EXPLORING URBAN FOOD STRATEGIES: FOUR ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVES AND A CASE STUDY (TURIN)

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Keywords: New Food Geography, Urban Food Planning, Urban Food Strategy, food governance

Abstract: In Italy, the choices related to food and nutrition are mainly sectorial and only rarely characterized by a strategic, coordinated and coherent approach.

Differently, in North America and in some Northern European countries many cities have implemented integrated Urban Food Strategies (UFS), which consider food, in its many dimensions, as a crucial theme of urban policy.

In those cities UFS are part of a new food geography, which rediscovers the multifunctional nature of food and its deep relations with many urban dynamics and related policies.

In general, we can refer to the UFS as a process of changing urban food systems, putting food at the center of urban political agendas, capitalizing on existing initiatives, creating relationships, between stakeholders, in order to achieve more sustainable, resilient and equitable food systems (Moragues et al., 2013).

More generally this new approach, which can be translated as Urban Food Planning (Morgan, 2009), radically rethinks the concept of food, elevating him to a territorial issue in terms of relationships between places, actors, social processes and food chains

The aim of this contribution is a comparative analysis of the main international examples of UFS with the purpose of identifying the main characteristics of each case, focusing on the process of policy making, on the stakeholders involved, scales of policy, considered dimension of food.

The analysis will considered cities and regions, showing various geographical context, where the economic, cultural and social dynamics related to food are very different, as well as the problems and the potentialities of the food system that the UFS have to face.

1. Introduction

In the last decade, there has been a gradual identification of the intrinsic urban nature of food related issues, firstly underlined and relegated to the rural sector (Pothukuchi e Kaufmann, 1999). The explanation for this innovation in paradigm has to be found in the rising negative externalities, spread from the globalized agro-industrial system (environmental impacts, soil exploitation, biodiversity loss, diseases linked to diet, reduction of agricultural incomes, social inequality, etc.) (Wiskerke, 2009) which consequences, increased, mostly in urban areas (Sonnino, 2009).

In order to face such serious issues, made worse by the recent changes (defined by the English debate in terms of "new food equation" – Morgan and Sonnino, 2010), cities are progressively obtaining back competences, skills and responsibilities in developing policies addressed to maintain high-quality and accessible food, for consumers.

In this regard, cities are recognized and identify themselves as new players in the food policies, especially through the planning of local food systems (Morgan, 2009 e 2013) that legitimates and strengthen public participation on the food and diet themes.

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The distinguishing figure of this new subject in comparison to the sectorial food policies – that cities already apply, needless to say, for example in food markets, in schools canteens, in urban vegetable gardens normatives – consists in an integrated approach to the food and diet system multidimensional aspects (Morgan 2014).

The revival of the many relationships that food develops inside different urban strategies and related policies, implies a wider overview than the vertical approach (food intended only as a means of nutrients, an economic sector, a social and environmental issue, a cultural and identity element, a rural and productivity matter etc..) in favor of a complementary and systemic approach. At this point food is recognized to be a real territorial matter, linking economic, social and cultural aspects.

This contribution is organized as follows: after a brief analysis of what Urban Food Strategies (UFS) are, the nexts paragraph presents the methodology of the analysis here reported. The following paragraphs analyze UFSs from different perspectives: as instruments of governance (reflecting about actors, processes of participation, integration); as tools for a systemic approach to food and to food systems; as instruments of relocalization of the food system and, finally, as means to increase the knowledge of food systems.

2.   Urban Food Strategies

Urban Food Strategies (UFS) effectively traduce into integrated and territorialized food policies, the awareness of the multifunctionality of food and of its deep relations within many urban aspects. This new approach brought forward innovative processes able to create interactions between players and single policies, developing shared and systemic views, integrating different planning strategies of the food supply chain. In the same way as the latter is related to different dimensions and actors of places.

UFS set food as a core subject in the public political agenda, capitalizing existing experiences and practices, creating networks among different groups of stakeholders (private, public, associations and non-profit, social community), with the purpose of having sustainable, resilient and fair food systems. Most of the times these processes produce and are supported by outputs   like manifestos, vision documents, action and/or strategic plans, suggesting visions, actions and (in some cases) survey indicators and monitoring systems.

Despite of their differences, because of local characteristics, most of UFS have in common a holistic approach to urban food systems, that includes players, policies and tools at all levels.

This integrated vision of the food system can be read in three different perspectives:
-      Horizontal: the different policy aspects that food sector possesses (environment, production, logistics, education and training, economic development and employment, tourism and culture, healthcare and assistance),
-      Circular: the agro-food chain on the whole (production, transformation, distribution, consume and recycle);
-      Vertical: different geographic scales and related government levels on territory (from quarters to municipalities, to the extra-local metropolitan areas or the city-regions, the province, the region, up to the national levels);

Usually, the UFS adopt integrated parameters of food governance (connection among subjects, policies and tools), environmental sustainability (air, water, soil, transports, waste, energy, relation city-countryside, urban and periurban agriculture), economic development and employment (agriculture, agro-industry, business, tourism and promotion of territory); public health, food

education and quality of life (nutrition diseases, school programs, continuous training for adults), socio-spatial justice (fight to the food deserts), cultural approach to food, etc.

2.1 Methodology

This paper presents the results collected after a first explorative research on Urban Food Strategies, drawn up through a comparative study of 16 urban areas[4] aimed to discover good practices and process indications, potentially transferable to the Turin case. The choice on the models taken complies mainly with the criterion of existence and availability of downloadable written documentation, describing the food strategy.

From this perspective have been taken into consideration different urban food strategies, in terms of localization, dimensions of the urban area, and peculiarities of food culture and food systems.

Every document has been examined through four lenses:
1. UFS as a tool for the governance of the food system (analysis of subjects involved, participation and integration with other policies);
2. UFS as systemic tools (analysis on the approach to the multidimensionality and multidimensionality of food);
3. UFS as a mechanism to relocate food systems (analysis on the characteristics of the relocalization);
4. UFS as tools for increasing the knowledge of the food system (food system assessment, monitoring and indicators, where present);

This kind of research encounters some limits, typical on the desk analysis.
The information we could collect about the strategies is partial, as it comes from the study of reports and documents provided on the web by the local authorities of the studies urban areas.
In spite of it, this survey has been central to start filling a gap on information about these themes, mostly in relation to the contribution that our group of research has been asked to conceive, in order to create a local food agenda on the Turin metropolitan area.

2.2 UFS as a tool for the governance of the food system

According to Rhodes (1997), governance represents a set of collective actions standards and government organizational forms, which features are (i) the interdependence among organizations; (ii) the interaction between members of the network; (iii) the definition of shared and agreed rules and (iv) a high level of autonomy of the network towards the public authorities.
In governance actions, the results of policies do not reflect the effect of the actions of a single subject or the imposition from "above", but they originate from the interaction between participants with different objectives and interests. In other words, if in the concept of *government* the role of public actors is fundamental, in governance the key roles involve a complex mix of players, based on flexibility, on partnership and free participation. In this view, the governance actions are set on the ability to exploit specific features of the human capital and local players' networks (Kearns and

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[4] The involved cities are: Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Vancouver (Canada); Bristol, Brighton and Hove, Durham, and London (England), Belfast (Ireland), Edinburgh (Scotland), Malmo (Sweden); Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia and Seattle (Usa).

Forrest, 2000). Taking for granted that Urban Food Strategies will be the new food governance tools (Sonnino and Spayde, 2014), it is interesting to notice which are the actors involved in the process, the modalities of their interaction with the public sector, the forms of active partnership and participation. In this first stage of the research, we focused on how the public player is involved in the strategies we analyzed.

In some cases the main public actor is a new body, specifically established (Calgary Food Committee), while in some others there are already existing bodies, for instance the Food Policy Councils (Toronto, Vancouver and Bristol. In the Urban Food Strategies, the public players mainly have the task of piloting and harmonizing the interactions among the variety of participants. The role of network manager (Sibeon, 2001) - that stimolates and manages the interaction between a large number of actors of the food system – is played sometimes by a public body, some other by the structure that holds responsibility for having defined the strategy. In general, we can state that in the food strategies, the public member does not carry out its competences in planning sector projects, but in incentivizing and stimulating the various action forms, emerging from social interactions, in framing the complexities and the differences, in outlining the background political options on which participation is built and dealt with. In this respect the strategies building processes, sometimes create new spaces, with different level of formality, affiliation with the public player, organization and operative rules. The chosen methodology implies, for the next steps, a more detailed analysis of the networks involved, through – for example – the census of participants on the various food coalitions, in order to understand the social maps structured around them.

The analysis of the documentation remarks the centrality, within the processes implied in it, of the participation and involvement of the private and public stakeholders, as well as the social community.

Whereas all strategies register the quantity of individuals involved, only some of them details how participation is carried out and, in certain cases (see Edmonton and Seattle), highlight the close connection between the processes outcomes and the strategies chosen. In cases like Edmonton and Vancouver, there have been the involvement of thousands of participants, developing very complex processes. The City of Vancouver, for instance, worked in partnership with the Vancouver Food Policy Council for a large urban involvement, through the slogan "talk food with us".

In this case, the Food Strategy report stresses the concept of the importance of participation and outlines 4 principles that guided its consultation: (i) engage ethno-culturally diverse communities; (ii) engage socio-economically diverse, age-diverse, and harder-to-reach communities through storytelling; (iii) emphasize collaboration and partnerships and (iv) create tools and resources that can be used beyond the consultation process (City of Vancouver, 2013).

In the Bristol and San Francisco case studies, a great involvement has been registered also during the steps of analysis and assessment of the food system: over 200 people joined together to draw up the report "Who feeds Bristol", where beside the description of the food system there is a critical evaluation, followed by a list of priorities and a draft list of actions.

Furthermore, along with the usual forms of participations, varying from consultations (Public opinion survey) to real engagements (through Citizen panels, Stakeholder workshops) arise very appealing communication approaches, like storytelling-themed, public events, open houses, Food Conferences. Besides it is reported an increased use in new media: websites, mailing lists, blogs, tweets, and so on.

For what concerns the implementation of the strategies, participation and engagement of citizens is carried out through websites communicating the progress of the strategy's implementation and, sometimes, food charters submittable online from public and private stakeholders, but especially from citizens, with purposes focused on urban awareness and responsibility.

The idea that food represents a lens for understanding the world and on many urban dynamics emerges very well trying to analyze urban strategies (with the limitations of a desk analysis). In the analyzed documents in fact, often emerges the awareness of how these tools can aim to achieve social, environmental, economic and public health goals in the urban areas adopting them.

For example, in the strategy of Brighton and Hove we read "*Achieving the aims of our food strategy will help to improve our city in a number of ways, including contributing towards a number of the high-level, citywide social, economic and environmental priority outcomes*" followed by a list of programming tools and planning.

Similarly, the document of Calgary shows that "*to focus on food not only represents opportunities for enhancing citizens' quality of life, but also acts as a lever for many and achieving goals and objectives of Municipalities (...) therefore, promoting a sustainable food system can support The City of Calgary goals, objectives and targets outlined in City policies (Municipal Development Plan, Calgary Transportation Plan, Community Greenhouse Gas Plan etc) ... ".*

Some strategies go into more detail on the type of integration with other tools: for example in the Edmonton strategy we can read "*The Food and Urban Agriculture Strategy was developed as part of the ongoing process of creating a better Edmonton through coherent and integrated planning, and Although some of the key documents City blackberries are relevant to the Food and Urban Agriculture Strategy than others, the Following Provides a brief overview of the directly relevant plans.* "

Specifically, a table declines each objective of the strategy in relation to the six strategic plans of the city (The Way Ahead, The Way We Grow, The Way We Finance, The Way We Prosper, The Way We Move, The Way We Green).

2.3   UFS as systemic tools

Referring to what reported earlier, one of the distinguishing features of Urban Food Strategies is the holistic approach to food system, understood as multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral. Concerning the multidimensionality of food the analysis of the vision of the urban food strategies we explored provides a framework of how a food system should be, starting from a set of keywords, often combined one with the others. The most recurrent term concerns the "sustainability" of the system (stressed by all cities with a future vision, except Belfast and Durham), followed by "health" (Calgary, Toronto, Vancouver, Seattle, Durham, Brighton and Howe, Edinburgh, Belfast and London).

In many food strategies, there is also a mention of the "resilience" of the system (Calgary, Edmonton, Philadelphia and London), of the need to relocate the system, trying to define what is "local" (Calgary, Edmonton, Durham and London), of justice and of access to food.

Despite all the strategies address, as already mentioned, the entire size spectrum of the food (environment, health, economic development, social and cultural aspects), however, it is possible to identify some prevailing narratives (Sonnino, 2014), consistent with the specificity of places and with the priorities of each context.

In this sense, for example, some strategies are more strongly guided by a vision of an economic nature, such as New York, Bristol, Vancouver and Philadelphia, the latter defining "the local and healthy food movements as economic development strategies" (DVRPC 2011, p .4).

Just as there are strategies characterized by narrative explicitly focused on health issues. The prime example is probably that of Toronto, whose vision is to create a "health-focused food system" (Toronto Public Health Department; 2010, pag.5), while Seattle declines the theme of the health of people and environment: Seattle has made a healthy food system a priority. Healthy for people and the planet (City of Seattle, 2012). Malmo declines the theme of "good food", in order to emphasize the centrality of public health (in relation to other issues of sustainability).

As regards the multi-sectoriality of these tools, we observe that all the analyzed documents explicitly refer to the entire food chain, in all its phases. Several authors (including Sonnino and Moragues-Faus, 2014) claim that the distribution sector represents the missing link of the urban food strategies, despite its centrality, even in terms of negative externalities, in the functioning of food systems.

2.4   UFS as a mechanism to relocate food systems

In spite of peculiar differences the UFS, generally speaking, can be defined as strongly characterized an attention to the relocalization of the food system, crucial issue in the debate on this themes (for more references see Brinkley, 2013). In food strategies relocalization is often considered in relation to the achievement of other objectives, such as economic development or public health (Sonnino, 2014) and it is bound not only to policies addressed to foster urban and periurban agriculture– that the debate tends to overestimate (ibidem)- but also to improvements on distribution and logistics in the short supply chains, in public procurement, and so on.

A first insight that the analysis of the strategies suggests, concerns the attempt to overcome the contrasting concept of global and local vision, in order to accept the multi-layered dimension of food system. Several strategies, among which the Edmonton's, acknowledge the dual nature, local and global, of food systems and openly choose to deal with the local issues they hold direct responsibility of.

In the strategy of Bristol, for example, we read "*We are under no illusion of the huge scale and ambition of a food plan. But the rewards and benefits would be significant with repercussions That would be far reaching and generational.*"

However, the attribute of "local" is still often considered as a synonym of "good" (Hinrichs, 2003) contributing in reducing a complex issue to a mere matter of opposites: on one side the conventional food system, capitalist and globalized, on the other, the locally rooted alternative practices, seen as activities of resistance to the increasing globalization of the agro-food supply chain.

Another issue explores the definition of "local". Not all the analyzed strategies present an insight into the dimension of local food, but when they do, it reveals different aspects. Sometimes the administrative-economic dimension is prevailing, as in the case of Calgary and Edmonton that identify as their ideal area of supply the entire region of Alberta; and the case of Seattle, linking the urban area with its metropolitan area, in food flows.

In the case of Philadelphia, there is instead the identification of the ideal size of the foodshed, calculated as a a 100 mile radius area.

Other strategies tend instead to go over the identification of an ideal local foodshed, conferring more interest on different issues, like the relationship between relocation and sustainability. According to several authors (Renting et al., 2003; Sonnino, 2014; Sonnino e Spayde, 2014) this can be seen as a consequence of a multidimensional and multifunctional approach to food.

For instance, in the Brighton and Howe strategy can be read: "*Our strategy addresses ways in which we can localize our food production and increase consumption of food produced from within a 50-mile radius, but only as part of a sustainable food system. The distance travelled by food, whilst significant, is not the only measure of food's environmental impact, and factors such as the energy intensiveness of production and storage are amongst other crucial factors*" (Brighton e Howe, 2012, p. 28).

Toronto as well provides an example of this tendency, integrating localization into a wider sustainability perspective: "*Sometimes, both the local food movement and its detractors have become absorbed in debates expressing the same compartmentalized thinking that characterizes the dominant food system. The issue is not so much which single food choice is 'best', but how can we accelerate progress towards a comprehensive health focused food system where the goals of*

affordability, environmental protection, local farm viability, land use planning and others, can be reconciled. One of the functions of this food strategy project is to promote this kind of dialogue" (Toronto Public Health Department; 2010, pag. 12).

Los Angeles is, according to Sonnino (2014), one of the most emblematic example of this broader and more flexible interpretation of relocalization of the food system: "*To be clear, while the benefits of urban agriculture are significant to individuals and neighborhoods, poverty and hunger exist in Los Angeles That on such a massive scale supporting urban agriculture Should only be viewed as a supplement, not a replacement strategy, for solving food insecurity and improving food access*".

In the strategy of Durham we can read "*Food that is produced and consumed in or near County Durham That is healthy for people and the planet, and supports our local economy. There is no agreed definition of local food nationally, and for good reason, as the appropriate definition depends on factors Which Vary with location and circumstance. Concerned with what we are in this instance is not only geographic location, but also other criteria such as the quality of the food (eg is it healthy?), its impact on the environment, how the people who produce it are Rewarded, and how animals reared*

for food are treated. We are also concerned about supporting the local economy by protecting jobs and growing the demand for local goods That will in turn created opportunities for new jobs. In other words, Durham local food Should the three fulfil pillars of sustainability by having economic, social and environmental benefits." (County Durham Food Partnership, 2014, pag. 3)

With the same perspective, cities like London and Malmo, collocate alongside the local dimension of food quality, other realities more connected to the production methods (such as organic farming), to the fair job practices (fair workers' retributions along all the food supply chain), to environmental impacts and animal welfare.

2.5   UFS as tools for increasing the knowledge of the food system

Generally speaking, all the analyzed strategies are based on an analysis of urban food contexts. Most of the documents in fact report, as preliminary investigation or in support of specific ideas and actions, data and information on the local food system. The analysis generally concern every stage of the food chain and, in some cases, are supported by spatial analysis (using GIS software) supporting the study of food systems. Among the strategies analyzed there are however some cases where the assessment of the food system seems to be, more than in others, a truly strategic step in the process of construction of the food policy. Emblematic, for example, is the report "Who feeds Bristol?" commissioned in 2009 by the local hospital, reporting the results of a detailed analysis of the food system, on the basis of which will be developed several proposals that will be part of the urban strategy of the city (Good Food Bristol). This report is a good model of a detailed analysis of the urban food system. Similarly, the report "Greater Philadelphia Food System Study" (Dvrpc, 2010) defines the trends, but also the challenges and opportunities of regional food systems through an analysis of various stakeholders, an assessment of agricultural resources, an exploration of distribution channels and food freight, and an identification of the food economy.

Another interesting case is that of the Calgary strategy that incorporates, within the document, an important spatial investigation of the elements of the agro-food chain, which along with a careful survey of activity in the area and of the various dimensions of the food system, forms the basis for many reflections and policy proposals.

3.   Urban Food Planning in Turin: a case study

A few years later than in other countries, the issue of the re-territorialization of food and the agro-food chain is taking an increasingly crucial role in Italy, starting from cities like Pisa, where there is a Local Plan of Food (Di Iacovo et al., 2013), or Palermo, where the strategic plan includes actions of promotion and preservation of urban and periurban agriculture, or Milan, where the process of development of food strategies has been launched[5].

In this framework, another interesting case is Turin, where a process of construction of a new integrated governance of the territorial food system has been started, under the guide of the municipality of Turin and the metropolitan area (the newborn Città Metropolitana, whose boundaries juxtapose to the ones of the former Province of Turin).

Turin is the fourth biggest Italian city for population. Localized in the Northwest of the country, the city has a population of 900.000 (almost 2,3 million if we consider the Città Metropolitana).

In the last decades, the city was the location of one of a dramatic transformation both physical and symbolical. Many factories closed, leaving huge empty spaces in the middle of the city, progressively filled by brand new portions of city. This material change went with a remarkable process of re-invention of the city's image, which had its turning point in the 2006 Winter Olympic Games (Dansero and Puttilli 2009).

In this context, the case of Turin, which we already presented and discussed in the two last Aesop conference (Montpellier, 2013 and Leeuwarden, 2014), is notably interesting, from many point of views.

Turin belongs to a territorial system where food is a mature economic, social and cultural asset, which contributes to a regional development increasingly based on high-quality food production (wine, chocolate, nuts, cheese, etc.) or food and wine tourism, which are gradually taking the place of heavy industries in the economic system and in the discursive representations of the area.

The acknowledgment of this assets, stimulated by some strong and very active stakeholders (e.g. Slow Food, Eataly), brought to the organization of several initiatives and events aiming at promoting and safeguarding typical food products (e.g. Salone del Gusto, Terra Madre, Cioccolatò, etc), which made of Turin one of the recognized national "capitals of food" (Torino Strategica, 2013).

Like other Italian cities, Turin and its people have a strict relationship with food, witnessed, for example, by the big amount of food markets (45) held everyday in the city. In most of them, producers bring everyday their fresh products, from the countryside around Turin.

In the Italian context, these markets hardly can be defined as "alternative food networks", as they are not expression of practices of explicit resistance against the globalized and de-territorialized food system. They are just a common way for people to purchase their food.

At the same time, Turin is rich of food-related practices that explicitly oppose to the conventional food system, such as urban gardens, solidarity purchasing groups, farmers' market and so on[6].

This is a clue of the peculiarity of Italian food system, where the issues are quite different by the ones faced by food plans of Northern American of British cities. This could suggest that there could be an "Italian way" to food planning, which will not be discussed into this paper, but which would deserve a careful consideration.

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[5] Also in Milan, on 15 and 16 October 2015, the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact will be signed, and International Agreement which involves more than 40 cities in the world with the goal of making their own food systems more sustainable and equitable through sharing of ideas and good practices

[6] For a more detailed insight on alternative food networks in Turin, see the paper of Dansero and Pettenati in these proceedings.

In the very last years, at least two important factors contributed to build momentum for what concerns research and practice about food and food policies in Turin.

The first is the process of institutionalization of the "metropolitan area" of Turin, which is going to take the place of the "province" in the institutional reordering of Italy. This new "territory of competence" is progressively becoming a "territory of project" (Raffestin, 1980), which includes the city and its surrounding. Many of the projects developing in this area concerns the relationships between food and the city. The topics of these projects are various: urban and periurban agriculture, with its social, environmental and educational dimensions; public health; sustainable catering, food education; waste reduction and so on.

The second factor is the spatial and temporal proximity of EXPO 2015 (Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life), which was held in Milan (about 130 km and 50 minutes of high-speed train from Turin) from May to October 2105. The Exposition is the frame in which several projects about food are developed, not only in Milan, but in the whole Northern Italy as well. Local institutions (at the municipal, provincial and regional scale) are trying to attract within their boundaries part of the potential benefits of Expo 2015, both for what concerns flows of tourists and projects and policies concerning the main topic of the international event: food.

Even if Turin still does not have a food council and these projects are still not part of an official process of food planning, in the last years local authorities have been paying specific attention to food policies, shaping the idea of a strict relationship between food and the city, in the perspective of a reterritorialization of the food system.

In terms of governance, one of the key issues to deal with is the relationship between the different processes of urban food planning undertaken by different actors of the urban area, with various objectives and scales of action. In the past two years, in fact, several strategic processes related to the food system took place. Now, three of these seem to be likely to generate positive actions in terms of urban food governance:

-   The working table " Torino Capitale del Cibo" (Torino Food Capital), organized by Torino Strategica[7], within the third Strategic Plan "Torino Metropoli 2025," which defines the vision and plans for the future of Turin metropolitan area. One of the objectives of this table is the creation of a food commission, seen as a combination between a Food Policy Council and a business hub, for the development and management of a metropolitan food system, which has more quality and could be more sustainable, just , resilient and competitive;
-   "Nutrire Torino Metropolitana" (Feeding Metropolitan Turin) the participatory process led by the Città Metropolitana (the former Province of Turin) and the University of Turin in order to mobilize actors of the food system by involving them in the construction of the local food agenda, as a first step towards launching a food strategy for this area;
-   The European project Food Smart Cities for Development funded by the Development Education and Awareness Raising (DEAR) of the European Commission, which aims to the creation of a Food Policy Council.

These three processes has different scales: the metropolitan area (Torino Strategica), the metropolitan city (Nutrire Torino Metropolitana) and the municipal level (DEAR) (see Image 1)

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[7] Torino Strategica is an association" which promotes strategic planning methods, monitors its actions, sets up specific workshops, communicates to the public the opportunities for development created by the Strategic Plan and encourages the public's participation". (www.torinostrategica.it)

In the awareness of the fact that a common framework would increase the effectiveness of individual efforts, one of the first questions to be posed is: what scale could be the better for the food strategy of Turin?

Could a scale of city-region, as most of the strategies analyzed suggests, be the strategic dimension for urban food planning of Turin, guaranteeing the right synthesis between the various scales of action and government in the area?

A second issue, still concerning the issues of food governance, involves the actors involved and their political legitimacy and the bodies that guide the food strategies. How should the various actors involved in the project relate one to each other (in the case of Turin: a food commission, a food policy council and other already existing or newly created bodies)? Can these relational spaces aspire to a formal legitimacy given by their level of territorial government? In case of more collective actors simultaneously existing, how could be managed the participation of the subjects of the food system, which could soon be on multiple tables simultaneously?
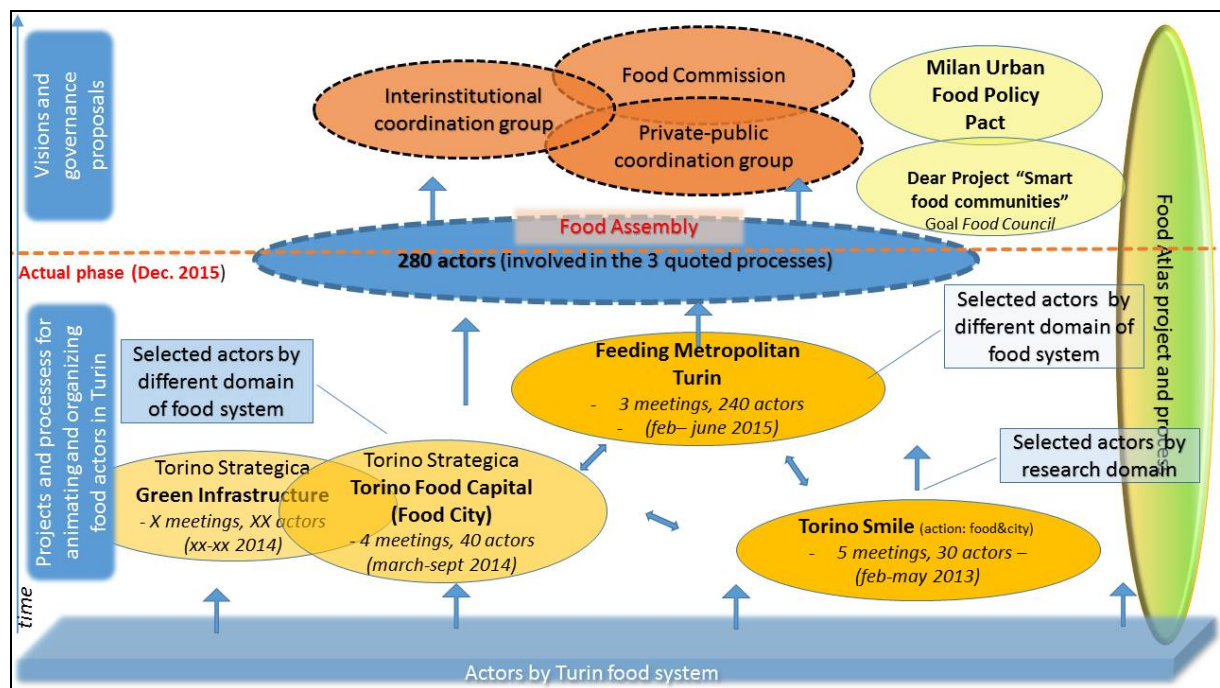

Figure 1 – The actors involved in the Turin Food Governance (image of the authors)

Is it desirable and feasible, the coexistence of a metropolitan food policy council and of a food commission, the first more policy-oriented and the latter more focused on the competitiveness and the promotion of the food system? Is it possible to think, as in the case of Bristol, to the coexistence of an urban food policy council and a food network of larger scale? Finally, how should we manage the existence of multiple local and urban food networks, of different scales, nested in the same area? These matters of scale are obviously related to the issues related to the relocalization of the food system.

What is the local food system of Turin? What scale does make sense to assume to define the short food supply chain, for example referring to public procurement?

Finally, a key issue for the city of Turin, either at a municipal and metropolitan scale, is the lack of knowledge of the system, which is crucial to fill, it, in order to start a process of development of urban food strategies.

4. Conclusions

The conclusions of this paper can be organized according to two lenses: a first, concerning the adequateness of the four dimensions of urban food strategies we used in order to systemically analyze this tool in different geographical contexts; a second, focused on the case of Turin, presented at paragraph 3, with the aim to comment the main findings of our research and to suggest further topics to explore.

About the first issue, as suggested by authors like Sonnino and Spayde (2014), in order to deeply understand the value and the characteristics of the four analyzed dimensions of urban food strategies, it should be useful to go beyond the comparative analysis of plans and general strategies, focusing with the real influence of these tools on the food system in each case study. How the food system of a city where integrated and systemic food policies are implemented can be considered as more sustainable, resilient or just?

Focusing on the case of Turin, it is possible to comment all the four axis of analysis of UFS we propose

In order to develop urban food strategies that could effectively foster food governance in a systemic way, it is crucial to understand how the different processes simultaneously active in town should relate each other, in order to avoid any conflict or overlapping and to take advantage of the potential synergies of the many actors involved.

The systemic approach to the analysis, the governance and the development of the food system seems to be pretty clear in the different processes started in Turin, which take into account most of the dimensions of food and of food governance: culture, health, business, environment, social justice, etc.

For what concerns the relocalization of the food system, it is one of the main purposes of the three processes, which aim to support local food economy, through the relocalization of food networks and the development of short food supply chains in the various fields of the food system (public procurement, home consumption, catering and restaurants, and so on), considering it as one fundamental step towards more sustainable food systems.

Finally, the definition of tools of analysis, assessment and monitoring of the food system and its performances, plays an important role in the three processes we described, even if still only in terms of strategic general objectives.

Our group of research is working at a project (involving three universities: University of Turin, Polytechnic of Turin, University of Gastronomic Sciences) called Atlante del Cibo (Atlas of Food), with the aim to to develop and implement an interdisciplinary methodology of food system analysis and assessment, at the metropolitan scale. This methodology is composed of three main parts:

- a review of existing maps and representations of the food system (a map of maps), which are critically reviewed and organized, in order to produce a catalogue of the different existing representations;
- a collection of static maps, specifically produced for the Atlas, representing data about the food system coming both from official archives (e.g. census) and from users and actors of the food system. The static maps will be open to updates and corrections, following the suggestions of users;
- a platform for users-generated, dynamic, interactive maps, based on crowdmapping and the integration with social networks

More specifically, the Atlas of Food of Turin, has the following aims:

- to provide an open access tool, collecting and representing data, information and ideas about the food system at the city-region scale;

- to support the public-private network which is working at the development of food policies, through analysis of the food system, development of scenarios and suggestions for the food strategies;
- to increase the awareness of the actors of the food web about food, fostering the visibility and sharing of the issues linked to the different phases of the food chain;
- to provide a platform where the actors of the food chain can virtually meet, reciprocally know, share ideas, creating an opinion making critical mass able to address food policies;
- to monitor the food system on regular basis, with a participatory approach, reporting changes, trends, opportunities and threats.

A further issue to debate is related to the scales of the food system and its governance. Talking about UFS in Turin, as well as in any other city – means to apply a transcalar approach, integrating different scales, such as:
- The micro-local scale of practices and specific actions for which UFS represent a framework to be integrated in.
- The metropolitan scale: based on the city-region which as Turin and its center and the newborn Città Metropolitana as institution of government. The challenge is to go beyond the centralized vision of a food system centered on a big city, in favor of considering the polycentric nature of the food system, seen as composed of several local food system, centered on small and medium cities and towns (e.g. Chieri, Pinerolo, Ivrea, etc.),
- The macroregional scale: considering the interrelations between the food system centered on Turin and the food systems of the other main cities of Northern Italy, notably Milan (distant about 100 km from Turin). The two cities historically compete for the predominance in many fields (e.g. culture, industry, etc.), but could cooperate in planning a macroregional polycentric and multiscalar food system in Northwestern Italy.

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