

Building Municipal Food Governance:

A new potential for a coordinated and just food system across the country

by

Beth Smoker

Department of Food Systems and Society

Marylhurst University

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in Food Systems and Society

May 16th, 2016

Thesis Advisor: Sean Gillon, Ph.D.

[Thesis Approval Page]

[This page will be provided for you. Just leave this page blank for now]

Copyright © 2016 by

Beth Smoker

Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Abbreviations and Acronyms	viii
Acknowledgements.....	x
Abstract.....	xi
Chapter One. Introduction: Municipalities emerge with food governance	12
Chapter Two. Background and Significance: Looking toward municipalities	15
2.1 Opportunities for municipal food governance	15
2.2 Coordinating food governance through collective impact.....	16
2.3 Engaging food justice	20
2.4 Realizing municipal food governance nationally	26
Chapter Three. Methodology and Methods: Exploring, uncovering, and recognizing municipal food governance	30
3.1 Positionality and epistemological orientation.....	30
3.2 Methodology.....	31
3.3 Methods.....	33
3.3.1 Exploring municipal configuration	33
3.3.2 Uncovering food justice	36
3.3.3 Recognizing municipal food governance	37
Chapter Four. Results, Analysis, and Contribution: Obstacles to and opportunities for municipal food governance	41

4.1 Coordinated Food Governance: Capitalizing on government opportunities	41
4.1.1 Continuous communication	43
4.1.2 Common agenda	44
4.1.3 Mutually reinforcing activities	45
4.1.4 Backbone support	47
4.1.5 Shared measurement system	52
4.1.6 Seeing double: Municipalities experience same obstacles as NGO AFIs	54
4.2 Food Justice: Connecting food governance with structural change.....	56
4.2.1 Food justice in the City of Seattle	57
4.2.2 Food justice in the City of Minneapolis	62
4.2.3 Balancing inequalities and inequities in food justice	65
4.3 Equal Access: Understanding municipal-federal food governance relationship	70
4.3.1 Municipal engagement with national food policy	70
4.3.2 Federal funding support	72
4.3.3 The underdeveloped municipal-federal relationship	74
4.4 Contribution: Equitable municipal food governance	75
4.4.1 Government's fundamental role	75
4.4.2 Operationalizing municipal departments of food	79
Chapter Five. Conclusion: Fools to overlook municipal food governance	81
References.....	84

List of Tables

Table 1 – Collective Impact model framework	35
Table 2 – Limitations of municipal food governance and NGO AFIs	55
Table 3 - Right to food framework and equitable municipal food governance	77

List of Figures

Figure 1 – Addressing inequality and inequity in municipal food justice work	67
Figure 2 - Federal support of municipal food governance	72

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFI	alternative food initiatives
APA	American Planning Association
EBT	Electronic Benefits Transaction
FPC	Food Policy Council
GFC	Growing Food Connections
KYF2	Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food
NGO	non-governmental organization
NSAC	National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition
PSE	policy, systems, environment
RC&D	Resource Conservation and Development
SNAP	Supplement Nutritional Assistance Program
U.S.	United States
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

Acknowledgements

This research would not have been possible without the unconditional support from the professors and staff of Marylhurst University's Department of Food Systems and Society, especially my thesis advisor, Sean Gillon, along with the relentless encouragement from my peers who traveled this journey alongside me. A wise professor told me at the onset of this journey that "once you have learned about social justice in the food system, you cannot unlearn it". A special thanks to my family, especially my husband, for giving me the space to evolve as my values and beliefs both transformed and strengthened through this enduring process of critical thought in relation to social justice and food. The irony of my husband taking care of me by cooking me countless meals as I poured over my lessons about the power of food is not lost on me.

Abstract

An increasing number of alternative food initiatives (AFIs) are working to address inequities within the current food system. Despite their valiant efforts, key obstacles in coordinating diverse initiatives, recognizing food justice, and providing equal access to resources across the nation prevent development of an equitable food system. While AFIs are traditionally pursued by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government-led, municipal food governance is on the rise and may be able to respond to these persistent obstacles. It remains unclear, however, if municipalities, as multi-departmental entities with the ability to engage in structural change and the potential to exist evenly across the country with equal access to resources, are capitalizing on their unique traits and position to contribute to an equitable food system. This research examines municipalities' roles in the food system in order to understand obstacles to and opportunities for achieving food system equity through municipal food governance. Using the conceptual and analytical frameworks of collective impact, food justice, and the right to food to guide a policy analysis of municipal food governance, I find that municipalities are not recognizing, nor capitalizing on, their position as government entities. Instead, they often approach food system governance as NGO AFIs, overlooking their ability to create structural change. Nonetheless, their unique government position allows for viable opportunities for overcoming these obstacles. Building on these, I offer a path forward to advance municipalities' burgeoning efforts in food governance through the creation of nationally-supported, municipal departments of food.

Keywords: municipal, department of food, food policy, food systems equity, food justice, right to food, collective impact, alternative food initiative

Chapter One

Introduction: Municipalities emerge with food governance

The current food system embodies countless problems: childhood obesity, starvation, unjust labor treatment, corrupt corporate advertising, unhealthy food options, conflicting nutrition advice, and environmental destruction, to name just a few. These injustices result in a food system that is far from equitable, healthy, or sustainable with no one free from its ills, and some harmed more than others.

Fortunately, a rise in alternative food initiatives (AFIs) has taken hold, working to substantially address these flaws. Such initiatives include: using farmers' markets to bring healthy fruits and vegetables directly into communities, facilitating access to fertile land through neighborhood gardens, offering cooking classes in low-income neighborhoods to teach basic skills and nutrition, revising food labeling to help consumers make informed choices, advocating for child health through school food campaigns, and myriad others. These AFIs are primarily led by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the forms of non-profits, grassroots organizations, cooperatives, and community "champions".

Despite AFI efforts, they face many obstacles to achieving an equitable food system. Primary shortcomings of current alternative food system efforts include challenges in coordinating diverse initiatives, overlooking structural inequities at the heart of food system problems (i.e., food injustices), and an inability to provide support and deliver services equally across the nation. In some cases, scholars claim these AFIs may reproduce the very ills they are trying to alleviate (Allen, 2004, p.78; Holt-Giménez, 2010, p.4; Cadieux & Slocum, 2015, p. 15). These scholars refer to the fact that some AFIs respond to the current food system by creating a seemingly better alternative, but this alternative excludes (and may even capitalize on) the same

marginalized populations that suffer under the system we have now. While oversights such as this may be unintentional, they are counter-productive to creating an equitable food system.

In recent years, municipalities have emerged as new players among these NGO AFIs, trying to respond to food system problems through their own food governance work. Municipal food governance describes a city or county's governing body deliberate engagement with food system issues. This model of food governance has only arisen in the 21st century, despite a call for municipal involvement in food governance over a century ago: In 1918, Ole Salthe of the New York City Department of Health, advocated for a Municipal Food Department, suggesting, "such department or commission should have the same broad, general powers with respect to food control as health departments now have in matters of public health" (p. 197). Salthe's 1918 appeal for municipal food governance fell on deaf ears, but nearly a century later, Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) echoed the call for local governments to establish a focal point to comprehensively address food system policies. This time, the plea was heard and municipalities have recently begun to take a deliberate, active role in thinking about and acting within the food system. For example, municipalities are revising zoning codes to allow for urban agriculture, mapping their city or county's food deserts, and hiring dedicated food system staff.

The efficacy of municipal food governance, however, remains unclear. Little research has scrutinized whether municipalities have capitalized on their position as a government body to contribute to an equitable food system. From common knowledge of municipalities, it is known that they are multi-departmental entities, handle policy with the authority to tax and regulate, while engaging in long-term planning (i.e., avenues to rectify structural inequities), and also exist across the nation with a unique connection to federal resources. It is unknown if these municipal characteristics translate into coordinated food system work, engagement with food justice, and

even access to resources across the nation, respectively (i.e., the common shortcomings of AFIs). As such, it is worth examining municipalities' potential of contributing to an equitable food system. This research examines municipalities' roles in the food system in order to understand obstacles to and opportunities for achieving food system equity through municipal food governance. Specifically, this research asks: How are municipalities configured for effective, coordinated food governance? How do municipalities engage food justice? And, how can the potential of municipal food governance be realized nationally?

In Chapter Two, I explain the importance of examining municipal food governance as a means for realizing an equitable food system, especially in light of municipalities' potential to achieve high levels of coordination, address food justice, and create access to resources across the nation. Chapter Two also introduces three frameworks that structure my analysis: collective impact, food justice, and a right to adequate food. In Chapter Three, I explain the methodology and methods used to address each of my three research questions, specifically detailing how I defined, collected, and analyzed data on current municipal food governance as a means to understand its potential to contribute to an equitable food system. Then, in Chapter Four, I reveal my findings and analyses, which illustrate the challenges of and opportunities for capitalizing on municipalities' unique position as a government entity to overcome common AFI obstacles of coordination, food justice, and equal access to resources across the nation. In the Contribution subsection of Chapter Four, I offer a suggestion for the creation of nationally supported municipal departments of food to enhance municipalities' contribution to a systemically coordinated, just food system. Finally, in Chapter Five, I conclude by suggesting avenues for future research, insisting that scholars and advocates not let this opportunity to capitalize on municipalities' food governance slip away.

Chapter Two

Background and Significance: Looking toward municipalities

In this chapter, I explain the recent proliferation of municipal food governance and outline its potential to contribute to an equitable food system through coordinated food system work, food justice, and equal access to resources across the country. I take each characteristic individually and explain its importance for an equitable food system, its current absence from common food system initiatives, and its potential to be addressed by municipalities. I explore each with a unique framework to deepen and guide my analysis.

2.1 Opportunities for municipal food governance

A new player, municipalities, have risen in recent years to respond to food system problems. Morgan (2013) suggests that today (i.e., in 2013), food is no longer “a stranger to the planning field” (referencing Pothukuchi and Kaufman’s [2000] phrase), with municipal government departments specifically included in this claim (p. 1). Many inventories compile extensive lists of food-related actions in which municipalities participate. Neuner, Kelly, and Raja (2011), for example, compile “best practices of local government policy and programs designed to strengthen community food system.” Other scholars have done a “national scan” of municipal plans that include food (Hodgson, 2012), and conducted “case studies series on the role of local governments [in local food systems]” (Goddeeris, Rybnicek, Takai, 2015).

With this surge of involvement, more information is needed to understand the role of municipalities in contributing to an equitable food system. Throughout this research, I do not generally use the words “city” or “county” (except when providing specific examples), as these

terms do not always explicitly imply municipal (i.e., government) participation. This distinction is important because much research exists on NGO AFIs, whereas my inquiry is concerned about the recent, growing participation of municipalities in light of their unique characteristics—multi-departmental, ability to engage with structural change, and cross-country existence with connection to federal resources. In order to ensure a viable form of municipal food governance that contributes to an equitable food system, we need to assess municipalities' ability to do coordinated food system work operating from a lens of food justice, while providing resources across the whole nation. Each of these is explored in more depth below.

2.2 Coordinating food governance through collective impact

My first research question acknowledges the importance of coordinated food system initiatives and asks about how municipalities are configured to achieve systemic, coordinated food system governance. The complexity of the food *system* requires coordinated, collective action if effective change is to be realized. Ashe and Sonnino (2013) describe the food system as “multi-faceted” and “fragmented”, where real change must come with alignment across food system-relevant activities (p. 62). A common problem among AFIs is that they are often siloed initiatives, missing opportunities to strengthen and advance their underlying joint values and interests across discrete efforts. One reason that common food systems efforts fail to achieve a systemic, coordinated approach is because their initiatives are self-selected, based on individual interests, issues, and passions. Allen, FtizSimmons, Goodman, & Warner (2003) observe pieces of this behavior in their research on California AFIs, where they explain these AFI efforts as working “incrementally” and within “insulated spaces”, directly critiquing Kloppenburg, Hendrickson, and Stevenson (1996) who believe AFI work is best done in this fashion (p. 71).

Municipalities may be well positioned to overcome some of these challenges, given most municipalities' multi-departmental configuration, which is organized to deal with systemic issues. It is unclear, however, if this structure actually translates into coordinated food system work within municipalities. Therefore, I ask: How are municipalities currently configured for effective, coordinated food governance?

Many scholars over the past two decades have pointed out that food system issues are spread across multiple municipal departments, often unnoticed and uncoordinated; and yet, much of this research either existed before municipalities deliberately pursued food system governance or is more concerned about critiquing the academic planning field for its oversight in excluding food system work, than municipalities themselves. In 1997, Fisher mentions, "food-related policies and programs instead are embedded in virtually every city department, unarticulated and disconnected" (p. 3). Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) mention that "the current piecemeal approach fails to recognize the linkages among food subsystems and between food systems and other community systems like housing, transportation, land use, and economic development" (p. 218). Along similar lines, Vitiello and Brinkley (2013) explain the "hidden history" of the food system spread across different fields. Shifting the critique from the past to the present, Brinkley (2013) claims the *planning field* can better address food issues by engaging in cross-discipline work. Complementarily, Campbell (2004) suggests that *planners* need to bridge food system issues with a "common language".

This research aims to clarify configurations of municipal food governance at a time of its growth, and beyond the field of planning, asking not how municipal food governance can connect to planning, but how municipal food governance is most effectively configured. In order to assess municipalities' coordinated food governance, I use a framework centered around

collective work for social change. Specifically, the framework is adapted from a recent model called Collective Impact, which focuses on structuring “the commitment of a group of important actors from different sectors to a common agenda for solving a specific social problem” (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 36). The model is designed to create effectiveness in decision-making and activity implementation, and to improve overall success in social change (Kania & Kramer, 2011). In Chapter Four, I will use this Collective Impact model as a framework to examine the configuration of current municipal food governance.

The Collective Impact model stresses the importance of different entities, such as non-profits, private foundations, and government agencies coming together to work towards social change. I will apply this model to address the multiple departments within municipal government, itself, where food issues are present. Muller, Tagtow, Robers, and MacDougall (2009) remind us of the importance of governments engaging with coordinated food policy across departments: “A government that does not have a comprehensive assessment of food system policies is unlikely to have an effective method of addressing health policy, energy policy, economic development policy, environment policy, transportation policy, or anti-poverty policy” (p. 238).

The Collective Impact model includes five parameters necessary to deliver effective, long-lasting change: continuous communication, a common agenda, mutually reinforcing activities, backbone support, and shared measurement systems. Below, I explain and adapt these five parameters from Kania and Kramer’s (2011) Collective Impact model in relation to municipalities in order to analyze their configuration to generate substantial coordination to advance an equitable food system.

Continuous Communication. Regular communication among players builds trust and creates a common language to aptly converse and take action. For municipalities this category is adapted to understand the multiple departmental reach of food system work.

Common Agenda. All participants have a shared vision for change that includes a common understanding of the problem and a joint approach to solving it through agreed upon actions. Within municipalities this category is used to recognize an emphasized mission and overall goals of food system work.

Mutually Reinforcing Activities. Specific activities are coordinated and complimented among one another to ensure actors play to their strengths and their efforts reinforce each other. Within municipalities, this category is used to understand how activities are both organized across departments and also build off of each other.

The Collective Impact model provides a relevant starting place for assessment of mutually reinforcing activities, but does not provide for categories to distinguish among the kinds of activities in which municipalities engage. As such, I employ a “PSE” approach, articulating activities into categories of policy-, systems-, or environment-related activities. This PSE approach assumes these three activity types are coordinated and complimentary in order to have effective change. PSE is defined as follows (adapted directly from Frey and Chen, 2013): Policy (“P”) is a written statement of organizational position, decision or course of action (such as ordinances, resolutions, mandates, guidelines, or rules). Systems (“S”) is change in organizational procedures (such as personnel, resource allocations, programs). Environment (“E”) is physical, observable changes in the built, economic, and/or social environment. This PSE approach aligns well with the Collective Impact model’s principle that “fixing one point

[along a] continuum...wouldn't make much difference unless all parts of the continuum improved at the same time" (Kania & Kramer, 2011, p. 36).

Backbone Support. A separate organization and staff with a very specific set of skills and supporting infrastructure (e.g., funding) serving as the backbone for the entire initiative increases chances of success; without these, coordination frequently fails. Within municipalities this category is adapted to understand the staff and department coordinating food system work and the funding source for this work.

Shared Measurement System. Measuring results ensures efforts remain aligned, adjustments are made to improve activities, and participants are accountable to their role. Within municipalities this category identifies the reports, program evaluation, or measurement indicators for their food system initiatives.

The Collective Impact model allows me to assess municipalities' current configuration for effectively engaging in systemic food system work. While the model helps me understand the ability of municipal food governance to contribute to a coordinated food system, it does not question the reason municipalities are engaged in this work. To put it another way, with a focus on the *most* impact, it does not question if it is the *right* impact. Therefore, my next research question explores if municipal food governance is tackling problems in the food system from the right angle, one that addresses food system inequity.

2.3 Engaging food justice

The second major area of focus for this research is on how municipalities can address structural inequities in the food system through justice-oriented work. Many food system

problems today stem from structural inequities, which must be acknowledged and addressed within food system initiatives if they are going to be truly effective. To explain further, structural inequities are both revealed and reinforced by the food system. As one example, populations of color have higher rates of obesity (revealed inequity), while at the same time are disproportionately targeted by unhealthy food advertisements (reinforced inequity).

Dealing with structural inequities has proven challenging for common food system initiatives to address. There are many suggested reasons for this hurdle. For instance, Cadieux and Slocum (2015) explain that “favored pursuits of the food movement (for example communal gardens, worm bins, or farmers' markets)” do not target root issues of the food system (p. 15). Wakefield, Flemming, Klassen, and Skinner (2013) describe the missing structural change differently, defensively clarifying that AFIs are “busy responding to immediate needs (e.g., acute and chronic hunger among community members)” with little time to act more deeply or toward long-lasting change (p. 438). Harper, Shattuck, Holt-Giménez, Alkon, and Lambrick’s (2009) opinion is relevant here on avenues for long-lasting, structural change, suggesting that “policy addresses structural changes—changes to the rules and institutions that shape our food systems...policy changes can have wider reaching and often longer-lasting effects” (p. 41). Although, unfortunately, AFIs have been sited as avoiding engagement with policy change (Allen et al., 2003, p. 71-72).

Food justice has constituted one major response to confronting inequities in the food system. Food justice can be defined as “a transformation of the current food system, including but not limited to eliminating disparities and inequities” (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015, p.3, quoting Gottlieb and Joshi, 2010, p. ix). I elaborate on parameters of food justice at length later in this subsection. Because inequities are so fundamental to the current food system it is

important to ask how any food system initiative, including municipalities' food governance, engages with these problems. Municipalities have the ability to engage in policy and long-term planning, perhaps situating municipalities in a place to address deeper structural inequities. However, it is unclear if municipalities are aware of structural inequities in the food system or capitalizing on their unique position to rectify them. Therefore, I ask: How do municipalities engage food justice?

Substantial research has been conducted on food governance at the municipal level, but little of this has deeply addressed municipalities' engagement with food justice. Some academics do, however, conclude their municipal food governance analyses by calling for deeper looks into justice. For instance, Mendes (2007), after explaining the overall success of municipal food policy development in the City of Vancouver, concludes with: "What remain lacking are more careful analyses of the interplay between 'food justice' and specific social and geographical dimensions of the city" (p. 114). Mansfield and Mendes (2013) provide a thorough analysis of municipal food strategies, with no examination of food justice, but in the final words of their paper, they ask: "Do integrated food strategies present too complex a conceptual, jurisdictional and policy landscape to affect the very systemic change they seek to achieve?" (p. 56). Pothukuchi (2009), one of the original proponents of food system planning in city governments, concludes her paper outwardly raising uncertainty about food system initiatives within local public agencies due to their lack of social justice work (p. 366).

This research intends to add a more explicit analysis of food justice in municipal food governance to both existing food-justice literature, and municipal food governance literature. As food justice has become increasingly popular, scholars have more recently questioned if AFIs are in fact engaging in food justice activities, or rather only acknowledging the need for food justice

(Cadieux and Slocum, 2015). I apply this current conundrum of food justice to my assessment of municipalities. Cadieux and Slocum's (2015) critique of "doing food justice" can be explained as a complex web of *acknowledging* inequalities and *acting* on the inequities. To elaborate, food justice is often defined in a mix of "equality" and "equity" terms. While seemingly parallel concepts, understanding the subtle differences may better guide effective food system initiatives. Food system work does not always fall in distinct equality or equity boxes, but rather exists along a complicated spectrum of these concepts. However, for the sake and clarity of my analysis of municipal engagement with food justice, I further define these two categories below.

Equality is the state of being the same. Williams (1985) explains equality as a constant action, where all people are naturally equal, but inherited conditions giving rise to power need to be continuously equalized (p. 118). Bennett, Grossberg, and Morris (2005) believe equality can develop from "recognizing differences, but making them 'costless'" (p. 111). Equality work within the food system is, for example, acknowledging that low-income people have unequal access to healthy food compared to the middle and upper classes and responding by facilitating the use of Electronic Benefit Transaction (EBT) at farmers' markets—now everyone has the *same* access to healthy foods.

Equity is the state of being fair. Equity means that everyone has fair access to opportunities, unabated from discrimination or social injustices. Inversely, "inequities are rooted in social injustices that make some population groups more vulnerable to poor health than other groups" (Boston Public Health Commission, 2016). To say it another way, populations may have the same access to an opportunity, but they have unfair disadvantages to actually realize the opportunity. Using the same food system example above of unequal access to healthy food across class lines, an equity-minded response means increasing the minimum wage so people do

not need to be on EBT in the first place—now wages are *fair* across demographics and therefore everyone has the same economic access to healthy food. This example illustrates how equity needs to first exist in order for equality work to be effective. This also shows how social equity issues can be identified through a food justice lens, but that they exist well beyond food systems. The food system is a window to expose deeper social injustices, and also serves as a place to correct them.

In order to assess municipalities' engagement with food justice, I use the equality and equity categories described above within the context of a food justice framework. I adapt a food justice framework from food justice scholars' Cadieux and Slocum (2015) and Holt-Giménez (2010) and reinforce their concepts with additional evidence. In what follows, I explain the components of the analytical framework for identifying food justice in municipal food governance used in this research.

Democratic voices. Inclusion of all voices within society in decision-making. Justice cannot prevail unless all voices are included to participate in conversations *and* make decisions, recognizing how unequal material power and discursive power oppress voices in society (Allen, 2004).

Fair labor treatment. Just treatment for all laborers within the food system (e.g., farmworkers, food service workers, food production factories), including healthy work environments, livable wages, and benefits. The restaurant industry features some of the lowest paying jobs in the country, accounting for almost half of American workers earning at or below the federal minimum wage, as well as employing more than 60 percent of all tipped workers (Food Chain Workers Alliance et al., 2014, p. 3). Farmworkers often persist in unhealthy working conditions, lacking protection from pesticide exposure, access to health benefits, and

adequate housing arrangements, to name a few (Bon Appétit and United Farm Workers, 2011). Brown and Getz (2011) stress that farm labor is founded on “the ideological construction of a racialized agricultural working class that has systematically been denied claims to better wages” (p. 125).

Social equity. Acknowledging structural relations of power and oppression to overcome social inequalities, including:

Class. Providing livable wages to all regardless of social stature or workforce arena. Alkon, Block, Moore, Gills, DiNuccio, and Chavez’s (2013) argue “the primary barrier to obtaining desired foods was lack of income, not proximity or lack of knowledge” (p. 133).

Racism. Understanding structural issues of race embedded deep within the food system and institutions of society. Oppression due to skin color is apparent in countless aspects of the food system; to name just a few: racial segregation in the restaurant industry (Jayaraman, 2013), the obesity epidemic unevenly hitting people of color (Heynen, Kurtz, and Trauger, 2012, p. 305), and discrimination within physical farmers’ market spaces (Slocum, 2008).

Gender. Viewing the difference of women and men’s roles in food production and consumption, and acting to equalize the inequalities. Allen and Sachs (2007) explain how women’s subordination in society are taken advantage of and reinforced within the food system: “Women perform the majority of food-related work, but they control few resources and hold little decision-making power in the food industry and food policy” (p. 1).

Vulnerable populations. Recognizing the more susceptible populations’, such as seniors and youth, vulnerability to food insecurity and poor nutrition. Seniors experience a disproportionately high rate of food insecurity: one-third of seniors cut meal size or skip meals and thirty-five percent buy less nutritious food, both due to limited finances (AARP, n.d., p. 8).

Similarly, the National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition (NSAC), in its advocacy for United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) child nutrition programs, finds, “Over 30 percent of all children in the U.S. are overweight or obese, resulting in more missed school days and poorer academic achievement” (NSAC, 2015).

Land access. Recognizing the power of land access, and working to create equitable control of this resource. Land access within a food justice framework can incorporate a vast range of issues: unequal ownership patterns (Holt-Giménez, 2007), gentrification (Miewald and McCann, 2014), built-environment food deserts, affordable housing, and environmental/agroecology land use practices (Cadieux and Slocum, 2015; Holt-Giménez, 2010).

This food justice framework outlined above is rather comprehensive; however, an additional tenant of food justice, not included above, includes having awareness of the food system functioning at a global scale (Holt-Giménez, 2010). In other words, if food justice is being accomplished in one geographic location, but not another, the food system cannot truly be considered wholly just. Knowing that municipalities are situated at a small, local geographic scale, this issue merits its own research question, elaborated on in the next subsection.

2.4 Realizing municipal food governance nationally

This research acknowledges that problems in the food system exist across the nation, where a few municipalities doing coordinated food system work with a food justice lens will not fully translate to a complete, equitable food system. An equitable food system requires resources to be equally accessible across the country. However, many alternative food system initiatives operate at the local-level, and as Allen et al. (2003) explain, “the local is not everywhere the

same” (p. 63). This difference of attention in various locales is often because AFIs commonly form from individual “champions” concerned and passionate about their work, but focused within their community boundaries (Bedore, 2012). Similarly, AFIs can become dependent on volunteers, committed to a certain local. Allen and Guthman (2006) explain this volunteer phenomenon in the context of farm-to-school AFIs: “volunteers tire and tend to move on as their children move through the school system” (p. 407). This is not to say that working at a local level is entirely valueless. In fact, DeLind (2011), while smartly aware of limitations of working at the local level, still clearly illustrates the value of community-level engagement, claiming communities will hold together through tough situations, which is the kind of “resilience” the food system needs (p. 282). Contradictorily, Born and Purcell (2006) caution of “falling into the local trap” where it can be wrongly assumed that “local is inherently good” (p. 195). Allen (2004) rectifies these differences of opinions, explaining how “local politics has to work in conjunction with, not instead of, national and international politics” (p. 175). Opportunely, municipalities exist across the nation and have ties to the federal government, which has the ability to ensure equal access to resources. It is unknown, however, if municipalities are capitalizing on this unique cross-country position and connection to federal resources. Therefore, I ask: How can the potential of municipal food governance be realized nationally?

There is considerable research exploring the tension of federal government involvement in food governance. For example, Shannon, Kim, McKenzie, and Lawrence (2015) suggest the contradictory nature of federal food policy in both perpetuating and rectifying inequities: “although the current food system in the United States is enabled by policies that perpetuate the status quo and allow externalization of some of the true costs of production, it is also, paradoxically, through policy that many of the most viable avenues of change are available” (p.

152). Allen and Guthman (2006) further underscore the irony of a federal public school system where local school districts across the nation offer unequal and unfair food services as a result of limited federal oversight.

Federal involvement in food policies affects local food politics across the nation, giving reason for municipalities to turn attention to national policies. The federal farm bill, for example, dispenses and controls food entitlements (such as Women, Infants, and Children and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program [SNAP]) that are often managed at the local level. Similarly, the federal government determines national school food guidelines, crop subsidies, and food safety regulations, to name only a few. These affect local school districts, community farmers, and restaurants, respectively.

This current federal involvement is often confronted with critiques of needing to expand its involvement passed crop subsidies and entitlement programs towards adapting the value of food as a human right. The right to adequate food is a gaining international recognition that “food is a human right”, and as such, should be recognized and enforced by the government (De Schutter, 2009; Anderson, 2013; Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012). This framework gives statutory responsibility to the government, thereby holding governments accountable to feed its people. Noteworthy, “food is a human right” is more than simply access to healthy food, but also includes merits of self-determination (i.e., democratic voice) of food choices (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012, p. 269) and other values of food justice to “eliminate root cause of hunger” (Anderson, 2013, p. 120).

While not upholding a “food is a human right” value currently, federal engagement in food policy has advanced in recent years to recognize the importance of local food governance with support in the form of funding—an undeniably crucial component for stable food

governance. In a 2003 study, Allen et al. find that food system initiatives generally experience funding insecurity (p.72); a decade later, Wakefield et al. (2013) still claim food system efforts are “perpetually uncertain of where funding would come from and whether it would be enough to sustain programming” (p. 438). This unstable access to funding means community food system services may have to start and stop as funding ebbs and flows. Additionally, funders often expect a certain agenda and outcome from their funds, giving them power over the type of food system work being implemented. For example, Wakefield et al. (2013) quote an interviewee saying “the kind of projects we ended up in were partly determined by what funding was available” (p. 437). This is evidence that project accountability is to the funder and not necessarily to the people served.

This research uses the right to adequate food framework to look at the current and potential municipal-federal food policy relationship as an avenue for providing equal access to food system resources across the country. Allen (1999) reminds us: “Building on the relative strengths of each approach, the traditional food programs [federal] and community food security projects [local] can work together to overcome the forces that have produced food insecurity” (p. 127). Specifically, in order to address how municipal food governance can have an equal presence across the nation, I look to what currently exists: municipalities’ engagement with national food policy and the federal government’s support of municipal food governance through funding.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Methods: Exploring, uncovering, and recognizing municipal food governance

This chapter explains how I operationalized my inquiry into municipal food governance by illuminating my relationship with research, knowledge, and food systems, and then explaining the methodology and methods used to address my research questions. This research examines municipalities' roles in the food system in order to understand obstacles to and opportunities for achieving food system equity through municipal food governance. Below I explain how my positionality and epistemological orientation informed my research approach. A subsection outlining the methodologies used to address each research question follows. I then give a brief overview of the methods I used, explaining how I defined, collected, and analyzed my data for each research question.

3.1 Positionality and epistemological orientation

My positionality informed my research assumption that there are inequities in the current food system and that municipalities can play a role in rectifying these inequities. My background in the interdisciplinary field of environmental science informed my view of municipalities as multi-disciplinary entities. Additionally, given that I have experience watching non-profits working to transform the food system subsist at the mercy of unarticulated food policy and unstable funding, it made sense that I approached food system change by asking about how the government was positioned to feed its people. I see value in local communities and therefore placed interest in municipal level government, yet I did not ignore federal involvement, understanding its ability to ensure access to resources across the nation.

My epistemology has been shaped by this positionality and training in critical thinking grounded in social justice that have me looking at the world both pragmatically and idealistically. I believe the most effective knowledge comes from the culmination of cross-disciplinary input aimed at straddling the dichotomy between searching for pragmatic answers and theorizing about ideal possibilities. My epistemology resonates with Creswell's (2014) pragmatic worldview: "the pragmatist researchers look to the *what* and *how* to research based on the intended consequences – where they want to go with it" (p. 11). The pragmatist also holds "...a theoretical lens that is reflective of social justice and political aims" (p. 11). Given this and my drive for policy change, my research methodologies were problem-driven, rather than determined by an adherence to a specific approach.

3.2 Methodology

My research questions aimed to understand obstacles to and opportunities for achieving municipal food governance's potential to contribute to an equitable food system. Thus, I applied a mixture of research methods to both widely and deeply engage with the complexity of food governance. My first research question asked: how are municipalities configured for effective, coordinated food governance? I drew on policy analysis and program evaluation methodologies to gather an illustrative, expansive data set. Blume, Scott, and Pirog (2014) explain policy analysis as a way of assessing "the "true" effect of a given policy intervention" (p. 37). Carlson (2011) claims "public policy analysis lacks a single disciplinary home" (p. 21). Supplementing this methodology, program evaluation assesses "how well services serve people in need" (Posavac, 2016, p. xiv). Cumulatively, these methodologies provided tools to assess "the "true"

effect” of multi-departmental policies and programs intended to “serve people in need”, directly paralleling the boundaries of my research question.

The complex qualities of food justice framed my second research question, asking: how do municipalities engage food justice? A case study methodology allowed me to gather rich information and understanding of municipalities’ food justice work (or a lack thereof). Flyvbjerg (2006) promotes case studies with the recommendation that “it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur” (p. 229). Tracy (2010) further acknowledges that “rich rigor” is a necessary component of qualitative research, where complex issues should be studied with methodologies of similar complexity (p. 841).

My third research question asked: how can the potential of municipal food governance be realized nationally? I drew on a combination of the methodologies from my two previous research questions. I used policy analysis and program evaluation methodologies to assess municipalities’ engagement with their connection to national food policy. And, I used a case study to assess financial support from the federal government. While my second research question (municipal engagement with food justice) defined a case as an individual municipality, here I define a case as an initiative within the federal government, pulling from Gillham’s (2010) reasoning that there are multiple definitions of a “case” (p. 1).

To summarize, through policy analysis and program evaluation I aimed to add critical analysis of municipal food governance viability. Through case studies, I aimed to add depth to the existing breadth of information on municipal food governance (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 241). Lastly, through engagement with academic literature within all three research question, I intended to position my research in existing knowledge. Jesson, Matheson, and Lacey (2011)

claim, that by understanding gaps in knowledge obtained from systemically addressing literature, it can help “promote research knowledge and put it into action” (p. 15). Thus, my mixture of methodologies allowed me to contribute knowledge on the obstacles to and opportunities for achieving municipalities’ food governance potential and then practically apply it.

3.3 Methods

In this subsection I explain how I defined, collected, and analyzed my data for each research question. Each research question corresponded to a uniquely defined unit of analysis. While data sources overlapped among each question, the specific data collected varied by research question. To analyze my data, I used content analysis for all three research questions, allowing me to interpret the textual data of specific municipalities’ approach to food governance, as well as a federal support of municipal food governance. For each question, I employed directed content analysis (i.e., using predetermined codes from existing theories) for its strength in both supporting and extending existing knowledge (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1283). I also allowed patterns to emerge. Saldaña (2014) explains “thinking patternly” as a way to understand habitual behavior that often goes unnoticed due to its commonplaceness (pp. 28-31). This twofold approach of directed and emerging content analysis gave me the tools to analyze data using known frameworks but without limiting discovery of important themes. Under each research question below, I explain data collection and analysis methods in detail.

3.3.1 Exploring municipal configuration

For this research question, I defined municipal “configuration” as the distribution of roles, responsibilities, and activities. I divided municipal configuration into five unique parameters, which were defined using the Collective Impact model (initially explained in

Chapter 2, Background and Significance, and further operationalized below in Table 1). My unit of analysis was municipal configuration. There are 19,492 municipalities in the United States (U.S.) (Leib, 2012, p. 13), but not all are consciously engaged in food system work. Fortunately, there are numerous inventories and reports of municipalities doing food system work compiled by academics and NGOs. For this study, I used municipal food governance data from Growing Food Connections (GFC)—an NGO conducting research on local government food policies nationwide. GFC has a close partnership with the American Planning Association (APA), a non-profit with an established reputation as a resource for both NGO and governmental planners that has taken on the work of engaging planners with local food systems. This data source was appropriate because it showcases municipalities applauded for their food system work, providing me adequate information to answer my research question.

To collect data for this first research question, I examined municipalities that have been highlighted as “Communities of Innovation” by GFC. As of February 2016, GFC highlighted nine “Communities of Innovation” doing municipal food governance, claiming these municipalities “are using creative strategies to foster linkages between community food production and community food security.” The nine municipalities range from urban to rural, cities to counties, low-income minority demographics to wealthy communities. Analyzing configuration of nine very different municipalities active in food governance made sense because I was interested in understanding the range and pattern of configurations within each of my five Collective Impact categories, rather than comparing municipalities against one another. Specifically, I examined each municipality’s 2-3 page report by GFC explaining the configuration of the municipality in relation to food governance. I used these GFC reports as a starting point and then explored corresponding municipal websites for further information.

Municipal websites, while varying greatly in the degree and accessibility of food system information, generally contained food governance information on specific department pages, within food system documents, policies, and regulations.

To analyze the data for this research question, I did a content analysis for each of the nine GFC reports and food system-related material found on municipal websites. I looked specifically for the five parameters of municipal configuration. I operationalized each parameter with specific questions to guide data collection. Table 1 shows the five Collective Impact parameters, their corresponding operational questions, and their analytical criteria.

Table 1 – Collective Impact model framework

Collective Impact Parameter	Question to Operationalize Data Analysis	Analytical Criteria
Continuous communication	What municipal departments are involved in the food system work?	Regular communication among players builds trust and creates a common language to aptly converse and take action
Common agenda	Is there a main goal of the food system work? Where is it within municipal documents?	All participants have a shared vision for change that includes a common understanding of the problem and a joint approach to solving it through agreed upon actions
Mutually reinforcing activities	What food system policy-, systems-, and environment-related activities are municipalities doing?	Specific activities are coordinated and complimented among one another to ensure actors play to their strengths and their efforts reinforce each other.
Backbone support	Is there a main person orchestrating the food system work? Is there a specific department that the food system work is housed under? What is(are) the source(s) of funding for the food system work?	A separate organization and staff with a very specific set of skills and supporting infrastructure (e.g., funding) serving as the backbone for the entire initiative increases chances of success; without these, coordination frequently fails.
Shared measurement system	Are there reports or accountability for the work being done?	Measuring results ensures efforts remain aligned, adjustments are made to improve activities, and participants are accountable to their role.

After performing a content analysis, I examined my notes for themes that emerged both within each parameter and across all parameters. I contextualized data on municipal food governance configurations using academic literature. To interpret my data, I first synthesized each individual parameter's range of configuration or common configuration. I then compared these configurations against each parameter's criteria in the Collective Impact model framework (see Table 1). Next, I analyzed the data for themes that developed across all five parameters.

3.3.2 Uncovering food justice

For this research question, I considered how municipalities addressed structural inequities through food justice work. My unit of analysis was municipal food governance and municipal governance in general. The same data sources used in my first research question were used to answer this second question (i.e., GFC reports on municipalities active in food governance). This was appropriate because I was interested in municipalities currently engaged in food governance that have adequate information available about their work.

To collect data for this research question, I chose two out of the nine GFC-highlighted municipalities to focus on—the City of Seattle and the City of Minneapolis. The City of Seattle, Washington has historical community interest in local food systems and the majority of its population is white, middle class. Across the country in Minneapolis, Minnesota, 22.5% of the population lives below the federal poverty line with a growing non-white population (Hodgson and Fodor, 2015, p. 1). Due to the depth of analysis required to understand food justice work and to the research time available, focusing on two case studies made sense. I examined the GFC reports for each City as a starting point and then reviewed food system-material from each City's websites. Finally, I also visited each City's main webpage and used their search function to look

for additional food justice-related activities the municipality may be doing that are unconnected to their food system work. Similar to my first research question, I was not concerned about variation in the available information for both municipalities, since I was not directly comparing the two cities, but focusing analysis on the range of approaches employed for engaging food justice in municipalities.

To analyze data for this research question, I used content analysis for each GFC report and corresponding food system-material found on each municipality's website. I looked specifically for whether food justice was present in their approach to food governance or in other municipal policy. I organized the text into the following analytical categories, informed by my food justice framework: democratic voices, fair labor treatment, and social equity (i.e., class, race, gender, vulnerable populations, and land ownership). I also contextualized municipal food governance's food justice work using academic literature. To interpret my data for each municipality, I synthesized data collected for each of the food justice categories identified above. I then noted themes that developed among the categories. Next, I analyzed the data within the food justice categories of equality and equity.

3.3.3 Recognizing municipal food governance

This research question had two unique components and, as such, had two different research methods. Below, I first explain my methods for understanding municipalities' engagement with their connection to national policy in the context of food governance. This is followed by an explanation of my research methods for understanding federal financial support of municipal food governance.

3.3.3.1 National engagement

For this research question, I defined “engagement” as explicit connection with national food policy. My unit of analysis was municipal engagement. The same GFC reports used as data sources in my first and second research questions were used here. To collect data for this research question, I examined all nine municipalities highlighted by GFC, as in my first research question. I again examined the GFC reports and food system material on the corresponding municipality’s website. To analyze data for this research question, I did a content analysis of each GFC report and corresponding food system-material found on each municipality’s website. To interpret my data, I synthesized the range of engagement detected across municipalities, and analyzed themes that developed among the categories.

3.3.3.2 Federal financial support

For this research question, I defined “financial support” as funding provided by the federal government directly to municipalities for food governance work. For this specific analysis, my unit of analysis was federal funding. A wide scope of federal funding exists that has the potential to support municipal food governance, from departments such as USDA, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Environmental Protection Agency, and Center for Disease Control. Within these departments, sources include grants, loans, and food assistance programs. For this study, I used the USDA’s Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food (KYF2) initiative. This was appropriate because the KYF2 initiative compiles funding streams from multiple federal departments.

To collect data for this research question, I examined the grants offered within the KYF2 initiative, along with awardees of these grants. The KYF2 has proclaimed itself “the go-to place for the latest information about USDA programs relevant to local and regional food systems” (Fitzgerald, Evans, & Daniel, 2010, p. 3). It compiles 29 grants from across multiple federal departments that the USDA believes support local and regional food systems. The KYF2 website outlines each funding sources’ basic information (e.g., maximum award, main purpose, eligibility requirements, and an example of funded projects), showing the *potential* for federal support of municipal food governance. KYF2 also includes a database of awarded projects, showing the *actual* federal support.

To analyze these data, I downloaded the KYF2 database, available as an Excel workbook, and sorted the data by the database’s recipient column, selecting for “government” (the KYF2 database categorizes recipients as academic, business, government, nonprofit, or producer). I then combed through information on each government recipient to identify municipalities (i.e., cities, counties, towns, and villages, but not resource conversation districts, school districts, state agencies, tribes, universities, university extensions, or community development entities) that received grant funding. The database contains basic information, including a brief description of the work to be implemented and funding amount, for each grant awarded.

To analyze data for this research question, I did a content analysis of the basic information for each funding source, identifying funding available to support municipalities. I then evaluated the database for funding awarded to municipalities. To interpret my data, I compared the *potential* availability of federal support for municipal food governance to the *actual* support and noted emergent themes. Lastly, in my Contribution section, I analyzed the

advancement of municipal food governance, as evidenced by this KYF2 program and findings from my previous two research questions, against the right to food framework.

Chapter Four

Results, Analysis, and Contribution: Obstacles to and opportunities for municipal food governance

This chapter reveals the obstacles to and opportunities for achieving municipalities' unique potential to contribute to an equitable food system. I present the findings and provide an analysis of each of my three research questions. Section 4.1 addresses my first research question, asking how municipalities are configured for effective, coordinated food governance. This inquiry reveals a configuration reaching for coordination, but encountering roadblocks similar to common NGO AFIs. In Section 4.2, I address my second research question on municipal engagement with food justice, where structural change is happening, but disconnected from food governance. I address my third research question in Section 4.3, asking how municipal food governance can be realized nationally. Here, I discover there is little federal support for municipal food governance, perhaps due to a blurring of NGO and government roles within food system efforts, leading to the discussion of building a new government role and municipal-federal relationship in food governance, explored in the Section 4.4. Additionally, Section 4.4 outlines the contributions this research makes for overcoming the obstacles to municipal food governance; specifically, I use a right to food framework considering the future of municipal food governance and calling for the creation of municipal departments of food across the nation.

4.1 Coordinated Food Governance: Capitalizing on government opportunities

My first research question asks how municipalities are configured for effective, coordinated food governance. Knowing that municipalities work within the boundaries of a systemic, multi-department space, they may have the potential to readily coordinate food policy

efforts. Therefore, in this subsection, I apply the Collective Impact model to municipalities in order to analyze if they are doing coordinated food system work. As a reminder, Kania and Kramer (2011) suggest the Collective Impact model as a tool for effective social change: a “carefully structured process” where actors must “abandon their individual agendas in favor of a collective approach” (p. 36).

The Collective Impact model provides a clear, guiding framework for assessing coordination of municipalities’ food governance. A clear framework is important given the diverse shapes and sizes of U.S. cities and counties: control and power granted by states vary among municipalities; municipalities exist along a continuum of small rural counties and large urban cities; diverse structures exist within municipalities (e.g., one city may have a ‘Planning Department’ equivalent to the ‘Community Development Department’ in another); and the location and organization of government departments varies (e.g., the Office of Sustainability housed in the Planning Department versus in the Office of the Mayor). Counties and their respective cities also have varying relationships. For example, two municipalities from my study combine and share their food system work between both the city and county. Thus, independent from this variation, the Collective Impact model provides a lens to focus on the characteristics most likely to lead to effective, coordinated change.

In the next subsections, I analyze how municipalities (represented by the nine municipalities highlighted by GFC) engage each of the five parameters of the Collective Impact model: continuous communication, a common agenda, mutually reinforcing activities, backbone support, and shared measurement system. For each of the five parameters, I first define its requirements, then synthesize the range of configurations or common configurations from my findings, and finally note thematic observations that develop across all five parameters. I find

that municipalities are on the brink of exercising coordinated food governance, but they (unnecessarily) face similar challenges as NGO AFIs.

4.1.1 Continuous communication

Regular communication among players builds trust and creates a common language to aptly converse and take action. The majority of municipalities I studied appear to engage in continuous communication across multiple municipal departments. Deliberately planned cross-departmental initiatives appear to be a key component in opening up communication pathways. For example, many municipalities have a “food in all policies” (Whitton, Lesse, & Hodgson, 2015, p. 1) theme that sets precedent to engage with numerous departments, such as health departments, planning departments, offices of sustainability and environments, mayors’ offices, economic departments, transportation departments, solid waste departments, and parks and recreation departments. Additionally, continuous communication relies heavily on developing common motivation and trust, which the Collective Impact model authors suggest takes years to build (Kania and Kramer, 2011, p. 40). Fortunately, municipal departments have existed for decades with the common purpose of serving their citizens and functioning as a whole city or whole county, putting municipalities in a unique position to build trust as a foundation for their continuous communication.

Despite achieving continuous communication, municipalities need a community “champion” for this communication to be initiated in the first place. A third of the studied municipalities highlight the mayor’s pivotal role in starting municipal food governance communication. Bedore (2014) credits the mayor as a “key feature” in Baltimore for facilitating the start of the City’s food system conversation (p. 2986). However, Freudenberg and Atkinson’s

(2015) research on mayoral food system influence reminds us that mayoral campaigns are driven by community advocates' "ability to come together as a powerful voice" (p. 301). Bedore's (2012) concept of a "buzz-less city" (p. 91) is important to consider here. She points out that not all cities have community "champions" of food system work to initiate the conversation and keep it moving forward. This is a challenge that many NGO AFI's face as well, where the birth of initiatives is reliant on an individual's passion and motivation.

4.1.2 Common agenda

Having a "common agenda" means that all participants have a shared vision for change that includes a common understanding of the problem and a joint approach to solving it through agreed upon actions. Encouragingly, all but one of the studied municipalities have a common agenda in the form of a specific plan outlining food system issues with goals or approaches to combat them. These specific food-system plans—such as the Philadelphia Food Charter and Seattle Food Action Plan—fulfill the "shared vision" criteria of a common agenda. Similarly, my research finds that all of the studied municipalities also incorporate food agendas into existing, non-food-specific municipal documents—such as comprehensive plans and climate action plans. This incorporation of food into other municipal material emphasizes a "joint approach", which is an integral criterion of developing a coordinated, common agenda.

Despite municipalities nearly ubiquitously having common agendas, they are created on self-determined frameworks, thus not always holding equal merit. For example, the Philadelphia Food Charter frames the City's common goal strongly around environmental health: "a vision for a food system which benefits our community, our economy and our environment and helps push Philadelphia further towards becoming the Greenest City in America" (p. 1). In contrast,

Baltimore's Food Policy Initiative (BFPI) frames their common goal around human health: "The goal of BFPI is to increase access to healthy and affordable foods in Baltimore City food deserts." Undoubtedly, municipalities have different characteristics, where a variance in common agendas across municipalities is to be expected. And yet, there needs to be some shared, equal interest across municipalities for dealing with the most basic food system needs that universally cross county and city boundaries. This is the same obstacle NGO AFIs face where food system efforts are guided by self-selected agendas, meaning basic food system needs may not be given equal attention across the country.

4.1.3 Mutually reinforcing activities

Mutually reinforcing activities engage in policy, systems, and environment-related work. This involves undertaking specific activities that are coordinated and complimented among one another to ensure actors play to their strengths and their efforts reinforce each other. While two of the nine municipalities appropriately address mutually reinforcing activities criterion of complimentary policy-, systems-, and environment-related activities, the majority of municipal actions predominately engage in only systems- and environment-related activities. Instances of systems-related activities include allocating staff time, providing funding, cataloguing food deserts, and mapping community gardens. Municipalities' environment-related activities range from placing healthy food in corner stores, establishing SNAP processing at farmers' markets, and providing community education.

Policy-focused activity, however, is often missing. For example, the City of Philadelphia's Philly Food Bucks project matches SNAP dollars spent at farmers' markets on fruits and veggies, but less than half of the farmers' markets in the City participate (City of

Philadelphia, 2015), which I presume is because there is no policy requiring market participation. Along similar lines, of the five municipalities engaged in popular healthy corner store programs—initiatives to add fresh fruits and veggies in convenience stores typically stocked with packaged, processed foods—Minneapolis is the only municipality with an ordinance (i.e., policy) requiring all corner stores to meet healthy food thresholds. This lack of policy engagement is a hurdle that many NGO AFI's face as well, thus limiting the force and reach of their initiatives.

When municipalities do engage in policy it often only serves a limited population and misses connection to systems- and environment-related activities. For example, a few municipalities have policies for city employees to be reimbursed for community supported agriculture membership as part of their wellness program, but this only benefits city employees. Many municipalities also have local food procurement policies, but, while Sonnino (2009) boasts about municipalities' power to affect the food system through food procurement policy (p. 429), these efforts may serve only a select population. In another example, while over half of the municipalities have new or revised regulations to allow backyard bees and chickens, these policies only serve those who have access to land and are not complimented with systems- or environment-focused action to connect the landless to land. Policies of these types can lead to demographics being self-selected without any guidance or assurance to reach everyone within the municipality, which is a parallel obstacle for many NGO AFIs.

Municipal food governance is also missing the mutually reinforcing activities criterion of appropriate coordination across municipal departments. Consider, for example, the City of Cleveland's progress report highlighting lack of transportation as a significant barrier for EBT usage at farmers' markets (Lung, n.d.) – an obstacle that could be appeased through coordination with the transportation department. While my analysis of the continuous communication

parameter (in Section 4.1.1) does show evidence of communication with transportation departments, this mutually reinforcing activities parameter reveals that communication has to be about the appropriate initiatives in order to effectively coordinate activities. To take a case in point, the City of Seattle’s Transportation Department is part of their food system conversation, yet their engagement is in the form of permitting street medians as an allowable place to grow food, uncoordinated from the City’s farmers’ markets EBT initiatives. Similarly, poor coordination among food system initiatives is a common challenge for NGO AFIs.

4.1.4 Backbone support

Backbone support increases chances of an initiative to have effective coordination and overall success with its three key pieces: staff with very specific skills, a distinct organization, and supporting infrastructure (e.g., funding). My research finds that different configurations of municipal food governance exist, fulfilling various criteria of backbone support. Interestingly, these configurations from my research align closely with Pothukuchi and Kaufman’s (1999)—academics introduced earlier known for popularizing the need for municipal food governance—three suggested forms for a municipality’s food system work: city departments of food, city-planning departments, and food policy councils (FPCs). Therefore, I organize my data in this subsection into three subsections, one each for city departments of food (Section 4.1.4.1), city-planning departments (Section 4.1.4.2), and food policy councils (Section 4.1.4.3). I analyze each of these configurations in light of the three key pieces of backbone support: staff with specific skills, a separate organization (i.e., location/department housing the food system work), and funding.

4.1.4.1 Department of food

While no municipal departments of food exist in the U.S., the current staffing and location of food system work within municipalities suggest a prefiguring for municipal departments of food, which could meet backbone criterion of “staff with specific skills” and “a separate organization”. Eight of the nine municipalities analyzed have specific employees dedicated to food system work, with titles such as: Food Policy Director (City of Baltimore, Maryland), Local Food System Program Coordinator (Cabarrus County, North Carolina), Food Systems Coordinator (Douglas County, Kansas), and Food Policy Advisory Council Manager (City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). These positions are highlighted as key reasons for successful food governance: “Dedicated staff time to [Homegrown Minneapolis policies and projects] was essential” (City of Minneapolis, 2012b, p. 15); “These policies and staffing decisions paved the way for subsequent local government supported food systems projects, programs and policies” (Hodgson, 2015, p. 2). These positions align with backbone support criterion of “staff with a specific set of skills”.

The majority of these specific food system staff are situated within coordinating locations of municipalities, again, perhaps the onramp for municipal departments of food. Specifically, the Mayors’ Offices and Office’s of Sustainability (often within the Mayors’ Offices) are prevailing locations for housing food system specific positions and responsibilities. The City of Minneapolis’s Homegrown Minneapolis Coordinator position started in the Health Department, but moved “to the City Coordinator’s Office, which coordinates initiatives across City departments” (City of Minneapolis, 2012b, p. 23). This is significant because a City has recognized the importance of food system work needing a coordinating position. As such, an

eventual municipal department of food may meet the backbone support criterion of “a separate, distinct organization”.

Funding is a crucial component of backbone support and is currently a significant obstacle within municipal food governance. Funding sources for municipal food system work vary widely, spreading across federal and state grants, private foundation funding, philanthropy, and general funds from municipalities. Volatility in funding has plagued municipal food governance with funding changing from one source to another and in many cases having gaps of no funding at all. Cabarrus County was fully funding their work from County funds when they experienced drastic budget cuts that eliminated their food systems staff position, FPC support, and multiple food system projects. The City of Minneapolis’ food system staff was reduced to part time and shuffled among different funding streams for a few years, including federal grants, private foundation funds, and city support. These challenges mirror those of NGO AFIs habitually dealing with short-term, unstable funding.

4.1.4.2 City planning departments

While municipalities ubiquitously have planning departments, their staff and department do not fulfill backbone support criterion. On the whole, these departments do not fit the specificity of “staff with specific skills” or “a separate organization”; instead, department roles and responsibilities are ambiguous in terms of food system governance. Planning department staff and the department itself (i.e., the location where food system work is housed) are described below; funding problems parallel those described in the previous subsection on departments of food and are therefore not reiterated here.

My data show only one food system staff titled with “planner”. This is despite the strong attention planners receive from academics as the pivotal position for food governance responsibility. For example, Campbell (2004) sees planners as the facilitators of cross-discipline work (p. 349). Hammer (2011) positions planners as being key shapers of community (p. 424). In an urgent call for cities to develop urban food strategies, Sonnino (2009) refers to “planners and policy-makers” as the agents of this responsibility. This academic literature gives way to significant confusion on whether “planners” refer to people within municipal planning departments, within other city departments, or even outside the government entirely. For example, Vitiello and Brinkley (2013) frame food system planning as historically “hidden”, in part due to it “often [residing] in a set of nontraditional planning institutions and movements outside of municipal planning departments or physical planners’ studios” (p. 2). Morgan (2009) suggests the title has become broad and hard to define and asks, “Who are food planners?” (p. 342). This catchall role of a “planner” and broad definition of “food system planning” muddy the utterly important distinction of backbone support criterion of “staff with a very specific set of skills”.

Only two of the municipalities studied house their coordinating food system staff in municipal planning departments. Paralleling the discussion above, this is, again, despite academic literature's strong attention to planning departments as the location for food system work. For example, Brinkley (2013) situates food system planning as a “sub-discipline” within planning departments (p. 256). Hodgson (2012) provides an exhaustive inventory of tools local governments are using in food governance, based on a national APA survey specifically targeting planning departments. Raja, Born, and Russell (2008) are aware that food issues span across government departments (p. 92), but they pepper their guide—*A Planners Guide to*

Community and Regional Food Planning—with assumptions that planning departments are the facilitators of this work (p. 94). Indeed, academics have not heeded the advice of Pothukuchi and Kaufman’s (1999) initial call for municipal food governance, where they explained city planning departments as serving only “as a complement to a food policy council...or a department of food” (p. 220). A “complement” role is very different than the backbone support criterion of a “separate, distinct organization”.

4.1.4.3 Food policy council (FPC)

FPCs on the surface appear to have the potential to meet backbone support criteria because they have specific staff and are a separate organization, but their staff and organization often have limited authority, and they also experience the same, if not more, funding volatility as described for departments of food. FPC staff, the organization location (i.e., place housing food governance), and funding are described below.

FPCs have volatile staffing situations, giving way to a volunteer staff. Of the eight (out of nine) studied municipalities that have ties to FPCs, six have received staffing support from their municipality’s specific food system staff. In many of these cases, a government resolution directs who sits on the FPC, usually including municipal personnel from various departments and community members. Over time, two of the six FPCs receiving municipal staff support lost this backing from their municipal entity, with leadership roles turning into volunteer positions. As FPCs become run by non-governmental staff, they often have limited authority. In Baltimore, for example, municipal food system staff “...is supported by the Food Policy Advisory Committee (Food PAC), a voluntary body of over 45 member organisations (City of Baltimore [no date]) with a supportive role but no decision-making power” (Bedore, 2014, p. 2984). In Burgan and

Winne's (2012) FPC guide, they insist that in many councils "all work is done by volunteers" (p. 39). This personnel arrangement is similar to common NGO AFIs, where volunteers carry much of the responsibility, often resulting in apathy and burnout.

While the majority of my studied municipalities have government-engaged FPCs, these councils are generally NGOs with unstable longevity. Despite common conception of FPCs as a government entity, only 18% of all FPCs in the nation are embedded in government (the other 82% are independent grassroots coalitions, housed in other nonprofits, registered 501(c)(3) nonprofits, embedded in universities, colleges, Extension offices, or classify as "other") (John Hopkins, 2015). While FPCs fit the backbone support criterion of "a separate organization", 82% of FPCs are not government entities with greater volatility in existence. Many FPCs are explained as becoming established "only to cease operating several years later" (Harper et al., 2009, p. 5). Therefore, FPCs cannot, in their current state, be relied upon as backbone support.

Over half of the FPCs tied to municipalities from my research lost funding from their municipal entity. Harper et al. (2009) state that "One of the most significant aspects to note about the funding sources for FPCs is that a large number of FPCs have no funding at all" (p. 4). While municipalities have lost funding for food system staff and projects as well, the more common pattern is municipalities cutting funding for FPCs, but retaining their own staff and projects within the municipality. As such, FPCs experience higher rates of instability from funding insecurity.

4.1.5 Shared measurement system

Using a shared measurement system with common criteria for assessing a collective initiative, ensures efforts remain aligned, adjustments are made to improve activities, and

participants are accountable to their role. Six of the nine studied municipalities have some type of reporting for their food governance activities, but they do not fully meet the criteria for a shared measurement system with clear, equal measured indicators across projects and roles. Firstly, my research shows that reporting does not always appear to be aligned across food system projects. For instance, the City of Philadelphia has a formal annual report for their Philly Food Bucks, but does not have similar reporting on their Healthy Corner Stores Projects. Additionally, municipalities appear hesitant to report project shortcomings, allowing little room to assess areas for adjustments. This is seen in the City of Seattle's "Moving the Needle" reporting that only features program highlights, and does not address next steps or lessons learned. Lastly, fortunately, some municipalities do have explicit measurement tools holding them accountable to their projects' goals, but it is unclear if they hold multiple departments and projects to the same, shared indicators. For example, the City of Minneapolis has local food indicators, with measureable targets, such as ensuring "all residents live within a 1/4 mile of a healthy food choice" (City of Minneapolis, 2012a).

Shortcomings of achieving shared measurement system criteria may resonate from municipalities' tendency to direct project accountability to their self-determined project metrics and/or funders' goals, instead of toward the people they are serving. For example, in some cases, different food system projects within a municipality have different funding sources and therefore different reporting metrics. To take a case in point, the City of Baltimore's healthy corner store project has multiple progress reports for its USDA grant, but their farmers market and urban agriculture programs have no accessible reporting. Additionally, the City of Minneapolis, while having an indicator that includes their residents (as stated above), the City does not carry this over into their actual reporting, where they have zero mention of the people they are aiming to

serve in their reports. Instead, for example, they list facts and statistics on the number of new food trucks and community gardens. This same limited, direct accountability to the people being served is an obstacle common to NGO AFIs.

4.1.6 Seeing double: Municipalities experience same obstacles as NGO AFIs

In many ways, municipalities are currently configured to engage in effective, coordinated food governance, with a few manageable areas to improve upon. For instance, municipalities have multi-department engagement in food system initiatives, common action plans, and dedicated food system staff to oversee coordination. They engage in multiple types of activities, with some improvement needed for activities fully coordinated and complimentary of one another. Further engagement with policy-related activities can strengthen their actions and expand the populations they touch, while also improving their accountability.

Despite utilizing their unique multi-departmental structure for coordinated food governance, my research sheds light on an overall shortcoming of municipal food governance: municipalities face many of the same obstacles as NGO AFIs. Challenges of NGO AFIs are first introduced in Chapter Two, Background and Significance, and are mentioned within the findings of this research question as appropriate in the above subsections. Here, I elaborate on the obstacles of municipalities in implementing effective, coordinated food governance in light of their commonalities with NGO AFI challenges. Firstly, municipalities need a “champion” to start communication (a common AFI issue for unequal access to resources across the country). They also have what appear to be self-selected agendas (an AFI limitation creating siloed work). Their inadequate engagement in policy often unequally serves populations (an obstacle for AFIs in addressing structural change). Unstable funding and staffing create inconsistency and unequal

access to resources (common characteristics of AFI’s variability of equal services). And, there is a lack of accountability to the citizens of the municipalities (a common AFI challenge limiting responsibility). Table 2 further illustrates the commonalities of NGO-AFI obstacles and municipal food governance limitations. Having municipalities’ food governance exist under the same circumstances of NGO AFIs may be detrimental to their ability to contribute to an equitable food system.

Table 2 – Limitations of municipal food governance and NGO AFIs

Collective Impact Parameter	Common NGO AFI obstacle	Municipal Food Governance Limitation
Continuous communication	Reliance on “champion”, creating unequal access to resources	Need a community “champion” for communication to be initiated in the first place Example: one third of municipalities have mayoral support
Common agenda	Self-selected agendas, working in silos	Food action plans created on self-determined frameworks, thus not always holding equal merit Example: Philadelphia focuses on environment, Baltimore focus on health
Mutually reinforcing activities	Limited engagement in policy	Inadequate engagement in policy often unequally serves populations Example: market matching dollars at farmers markets is not <i>required</i> , limiting access to this service
Backbone support	Funding instability	Fluctuation in funding, variable funding sources Example: Cabarrus County lost funding and cut all food system staff and projects
Shared measurement system	Limited, direct accountability to the people being served	Project accountability to self-determined project metrics and/or funders’ goals, instead of toward the people they are serving Example: Baltimore project reporting dictated by grant requirements

However, a municipality is not an NGO; its unique position as a government entity may provide it an opportunity to overcome these challenges. This is further explored through analysis of the federal government's support of municipal food governance in my third research question. It is also explored in my contribution section through an assessment of government opportunity to adopt a right to food framework. But, before considering nationwide municipal food governance, I first inquire about its ability to engage food justice, which is not assessable within the boundaries of the Collective Impact model. The Collective Impact model, while framed to create wide-reaching social change, does not specify the quality of social change desired. Thus, the question remains, for which purpose do we wish to increase impact? Therefore, my next research question explores if municipalities are tackling problems in the food system from the angle of food justice.

4.2 Food Justice: Connecting food governance with structural change

My second research question asks how municipalities engage with food justice. Since municipalities have the ability to do policy and long-term planning, they have the potential to deal with structural change (and therefore food justice). As such, in this section I question if the food system work of municipalities is trying to solve the *right* problem of food system injustices in the most productive manner of addressing structural inequities in their food governance.

Using two modes of analysis, I assess municipal engagement with food justice. In my first mode of analysis, I apply my food justice framework to two cities— Seattle and Minneapolis. Again, this food justice framework includes: (i) democratic voices—inclusion of all voices within society in decision-making; (ii) fair labor treatment—just treatment for all laborers within the food system (e.g., farmworkers, food service workers, food production

factories), including healthy work environments, livable wages, and benefits; and (iii) social equity—acknowledging structural relations of power and oppression to overcome social inequalities, including class, race, gender, vulnerable populations, and land access. I analyze the City of Seattle and the City of Minneapolis’ degree of engagement with each of these three food justice characteristics by looking at both their food system work and their work in other areas to identify any social equity work happening unconnected to food system initiatives. In my second mode of analysis, I consider these data in light of how each City addresses equality and equity in their food system initiatives. My findings suggest that municipalities have the potential to engage with structural equity change, but they need to open their eyes to this ability, especially in light of their position as a government entity already addressing long-term structural issues in their community.

4.2.1 Food justice in the City of Seattle

The City of Seattle, Washington has historical community interest in local food systems with its deliberate food system work starting in 2008. The majority of Seattle’s population is white and middle class. Overall, the city has a robust food system mindset, where “food permeates virtually all aspects of society and plays an essential role in building community” (Lerman, 2012, p. 11). From my first research question, Seattle fared well in its coordinated food system work by involving multiple municipal departments, having a clear agenda, goals, and approaches, and employing dedicated food system staff. While delivering many activities, some of their programs lacked enforceable policy to ensure equitable reach and their program measurements did not discuss areas of improvement. Despite mostly showcasing coordination in

their food system efforts, it is unclear if they are coordinating the *right* efforts and if their policy and reporting shortcomings may be improved with adapting a stronger food justice lens.

I analyze Seattle's engagement with food justice looking at both their deliberate food governance work and work outside of their food system initiatives. I find that the City significantly acknowledges and understands the social injustices embedded within the food system, their work, however, does not directly deal with the root causes of these injustices. Being in the unique position as a municipality, they have opportunities to connect their food governance to their other City programs that do deal with social inequities.

4.2.1.1 Democratic voices

The City recognizes the importance of communicating directly with the populations they are serving, but it is unclear how this value is being implemented. The City has listed "inclusive communication and engagement" as an approach to reach their food system goals in their Food Action Plan (Lerman, 2012, p. 3), later explaining that "building an equitable food system requires that we look specifically at communities who are at high risk for food insecurity and diet-related disease, and work together with these communities to remove barriers and find solutions" (Lerman, 2012, p. 8). Complimentary to this, a number of City documents highlight this same value. For example, the City's Local Food Action Resolution highlights "Identifying opportunities for community involvement especially by minorities and immigrants" (City of Seattle, 2008, n.p.). And, the Recommendations of the King County Farm and Food Roundtable indicates that the city/county should "Work with each farming community to identify and implement targeted capital investments to improve the viability of farming" (Byers, Howell, &

Peterson, 2014, p. 8). While recognizing the value of inclusivity, it is not apparent if they put this value into action.

Encouragingly, Seattle also recognizes that voices of the powerless can be influenced and further diminished by the dominance of certain entities, and yet little is done to thwart this disparity. Within Seattle's Food Action Plan section of "Increasing Equity", Lerman (2012) acknowledges the power corporate food industry has over minority populations: "In addition, African American, Latino, Native American, and low-income households are heavily marketed to by companies selling high-calorie, low nutrition foods" (p. 8). Anderson (2013) explains this "disproportionate political power of food industries" as an "important root cause" of hunger, highlighting these corporations' "large numbers of fast-food restaurants; and omnipresent advertising for unhealthy food products" (p. 119). While the City is astute to acknowledge this structural issue, directly targeting corporate control is not part of their outlined approaches to reach their food system goals (Lerman, 2012, p. 3).

4.2.1.2 Fair labor treatment

The City has a few indistinct references of food system-related labor in their food policy work, but they do not acknowledge fair labor treatment head-on in this material. Within their Food Action Plan, Lerman (2012) defines healthy food as "fresh and nutritious and grown without harming its producers or our air, water, or soil" (p. 1), vaguely making a connection to labor with the mention of "producers". This Plan also identifies the fact that the food system industry employs over 130,000 people in the Seattle area as a reason for the City's interest in their local food system (Lerman, 2012, p. 5). Farmworkers are absent from the conversation entirely, except when depicted as a current challenge for farmers: "The tightening farm labor

pool drives up costs for farmers” (Byers et al., 2014, p. A-30). Any further development of labor in the food system stops here, revealing a large gap in their food justice work.

However, unconnected to their food policy work, the City is engaged in some structural work around fair labor treatment through their living wages activities. Seattle's Minimum Wage Ordinance went into effect on April 1, 2015 and will gradually increase wages to \$15 per hour. Experts on food industry wages recommend a minimum wage of \$15 per hour along with the elimination of reduced wages for tipped workers (Food Chain Workers Alliance et al., 2014, p. 23). Seattle’s minimum wage ordinance does not entirely eliminate subminimum wage for tipped workers (their wage rises more gradually than non-tipped workers), but tipped workers are scheduled to eventually hit \$15 per hour (City of Seattle, 2014).

Connecting the City’s livable wage initiative explicitly to their food system work could further enhance both programs and ensure food sector workers are specifically looked after under wage laws. Ironically, the City has connected living wages and the food sector in some of their non-food policy work: Their report for their Income Inequality Advisory Committee, *Who Would be Affected by an Increase in Seattle’s Minimum Wage?*, specifically mentions “Food Preparation and Serving” as one of “the most common occupations for low-wage workers” (Klawitter, Long, & Plotnick, 2014, p. 2). Thus, the City has overlapping work related to fair wages and food policy, but needs to take the next step of pulling this work together.

4.2.1.3 Social equity

The City has robust acknowledgement of social inequalities in their food system work, with the exception of gender, but it does not address these disparities by establishing initiatives that target the root, structural causes of these inequalities. The City’s Local Food Action Plan prominently states that “food inequities disproportionately affect low-income residents, children,

seniors, and communities of color” (Lerman, 2012, p. 5). As such, they target many of their projects towards these populations in the forms of EBT use at farmer’s markets, Fresh Bucks (increasing the value of food stamps at farmers markets), Seattle Parks Good Food Program which has specific projects for youth and seniors, and their P-Patch Community Gardens Program serving all citizens but with specific focus on underserved populations. The City also recognizes the difficulties in new farmers and immigrants accessing affordable land, and have made public lands available to non-profits for farmer training programs (Byers et al., 2014). These projects address inequalities at their surface level, but do not address deeper structural issues.

Coincidentally, Seattle is addressing structural issues of these acknowledged inequalities in other areas of their governance. The City has a Race and Social Justice Initiative committed to “eliminate racial disparities and achieve racial equity in Seattle”. Conscious of issues of land and housing access, the City has a Housing Affordability and Livability Agenda, working aggressively to create “a city where people who work in Seattle can afford to live here”. While there is no acknowledgement of gender inequalities within their food system material, Seattle has a strong Gender Justice Project housed under the Office for Civil Rights striving to “address gender disparities” and “achieve gender equality”.

Linking these structural equity programs with their identified food system inequalities can strengthen the programs’ shared goals of social equity. For example, affordable housing should be conscious of food access – within the 65-recommendation report, food was not mentioned once. Along similar lines, if a high-end grocery store moves into a neighborhood, the City should be cognizant of gentrification and require affordable housing within walking

distance. The City has an opportunity to strengthen both their social equity food system work and social equity work in other areas of their governance by bridging the two.

4.2.2 Food justice in the City of Minneapolis

The City of Minneapolis, Minnesota has 22.5% of its population living below the federal poverty line with a growing non-white population (Hodgson and Fodor, 2015, p. 1). Similar to Seattle, Minneapolis partakes in coordinated food system governance with multiple departments engaged, common goals, and robust activities that take advantage of their municipal position to enact policies (such as, requiring fruits and veggies in corner stores). Their dedicated food system staff has experienced volatility in funding and their reporting misses direct accountability to the citizens they are serving.

The City went through a very iterative process in bringing its food governance work fully on board with a series of different plans brought for approval to the City Council and different task forces formed and reconfigured. Conducting a food justice analysis on the City's work, I find that while their original 2009 Homegrown Minneapolis Plan—the first formal recommendation to City Council—has acknowledgement of food justice components scattered throughout (e.g., mentioning race, gender, and social equity in general), their current food governance has little engagement with food justice. Coordinated food system work does not necessarily translate into food justice; and yet, their municipal status gives them a unique opportunity to rectify this shortcoming.

4.2.2.1 Democratic voices

At the onset of their food policy work in 2009, the City acknowledged the importance of democratic voices and created a structure to include all voices within society, yet they may have

overlooked the hurdles to cluing these populations into part of the actual decision-making. Their online food system material is provided in three different languages—Spanish, Hmoob, Soomaaliga—attempting to create the democratic characteristic of “equality of access to information” (Allen, 2004, p. 141). Even more, the City was mindful to encourage participants from low-income communities to attend meetings and even took steps to hold them “in the evenings at Minneapolis park buildings in neighborhoods experiencing the greatest health disparities to engage residents who were under-represented in the Homegrown Stakeholder Group and subcommittees (i.e., communities of color, immigrants, refugees and low-income residents)” (City of Minneapolis, 2012b, p. 12). However, the City later reported:

Despite intentional efforts to include representation from diverse communities in the recommendation-generating process, Phase I had limited success in directly engaging low-income and immigrant residents. Though some organizations that serve or represent these communities were involved, it was unclear how much outreach they conducted to engage their constituencies (City of Minneapolis, 2012b, p. 15).

The City of Minneapolis should heed Allen’s (2004) critique that just because people are in a room, does not mean their voices are being heard, where power of gender and skin color still exist even if progressive steps have been taken to come together in a single space (p. 163).

Perhaps due to their obstacles in fulfilling ‘democratic voices’ at the beginning of their food system work, the city-formed-and-funded-FPC has recently received comments from the community expressing concern over the lack of inclusive voices. Specifically, in their July 2015 FPC meeting minutes a member “opened up the discussion about how the Food Council can improve its equity practices. She has had some conversations and emails with members concerned that not all voices and perspectives are being valued” (p. 2). Fortunately, since the time their food governance started in 2009, the City has approved a 2012 resolution—Supporting

Equity in Employment in Minneapolis and the Region—with goals for equitable employment, giving decision making positions to the communities often overlooked. Learning from their past mistakes, and capitalizing on (i.e., connecting with) this new initiative, Minneapolis should ensure their food governance has a place for not just the voices, but also the decision-making from oppressed communities.

4.2.2.2 Fair labor treatment

The City does not have any focus on labor within their food system documents, but has potential for engagement with their minimum wage ordinance. The City is in the middle of conducting a minimum wage study, expected to be completed in 2nd Quarter of 2016, assessing the impacts of a \$12/hour and \$15/hour minimum wage. It does not appear that the City's food system staff are part of the work team for this research. Minneapolis should recognize this as an opportunity to connect the City's forthcoming wage initiative to their food system work in order to enhance both programs and ensure food-sector workers are specifically looked after under wage laws.

4.2.2.3 Social equity

Within the City's food system work, the City has some acknowledgement of disparities in low-income access to healthy food and a vague reference to inequality of food access due to race, but the social equity awareness stops there, with no acknowledgement of land access, gender, other vulnerable populations, or an explicit outline of racial inequalities. Fortunately, while not an explicit food system document, the City's Climate Action Plan has an entire

appendix dedicated to the recommendations from the Environmental Justice Working Group with high regard for connection of climate, social justice, and the food system.

The City does engage in activities focused on social equity, but has yet to connect them to their food system governance. For instance, the City and its county created a joint project for homelessness, including the establishment of a dedicated Office to End Homelessness within the county. Their efforts aim to end homeless and provide needed services that include “housing, employment, medical care, mental health care, benefits and legal assistance, eye doctors, haircuts, chiropractic, and dental care” (City of Minneapolis, 2013). And yet, food is absent from this list. Using food as a pivotal platform to both reveal and rectify disparities, Minneapolis should connect its social equity work to its food governance work, simultaneously enhancing their food system initiatives and reduction in homelessness programs.

4.2.3 Balancing inequalities and inequities in food justice

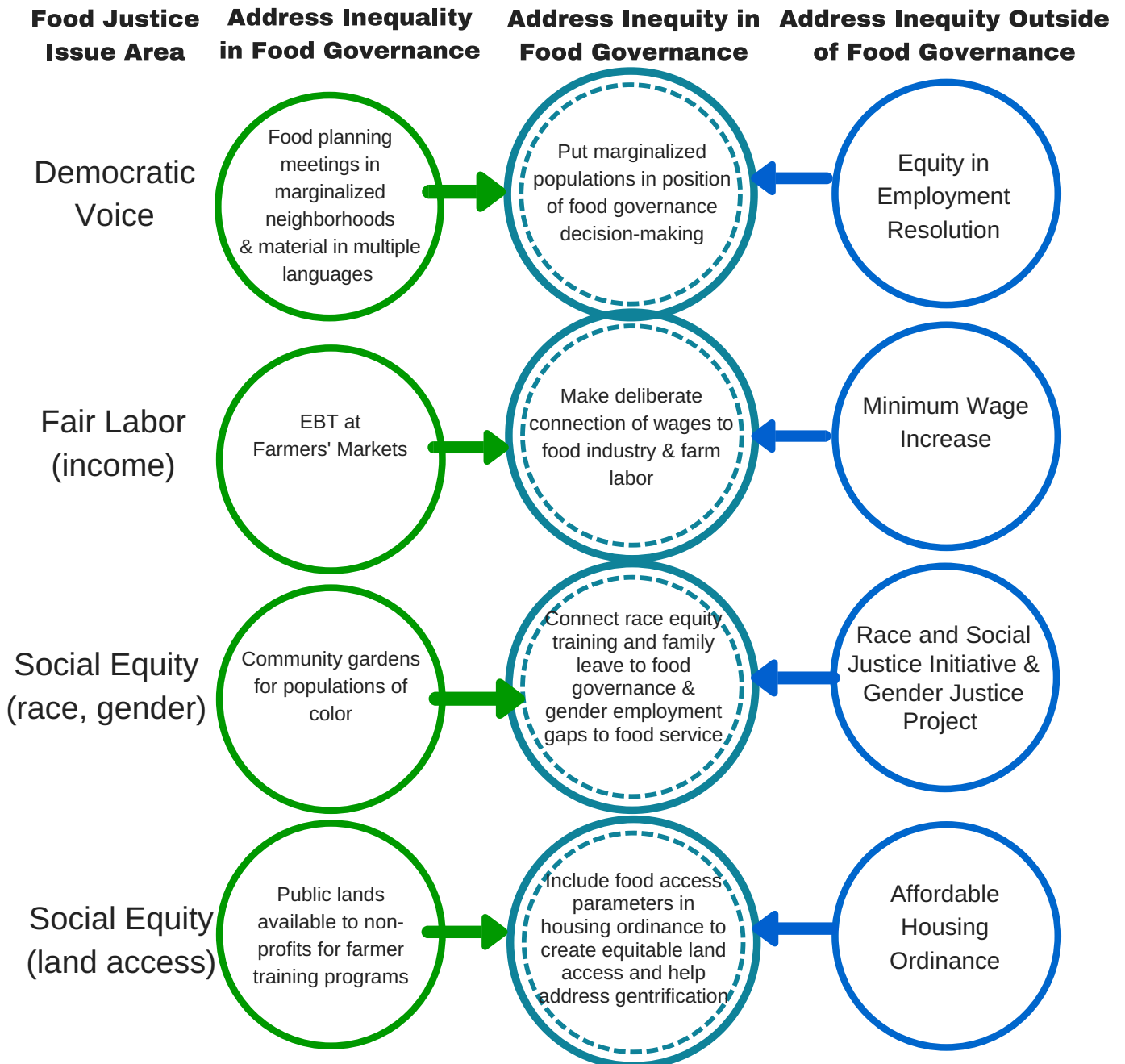
Municipalities provide a unique lens for understanding how alternative food system efforts can engage with food justice. Having heard the complaints from academics that AFIs are not doing food justice work, along with the questioning and pondering about whether municipalities can address root causes of food injustices, my research provides a new perspective to these opinions and thoughts.

Based on my research, municipal engagement with food justice is seemingly complex, but also promising. Here, I consider how well Seattle and Minneapolis are engaging in food justice, based on the food justice-focused analysis above and on evaluation of their efforts using the categories of equality (or inequality) and equity (or inequity). As described in Chapter Two, Background and Significance, equality work means creating sameness, and equity work means

creating fairness. This type of analysis can reveal the most effective approach to rectifying a food system problem plagued by root, structural injustices. Ideally, food justice work happens by acknowledging that an inequality exists, but understanding that it is often underlain by an equity issue (and therefore can exist outside of the food system). Most AFIs get in trouble when they acknowledge an inequality and only address it as an inequality (e.g., often asking, “How do I serve these people?”), instead of addressing the deeper structural issues (e.g., asking, “How do I change the system failing these people?”). However, it should be clarified, that I do believe there is value in a municipality both serving the immediate food system needs (inequality) and the longer-term needs (inequity), as long as these inequity issues are not overshadowed by the former.

Within Seattle and Minneapolis, an interesting pattern of these two categories of work unfolds: they acknowledge some social inequalities in their food system work and structure their actions based on these inequalities, yet they are seemingly uninformed about their municipality doing related inequity work in other areas of its governance. Figure 1 illustrates some of the work of Seattle and Minneapolis within this analytical framework for understanding inequality and inequity in food justice work.

Figure 1 – Addressing inequality and inequity in municipal food justice work



* Dashed circles and arrows represent food governance and connections that do not currently exist. The green circles depict inequalities addressed within food system initiatives, while the blue circles show the inequity work happening in other areas of their municipality. By connecting the inequity work to their food governance (blue arrows), they create more effective food justice initiatives (dotted blue-green circles).

Slocum & Cadieux (2015) have called for greater research on where AFIs are “getting stuck” in confronting structural inequities (p. 44). My research shows, for municipalities engaged in deliberate food governance, their “sticking point” is connecting food work with other municipal activities engaged in structural inequity work (i.e., doing the work in the center circles [dotted blue-green] in Figure 1). As a reminder, it is nothing new that food policies are thought to be “embedded in virtually every city department, unarticulated and disconnected” (Fisher, 1997, p. 3). And yet, my first research question, which centered around this coordination premise, shows that municipalities, in present day, employ food policies that do cross department lines (i.e., continuous communication). But, at the same time, my first research question shows that municipalities may not necessarily be coordinating the *correct* activities across departments (i.e., mutually reinforcing activities). This second research question provides further explanation of what activities are the *correct* ones to coordinate. In other words, my research demonstrates that Fisher’s (1997) “unarticulated and disconnected” food policies should be understood as the detachment of the inequity work existing outside of food governance—minimum wage measures, gender justice projects, and affordable housing ordinances, for example—to deliberate food governance work.

This “sticking point” may exist because municipalities are not realizing their potential as a government agency. Instead of questioning *whether* municipal food governance is engaging or can engage in food justice work, the question is, rather, *how* they can engage with food justice. Since municipalities deal with taking care of basic human needs—air, transportation, housing, water—they can approach food by asking themselves: what basic things do people need in order to eat? In Poppendieck’s (1998) review of hunger and charity she explains how the hyped up focus on the physical act of giving people food, wrongly disconnects food from poor people’s

need for “housing, transportation, clothing, medical care, meaningful work, opportunities for civic and political participation, and recreation” (p. 7). Since the majority of AFIs have been in the NGO realm, municipalities may be using these NGO practices as a model for their food governance; but, NGOs have different characteristics than municipalities, which are government agencies. As such, municipalities are overlooking the fact that they do have the potential to fill in the dotted circles of equity-oriented food justice work.

Municipalities show how adding a food system lens to existing inequity work can create viable food justice work. Normally, the concept of food justice is often explained in terms of adding structural change to food system initiatives. And yet this model has been difficult to operationalize: within Slocum and Cadieux’s (2015) multiple critiques of AFIs missing the crucial step of putting food justice into practice, they are unable to conclude with viable examples of what doing food justice looks like. Inversely, this research on municipalities suggests that applying “food” to existing structural change work may offer a new way of thinking about actually putting food justice into play. In fact, this idea is supported in Allen’s (2004) discussion of “dominant discourse” where she finds a socially just food system described in terms of “economic equity” versus “food accessibility”:

While those who defined social justice in terms of food accessibility wanted to make sure that no one in society went hungry, those concerned with economic equity were focused on more basic changes through which the category of low-income people would cease to exist (p. 87).

Municipalities appear primed to be able to construct this model of food justice if they capitalize on their position as a government entity.

4.3 Equal Access: Understanding municipal-federal food governance relationship

My third and final research question asks how municipal food governance can be realized nationally. Not all municipalities are currently exercising deliberate food governance, and yet municipalities exist across the country with unique connection to federal resources; therefore, I look at options to ensure equal access to food system resolutions through this existing channel of federal support. In this section, I first look at municipalities engagement with national food policy, followed by an assessment of federal support through funding. My findings suggest that municipalities are beginning to pay attention to how federal policies and resources affect the work they are doing, but they operate demonstrably from a local mindset. At the same time, federal government supports local food systems, but not in the form of municipal food governance. I suggest this weak municipal-federal food governance relationship stems from a blurring of NGO and government responsibilities, as well as the fact that municipalities and the federal government have not connected around food policy in this new, deliberate way before. In my Contribution section, I turn to the right to adequate food framework to explain how the government can establish statutory responsibility to treat food as a human right, as a way to rectify this fundamental municipal-federal government role and relationship oversight.

4.3.1 Municipal engagement with national food policy

Municipalities vary in their engagement with national food policy. At one end of the spectrum, municipalities have no visible acknowledgement of the relevance of federal policy and, in fact, overwhelming focus on the mantra of “local” food. For example, the City of Seattle’s and the City of Minneapolis’s centrally stated goals and reasons for entry into food system work point immediately to the “local” food system. Both Cities go on to explain social

justice as a derivative of a local and regional food system. For instance, Minneapolis defines the term equity as a local food system (City of Minneapolis, 2009, p. 5) and Seattle explains social justice as a byproduct of a local and regional food system (Lerman, 2012, p. 12). Cadieux and Slocum (2015) explain this as a common misconception of “conflat[ing] 'more local' with 'more just'” (p. 10).

At the other end of the spectrum, some municipalities are actively involved in national food politics, which can contribute to uniform change across the country. For example, the City of Baltimore “advocate[s] for a Food Safety Modernization Act that would support, rather than penalize small-and mid-scale urban and surrounding area farms”. Baltimore also engages in Farm Bill revisions (via their state) that impact their City policies. For instance, SNAP is distributed over a ten-day period creating a concentrated rush and gap for food retailer business; as such, the City of Baltimore is working with their state to revise the number of SNAP issuance days to 20.

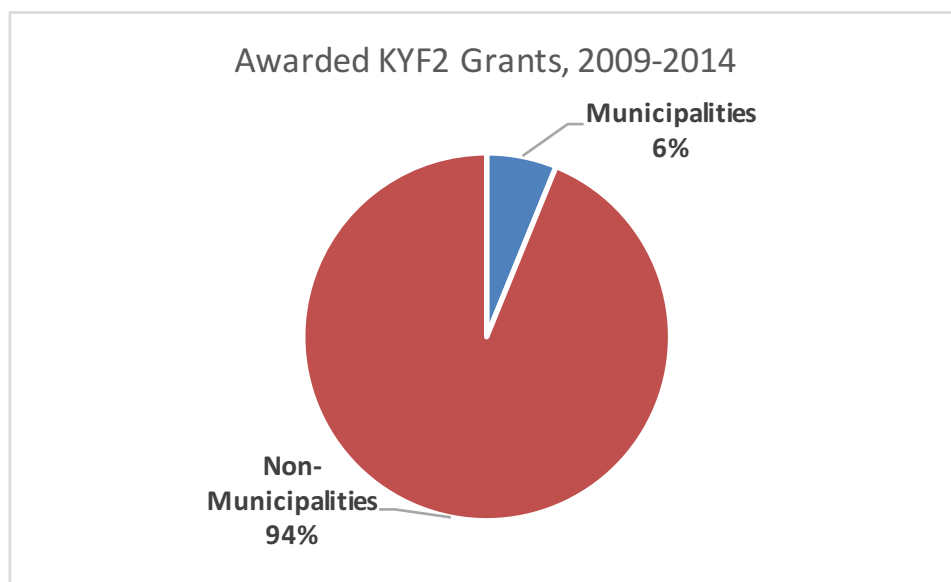
Municipalities are also realizing their connection to other municipalities engaged in parallel food system work. For example, a U.S. Conference of Mayors Food Policy Task Force was established in 2012 as a place for mayors to come together and share resources for advancing municipal food governance. At one of the Task Force gatherings, the USDA presented their resources for local and regional food systems, specifically the KYF2 initiative. This initiative is the funding source analyzed below to assess current federal support mechanisms for municipal food governance. Ironically, despite the USDA presenting this initiative to a municipal food governance audience, these grants and loans actually have limited resources for and infrequent awarding to municipalities. What’s more, these municipal representatives (e.g., mayors) have gathered together collaboratively and congenially to advance their local food

politics, but will have to compete against one another for these limited federal funding opportunities, which Wakefield et al. (2013) explain “restricts opportunities for collaboration that may improve efficiency or effectiveness in services” (p. 438). In what follows, I explore this KYF2 initiative in greater detail.

4.3.2 Federal funding support

The federal government provides limited funding to municipalities for food governance, instead placing funds within the NGO sector to develop “local and regional food systems”. Municipalities are only eligible to apply for funding from seven of the 29 KYF2 grants and loans (less than 25%). Of the 4,185 grants awarded through the KYF2 program from 2009 to 2014, municipal governments received only six percent (the rest were granted to state-level government agencies, businesses, nonprofits, and universities), which is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2 - Federal support of municipal food governance



Looking at *all* government agencies (i.e., resource conversation districts, school districts, state agencies, tribes, universities, university extensions, and community development entities) which

received KYF2 funding, the number increases from six percent to 25 percent. And yet, this means 75 percent of federal funding for the development of “local and regional food systems” is disproportionately placed in the NGO sector versus government agencies. This heavy NGO funding and limited municipal support, may perpetuate the challenge of providing food system resources evenly across the country since municipalities are spread across the country, but NGOs do not necessarily hold this same evenness.

Even within the diminutive funding that municipalities receive, support is temporary, requiring entities to look elsewhere for funding, further fostering unequal development of local and regional food systems. These KYF2 grants are temporary and designed to initiate work, but not sustain projects long term. Therefore, municipalities are forced to turn to NGO foundations, private corporations, and/or angel investors to do their food system work. Carey (2013) believes the “key challenge now in this time of austerity is to find agreed ways to build food system resilience into existing strategies and plans and to establish effective and creative ways of collaboration with both the voluntary and business sectors” (p. 122). While Bedore (2014) acknowledges “the new pressures to partner with non-governmental actors”, she is quick to point out that the power of the funder can compromise the freedom of autonomous decision-making (p. 2980). She concedes the need to be conscious of funders’ agendas: “if the [Baltimore Food Policy Initiative] were to adopt such a radical role [i.e., oppose its funders’ views] it would be tantamount to pulling the ‘funding rug’ out from under its own feet” (p. 2992). From another point of view on private foundation funding, Allen and Guthman (2006) suggest it can be “idiosyncratic [and] particular” (p. 407). Again, this creates an environment where not only is funding unstable and unequally accessible, but also different funders support different agendas; and thus, unequal food governance programs perpetuate across the country.

4.3.3 The underdeveloped municipal-federal relationship

Despite being government counterparts, municipalities and the federal government are mostly working in absence of engagement with one another. Municipalities are not a primary entity receiving federal government support for local food governance. Erchull (2015) disagrees with me in his exploration of “an alternative food policy”, where he references three instances in which regional governments have received funding from the federal government for food projects and claims “these grants demonstrate that funding for local food policy is taken seriously by the federal government” (p.17). My larger dataset clearly tells a different story (refer back to Figure 2).

I suggest one reason this disconnection between government entities exists is because the distinction between government versus NGO’s involved in food system work has become blurred. In other words, municipalities seem to be operating as existing NGOs do, rather than considering how to leverage their position as a government entity and building financial connections to federal resources. Mansfield and Mendes (2013), for example, find local government food system actors “contribute to a productive blurring of categories between volunteers and bureaucrats, governance, and management” (p. 56). When the phrases “local and regional food systems” and “local food policy” are used, does society demonstrably assume that “government” is the responsible entity? This may be similar to the often mistaken assumption that FPCs are government entities (as mentioned in Section 4.1.4.3). Clearly NGOs and municipalities are different entities, with different roles, power, and potential to contribute to an equitable food system. Yet, this “clearness” between the two has turned opaque when working within the food system, especially in the form of federal support for local food systems.

This blurring of NGO and government led food system efforts may exist because deliberate, government-led food governance is relatively new. Municipalities may be turning to the prevailing AFIs (i.e., NGO efforts) as models for their work, further clouding the line between NGO and government roles. Similarly, the federal government may not yet be fully recognizing municipalities as contributors to food system efforts. As such, federal funding may be dominantly geared for NGOs and more NGOs may be applying for these funds. This predominate, federal support of NGOs exacerbates any formation of a direct municipal-federal food governance relationship. Building this relationship and developing the unique, distinct role of government-led food governance (i.e., different than NGO strategies) is an area for further exploration. I systematically think through the creation of this unique government role and relationship in the following section.

4.4 Contribution: Equitable municipal food governance

In this subsection I suggest how to advance municipal food governance forward in light of the findings and analyses of my three research questions. I first explain how to achieve the burgeoning potential of municipal food governance drawing on insights from the right to food framework. I then suggest a way to further operationalize this potential through creation of municipal departments of food.

4.4.1 Government's fundamental role

To achieve collective impact, justice, and equal access to resources within the food system, government has an important role to play. One way to conceptualize this revised government role is by applying insight from the right to food framework to this research. As

explained in Chapter Two, Background and Significance, the right to adequate food means governments take statutory responsibility to feed their people, acknowledging food as a human right. In other words, we begin “thinking about access to healthy food as a right, rather than a privilege of those with sufficient purchasing power to buy good food, [which] fundamentally changes how we see causes of and solutions to food insecurity” (Anderson, 2013, p.113).

Further, the right to adequate food framework places constitutional responsibility on government to uphold and enforce this value (De Schutter, 2009; Anderson, 2013; Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012). In what follows, I first provide a reminder of the obstacles disclosed from all three research questions and then apply the right to food framework to each challenge.

In my first three research questions, the potential of municipal food governance to contribute to an equitable food system is highlighted, but with obstacles appearing in each. In my first research question about effective, coordinated food governance, barriers appear in a pattern of municipalities facing similar obstacles or adopting similar approaches as NGO AFIs. Specifically, as a reminder, these circumstances include: needing a “champion” to initiate food system work, creating self-selected food system agendas, engaging inadequately with policy-related activities often unequally targeting populations, experiencing volatile funding, and lacking accountability to all people. Next, in my second research question, food justice hurdles arise when municipalities fail to connect food system inequalities to deeper structural inequity work in other areas of their governance. Lastly, in my third research question, limited federal support of municipal food governance is exposed due to an underdeveloped municipal-federal food governance role and relationship.

While this analysis suggests that municipalities face the same obstacles as NGO AFIs, there may be clear, attainable solutions based on municipalities’ position as government entities.

Specifically, applying the right to food principles to each of the identified municipal limitations could correct these limitations and, accordingly, help achieve the full potential of municipal food governance. Firstly, a statutory responsibility for food governance removes the need for a “champion” to initiate food system work. The agenda of food governance also becomes normalized across municipalities as it centers around the common declaration of “food as a human right”, which De Schutter (2009) elaborates “should constitute an overarching principle: it should guide our efforts” (p. 40). Additionally, “food as a human right” removes the self-selection of targeted populations from food system initiatives, and instead “focuses on vulnerable groups, the marginalised, and the excluded, and pays particular attention to non-discrimination ... [and] attempts to give ‘voice’ to all people” (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012, p. 268). Food governance becomes “anchored” in policies (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012, p. 270), and therefore, a “policy tool” (De Schutter, 2009). In turn, this policy application also helps shift accountability of food system initiatives to the people (as opposed to funders). Specifically, Anderson (2013) states that the right to food should “create mechanisms of accountability and indicators to monitor progress and outcomes” (p. 121). Next, acknowledging and addressing root causes of food system problems is at the heart of a government-endorsed right to food value (Anderson, 2013, p. 119), thus helping connect food governance to food justice inequity work. Lastly, as a national government statute, food system resolutions should happen across the country and in turn be adequately funded. Table 3 organizes this analysis into a clear table.

Table 3 - Right to food framework and equitable municipal food governance

Municipality Limitation	Right to Food Framework	Equitable Municipal Food Governance
Need “champion” to start work	Statutory responsibility	All municipalities required to engage in food system reform

Self-selected agenda	Human right to food is the “overarching principle: it should guide our efforts” (De Schutter, 2009, p. 40)	All municipalities have the same, main agenda as food as a human right
Inadequate policy with unequal target of populations	Food governance becomes “anchored” in policies (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012, p. 270) Valid for <i>all</i> human beings (Beuchelt & Virchow, 2012, p. 268)	All municipalities target feeding everyone, with a focus on marginalized populations, grounded in policy.
No accountability to people aiming to serve	Legal accountability	All municipalities held accountable to citizens they are serving, with legal structure to enforce this accountability.
Lack of connection to addressing structural inequities (food justice)	Recognize obstacles to right to food as structural issues	All municipalities recognize connection of structural inequity in food governance
Unequal access to resources across the country (and funding instability)	National statute	All municipalities receive equal support from federal government

There are a few cautions that come with governments establishing food as a human right. Beuchelt and Virchow (2012) emphasize that “in addition to anchoring the right to adequate food in policies, it is necessary for the goals and suggested policy measures of the [right to adequate food] to be rendered operational” (p. 270). These scholars want to ensure that once the value of a right to food is adopted, the work does not stop there, but is also put into effective, functioning action. Additionally, Anderson (2013) worries that standardizing food as a human right may come with unwanted consequences: “Efforts to “scale up” have generally resulted in “watering down” to a progressive variant of the dominant food system because they have not fundamentally changed the power dynamics in food-insecure communities” (p. 117). In the next subsection I suggest the creation of municipal departments of food as an opportunity to address these concerns.

4.4.2 Operationalizing municipal departments of food

This research has revealed a unique opportunity for municipalities to contribute to an equitable food system, in large part due to their position as a government entity. There are a number of ways to capitalize on this potential right now: the creation of nationally supported, municipal departments of food. A municipal department of food would be a way to concretely “operationalize” the right to food framework as Beuchelt and Virchow (2012) request above. And, as opposed to “scaling-up”, which brings Anderson (2013) fears, this would instead be “scaling-out”. This approach is further supported by DeLind’s (2011) argument for “place-based practices” being replicated (i.e., scaling-out) to create a “resilient” and “regenerative food system” (pp. 280-282).

There is little academic literature focused on assessing the explicit formation of U.S. municipal departments of food. This is rather odd considering the proliferation of academic attention to Pothukuchi and Kaufman’s (1999) suggestions for municipal engagement with food through city planning departments and food policy councils. The fact that municipal departments of food do not exist is mentioned sporadically in literature and food planning guidelines, but discussion ends there (APA, 2007, p. 9; Neuner et al., 2011, p. 31). However, Allen (2004) does applaud the idea of creating city departments of food (from a 1981 recommendation by the Cornucopia Project) as “excellent ways to include the priorities and perspective of people in different social locations in the agrifood system” (p. 214). Additionally, in April 2015, there is a suggestion that municipalities should have departments of food in popular media (Raja, 2015). Also, the New York City FPC suggests their City should have a municipal department of food, and outlines components of it (New York City FPC, n.d.).

This research can contribute to knowledge for the creation of a municipal department of food. In fact, Table 3, in the section above is a perfect template to ensure a department that can contribute to an equitable food system. Knowing that municipalities are currently on their way to coordinate food system work, have the ability to do structural change in connection with food justice, and exist across the nation, we already have a strong base to build from. Allen (2004) reminds us that “transitioning to a better food system will only be possible if there are practical alternatives to the types of institutions and practices that have created the current agrifood system” (p. 65). A municipal department of food may be this “practical alternative” needed to create an equitable food system.

Chapter Five

Conclusion: Fools to overlook municipal food governance

Municipalities offer a new opportunity to contribute to a coordinated and just food system across the country. This research examines municipalities' roles in the food system in order to understand obstacles to and opportunities for achieving food system equity through municipal food governance. Municipalities' obstacles pivot around the detail that they are *not* acting as government; and its opportunities hinge on the fact that they *can* act as government.

My research reveals current barriers for municipalities in fully developing coordinated food system efforts engaged in food justice and existing across the country. Complications for achieving coordinated efforts include needing “champions”, working from self-selected agendas, under-utilizing policy, experiencing funding volatility, and limiting accountability. Food justice obstacles stem from overlooking the connection of their food governance to structural inequity work. And, lastly, hurdles to nationally recognizing municipal food governance arise from an underdeveloped municipal-federal food governance relationship.

I suggest these barriers, in large part, arise because municipalities appear to be reproducing similar approaches to food system efforts as NGOs. Currently, NGOs are the dominant model for food system efforts, whereby modeling their behavior and approaches is not entirely startling. On the one hand, municipalities engaging in similar initiatives as NGO AFIs is encouraging because it shows government stepping into its fundamental role of upholding basic human needs. Yet, on the other hand, the limitations of NGO AFIs are well known and subjecting municipalities to these same obstacles is nowhere near ideal. The consequences of not realizing the role municipalities are playing (or not playing) could be detrimental if they blunder entirely into these same structures as NGO AFIs.

Each entity engaged in food system efforts has a unique role to play, with the challenge being to unveil its characteristics and then support and foster those traits. For municipal food governance, this means cultivating their unique government position as a multi-departmental entity able to address structural change and existing across the nation. More research is needed on how to continue to create a new model for municipal food system intervention that breaks away from the common, more dominant NGO approaches. FPCs may be an avenue to advance this new model since they often function in the role of trying to influence their municipalities' food policies. Additionally, while the right to food value is normally considered at larger government scales (i.e., national, international), the proliferation of municipal engagement with food governance may have opened a door to insert this value from a bottom-up approach. However, research should ensure that looking at the local level also creates strong avenues to eventually move the value of the right to food to a national scale.

At this point in time, a practical application to this issue of achieving municipalities' potential for food governance may be the creation of municipal departments of food across the country, supported and resourced by the federal government. Academics should spend more of their time diving deeper into the details necessary to operationalize equitable food governance at the municipal level supported by national statute. I suggest looking to other structures such as "special government districts" (similar to water and air districts), or modeling a relationship similar to the USDA's Resource Conservation and Development (RC&D) Program, administered by the Natural Resource Conservation Service. Here, the USDA designates RC&D areas across the country to serve local communities in their unique needs, while providing financial and technical assistance. Creating a centralized place for government involvement with the food system is not a new idea, dating at least as far back as Salthe's 1918 request: "it seems that all

the functions in connection with...municipal food should come under the supervision of one department or commission” (p. 197). It took an entire century for this formation to develop, and we would be foolish to let this opportunity slip away.

References

- AARP Foundations. (n.d.). Findings on Nutrition Knowledge and Food Insecurity Among Older Adults, 1-67.
- Alkon, A.H., Block, D., Moore, K., Gillis, C., DiNuccio, N., Chavez, N. (2013). Foodways of the urban poor. *Geoforum*, 48, 126-135.
- Allen, P. (1999). Reweaving the food security safety net: Mediating entitlement and entrepreneurship. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 16, 117-129.
- Allen, P. (2004). Together at the Table: Sustainability and Sustenance in the American Agrifood System. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Allen, P., FtizSimmons, M., Goodman, M., & Warner, K. (2003). Shifting plates in the agrifood landscape: the tectonics of alternative agrifood initiatives in California. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 19, 61–75.
- Allen, P. & Guthman, J. (2006). From “old school” to “farm-to-school”: Neoliberalization from the ground up. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 23, 401-415.
- Allen, P., & Sachs, C. (2007). Women and Food Chains: The Gendered Politics of Food. *International Journal of Sociology of Food and Agriculture*, 15(1),1-23.
- American Planning Association (APA). (2007). *Policy Guide on Community and Regional Food Planning*. Retrieved from <https://www.planning.org/policy/guides/adopted/food.htm>
- Anderson, M. D. (2013). Beyond food security to realizing food rights in the U.S. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 29, 113-122.
- Ashe, L. M., & Sonnino, R. (2013). Convergence in Diversity: New York City School Food and the Future of the Food Movement. *International Planning Studies*, 8(1), 61-77. doi: 10.1080/13563475.2013.750937
- Byers, T., Howell, J., & Peterson, R. (2014). Recommendations of the King County Farm and Food Roundtable. Cedar Rivers Group.
- Bedore, M. (2012). Food system planning in small, buzz- less cities: Challenges and opportunities. In A. Viljoen & J. S. C. Wiskerke (Eds.), *Sustainable food planning: Evolving theory and practice* (pp. 91–102). Wageningen, the Netherlands: Wageningen Academic.
- Bedore, M. (2014). The convening power of food as growth machine politics: A study of food policymaking and partnership formation in Baltimore. *Urban Studies*, 51(14), 2979-2995. doi:10.1177/0042098013516685

- Bennett, T., Grossberg, L., & Morris, M. (2005). *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Beuchelt, T.D. & Virchow, D. (2012). Food sovereignty or the human right to adequate food: which concept serves better as international development policy for global hunger and poverty reduction? *Agriculture and Human Values*, 29, 159-273.
- Blume, G., Scott, T., & Pirog, M. (2014). Empirical Innovations in Policy Analysis. *The Policy Studies Journal*, 42(S1), 33-50.
- Bon Appétit Management Company Foundation & United Farm Workers. (2011, March). Inventory of Farmworker Issues and Protections in the United States, 1-26.
- Born, B., & Purcell, M. (2006). Avoiding the Local Trap Scale and Food Systems in Planning Research. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 26, 195-20. doi: 10.1177/0739456X06291389
- Boston Public Health Commission. (2016). What is Health Equity?. Retrieved from <http://www.bphc.org/whatwedo/health-equity-social-justice/what-is-health-equity/Pages/what-is-health-equity.aspx>
- Brinkley, C. (2013). Avenues into Food Planning: A Review of Scholarly Food System Research. *International Planning Studies*, 18(2), 243-266.
- Brown, S., & Getz, C. (2011). Farmworker Food Insecurity and the Production of Hunger in California. In A. H. Alkon and J. Agyeman (Eds.), *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, Sustainability* (121-146). Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Burgan, M. & Winne, M. (2012). *Doing Food Policy Councils Right: A Guide to Development and Action*. Mark Winne Associates.
- Cadieux, K.V., & Slocum, R. (2015). What does it mean to do food justice? *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22, 1-26.
- Campbell, M. (2004). Building a Common Table The Role for Planning in Community Food Systems. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 23, 341-355. doi: 10.1177/0739456X04264916
- Carey, J. (2013). Urban and Community Food Strategies. The Case of Bristol. *International Planning Studies*, 18(1), 111-128. doi: 10.1080/13563475.2013.750938
- Carlson, D. (2011). Trends and Innovations in Public Policy Analysis. *The Policy Studies Journal*, 39(S1), 13-26.

- City of Baltimore. (2015). Baltimore Food Policy Initiative. Retrieved from <http://archive.baltimorecity.gov/government/agenciesdepartments/planning/baltimorefoodpolicyinitiative.aspx>
- City of Minneapolis. (2012, January). Sustainability Indicators. http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/sustainability/indicators/sustainability_indicators
- City of Minneapolis. (2012, July). *Homegrown Minneapolis: Expanding the Local Foods Movement*. Minneapolis Department of Health and Family Support. Retrieved from <http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/www/groups/public/@citycoordinator/documents/images/wcms1p-094436.pdf>
- City of Minneapolis. (2013, July). Ending Homelessness in Minneapolis and Hennepin County. Retrieved from <http://www.ci.minneapolis.mn.us/ncr/homelessness/>.
- City of Philadelphia. (2011). Philadelphia Food Charter. Retrieved from: https://phillyfoodjustice.files.wordpress.com/2011/06/philadelphia_food_charter.pdf
- City of Philadelphia. (2015). *2015 Philadelphia Farmers Markets* [Data file]. Available from <http://www.foodfitphilly.org/eat-healthy-near-you/philly-food-bucks/>
- City of Seattle. (2008, April 28). City of Seattle Legislative Information Service. Resolution Number: 31019A
- City of Seattle. (2014, June 2) City of Seattle Ordinance Number: 124490 AN ORDINANCE relating to employment in Seattle.
- Creswell, J. (2014). The Selection of a Research Design. In *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*, (pp. 1-23). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- DeLind, L.B. (2011). Are local food and the local food movement taking us where we want to go? Or are we hitching our wagons to the wrong stars? *Agriculture and Human Values*, 28, 273-283.
- De Schutter, O. (2009). The Right to Food, Fighting for Adequate Food in a Global Crisis. *Harvard International Review*, Summer Ed., 38-42.
- Erchull, C. (2015). An Alternative Food Policy. In *Western New England Law Review*, 37(1), 1-25.
- Fisher, A. (1997). What is community food security? *The Journal of Urban Ecology*, (2), 1-4.
- Fitzgerald, K., Evans, L., & Daniel, J. (2010, April). *Guide to USDA Funding for Local and Regional Food Systems*. National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition. Retrieved from

http://sustainableagriculture.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/NSAC_FoodSystemsFundingGuide_FirstEdition_4_2010.pdf

- Food Chain Workers Alliance, Restaurant Opportunities Center of New York, Restaurant Opportunities Center the Bay, Food First / Institute for Food and Development Policy. (2014, July 24). *Food Insecurity of Restaurant Workers*. Retrieved from <http://foodfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/2014-07-Food-Insecurity-of-Restaurant-Workers-report-1.pdf>
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12, 219-245. doi: 10.1177/1077800405284363
- Freudenberg, N., & Atkinson, S. (2015). Getting food policy on the Mayoral table: a comparison of two election cycles in New York and London. *Public Health*, 129, 295-302.
- Fry, C. & Chen, L. (2013, April 23). *PSE 101: Building Healthy Communities Through Policy, Systems & Environmental (PSE) Change*. Change Lab Solutions [Webinar recording]. Available from <http://www.changelabsolutions.org/publications/pse-101>
- Gillham, B. (2010). *Case Study Research Methods*. London, GBR: Continuum International Publishing.
- Goddeeris, L., Rybnicek, A. & Takai, K. (2015, March). *Growing Local Food Systems: A case study series on the role of local governments*. International City/County Management Association. Retrieved from: http://foodsystems.msu.edu/uploads/files/15-454_Local_Food_Systems_Case_Studies_Series-FINAL.pdf
- Growing Food Connections (GFC). (2016). Communities of Innovations. Accessed: February 2016: <http://growingfoodconnections.org/research/communities-of-innovation/>
- Hammer, J. (2011). Community food systems and planning curricula. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 23, 424-434. doi: 10.1177/0739456X04264907
- Harper, A., Shattuck, A., Holt-Giménez, E., Alkon, A., & Lambrick, F. (2009). Food Policy Councils: Lessons Learned. Food First Institute for Food and Development Policy. Available from <http://foodfirst.org/publication/food-policy-councils-lessons-learned/>
- Heynen, N., Kurtz, H. E., Amy, T. (2012). Food Justice, Hunger, and the City. *Geography Compass*, (6)5, 304–311. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2012.00486.x
- Hodgson, K. (2012). Planning for food access and community - based food systems: A national scan and evaluation of local comprehensive and sustainability plans. Illinois, Chicago: American Planning Association.

- Hodgson, K. (2015). Advancing Local Food Policy in Cabarrus County, North Carolina: Successes and Challenges in a Changing Political Climate. In K. Hodgson & S. Raja (Eds.), *Exploring Stories of Innovation* (pp. 1-3). Growing Food Connections Project. Available from <http://growingfoodconnections.org/research/communities-of-innovation/>
- Hodgson, K., & Fodor, Z. (2015). Mayoral Leadership Sparks Lasting Food Systems Policy Change in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In Kimberley Hodgson and Samina Raja (Eds.), *Exploring Stories of Innovation* (pp. 1-3). Growing Food Connections Project. Available from <http://growingfoodconnections.org/research/communities-of-innovation/>
- Holt-Giménez, E. (2007). *Land, Gold, Reform: The Territorial Restructuring of Gutaemala's Highlands*. Development Report N 16. Food First Institute for Food and Development Policy.
- Holt-Giménez, E. (2010). Food Security, Food Justice, or Food Sovereignty?. *Food First Backgrounder*, 16(4), 1-4. Available from <http://foodfirst.org/publication/food-security-food-justice-or-food-sovereignty/>
- Homegrown Minneapolis. (2015, July). Homegrown Minneapolis Food Council Meeting Minutes. Minneapolis, MN.
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S.E. (2005). Three Approaches to Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 5(9), 1277-1288.
- Jayaraman, S. (2013). *Behind the Kitchen Door*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Jesson, J. K., Matheson, L. & Lacey, F. M. (2011). *Doing Your Literature Review: traditional and systemic techniques*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- John Hopkins Center for a Livable Future. (2015). *Food Policy Councils in North America: 2015 Trends* [presentation slides]. Available from <http://www.foodpolicynetworks.org/food-policy-resources/?resource=834>
- Kania, J., & Kramer, M. (2011). Collective Impact. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Winter, 36-41. Retrieved from http://ssir.org/articles/entry/collective_impact
- Klawitter, M., Long, M., & Plotnick, R. (2014, March 21). "Who Would be Affected by an Increase in Seattle's Minimum Wage?" Report for the City of Seattle, Income Inequality Advisory Committee. Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington. Retrieved from http://murray.seattle.gov/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Evans-report-3_21_14+-appdx.pdf
- Leib, E. B. (2012). Good Laws, Good Food: Putting Local Food Policy to Work for Our Communities. Retrieved from Harvard Law School, Food Law and Policy Clinic website: http://www.law.harvard.edu/academics/clinical/lsc/documents/FINAL_LOCAL_TOOLKIT2.pdf

- Lerman, S. (2012, October). Seattle Food Action Plan. City of Seattle. Retrieved from <http://www.seattle.gov/environment/food/food-action-plan>
- Lung, S. (n.d.). *EBT, WIC, and Senior Coupons: Underutilized at Local Farmer's Markets* [Policy Brief]. Retrieved from <http://cccfoodpolicy.org/sites/default/files/resources/Policy%20Brief%20-%20Food%20Assistance%20Underutilized%20at%20Farmers%20Markets.pdf>
- Mansfield, B., & Mendes, W. (2013). Municipal food strategies and integrated approaches to urban agriculture: Exploring three cases from the global north. *International Planning Studies*, 18(1), 37-60. doi:10.1080/13563475.2013.750942
- Mendes, W. (2007). Negotiating a Place for 'Sustainability' Policies in Municipal Planning and Governance: The Role of Scalar Discourses and Practices. *Space and Polity*, 11(1), 95–119.
- Miewald, C. & McCann, E. (2014). Foodscapes and the Geographies of Poverty: Sustenance, Strategy, and Politics in an Urban Neighborhood. *Antipode*, 46(2), 537-556.
- Morgan, K. (2009). Feeding the City: The Challenge of Urban Food Planning. *International Planning Studies*, 14(4), 341-348. doi:10.1080/13563471003642852
- Morgan, K. (2013). The rise of urban food planning. *International Planning Studies*, 18(1), 1-4. doi:10.1080/13563475.2012.752189.
- Muller, M., Tagtow, A., Roberts, S. L., & MacDougall, E. (2009). Aligning food systems policies to advance public health. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 4(3), 225-240. doi:10.1080/19320240903321193
- National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition (NSAC). (2015). The Farm to School Act of 2015. Retrieved from <http://sustainableagriculture.net/our-work/campaigns/child-nutrition-act-reauthorization-cnr/farm-to-school-act-of-2015/>
- Neuner, K., Kelly, S., & Raja, S. (2011, September). Planning to Eat? Innovative Local Government Plans and Policies to Build Healthy Food Systems in the United States. Retrieved from <http://foodsystemsplanning.ap.buffalo.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/planningtoeat5.pdf>
- New York City FPC. (n.d.). A Food Policy Agenda for New York City, pp. 1-23.
- Poppendieck, J. (1998). Want Amid Plenty: From Hunger to Inequality. *Monthly Review*, 121(7), 125-136.
- Posavac, E. (2016). *Program Evaluation: Methods and Case Studies*. New York, NY: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Pothukuchi, K. (2009). Community and regional food planning: Building institutional support in the United States. *International Planning Studies*, 14: 349-67.
- Pothukuchi, K., & Kaufman, L. (1999). Placing the food system on the urban agenda: The role of municipal institutions in food systems planning. *Agriculture and Human Values*, 16, 213-224.
- Pothukuchi, K., & Kaufman, L. (2000). The Food System: A Stranger to the Planning Field. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 66 (2), 113–123.
- Raja, S., Born, B., & Russell, J. K. (2008). A Planners Guide to Community and Regional Food Planning: Transforming Food Environments, Facilitating Healthy Eating. American Planning Association.
- Raja, S. (2015, April 3). Why all cities should have a Department of Food. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/why-all-cities-should-have-a-department-of-food-39462>
- Saldaña, J. (2014). Thinking Analytically. In *Thinking Qualitatively: Methods of Mind* (pp. 19-45). London: Sage.
- Salthe, O. (1918). Municipal food departments in modern war. *American Journal of Public Health (New York, N.Y.: 1912)*, 8(3), 197-201.
- Shannon, K. L., Kim, B. F., McKenzie, S. E., & Lawrence, R. S. (2015). Food System Policy, Public Health, and Human Rights in the United States. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 36(1), 151-173. doi:10.1146/annurev-publhealth-031914-122621
- Slocum, R. (2008). Thinking race through corporeal feminist theory: divisions and intimacies at the Minneapolis Farmers' Market. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9(8), 849-869, doi: 10.1080/14649360802441465
- Slocum, R., & Cadieux, K.V. (2015). Notes on the practice of food justice in the U.S.: understanding and confronting trauma and inequity. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 22, 27-52.
- Sonnino, R. (2009). Feeding the city: Towards a new research and planning agenda. *International Planning Studies*, 14(4), 425-435. doi:10.1080/13563471003642795
- Tracy, S. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837-851. doi: 10.1177/1077800410383121
- United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). (2015, October 19). Know Your Farmer, Know Your Food Compass, USDA Projects [Data set]. Available from <http://www.usda.gov/wps/portal/usda/usdahome?navid=kyf-compass-map-data>

- Vitiello, D. & Brinkley, C. (2013). The Hidden History of Food System Planning. *Journal of Planning History*, 00(0), 1-22. doi: 10.1177/1538513213507541
- Wakefield, S., Fleming, J., Klassen, C., & Skinner, A. (2013). *Sweet Charity*, revisited: Organizational responses to food insecurity in Hamilton and Toronto, Canada. *Critical Social Policy*, (3)33, 427-450. doi: 10.1177/0261018312458487
- Whitton, E., Lesse, J., & Hodgson, K. (2015). Baltimore City, Maryland: A Food in all Policies Approach in a Post-Industrial City. In K. Hodgson & S. Raja (Eds.), *Exploring Stories of Innovation* (pp. 1-3). Growing Food Connections Project. Available from <http://growingfoodconnections.org/research/communities-of-innovation/>
- Williams, R. (1985). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, Revised Edition. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.