the rise in interest in local, organic foods does not ensure better food for everyone, especially in light of growing economic inequities. “As a region, we are not immune to the growing economic inequality—and that gap—the reality of that in this region is going to drive some recognition that the food system work we are doing has to take that into account,” said a City staff member. She continued,

I used to talk about that we need to build an alternative food system—and I know there *is* one—including PCC, farmers market, CSAs...but look at all the people who don't have the alternative. It's not about creating an alternative, we have that—but making it equitable... it's a huge thing.

While City actors largely acknowledge the structural inequities and the inadequacy of traditional responses, they have not figured out how to make big changes. “We have not figured out how to do anti-hunger,” said a staff member. “The fact that we have to keep putting money into emergency food systems is a sign... We really haven't gotten a handle on forward-looking strategies to really get at how far we really need to go to have a hunger free community.” Another noted, “Addressing poverty—it is tough. We need to take on the whole economic system. Our failure is that we haven't been able to reform our economic system. But that is the challenge.” Several interviewees reflected on the need to address labor concerns, and some hope that the new minimum wage policies will help prevent hunger and better enable healthy food

access, though this remains to be seen. Some are concerned that the new law will have unintended consequences of pushing some people off the so-called “benefits cliff.” It also seems that a one-time increase in the minimum wage is insufficient in light of Seattle’s increasing cost-of-living and income gap.

The City also supports, in a limited way, the second aspect of this principle, which is facilitating the ability of people to produce their own food. By facilitating the establishment of community gardens and enabling urban agriculture on most properties, Seattle has made some effort to enable people to access the land and resources (water, seeds, etc.) necessary to grow their own food. The Food Action Plan has a strategy: “Consider this [community gardening and urban agriculture] a use of City-owned land and explore an appropriate City entity to act as a bridge between community partners and City agencies” (City of Seattle, 2012). The City has almost ninety community gardens, including a number at public housing sites, along with several pilot market gardens. While this program goes a long way toward enabling community agriculture, its expansion is limited by a lack of funds and by competing goals for City-owned property. Large waiting lists remain in some Seattle neighborhoods, demonstrating much greater demand than available garden space. Community and urban agriculture is thus easier for some communities and populations (e.g., homeowners, people with time and gardening abilities) than others (renters, people with disabilities).

Regarding this principle’s third aspect (the expansion of universal access to healthy, local, affordable, and culturally appropriate food), many of Seattle’s food-related programs are experimenting with ways to offer more culturally appropriate, healthy and local foods. For example, the Human Services Department is encouraging childcare centers, food banks and other institutions to offer more culturally relevant food. One Human Services Department employee

explained how, building on the City's Race and Social Justice Initiative, the Department recently incorporated language about culturally relevant services into its most recent round of funding. Parks and Recreation Department employees also commented that, supported by the Racial and Social Justice Initiative, the Department has tried "to be more intentional about being inclusive and open in reaching out to diverse community members. For example, in developing community gardens, we ask what kinds of veggies to grow (in the gardens)." In addition, the Department has prioritized equitable access, and has begun to track participation by people in historically under-represented communities. The Department has twelve community learning gardens and three urban farms; the intention was to engage immigrant and refugees with farm incubation skills and interests, to help them become self-sustainable in terms of food. Finally, the Department used some grant funds to hire a Community Food Activator in the Central District.

While these examples show a growing interdepartmental commitment to expanding access to healthy, sustainable food, challenges remain. Key challenges include the cost of these foods and prohibitive requirements. One interviewee explained that certain requirements from federal funding sources are prohibitive for a city-wide community kitchen program:

We don't get subsidized food reimbursement stuff, in part because it is mandatory you serve milk, and when you serve it, it must be skim milk. That is just not culturally appropriate, and it is even debatable about the health and nutrition standard...with fat content and sodium content...it is inhibitive and food safety requirements, it is the same thing... Our senior meals that we oversee are all considered ethnic. They are all from other countries with different standards of nutrition in general. So the translation here in the US—it takes down their quality of life more than improves it.

To sum up this principle, the City of Seattle brings some limited attention to the right to food and food for people, without complete and full support for the principle. The City faces big challenges in addressing the root causes of food insecurity.

Food sovereignty principle #2: Support for small-scale food producers and all food systems workers. In Seattle, there is support, albeit constrained, for smallholder farmers and food producers both inside and outside the City. As a core value, the Food Action Plan supports the economic viability of local, sustainable farms, most of which are small in size (according to the Census of Agriculture, the median farm size in King County is eight acres). The City's main strategy for supporting farmers outside the City is to buy the rights to farmland via Purchase and Transfer of Development Rights (PDR/TDR). This strategy has utility, particularly in a region with growing urban centers. A limit to the approach is that PDR and TDR, like most of farmland zoning, only protects the land from development and does not ensure access by farmers or that it will be used for food production. A risk in the region, already realized on some properties, is that farmland is purchased and used by wealthy landowners who enjoy its views and privacy, use it for horses as recreation rather than for food production. Another risk is that the land is purchased by large corporations, rather than locally-based farmers. Also, the City's efforts have been, to date, focused primarily on buying or protecting farmland, not on supporting farmers in other ways. One exception is that Seattle funds Seattle Tilth to provide farm business training and support to immigrants, refugees and people with limited resources on Seattle Parks and Recreation-owned land in South King County.

In terms of supporting food producers outside of the City, it has been hard for the City to identify its role beyond TDR/PDR and small-scale funding for Tilth's farm incubator and similar programs. "What is the right role for us to play?" questioned an interviewee, who went on,

We're the consumers, and we want local food in our markets. The challenge is not agreement—everyone agrees it is a good thing, but there is a need to better articulate a rationale for why the City should take a role.

A few interviewees proposed that Seattle pass a levy or tax City residents to purchase farmland outside of the City, which could then be leased to small-scale farmers. The extent of political will and support for this concept is unclear.

In terms of urban agriculture, Seattle supports small-scale producers within the City through its large community gardening program (with about ninety community gardens). Additionally, Seattle enables residents to grow food on almost any privately owned land, with some limits in industrial zoned areas. In 2010 (the proclaimed Year of Urban Agriculture), the City altered the land use code to make it easier to raise chickens, grow food in City-owned planting strips, and sell produce onsite. However, support for urban agriculture does not go uncontested. Urban agriculture is not fully recognized by the City as a legitimate long-term land use. Even members of the IDT disagree on the role of urban food production in a sustainable City's long-term goals. Some members want to maximize all possible urban space for food production. These and other policy actors are working to guarantee urban farmers' use of public land for at least five years and to zone urban land parcels specifically for agriculture. However, others of the Interdepartmental Team on Food and in the City at large believe gardens should be established for recreation and community building but not at the expense of increasing residential density. One IDT member questions the environmental trade-offs of urban gardening (e.g. in bringing in compost and soil and its water use).

Another aspect of this principle is support for good working conditions for food systems workers. Many Seattle leaders and employees acknowledge that food systems worker wages and

working conditions are not universally good. For instance, a proposal for a new Whole Foods supermarket in West Seattle required the City to sell a public right-of-way. Then Mayor Michael McGinn rejected the initial proposal, saying Whole Foods did not offer adequate wages and benefits (Goldy, 2013). In response to the same proposal, City Councilor Kshama Sawant questioned the benefit of supporting an anti-union business (Olsen, 2014). Other opponents said the right-of-way sale would set a precedent for national chains such as Whole Foods to be favored above local, small businesses. In 2013, West Seattle's Whole Foods was approved. Seattle has yet to follow the lead of other cities such as Washington, D.C., which have negotiated community benefits around wages and local hires (DeBonis, 2013; Policy Link, 2014). Adequate working conditions for food systems employees will be a key issue for the foreseeable future. The discussion was also part of a broader citywide conversation on the minimum wage. In 2014, City Council passed legislation to increase the minimum wage for all workers, including food systems workers, to \$15 an hour, phased in over time. The effects of the legislation on food systems workers still needs to be evaluated.

Food sovereignty principle #3: Relocalizes food systems. Seattle prioritizes some aspects of relocalizing production, processing, distribution, access, consumption, food waste recovery. Regarding production, the City supports urban agriculture, both in community gardens and on privately owned land, though with limits. The City also provides limited support to farmland and farmers, as discussed above.

Yet support for the relocalization of other aspects is missing or incomplete. First, there is little attention to relocalizing food processing, though several interviewees identified potential benefits including increasing local food consumption and providing enhanced outlets for local farmers. However, Seattle's Office of Economic Development has not prioritized food

processing. This may be because, as one interviewee suggested, the office has focused on more internationally competitive businesses with better-paying jobs, e.g., aviation manufacturing and high-tech. If the Office of Economic Development does prioritize processing as an industry sector, it may focus efforts more on boosting food exports, rather than food systems relocation. While the broad priorities of the departments do not bring attention to food processing, individual employees are interested. Some employees of the Department of Planning and Development and the Office of Economic Development have initiated conversations about creating a food processing enterprise zone in Seattle, potentially in the diverse, historically poorer Rainier Beach neighborhood. The discussion is still in its early phases, and it remains to be seen what the outcomes will be.

To relocate distribution, access and consumption, Seattle has made efforts to enable direct sales and use its own procurement power. In terms of direct sales, the City has supported the expansion of nonprofit-run farmers markets, mainly by easing the permitting process and providing some limited financial support. The City also provides some funding to the Senior Farmers Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) and the Fresh Bucks program, both of which expand access to farmers markets to populations with typically limited access. However, the funding is relatively minor, and not every neighborhood has a farmers market. The existing markets often struggle financially, and questions continually surface about how much they support local farmers.

Seattle also enables onsite direct sales from urban agriculture sites. The planner who worked on the code change to make this possible expressed surprise that no one contested the change, because, to her,

We were allowing people to sell stuff from their yard from their homes. To me, that is chipping away at the underpinning of single-family zoning, though in a small way. At the time, the zoning code, the business license didn't allow sales from anywhere at a single-family home except in the four walls—not in the garage, driveway or yard—and here our code change makes it possible to sell from the yard, to have signs, etc.

However, she acknowledged, “I feel good that we removed code barriers, but really that’s what we did—we didn’t get into real economic development, we didn’t get that deep.” As her reflection suggests, Seattle has removed some of the regulatory barriers faced by entrepreneurs, but has put significant effort into really fostering the local food economy.

Seattle also uses its procurement influence, to some degree, to expand local food distribution and consumption. For example, the Human Services Department’s Farm to Table project channels local organic produce into senior meal sites and Seattle childcare programs. However, these efforts remain limited, and the majority of funds are not used to purchase local foods- mainly because the non-local (generally commodity) foods tend to be less expensive and easier to manage. Regarding the City’s food bank funding, one Department employee said, “We still have a long ways to go in terms of local purchasing, because in some programs it might be easier, but for us because we are looking at mostly donated food products that are sourced out, it is really hard to get locally sourced.” Another interviewee, an employee of a non-profit organization that receives City funds for community kitchens programming, reflected on the irony and said,

Here we are doing a program, building community, talking about an equitable food system, and we don’t have enough money to buy sustainably, equitably produced foods... I feel uncomfortable when we are using a bunch of tomatoes from the store for the best

price, and people assume, ‘Oh, I am from Seattle Tilth,’ so they must be fresh, organic from the farm—but they are not. That is the reality, and it is hard, no matter how much I try or emphasize to prioritize...

Procurement of fresh, local foods for school lunches is another challenge. Some school district employees have made efforts to do so, but cost and other regulatory challenges serve as barriers.

Regarding the final aspect of the food systems, Seattle has put a lot of effort into localizing food waste reutilization. As part of its Zero Waste Initiative, the City, via Seattle Public Utilities (SPU), encourages backyard composting. SPU has also institutionalized municipal composting, including curbside pick up of yard and food-related waste up at single-family homes. The City has passed legislation cutting down on certain packaging, including a ban on foam takeout containers and plastic bags at grocery and other stores. These changes have all led to increased diversion of food-related waste from the landfill. Nevertheless, many compostable items, including food waste, still go to the landfill. Another problem is that municipal-scale composting is not environmentally benign, as there are significant carbon emissions associated with the hauling of the food waste, and much of the supposedly compostable food packaging does not compost well. Portland, Oregon, recently restricted commercial compost collection to food scraps only (eliminating serviceware), because the large volume of non-food items was causing problems for the methane digester that receives the material (Profita, 2014). Seattle’s efforts to localize food waste reutilization remain a work in progress.

Food sovereignty principle #4: Local control/Decision-making. The four main aspects of this principle are: (a) mechanisms for local decision-making, (b) education of people as food

citizens, (c) support for community-based efforts, and (d) support for public and cooperative ownership models. Seattle's commitment to this principle is incomplete.

First, Seattle has established some mechanisms for local decision-making. Its elected officials and staff members led in early support for the Seattle-King County Acting Food Policy Council and in their advocacy for establishment of the Regional Food Policy Council at PSRC. The Food Policy Council provides one venue for increased local decision-making, though it has its own challenges, as discussed in the section on the Council.

Seattle has also utilized formal and informal mechanisms for community group and citizen engagement. As an example, when the Department of Planning and Design led a revision of code regulations for urban agriculture in 2010, employees held an extensive community input process and engaged hundreds of citizens and representatives from organizations. In creating the Food Action Plan, The Food Policy Advisor conducted a series of listening sessions and engaged about 150 individuals.

Yet interviewees also identified gaps in mechanisms for localized decision-making. For one, many of the policies that influence the food system are decided at the national and state levels. Also, food has not achieved a level of prominence in elections. Food issues receive less public attention from the press or public events than affordable housing, transportation and safety issues. One interviewee reflected,

I am confident we need more participation in the discussion so people can have a say in it... so they can have a say, for example, in a pot of money that people get to vote on... not saying Seattleites would vote for food, but people would have a say in what happens with money, some say. To have it be more accessible is really important.

Seattle's influence in the education of people as food citizens is limited as well. Much of the City's outreach and educational efforts around food are about teaching people about healthy eating, and growing and preparing food, which often fail to empower people as citizens beyond just passive consumers. There is no mention, for example, of educating people about community organizing or engaging in the political process. Many do not see this kind of education as the City's responsibility.

Regarding the third aspect of this principle, Seattle provides relatively robust support to existing community efforts and related social movements. City staff understand that the City alone cannot achieve food systems transformation. One employee sees the City's main task as "figuring out ways to support and replicate those things that are coming out of the community. They are doing great work. How can we help sustain them?" One way the City tries to sustain them is by funding them. For example, the Human Services Department funds community organizations, and some of its staff have become more accessible to the community. "I feel great about the support from Seattle," said an interviewee from a nonprofit organization working to enhance community kitchens. Likewise, the Department of Neighborhoods offers financial support for the construction and renovation of community gardens, mainly through a competitive grant process. Funding limits are an ongoing challenge.

Seattle also provides limited support to the final aspect of this principle, public and cooperative ownership models. One notable example is its support of community gardens, many of which are hosted on public property and managed by community organizations. The gardens are largely volunteer-run, which provides opportunities for building community ownership and civic capacity. "So the decisions really are made by the people actively stewarding the property," said a Department of Parks and Recreation employee. "It is really, truly ownership by the

community. And it is powerful and amazing.” Another City employee reflected on how community gardeners often become leaders in advocating on such issues as farmland preservation and emergency food system funding:

Because of the City's P-Patch program, we now have two generations of P-patch farmers. And one of the great things about it, it engages people as leaders—people who've got civic will. So you've got all these people excited about growing their own food and sharing it since 1998, and a lot of people have embraced it on their own. This has really built the civic interest.

Even the well established P-Patch program faces some challenges in public and cooperative ownership, including dependency on unpaid and sometimes insufficiently trained volunteers. Commented one interviewee regarding the Beacon Food Forest (on public property and managed by a group of volunteers) in South Seattle,

Once the project was approved, we got \$100,000 from the Parks Levy and lots of multiple small grants. Still, nobody is getting paid. I suggested they figure out a way to pay two people part-time, but the community said, ‘No way.’ I politely disagreed. When I think of what could be done when I think of managing the project, I know full-time volunteers won't be enough. You need people who really know a lot to manage this site.

Apart from community-gardens, examples of City support for community or public ownership over other aspects of the food system, such as processing or retail, is scant. As an example and as mentioned earlier, Seattle has not explicitly offered support to cooperatively owned grocery stores over other kinds of grocers.

Food sovereignty principle #5: Builds food-related knowledge and skills. This has three main aspects: (a) support for community-based research and publicly provided technical assistance, (b)

education of food citizens, and (c) support of native knowledge and diverse practices. In regards to the first and second aspect, Seattle funds the establishment of community gardens and community kitchens, as well as training at these sites. It also funds urban agriculture education organizations, notably Seattle Tilth and Community Kitchens Northwest. These establishments have helped thousands of people gain skills in urban gardening, animal-raising, beekeeping, fruit tree management, shopping, and cooking.

Yet the City ignores the full spectrum of diverse knowledge and skills. For example, the LFAI, Food Action Plan, and established food programming scarcely mention Native American food systems, traditional production and harvesting methods, or traditional foods. One reason is that Seattle has no federally recognized tribe with land rights. The Duwamish tribe, located on the South end in the Duwamish River Valley is suing the federal government for formal recognition. Also Seattle offers limited opportunity for native food systems practices.

Traditionally, the Duwamish hunted deer, elk, bear, other game animals, ducks, geese, and other waterfowl; fished for salmon, cod, and halibut; harvested clams and other seafood; and gathered berries, camas and other plants for food and medicinal purposes (Duwamish Tribe, 2015).

Food sovereignty principle #6: Works with nature/Agro-ecology. The City's food policy agenda is mixed on its support for this principle. City employees and leaders recognize the current food system's unsustainability. For example, the Food Action Plan mentions the environmental consequences of the industrial food system and large-scale agriculture, including intensive energy use and waste, fossil fuel dependency, water and air pollution habitat loss, soil depletion, and pesticide use. While a broad range of issues receive attention, most of Seattle's programmatic and regulatory environmental efforts have focused on only a few aspects of

sustainability, mainly organic production at community gardens, preventing edible food from entering the waste stream, and composting of non-edible food and compostable food packaging.

This list is incomplete compared to agro-ecology, which calls for a whole-systems approach to agriculture and food system development based on traditional knowledge, alternative agriculture, and local food system experiences. The City has begun to experiment more with agro-ecological approaches, for example by supporting (after extensive community organizing and advocacy) the Beacon Hill Food Forest, which is explicitly designed according to permaculture principles and combines aspects of native habitat rehabilitation with edible forest gardening. There has not been significant programming and policy to support City land stewardship according to agro-ecological principles. Nor has there been attention to other agro-ecology ideas, such as animal and human waste reuse, greywater integration into urban agriculture, and elimination of disposable food packaging. The City resists regulating food producers, packagers and distributors, and instead tries to convince the end consumer to buy organic foods and sort their own compost and recycling. This strategy is critiqued for focusing on voluntary consumer choices rather than political and social change.

Chapter Five: Conclusions, Contributions, and Future Research

Conclusions

My two main findings include:

1. planning is paying increasing, yet still incomplete and insufficient attention to food; and
2. planning practice is largely non-transformative and faces significant obstacles to fostering systems change, although there are signs of promise and potential deeper alignment with food sovereignty.

What does this mean for other places? The Puget Sound region is often seen as a leader of progressive government and food activism. Thus, limits and challenges here suggest that other places will find it even harder in other places to move beyond conventional food politics towards transformative food governance. As one interviewee commented,

I go other places, and look back at Seattle, and I think, if we cannot do it, then who can?" said an interviewee, speaking of Seattle only, but with relevance for the region. "We have supportive politicians, etc... We are doing a lot of things—but yet we're not doing it big. We still need lots of small money, infrastructure protection, systems change, more healthy food to low income folks..."

The first main finding is that as evidenced by 58 comprehensive plans across the Central Puget Sound Region, the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council and the City of Seattle, planning is paying increasing but incomplete attention to food. The three units of analysis exhibit some shared limitations. First, food is not yet fully institutionalized into planning practice, and barriers remain in terms of ongoing support from leadership, adequate staff and significant resources. Second, many challenges remain to successful joint-actor partnerships and to fully engaging

diverse individuals and communities in decision-making. Third, connections to traditional planning practice, including land use and transportation planning, are not fully developed. Finally, local government's capacity to address food systems issues is dubious. For example, local government in the Puget Sound Region generally lacks influence over the school districts or their food-purchasing decisions. Meanwhile, local government's choices around food are constrained by influences of federal policy, including higher costs for local, healthy food. Food insecurity is also inadequately addressed locally. While the problems of food insecurity and hunger are often seen at the city-level, the drivers, including poverty and low wages, are often not within immediate control by the City of Seattle. Even with these hurdles, many planners and local government actors are addressing food systems issues, often through pilot projects and partnerships with nonprofit and community actors. However, this approach's long-term ability to foster significant change is questionable. As an interviewee reflected, "It is tough, we need to take on the whole economic system. Our failure is that we haven't been able to reform our economic system." Another reflected, "The reality is that we have this highly subsidized system—and how do we create something to compete with that?"

The second main finding is that planning practice is largely non-transformative and does not have a strong alignment with food sovereignty. The plans and cases all show varying degrees of alignment, from weak to strong, with the six complex and multi-faceted principles of food sovereignty. In terms of comprehensive plans, the plans policies on the whole fail to adopt a robust food sovereignty orientation, or to comprehensively support all food sovereignty principles. Specific policies, and some plans with multiple policies, support particular aspects of food sovereignty robustly, but many gaps remain. Many plans contain few or no food-related policies. In the existing plans, some limits to the policies' attention to food sovereignty include: a

focus on hunger alleviation but lack of a rights-based orientation or attention to the structural causes of food insecurity; relatively strong support for farmland conservation, but not for access to farmland by new and minority farmers; farm-centrism at the expense of other food systems; lack of attention to the working conditions of food systems employees; focus on relocalizing food production but not on other aspects of the food system e.g., processing, distribution, and food waste recovery; absence of attention to the development of food citizens and democratic structures and processes; some focus on food-related education, but a lack of deep support for community-based research, native knowledge or cultural practices; attention to some specific environmental concerns, but an overall focus on supporting voluntary measures rather than political ones; and neglect of a deeper commitment to agro-ecology particularly in the context of the urgency of issues like soil depletion and climate change.

Given that plans represent only a limited view of what local government does, it was important to also examine planning in practice. The Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council presents a complex picture of its relationship to food sovereignty. Many of its individuals are deeply committed to food sovereignty principles, and view the Food Policy Council as a platform for promoting them. As a group, the Council has raised the profile of food for people, rather than food as commodity, in the region. It has also deepened the conversation about the complex drivers of food systems inequities and identified some governmental roles in addressing them. The Council has also articulated the case for supporting small-scale producers and in advancing local food systems as a strategy to resist corporate globalization. The Council has begun to develop greater avenues for food democracy, and has begun to unite some disjointed actors under one larger food umbrella. Finally, the Food Policy Council has also expanded the

definition of a local food system to include more appreciation for diverse food systems practices, though still works under a Western farm-centric framework.

However, the Council faces challenges in garnering full support for food sovereignty. With the goal of getting food on the public agenda, the Council has chosen to be tactic-neutral, supporting any strategy that increases access to healthy food. It neither endorses nor condemns any particular approach to mitigating poor food access. As in the case of the Baltimore Food Policy Initiative, described by Bedore as a case of co-option by growth machine politics (2014, p. 2992), the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council may be forgoing “their opportunity—even an obligation—to cast a critical gaze on the ethics of local decision making that impacts the food system, social welfare, and human and environmental health.” Also, the Council has not articulated ways to address deep food access inequities or build government capacity to play a stronger role in advancing people’s rights to food and resources and in regulating the power of corporations. Finally, the Council has discussed the re-localization of the food system and the other food sovereignty principles, but has not identified clear strategies for advancing them, nor has it deeply connected this work to other aspects of food sovereignty. As such, the Council risks falsely conflating local with other values. In its focus on protecting farmland, the Council has not ensured access by small-scale and diverse farmers and food producers. Meanwhile, it maintains a farm-centric approach, leaving out other approaches to food production.

An overall limit is that the Food Policy Council cannot do everything and be everything. Issues hardly addressed by the Council include: the wellbeing of all food system workers, including migrant laborers, truck drivers, food packers, and grocery store and restaurant workers; the transition to agro-ecological methods of farming, especially in the context of climate change;

health-based approaches to planning; advocating the right to food; supporting alternative ownership models in the food system, or working on state- and federal-level food policy.

Much hope has been placed in the ability of the Food Policy Councils to change our food system and foster food democracy. Much has been written about the “success” of Food Policy Councils, but the examination of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council suggest that their capacity may be exaggerated. Providing a forum to bring various representatives of food system issues together is helpful in many ways, but it does not guarantee that long-standing problems will be addressed and new directions towards food sovereignty charted. As one interviewee commented,

Often when discussing food system problems, the solution proposed is to establish a food policy council. But really there needs to be discussion—what can the food policy council directly achieve? What can they do? What do they hope to accomplish?... I think this big role of food policy councils may be overstated a bit.

The City of Seattle, too, presents a complex picture in terms of its relationship to food sovereignty. Elected officials and employees across various City departments express a sophisticated understanding of the problems of the neoliberal capitalist model, and are reflective about the critiques of the U.S. food movement as elitist and focused on consumer choice. In response, they are developing local initiatives and policies that often align, to some degree, with the food sovereignty principles. The City has creatively increased its food safety net for the poor and food-insecure, expanded access to healthy and locally-produced food for all people, enables people to grow food in the City, and supports both backyard and municipal-scale composting. These have been preferred City strategies in part because they are politically feasible, inexpensive, and easy to implement. However, unresolved tensions regarding the City’s food

sovereignty efforts include: an unclear relationship with corporations and the capitalist food system, competing values, and hesitations in exploring a new role for government.

First, regarding its unclear relationship with corporations and the capitalist food system, the City has remained tactic-neutral in its support for local, healthy food. For example, it has supported grocery store development in neighborhoods without exploring other solutions. Meanwhile, no structures have been put in place to ensure that enhanced economic development around food leads to better wages and working conditions for food workers.

Second, there are competing values. For example, the City broadly supports urban agriculture, particularly in private yards, a limited number of community gardens, and in some public space. However, this support is weak in the face of a pro-growth agenda, where exchange value dominates over use value of the land. Thus, prospects for expanding publicly-owned gardens or farmland are very limited.

There also has not been much movement on resolving the tension that better quality food is more expensive and thus out of reach of lower-income individuals and families. The City provides small subsidies to enhance access by seniors and by low-income people to farmers markets, while benefiting farmers markets and local farmers. However, as interviewees acknowledge, these subsidies are minor compared to the systems changes needed in consumer behavior, farmer behavior, markets, prices, and policy that are likely needed to facilitate major shifts. Programs like Fresh Bucks are exceptions, not the rule, since the higher costs of local, fresh food cause anti-hunger efforts to forgo them.

Finally, the City is reluctant to envision a different role for government, one in which the public interest outweighs business interest. For example, there is hesitation to expand the City's role in prohibiting or regulating market activities. For example, chain restaurants must provide

menu-labeling regarding nutritional information, but are not required to source locally or organically or change their menus accordingly. New waste regulations require end-of-line businesses to offer compostable or recyclable food and drink containers, but do not require more upstream changes in packaging. Finally, while food safety practices are strictly enforced (sometimes at great expense to small businesses), there has been no political will to re-think safety in a broader picture, for example to establish standards regarding presence of chemicals in food.

Synthesizing among the comprehensive plans, the Regional Food Policy Council, and the City of Seattle in terms of their relationship to food sovereignty, all face some common difficulties. First, all three struggle to pursue strategies that go beyond the “market as movement” (phrase also used earlier; from Alkon, 2013) and focus more on political, social and economic systems change. The three cases (comprehensive plans, Food Policy Council, and City of Seattle) also tend to focus on relocalization and economic development around food, and not as much on issues of rights and justice. The third and final common challenge is in regards to promoting a healthy relationship with nature. The three forms of food systems planning display some evidence of attention to issues of environmental protection and concern for long-term sustainability and resilience under climate change, but the strategies and policies pursued seem woefully inadequate compared to the major changes needed to halt and adapt to climate change, stop the destruction of the land, restore polluted waters, and enhance biodiversity.

Contributions

This research suggests that the first wave of planning- getting planners to pay explicit attention to food systems issues- is not yet complete. The research also underscores the need for a second wave, focused on examining the role of planning in perpetuating existing corporate

food regime or fostering food systems transformation. If practice in the Central Puget Sound region is indicative of practice throughout the United States, current food systems planning is far from transformative. To foster transformation, I argue that planners should consciously and explicitly adopt the values of food sovereignty. Such planning can be seen as a form of radical incrementalist practice. It may seem counter-intuitive or naive to suggest that planning or local government can play this role, since food sovereignty ultimately calls for the dismantling of current models of governance in favor of more decentralized, radically democratic systems (Patel, 2009). Government also has been the creator of many of the neoliberal policies rejected by food sovereignty. I acknowledge that in many cases, governments do not and will provide opportunities for the advancement of food sovereignty. In these situations, food sovereignty-seeking activists and organizations must look elsewhere to build so-called revolutionary action.

Nevertheless, in some cases, radical incrementalist food systems change can occur from *within* and *in partnership* with existing government. In these cases, planners can use their individual agency and influence to dismantle neoliberal policies and support and create new forms of radically democratic governance. In this way, planning can be seen as a type of Exodus, a phrase used by Paolo Virno (1996) to identify exit from existing state regimes and the creation of new experiences of non-representative democracy and new modes of production. Such radical incrementalist planning can also, as Lefebvre argues, support a state form that “withers away”; not one that disappears but that transforms into a mechanism for autogestion, or grassroots, radically decentralized democratic collective decision-making (Lefebvre, 2009). As David Graeber, an anarchist writer, notes: “Revolutionary action does not necessarily have to aim to topple governments.” Instead, he argues that:

Revolutionary action is any collective action which rejects, and therefore confronts, some form of power or domination and in doing so, reconstitutes social relations—even within the collectivity—in that light... And history shows us that the continual accumulation of such acts can change (almost) everything (2004).

Finally, radical incrementalist planning can be part of what Eugene Holland terms the slow-motion general strike, or movement via incremental actions to displace capital-controlled free markets with truly free markets (Holland, 2011).

With this idea of radical incrementalism, I also offer clear direction for food-sovereignty oriented planning. In this dissertation, I proposed a framework (shown in Appendix D) to guide local governmental actors and their partners in pursuing food sovereignty in an urban context in the United States. This framework adds to the already established principles of food sovereignty by explicitly responding to critiques of American alternative food movement efforts and to the uniqueness of the American urban context, and focuses on local government as an actor. While much of my research critiques how planning is *not* fostering food sovereignty, I also provide some direction on how it can. As one example, planners (and local government more broadly) already engage in anti-hunger efforts. Many local governments provide funding to non-profit organizations to operate food banks and meal programs. Some also funnel federal and state funds to subsidize free and reduce-cost meals at schools, child care centers, and senior centers. These traditional approaches do not align strongly with food sovereignty. By paying explicit attention to food sovereignty principle #1, planners can (instead of or in addition to their more traditional strategies), bring attention to the structural causes of hunger, which include poverty, structural racism, income inequity, rising housing and transportation and medical costs. Thus, food sovereignty minded planners might engage in discussions around the growing income gap, tax

and wage reform, minimum wage increases, expanded health care, and increased affordable housing accessible to mass transit. Food sovereignty minded planners would also seek to expand access by all people, particularly food insecure and typically marginalized communities, with access to their own food-producing land and other resources. For example, planners may lease publicly-owned urban or rural farmland to food insecure people and to low-income and minority or migrant farmers.

As a second example connecting to food sovereignty principles #2 and #6, a food sovereignty-oriented planner would expand current efforts around farmland preservation to include consideration of who accesses the land and of production practices. For example, planners could establish priority access to publicly-owned farmland farmland by minority and low-income farmers. Planners could advocate for restrictions on agricultural chemicals and negative environmental practices, and more strongly incentivize and agro-ecological practices, including greywater use, onsite recycling of manure and food waste, and onsite renewable energy production. Planners could also engage in efforts to ensure fair labor practices, working conditions and pay for farm laborers and all food systems employees (including migrant workers).

Finally, a third example related to food sovereignty principle #3 is that food sovereignty planners can bring consideration to non-corporate alternatives to food retail. Instead of planning for large corporate grocery chains, for example, planners can support communities in identifying their own community-led ideas for meeting their food retail needs. In some communities, this could include consumer or employee-owned cooperatives or non-profit food retail outlets, or locally-owned grocers.

This framework can provide direction for local government actors wishing to pursue food sovereignty. I also invite its critique, revision and expansion as part of an ongoing conversation about the role of local government and food sovereignty in the urban, United States context.

Future Research

There are many possible avenues to extend this work. For example, it would be useful to examine the change in food policies over time. A second possibility is to engage in plan quality evaluation to examine the strengths and weaknesses of specific food policies, both in comprehensive plans, and in a growing number of food systems plans from jurisdictions across the country. A third direction would be to assess the implementation of food policy, and whether policies have measurable impacts on metrics like food insecurity and food systems wages. Third, it would be useful to examine the challenges and merits of the collaborative process approach used by Food Policy Councils, specifically in terms of challenging existing power dynamics and creating inclusive decision-making processes.

In terms of research that builds more directly off of the research focus articulated in this dissertation, I now identify two specific projects. One future project would be to identify examples of food sovereignty-oriented food systems planning across the United States and world, and study those cases to understand how they work and their impacts. A second project would be to examine the participation of diverse peoples (e.g. non-white) in food systems planning and develop an explicit anti-racist approach to food systems planning.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

About the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council (or City of Seattle)

1. Reflect on the legal status and authority that food has at the Puget Sound Regional Council (City) and in the Puget Sound region (in the City) for example, by the leadership, and in authority-giving or legal documents and policies.
2. What funding and resources are there for the Regional Food Policy Council and for food issues generally at Puget Sound Regional Council (at the City)?
3. Tell me about the commitment to food by various departments and in traditional planning areas like transportation and economic development. Also, tell me about your department/organization specifically. Do you see increased commitment to food, and how?
4. Has and if so, how has food been integrated into the region's (City's) primary policy and regulatory frameworks? (at the City-scale and in your department)
5. Does and if so, how does the Regional Food Policy Council (the City) engage joint-actor partnerships and networks around food-related decision-making?
6. What approaches, if any, does the Regional Food Policy Council (City) use to enable citizen participation in decision-making around food?
7. Reflect on the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council (City of Seattle)- what do you see as its unique role in the food system? What has it accomplished in terms of policy, programs, and projects?
8. What have been the Food Policy Council (City's) most important impacts on the food system so far?
9. Where has the Food Policy Council (City of Seattle) not met its potential? Provide specific examples.
10. What are the Food Policy Council's (the City's) main challenges/limitations when it comes to food systems change?
11. Where do you see the Food Policy Council (City) going? Do you think it will have a transformative impact on the food system?

Neoliberalism, Food Sovereignty, and the Role of Government

1. How would you characterize the current food system in the Puget Sound region (in Seattle)?
2. Are there problems with this food system? If so, briefly name the top two to three problems.
3. How would you describe the ideal food system? What values are most important? Be as specific as possible.
 - a. Would people be hungry? How would hunger be avoided?
 - b. What role would food play in the community?
 - c. What does food production look like? Are there farms, and what do they look like? Who owns the farms, the water, the seeds, the soil?
 - d. Who produces food, and how are the producers compensated?
 - e. How are food systems workers treated and compensated?
 - f. What would food distribution and consumption look like? Where would food come from and where/how is it consumed?
 - g. What would food production practices entail?
 - h. What is the food system's impact on the environment?
4. What would be the role of government in this ideal food system?
5. What would be the role of Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council (City of Seattle) in this ideal food system? How close is that to reality?

Appendix B: Coding Dictionary, Question One, Comprehensive Plans

	Food Topic Addressed
1.	Access and availability
2.	Food assistance
3.	Food distribution
4.	Food education
5.	Food waste
6.	Local sourcing
7.	Marketing and advertising
8.	Processing
9.	Retail
10.	Rural agriculture
11.	Urban agriculture

Adapted from Hodgson, 2012

**Appendix C: Coding Dictionary, Question One, Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council
and City of Seattle**

Primary Codes Food Governance Capacity Factors	Explanation
Legal status and authority	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support and authorization from elected officials, administration, and departmental leaders • Staff perception of the appropriateness of food policy as a municipal responsibility • Formal codification of food policy within other broader commitments (e.g. sustainability) • Dedicated and significant funding • Recognition of authority by other jurisdictions and partners
Staffing, organizational location, and expertise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assigned staff positions, across the city and within departments • Expertise and training • Suitable and strong organizational location- whether within administration, one department • Inter-departmental communication and cooperation
Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comprehensive policy structure (e.g. mandate, law) • Coordinated and strategic approach to such policy interventions. • Attention to food in comprehensive plans • Normative or regulatory tools corresponding to specific policy areas (e.g. urban agriculture, farmers' markets, food access, food recycling etc.) • Coordination with multi-jurisdictional policy frameworks • Quick policy wins, balanced by long-term policy change goals
Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A food policy council or some other multi-stakeholder organization • Other joint-actor partnerships • Staff positions with liaison and outreach functions • Clearly defined roles and responsibilities for the actors involved, and an appropriate match of skills
Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diverse representation of participants (e.g. youth, women, ethno-cultural groups), including beyond more established food policy network members • Valuation of inclusivity • Respect for diverse perspectives and backgrounds • Meaningful community participation as more than tokenism

Adapted from Mendes, 2008

Second Set of SubCodes Food Governance Capacity – Direction and Strength	Explanation
Strong capacity	Evidence of strength of factor; attention to all aspects of factor; no evidence of any weaknesses or challenges
Weak capacity	Evidence of some strength; attention to one or some but not all aspects of factor; evidence of weaknesses or challenges
Lack of capacity	No evidence of strength; evidence of weaknesses or challenges
Suggestion for future	Specific suggestion, by interviewee or in text, of change to increase factor

Appendix D: Coding Dictionary, Question Two

Principles / Primary Codes	First Set of SubCodes, Specific Aspects of Each Food Sovereignty Principle
<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #1: Food for People/Food as a Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-hunger • Right to healthy, local, sustainable, and culturally-relevant food by all people • Recognition of poverty and other structural causes of hunger and food insecurity • Anti-poverty measures • Equitable food systems • Broad support for community food security • Commit/expand local food assistance/subsidies • Support for emergency, short-term food aid (e.g. food banks & meal programs), coupled with attention to enabling long-term food access • Advocacy for policy change to ensure food access • Expand acceptance of food assistance at direct sales outlets (e.g. farmers markets, CSAs) • Attention to quality/health/sustainability/local in food assistance • Respect for culturally important food in food assistance • Enable/expand access to healthy & local food • Enable/expand geographic access to food • Food as community building, not as commodity • Nutrition standards/procurement for public purchases • Healthy food/drink at publicly-owned places/for staff • Reject/restrict/regulate fast food/unhealthy food • Focus on policy and systems change for healthy food
<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #2: Small-Scale Food Producers and All Food Systems Workers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of structural causes of food injustice in access to land, resources, and in labor issues • Attention to food justice broadly • Attention to affordability of farm land and other resources for food production (e.g. water, seed) • Access by diverse/minority/immigrant/female/poor/new farmers • Reduced barriers/regulations to farming (though not at expense of agro-ecology) • Incentives and assistance to food producers (e.g. tax credits, reduced fees, expedited permit review, technical assistance) • Explicit support, via policy and otherwise, for small scale agriculture (rather than large-scale) • Supports good working conditions for farmworkers, including migrant farmworkers (e.g., wages, housing) • Supports good working conditions for all food systems workers, including migrant workers

<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #3: Relocalizes Food Systems</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attention to local without conflation of local with sustainable and just practices • Broad support for local agricultural economy • Enable /support small-scale processing • Marketing and public education about local foods • Direct sales including farmers markets • Conserve farmland • Protect/enable farming as an activity (but not activities that cause environmental degradation or violate other principles) • Provide land/funds for community gardens • Enable urban and community agriculture • Diversify farming incomes/agri-tourism • Access to community gardens by all communities/populations • Local procurement • Support for locally-owned/cooperative businesses/retail (and other alternative, non-corporate models) • Halt farm land loss • Diverse food systems practices (e.g., hunting, gathering) • Locally owned retail/grocery/restaurants • Compost and food waste re-utilization • Human waste re-utilization
<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #4: Local Control/Decision-making</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of limits of expanding consumer choice • Agricultural and food community involvement in planning issues • Food Policy Council or similar multi-stakeholder organizations • Regional collaboration with other jurisdictions • Attention to inclusivity and diversity in membership and in citizen engagement • Attention to concerns about racism and elitism • Provide meaningful opportunities for citizen engagement and decision-making • Support for community-based organizations, while attentive to concern over devolution • Resist, restrict, and regulate privatization of land and resources • Public management of water for agriculture • Public management of farm land • Public management of forest/hunting grounds
<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #5: Builds Food-related Knowledge and Skills</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition of potential for and limits of focus on individual behavior change • Fund/support community-based research • Technical assistance to farmers • Education/training for citizens in growing food, processing, cooking, composting, etc. • Education about food preparation/health/nutrition • Support for native knowledge/practices • Support for culturally diverse knowledge/practices

<p>Food Sovereignty Principle #6: Works with Nature/Agro-Ecology</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce impact to climate by food system • Study/prepare for climate change impact to food system • Ecological practices/Best Management Practices and beyond • Recognition of potential and limits to organic • Reduction of chemicals • Water quality • Greywater re-use/water capture • On-farm composting • Organics (plant/food) re-use • Food forests, permaculture and other ecologically sensitive approaches • Support farmers in provision of ecosystem services • Regulation against chemicals/non-ecological/damaging practices • On-farm energy production
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Second Set of SubCodes	Explanation
Support- Strong	Robust attention to most of the aspects of the food sovereignty principle; no evidence of any gaps, weaknesses or challenges. Attentiveness to critiques of alternative food movement efforts.
Support- Weak	Thin attention to one or some but not all of aspects of the food sovereignty principles; some evidence of gaps, weaknesses or challenges.
Mixed/Inconclusive	Some (thin to strong) support for aspects of food sovereignty, but also explicit opposition to other aspects of food sovereignty. Inattentiveness to critiques of alternative food movement efforts.
Explicitly Against	Language or discourse in explicit opposition or against food sovereignty generally or the details of the food sovereignty principle; Evidence of support for neoliberalism/corporate food regime.

APPENDIX E: Coding Example, Question #1 and #2, City of SeaTac Comprehensive Plan

Relevant Text	Source	Question #1 Primary Code: Category	Question #1 SubCode: Specific strategy implied	Question #2 Primary Code: Food sovereignty Principle (#1-6)	Question #2: Food sovereignty SubCode	Question #2 SubCode: Explicit support (S), Weak or vague support (W), Explicit rejection (R), or Alignment with neoliberalism (N)	Comments
<i>Encourage uses near major transit centers that are compatible with and reinforce the pattern of transit activity. The City's two light rail stations will be the focus of transit-oriented development and transportation infrastructure. Discussion: ...Additionally, the land uses within close proximity to the stations should provide a wide range of goods and services. Cafes and restaurants, convenience shops and personal service establishments should be encouraged over general office space and financial institutions.</i>	Comprehensive Plan, Policy 6.2C	Retail	Cafes and restaurants as part of transit-oriented development near light rail	1	Enhance/expand geographic access to food	W	Geographic focus only. No mention of economic or other access. No connection to other principles. No mention of quality/health/source of food or type of establishments.
<i>Encourage the development of small, "resident-oriented" businesses in SeaTac. Discussion: ...In order to provide services needed by City residents, there should be a strong effort to allow and encourage businesses that also</i>	Comprehensive Plan, Land Use Element, Policy 1.3C	Retail	Encourage resident-oriented businesses including bakeries, small groceries, and cafes	1	Enhance/expand geographic access to food	W	Geographic focus only. No mention of economic or other access. No connection to other principles. No mention of quality/health/source of food or type of

<p><i>cater to residents' needs. Examples of such businesses include, but are not limited to, hardware stores, bakeries, small grocery markets, video rental shops, bookstores, day care centers, and espresso cafes. These types of services also help to make the City more livable for families.</i></p>							<p>establishments.</p>
<p><i>Encourage neighborhood-scale commercial development in appropriate locations outside of the Urban Center/City Center. Discussion: ...Small, neighborhood-scale commercial areas would provide residents with services and shopping opportunities close to home, which can reduce auto trips and help build community by providing opportunities for neighbors to meet. These neighborhood commercial areas could provide local gathering places and service and retail opportunities. Examples include, but are not limited to, cafes and restaurants, hair salons, dry cleaners, tax preparation services, grocery stores, video rental stores and florist shops.</i></p>	<p>Comprehensive Plan, Land Use Element, Policy 1.1C</p>	<p>Retail</p>	<p>Neighborhood-scale development including cafes, restaurants, and grocery stores</p>	<p>1</p>	<p>Enhance/expand geographic access to food</p>	<p>W</p>	<p>Geographic focus only. No mention of economic or other access. No connection to other principles. No mention of quality/health/source of food or type of establishments.</p>
<p><i>Address human services needs of City residents now and in the future through funding and advocacy priorities that recognize and encompass four</i></p>	<p>Comprehensive Plan, Human Services Element, Policy 10.3A</p>	<p>Assistance</p>	<p>Providing funding; prevent hunger</p>	<p>1</p>	<p>Commit/expand local food assistance. Support for</p>	<p>W</p>	<p>No specifics in terms of funding. Likely focus on short-term hunger, not long-term food security.</p>

<p><i>broad areas: Discussion ...1. Prevent hunger and homelessness... Prevent hunger and homelessness. The City should emphasize funding strategies that provide a pathway to stability and link case-management services when providing assistance to prevent hunger and homelessness.</i></p>					<p>emergency, short-term food aid.</p>		
<p><i>Actively promote citizen involvement and community input in issues related to neighborhood revitalization and preservation. Discussion: ... The City should also continue to promote community neighborhood revitalization events, such as intersection rehabilitation and community gardens; such projects/events enhance community pride and image.</i></p>	<p>Comprehensive Plan, Housing and Neighborhoods Element, Policy 2.7B</p>	<p>Urban Agriculture</p>	<p>Promote community gardens</p>	<p>3</p>	<p>Enable urban and community agriculture</p>	<p>W</p>	<p>No specific commitments (e.g. land, funding, resources) to promote community gardens. No connections to other principles. No mention of who has access, or about production practices.</p>

Appendix F: Coding Example, Question #1, Excerpt of Interview with Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council

Participant

Text from interviewee	Primary Code	SubCode
<i>I think the Food Policy Council is still getting its sea legs...</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Hope
<i>I want to see everything we have done labeled as wins.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Suggestion
<i>You know, I work with another coalition that really is making wins. For the Food Policy Council, I don't see us sufficiently focused on policy actions. We've done some reports have some half finished products.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Weak
<i>We should be aggregating information, gathering information to move policy forward.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Suggestion
<i>At this point, most cities in region don't even see food access as one of their policy areas- so we need to focus on getting food in it somewhere. In comprehensive plans, for one. We haven't made anything huge; no major impacts yet- but I see the potential.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Weak
<i>Honestly, all I see that we have done are a few reports- not really for sure wins. The farmers market stuff seems exciting- we made a report with recommendations, okay- but did we go speak to Council, to Office of Economic Development to move things, make them respond?</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Weak
<i>The part that gives me hope is that we have all these different people from around the region at the table, discussing regularly. It really solidifies what we are doing, what the local food movement could look like.</i>	Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making / Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations	Hope
<i>And I do think our reports and recommendations, and our conversations- they do have some influence- they influence people in their ongoing actions.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Hope
<i>I think it would be really smart to look at other councils- not necessarily food ones- can be any topic really- but how have they been effective? How can we be more effective?</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Suggestions
<i>I sit on another council that is more effective. We send letters to federal and state decision makers, put pressure on them, we put our names on policy; this group is a different body of people.</i>	Integration of food policy into regulatory and legal frameworks	Weak
<i>The thing about it is- we keep waiting for success, and community groups cannot wait that long. It is why FEEST is one of the last community groups that is there. There is a crisis in keeping diversity at the table.</i>	Involvement of joint-actor partnerships and networks in planning and policy-making / Citizen participation mechanisms including marginalized populations	Significant problem

- Note: In my research, I used Text Analysis Mark-up System (TAMS). Since it is not easy to include an understandable portion of my TAMS analysis here, I converted one example analysis into a table, shown above, to provide a clear understanding of the coding process for this question. The rest is completed in TAMS.

Appendix G: Coding Example, Question #2, Seattle Food Action Plan, Excerpt from Page 13

Text	Primary Code	Second Code(s)	Third Code	Comments
<i>Support and expand the Farm to Table program. The Farm to Table program connects City-supported licensed childcare facilities and -supported senior meal programs with local farmers in order to integrate fresh local produce into meals served to kids and seniors. There are currently 30 childcare sites and 25 senior meal programs that have begun purchasing local, healthy, organic food directly from farmers to serve in their meals. Many sites have moved from reheating processed foods to cooking from scratch, and both staff and participants are enjoying the improved quality of meals offered while also learning about the local farms that produce our food. Expanding this pilot project has the potential to impact hundreds of low-income children and seniors.</i>	FS Principle 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attention to quality/health/sustainability/local in food assistance 	Inconclusive	Focus on local, healthy, organic- but nothing about sustainable or just
<i>Support and expand the Good Food Bag program at community centers and City-supported licensed childcare facilities, linking low- income families with local food sources to provide healthy foods at low cost. The Good Food Bag provides affordable food to families via volunteer efforts at community centers and other Farm to Table sites. The program meets people where they are by forming distribution sites around “natural hubs”--places where families and/or food buyers for those families congregate. Volunteer coordinators arrange for purchase and delivery of food to the site, where participants can purchase family-sized or individually portioned bags</i>	FS Principle 1 FS Principle 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anti-hunger, right to food Support for community-based organizations, while attentive to concern over devolution Food as community building 	Support-weak	Using “natural hubs” and volunteers
<i>Provide free summer meals to children, and leverage this opportunity to provide more fresh healthy food. One-in-five children in Seattle experienced food insecurity in 2010. School lunch provides the most important meal for many children during the school year, and in the summer that meal is lost. The Human Services Department has been administering the federally funded Summer Food Service Program to children ages 1-18 since the 1970s. In 2012, 175,000 free summer meals were provided to children at community centers and partner sites. This food distribution effort provides an opportunity to get more healthy food to children. Continue to administer the Summer Food Service Program, and seek opportunities to leverage this work to provide additional healthy food access for kids.</i>	FS Principle 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commit/expand local food assistance/subsidies Support for emergency, short-term food aid (food banks & meal programs) Attention to quality/health/sustainability/local in food assistance 	Inconclusive	Call for leveraging Not clear on need/gap or funding source Focus on healthy- nothing about local, sustainable or just

- Note: In my research, I used Text Analysis Mark-up System (TAMS). Since it is not easy to include an understandable portion of my TAMS analysis here, I converted one example analysis into a table, shown above, to provide a clear understanding of the coding process for this question. The rest is completed in TAMS.

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VITA

Megan A. Horst (PhD, AICP) is originally from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and she grew up playing in urban alleys and picking her neighbor's raspberries. She earned her doctoral degree in Urban Design and Planning Department at the University of Washington. Her research expertise is in the relationship between planning and policy and food systems relocalization, sustainability, and justice. Her work has appeared in publications such as the *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development* and the *Journal of Renewable Agriculture*, and in books by the Planners' Press and the University of Iowa. In her dissertation, she examines how specific examples of planning in the Central Puget Sound region contribute to- or hinder- food systems transformation. Megan has also worked on grant-funded projects to conduct GIS-based mapping of farmland and ecological resources, to assess food policies in the Puget Sound region and to conduct a food systems assessment for the state of Washington.

Megan has worked for Solid Ground on children's food security issues, for Sustainable Seattle on the Communities Count initiative to track community indicators about health and justice, for King County Metro on community-based social marketing around reducing drive-alone travel, as an Interpretive Park Ranger at Lava Beds National Monument, and as a sustainable agriculture promoter in Peace Corps Honduras.

At the University of Washington, Megan taught introductory and upper-level courses on sustainability, planning, policy analysis, and research design. She mentored students on in-depth research projects on campus sustainability and food systems issues. In fall 2015, Megan will begin her career as a tenure track assistant professor at Portland State University.