

TRACK 2. GOVERNANCE AND PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The track focuses on urban food governance on the multi-sectoral, multi-level and multi-actor characteristics of food system management.

THE HISTORIC AND CURRENT USE OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISE IN FOOD SYSTEM AND AGRICULTURAL MARKETS TO DISMANTLE THE SYSTEMIC WEAKENING OF AFRICAN DESCENDED COMMUNITIES

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Abstract: This work aims to explore the historical relevance and current necessity for grassroots social enterprise and entrepreneurship, from the base of underserved communities overwhelmed by hyper-incarceration and unemployment, to support the production of community empowering capital with prospects for economic growth in food system and agricultural markets. This mixed methods research project is based in a socio-cultural historical framework and involves aspects of community development and empowerment, food system advocacy, youth entrepreneurship, systemic weakening of community foundations, the prison industrial complex, and pragmatic Pan Africanism based in the work of: Afro-Brazilian activist Abdias do Nascimento's conception of quilomboismo, Huey P. Newton's theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, and Jessica Gordon Nembhard's study on African American cooperative economic thought and practices.

In addition to a survey of social enterprise, community development and entrepreneurship in food system and agricultural markets from the 19th century by enslaved and maroon communities in the southern United States and Caribbean region to the contemporary period in diasporic or urban migratory spaces, there will be a case study on social enterprise organizations in Boston, MA and New York state, such as Haley House, The Food Project, Fresh Food Generation, The BLK ProjeK, Soul Fire Farm, and Drive Change. These organizations are at the forefront of supporting and advocating for important interventions (employment training and entrepreneurship support), policy changes, community development, and empowerment for correctional controlled individuals and underserved communities of African descent through the alignment of solutions for individual and community development with food system advocacy.

1. Introduction

In "The New Jim Crow" (2012), legal scholar Michelle Alexander examines the evolution of systemic racism, the War on Drugs, mass incarceration and the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC). The period of Jim Crow can be define as government-led systems of economic, social and political repression and segregation of people of color in the U.S. from 1865 to 1966 supporting white supremacy and maintaining white privilege. For Alexander the "New Jim Crow" is a reconstitution and continuation of government-led oppression of people of color, particularly African Americans, through the criminal justice system. The existence of the "New Jim Crow" is documented through the exponentially expansive qualities of the PIC through the extension of Richard Nixon's War on Drugs policies by Ronald Reagan and George Bush's presidential administrations in the 1980s and 1990s. The reinvigoration of the War on Drugs was compounded with racially biased judicial and prosecutorial practices within the U.S. criminal justice system which increased the length of mandatory minimum sentencing and the amount of plea bargain deals for non-violent drug offenders. This exponentially increased the prison population and communities affected by

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incarceration. Corporate and political interests have been intrinsically tied to capitalist profitability of incarceration.

As private for profit prison corporations, such as the Corrections Corporation of America and GEO Group, focus on inmate population growth and prison profitability (Alexander, 2011, pp. 231), enormous profits are gained by telecommunication companies, gun manufacturers, private health care providers, the U.S. Military (prison labor used to make war supplies). Fortune 500 corporations also use prison labor to avoid paying minimum and living wages to U.S. workers. Angela Davis, Bryan Stevenson and Loic Wacquant share Alexander's analysis of connecting the enslaved labor central to modern U.S. Capitalism as ancestral to the "correctional controlled" labor of global Capitalism – which includes, and fluidly moves between, the drug industry and Prison Industrial Complex (Davis, 2011; Wacquant, 2002; Blackmon, 2009). This correctional controlled labor is overwhelming sourced from working class, underclass, under caste, and (what Karl Marx identifies as the) lumpenproletariat communities of color occupying systemically underdeveloped and underserved spaces in urban centers.

Engaging with the concept of the "New Jim Crow" and current efforts to end mass incarceration remedying the underdevelopment experience by affected communities, the following questions have emerged: As slavery became Jim Crow which subsequently transitioned into the New Jim Crow, what will stop the ongoing evolution of subjugation of the most vulnerable in our society? How can poor people, especially of color, survive and thrive regardless of bad policies, deindustrialization, globalization and transitioning modes of control? How can poor people, with a focus on poor people of color in urban areas that are high priority targets in the War on Drugs and Prison Industrial Complex, establish legal economies that are community supported, empowering and maintained outside the illegitimate and legitimate sectors of Capitalism? Can economic advocacy through entrepreneurial and social enterprise involvement in food system markets simultaneously address unemployment, hyper-incarceration, economic deprivation, and food resource needs?

The drug industry, War on Drugs policies and the Prison Industrial Complex have targeted working and lower class communities. This work aims to explore the historical relevance and current necessity for grassroots social enterprise and entrepreneurship, from the base of underserved diasporic communities overwhelmed by hyper-incarceration and unemployment, to support the production of community empowering capital with prospects for economic growth in food system and agricultural markets. This mixed methods research project is based in a socio-cultural historical framework and involves aspects of community development and empowerment, food system advocacy, youth entrepreneurship, systemic weakening of community foundations and the prison industrial complex. This project utilizes pragmatic Pan Africanism based in the work of: Afro-Brazilian activist Abdias do Nascimento's conception of quilomboismo, Huey P. Newton's theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, and Jessica Gordon Nembhard's study on African American cooperative economic thought and practices.

2. Theoretical Framework

I define pragmatic Pan Africanism through interconnecting themes of Pan African communalism, Revolutionary Intercommunalism, and economic cooperativism. The intersection and/or acknowledgement of the utility of these three theoretical and practical anti-oppression models are integral in advocating for grassroots based community and global development. Abdias do Nascimento's Pan African communalism is fundamental to this intersection and advocates instituting communalism through the narrative of "quilomboismo," referring to the maroon state of Quilombo dos Palmares (1605-1694) in Brazil. This ideological model for development places human beings as

the base of power, leading to the elimination of white privilege in economy, polity, society and culture (Nascimento, 1989, pp. 11).

Co-founder of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, Huey P. Newton theorized revolutionary intercommunalism as anti-oppression and anti-capitalist solidarity building amongst subjugated global communities. Pragmatically built into the practices of the BPP and written as a part of his PhD dissertation, Newton asserted the United States was no longer a nation-state but a boundless empire controlling spaces and populations through moving technologies and mechanisms of the state (Heynen, 2009, pp. 417; Newton, 1980, pp. 18).

Jessica Gordon Nembhard's recent publication, "Collective Courage: A History of African American Cooperative Economic Thought and Practice" (2014), demonstrates the importance of cooperative economic development as a community economic development strategy. Cooperative economics has historically supported marginalized populations gain independence, in the midst of racial segregation, racial discrimination, and market failure (Gordon Nembhard, 2014, pp. 18).

3. A brief historiography

During the period of enslavement in the Americas, Africans and their descendants established a significant economic base in provision grounds and internal market producing local fruit, vegetables, meat, fish and other foodstuff throughout the Diaspora (Levine, 2003, pp. 261; Carney and Rosomoff, 2011; Sheller, 1998; Eiss, 1998; Sheridan, 1985; Johnson, 1989; Gaspar, 1988; Beckles, 1991; Marshall, 1991; Tomich, 1991; Campbell, 1991; Schlotterbeck, 1991; Johnson, 2009). Free, enslaved and maroon Africans were able to find autonomy through self sustaining agricultural systems that fended off starvation and established economic and cultural sovereignty allowing the purchase of freedom, acquisition of additional land, personal items and/or needed food resources. In addition to cultivation for consumption, cooking and selling food were common occupations of enslaved and free women (Carney and Rosomoff, 2011, pp. Kindle 2190-2192). Known as "higglers" and "hucksters" in the British Caribbean and quitandeiras in Brazil, the "market women" of plantation societies specialized in selling prepared beverages and cooked food and surplus agricultural goods (Carney and Rosomoff, 2011, pp. Kindle 2196-2197).

In the post-emancipation period, land ownership and agricultural market systems remained relevant. In the Caribbean, a broad class of Black property owners emerged shortly after the abolition of slavery and continued to thrive at the early turn of the century (Brown, 2014, pp. 59). Although tenancy, sharecropping, and the crop lien systems were economic and social control arrangements present in post-emancipation United States, black landownership grew in the post-slavery Reconstruction period of 1865 to 1877 (Green, Green, and Kleiner, 2011, pp. Kindle 1150-1157). The number of black farms in the United States peaked in 1920, with one-quarter of all farms owned and operated by blacks at the national level (Green, Green, and Kleiner, 2011, pp. Kindle 1165 - 1168). Through the early system of economic cooperativism, black farms maintained their existence during this period (Green, Green, and Kleiner, 2011, pp. Kindle 1264-1270). Cooperatives have remained a strategy for black farms in the U.S., which are now less than 1% of total farms (Green, Green, and Kleiner, 2011).

The Great Migration of African descended populations from the American south, Caribbean and Latin spaces at the turn of 20th century to 1970 was integral in precipitating land loss. Migration occurred for variety of reasoning, including domestic terrorism of blacks in the American south to environmental issues that affected the economic stability of agriculture. But these migrated populations sustained their entrepreneurial and internal community development traditions as a strategy for survival (Brown, 2014; Posmentier, 2012).

Marcus Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Harlem, NY in 1917. The organization combined race nationalism and political militancy to create a self-sustaining, Pan-Africanist economic order (Marable, 1999, pp. 146; Dalrymple, 2014; Jacques Garvey and Essien-Udom, 1977; Jacques Garvey, 1978; Hill, 1983). The UNIA not only entered into ventures such as the *Black Star Line Shipping Company* and *Negro Factories Corporation*, but also engaged in agricultural commerce with black farmers in the American South and Caribbean. Under the direction of U.S. Poston, Minister of Labor and Industry, UNIA established a trade in agricultural produce that sold directly into New York and New Jersey markets (Walker, 1989, pp. 38-39). The commercial operation traded transnationally with oranges and grapefruits from Florida and limes from the Caribbean (Walker, 1989, pp. 40).

Inheriting the Black Nationalist and transcultural character of Garveyism, The Nation of Islam (NOI) intersected black unity, black centered education, and economic pursuits similar to the UNIA's economic ventures that accumulated to "real estate holdings in a number of states, fish markets, [and] farmland" (Showers Johnson, 2006, pp. 122). Founded in 1930 by Master Fard Muhammad in Detroit, Michigan and led for decades by Elijah Muhammad, black sovereignty and community building within the realms of food, land and health are defining features of the Black Nationalist Islamic organization. In addition to entrepreneurial ventures by members in low-income communities of color vis-à-vis establishing grocery stores and selling door to door food items such as bean pies, Nation of Islam's Ministry of Agriculture is currently developing "a sustainable agricultural system that would provide at least one meal per day, according to the teachings of the Most Honorable Elijah Muhammad for the 40 million black people in America" (Nation of Islam, Ministry of Agriculture.< <http://www.noimoa.com/about-noimoa/>>). This endeavor is connected to the organization purchased over 1,556 acres of rural South Georgia farmland in 1994 (McCutcheon, 2011, pp. Kindle 3822-3829). Elijah Muhammad's teachings about food, depicted in his books *How to Eat to Live 1* and *2*, and the social enterprise endeavors of NOI had an important influence on Black Power organizations such as the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense's community survival programs politicize inequities within the food system advocating for oppressed and disenfranchised communities. The political organization was cofounded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, CA in 1966 advocating revolutionary socialism through grassroots organizing and the implementation of community-based "survival programs" (Heynen, 2009, pp. 410). The Free Breakfast for School Children Program was initiated at St. Augustine's Church in Oakland in September 1968 with the support of Father Earl Neil and Ms. Ruth Beckford (Heynen, 2009, pp. 407). In late 1969, Seale and Newton sent out a directive to make the Breakfast Program a mandatory initiative for all BPP chapters. The program allowed political power, hope, and possibility to be actualized through the reproduction of black communities at the level of individual children in alternative ways that were local and autonomous from the state (Heynen, 2009, pp. 407).

4. Case study

Used widely in anti-oppression teach-ins and social justice trainings to push for movement based policy changes, Alexander's "The New Jim Crow" is a progeny of Elijah Anderson's "Code of the Streets" (1999) – an ethnographic examination of co-existing values of "decent" and "street" in inner city communities as a response to systemic underdevelopment. Anderson explains that "when jobs disappear and people are left poor, highly concentrated, and hopeless, the way is paved for the underground economy to become a way of life" (Anderson, 2000, pp. Kindle 5457-5460). The human capacity and entrepreneurial aptitude employed in the underground economy of poor

communities, such as the illicit drug trade, facilitate entry points of the Prison Industrial Complex. Through his discussion of Philadelphia community activist Herman Wrice's support of the entrepreneurial pursuits of formerly incarcerated young men, Anderson provides an example of a critical community based intervention intersecting food system markets, community development, entrepreneurship and community reentry. He writes: "[Herman] knew they had been drug dealers, whom he sees as businessmen 'but with a terrible product,' and wondered whether they might become entrepreneurs. Could they sell fruit on a local street corner instead of drugs? Could this then grow into a larger market, contributing eventually to revitalizing the community?" (Anderson, 2000, pp. Kindle 4918-4921).

The work of Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman advocate for the inclusive participation of low income communities of color in food justice activism and in the creation of alternative food system markets. This departs from neoliberal green economic strategies that foster social change through market behavior and away from the public sphere (Alkon, 2012, pp. Kindle 305-312; Alkon and Agyeman, 2011). Alkon and Agyeman's perspective is supported by Andrea Freeman, who describes food oppression as "a form of structural subordination that builds on and deepens pre-existing disparities along race and class lines... [which is] difficult both to identify as a social wrong and to redress, because it stems from a combination of market forces and government policy" (Freeman, 2007, pp. 2245). Freeman specifically addresses the close relationships between the United States government with processed food industries – such as dairy, meat, and fast food – that support food assistance programs and promote malnutrition (Freeman, 2007, pp. 2246) through the proliferation of food deserts and swamps. Although the administration's *Let's Move* campaign, spearheaded by First Lady Michelle Obama in 2011, addresses food deserts and swamps, poverty, and malnutrition, the focus of the initiative is childhood obesity (Obama, 25 October 2011.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/10/25/remarks-first-lady-mayors-summit-food-deserts-chicago-illinois>). This emphasizes the role of choice, minimizing the socioeconomic influence on food access and control of distribution. Intersecting just sustainability with community development and increased economic opportunities will address layered issues of food access, unemployment and hyper-incarceration at the root of systemic underdevelopment.

As religious organizations such as the Nation of Islam are still present as an example of entrepreneurship and communal uplift through the creation of alternative and culturally specific food markets, there has been a recent increase of social enterprise businesses and nonprofit advocacy organizations that are intersecting food system advocacy with critical interventions addressing race and class based systemic oppression rooted in the U.S. criminal justice system. Haley House, The Food Project, Fresh Food Generation, The BLK ProjeK, Soul Fire Farm, and Drive Change are a small list of organizations leading the work to create conscious capital through impactful economic community development with food system markets.

4.1 The Northeast

The Northeast of the United States has played a critical role as a central destination for migrants of African descent. This historic cultural diversity expands the black Great Migration story of 1910 to 1970 from the American South to include black immigrants from Cape Verde (Africa), Jamaica, Cuba and Puerto Rico (Betty, 2013, pp. 24).² Similar to the 6.5 million black migrants from the American

² By 1930 there were 177,981 foreign-born blacks and children of foreign-born blacks in the United States, this figure constitutes 1.5 percent of the U.S. total population. Although the Immigration Acts of 1917 and 1924 and the anti-Communist McCarran-Walter Act of 1950 placed heavy restrictions on black immigration, US Guest worker programs initiated in the 1940 supported the consistent migratory flow of foreign born blacks. These

South, there has been significant land lost – whether sold, forgotten or stolen – for recent and generational immigrants of African descent. In addition to high incarceration rates in this region of the U.S., there are systemic issues with food insecurity and access to healthy and culturally relevant food, especially fruits and vegetables. This occurrence has led to the labelling of many neighbourhoods within these cities food deserts and food swamps. With many Afro-descended immigrants settling in the Northeast, Boston and New York provide a significant perspective in the current and historical use of food in particular as a tool for socioeconomic community building and empowerment.

4.1.1 Boston

The population of Massachusetts is close to 7 million. Although black and Hispanic communities consist of 17% of this population, they account for 50 % of Massachusetts' total prison population (U.S. Census Bureau, <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/25000.html>>; *Prisonpolicy.org*, <<http://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/MA.html>>). This imprisoned population is rooted from Boston where 25% of residents are black/African American and 17% are Hispanic [Most of the Hispanic population is Afro-Latino]– and 21 % of the population lives below the poverty line – some neighborhoods the poverty rate is close to 50% (*City-Data.com*, <<http://www.city-data.com/neighborhood/Dudley-Square-Boston-MA.html#ixzz3nA5UUksu>>; U.S. Census Bureau, <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/25/2507000.html>>). Boston communities, such as Roxbury, have been heavily impacted by the diversion and recycling of residents (especially young males) into the criminal justice system by war on drug policies and racially targeted policing – suffering the socioeconomic, familial and communal consequences of incarceration. Haley House Bakery Café, The Food Project, and Fresh Food Generation are examples of community supported, invested and led social enterprise initiatives countering these systemic issues with food advocacy.

4.1.2 Haley House Bakery Café

Haley House Bakery Café is the social enterprise business of Haley House, a nonprofit Boston-based organization founded in 1966 by Kathe and John McKenna. Haley House's mission is to use "food and the power of community to break down barriers between people, transfer new skills, and revitalize neighborhoods... helping those made vulnerable by the harshest effects of inequality move toward wholeness and economic independence" (Haley House, <<http://haleyhouse.org/who-we-are/mission/>>) Current Executive Director Bing Broderick explains that this is accomplished through initiatives such as a full-service Soup Kitchen managed by a social justice orientated Live-In Community (1966), Elder Meal program (1974), Housing program (1972), Rural and Urban Organic Farming (1982), a Food Pantry (1998), and the Transitional Employment Program (1996) (Bing Broderick, Personal Interview; Haley House, <<http://haleyhouse.org/who-we-are/history/>>).

The Transitional Employment Program (TEP) was established in 1996 in response to the intensification of the tragic cycle of addiction-to-prison-and-back experienced by many soup kitchen guests during the 1990s (Haley House, <<http://haleyhouse.org/what-we-do/tep/>>). Beginning as the Bakery Training Program through the Soup Kitchen, Bakery trainees learned how to bake bread which was sold to the South End community, "gaining invaluable practical skills and employment experience while bolstering the neighborhood community" (Haley House,

racially based immigration restrictions were lifted in 1965 with the Hart-Celler Act, which has impacted black immigration to the United States from 1965 to the present period.

<http://haleyhouse.org/what-we-do/tep/>). In 2005 with the allied support of *Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative* (DSNI), Haley House established the Haley House Bakery Café as a full-service café, catering, and wholesale business in Dudley Square, Roxbury. Led by Bakery Manager and program graduate Jeremy Thompson, TEP provides paid work experience for participants producing wholesale bakery products for the café as well as core community reentry supports to facilitate the full transition of TEP men and women (Melvin Civry, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FpapoTv_y2Q >). As of 2013, only 2 out of 24 participants experienced recidivism (April Brown, PBS News Hour, www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/lunch-with-a-story-on-the-side/>.).

4.1.3 *The Food Project*

With three urban farming spaces and their Boston headquarter office stationed in the Dudley neighborhood, The Food Project serves as an important collaborator with Haley House Bakery Café (as well as other community-based organizations) in furthering food system advocacy initiatives in Roxbury (Food Project, <http://thefoodproject.org/our-farms>>). Established in 1991 by Ward Cheney, The Food Project is one of the largest regional farming and food access organizations in Massachusetts with approximately 70 acres of land on three suburban farms, four urban farms, and two greenhouses throughout Massachusetts with distribution of produce through farmers markets, subsidized farm shares, and to hunger relief organizations (Food Project, <http://thefoodproject.org/our-farms>>). Through a national model of engaging young people in personal and social change through sustainable agriculture, The Food Project works with 120 teenagers and thousands of volunteers each year. To date, more than 1,400 youth have participated in leadership development programs since 1991 (Food Project, <http://thefoodproject.org/what-we-do>). In addition to selling reduced priced sustainably sourced food, purchasers are able to buy food with Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits at farm locations and the local Farmers' Market (Food Project, <http://thefoodproject.org/community-programs>>).

The Food Project's partnerships with Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) and City of Boston have supported the continued access of food harvested from farm sites to community members through the Dudley Town Common Farmers Market and several local hunger relief organizations in the neighborhood. In 2010, The Food Project partnered with DSNI to operate a 10,000-square-foot Dudley Greenhouse in Roxbury, the greenhouse functions as a community space and year-round learning center for local residents and gardeners (Food Project, <http://thefoodproject.org/our-farms>>).

4.1.4 *Fresh Food Generation*

Fresh Food Generation (FFG) is a farm-to-plate food truck and catering business founded in 2013 by Cassandra Campbell and Jackson Renshaw. FFG is committed to serving the entire Greater Boston Area with a focus on underserved neighborhoods that have limited access to quality foods. Through their relationships with local farmers and food organizations, such as The Food Project and City Growers, Fresh Food Generation makes low-cost meals influenced by Latin American and Caribbean cuisine. The food truck hires young adults in the local community as team members with the "hope to inspire a generation of young leaders who are excited to eat well and work towards creating a better food system" (Fresh Food Generation, <http://www.freshfoodgeneration.com/>>). The FFG food truck is notably stationed in the Dudley street neighborhood across from a multitude of sub and pizza shops.

Campbell and Renshaw first connected at The Food Project where they were trained in an anti-oppression model with focus on food system inequity and community advocacy (Fresh Food Generation, <<http://www.freshfoodgeneration.com/#!our-team/cs5f> >). When Campbell finished graduate school of MIT in urban planning, she came back to her neighborhood in Roxbury and found that she was traveling to other communities to get healthy food (Dewey, *Bay State Banner*, April 8 2015). She connected with Renshaw on the idea of a community-based healthful food truck in Roxbury. Serving as a healthy alternative to over-processed foods sold at corner stores and fast food chains, FFG aims "to make affordable cultural relevant food, support local farms and engage in sustainable business practices that allow the communities they serve to 'thrive'" (Fresh Food Generation, <<http://www.freshfoodgeneration.com/#!our-philosophy/c18k6>>).

4.1.5 Boston analysis

Haley House Bakery Café, The Food Project, and Fresh Food Generation have created conscious capital in the Dudley neighborhood of Roxbury, Massachusetts. With focus on alternative economic spaces and high levels of community support and collaboration, these social enterprise organizations have created critical interventions in employment opportunity, training and entrepreneurship support specifically for the low-income community in Dudley. In addition to pushing for important community based resources through policy changes and community development initiatives, these organizations have aligned interventions addressing systemic issues connected to hyper-incarceration, unemployment and youth development with food system advocacy and healthful food access – a strategy with historical and cultural relevance for Boston's communities of color.

As a part of the growing number of social enterprise community based resources in the Boston area, Haley House Bakery Café, The Food Project, and FFG are locate in the Dudley neighborhood. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI), a nonprofit community-based planning and organizing entity established in 1984 with the mission of community "development without displacement," has been an impactful and supportive resource in connecting these three enterprises with community support and collaboration (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, <<http://www.dsni.org/dsni-historic-timeline/>>). Through the creation of the Dudley Neighbors, Inc. community land trust in 1988, DSNI gained eminent domain authority, purchased vacant land, and protected affordability and family stability in the Dudley neighborhood – which transverses Dudley street spanning 1.3 square miles through Roxbury and north Dorchester areas (Dudley Neighbors, Inc., <<http://www.dudleyneighbors.org/land-trust-101.html>>).

Although the DSNI is a proven source of empowerment and community control with support from local and national political leaders, gentrification is an impending cause of disempowerment in the Dudley neighborhood. The ever present threat of the expansion of higher education institutions is compounded with the proximity and convenience to Boston proper which brings real estate developers and high-income interlopers. The positives of redevelopment are contradicted with the insertion of priorities of multibillion dollar corporate entities over community empowerment efforts and local entrepreneurship (Casey Ross, *Boston Globe*, March 30 2014).

4.2 New York

New York State's population is close to 20 million with large portions of residents concentrated to the boroughs of New York City. Although black and Hispanics account for 34% of the total population in New York state, they are 75% of the imprisoned population (53% for blacks and 22% for Hispanics) (Prison Policy Initiative, <<http://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/NY.html>>). The incarceration rates of

New York City borough residents correlate with area demographics on race and poverty. These incarcerated populations are from communities in the South Bronx, East Harlem and Brooklyn (Marks, Gothamist.com, May 1 2013). Similar to the challenges of Boston's inner city, communities within New York have been affected by war on drug policies of the Rockefeller drug laws and racially targeted policing. The BLK ProjeK, Soul Fire Farm and Drive Change are examples of social enterprise initiatives impacting systemic underdevelopment driven by the criminal justice system through food.

4.2.1 *The BLK ProjeK*

The BLK ProjeK (pronounced "Black Project") is a Bronx-based nonprofit organization that seeks to address food justice and economic development by channeling the local, good food movement and creating small business and career opportunities for underserved women and youth of color (The BLK ProjeK, <<http://www.theblkprojek.org/our-story/>>). Established in 2009 by activist and mother of five Tanya Fields through the support of community-based organization ***Mothers on the Move***, TBP aims to strengthen the overall mental and public health of community members, creating viable pathways out of poverty while supporting local growers elevating the collective self esteem of the larger community (The BLK ProjeK, <<http://www.theblkprojek.org/our-story/>>; Andrew Leonard, Grist.org, April 24 2012) The organization implements culturally relevant education, beautification of public spaces, urban gardening and community programming to enrich "the lives of women who are routinely overlooked and overburdened yet serve an important and critical role in the larger fabric of society" (The BLK ProjeK, <<http://www.theblkprojek.org/our-story/>>). Fields passion for social justice and inclusive economic development is gauged from her perspective as a low-income single mother.

The BLK ProjeK engages the Bronx community through two-tiered programming called *Holistic Hoods* and *Healthy Hoods*. Holistic Hoods supports community building with Bronx Grub, a quarterly meal series that brings Bronx community residents together for a sustainable low-cost/free meal, serving as a vehicle for base-building and civic engagement (The BLK ProjeK, <<http://www.theblkprojek.org/our-story/>>). *Healthy Hoods* is initiated through The South Bronx Mobile Market, an itinerant market that moves through South Bronx neighborhoods selling responsibly grown, high quality food from local producers; and Libertad Urban Farm initiative, through gardening of public spaces and vacant lots.

4.2.2 *Soul Fire Farm*

Soul Fire Farm (SFF) is a Certified Natural Growing family farm serving as a community resource and vessel for education in dismantling oppressive structures that misguide the food system (Soul Fire Farm, <<http://www.soulfirefarm.com/>>). Founded by Leah Penniman and Jonah Vitale-Wolff and located in upstate New York outside of Albany, the farm is committed to raising "life-giving food and act in solidarity with people marginalized by food apartheid" (Soul Fire Farm, <<http://www.soulfirefarm.com/meet-the-farmers/>>). Penniman began her career in farming and food activism as a teen participant of The Food Project based in Boston, Massachusetts. The husband-wife duo met later in their careers, forming Youth GROW, a year round urban agriculture-focused youth development and employment program for low-income teens in Worcester, Massachusetts (REC Worcester, <<http://www.recworcester.org/#!/youth-grow/c1thu>>). In addition to SFF's activities as a functioning farm, the organization contributes to the movements for food sovereignty and community self-determination through education initiatives that include the Black and Latino Farmers Immersion program, Volunteering program opportunities, Farming

Apprenticeship, Youth programming, International Solidarity activities and Activist Retreats. With initiatives in Haiti, Ghana and Brazil, SFF is a part of an international community of small farmers connecting anti-oppression work with food system advocacy.

In 2014, Soul Fire Farm partnered with the Freedom Food Alliance supporting the Victory Bus Project³ with produce and providing a place to work and learn for young people enrolled in Project Growth – Albany County's new restorative justice program (Penniman, YesMagazine.org, Jan 28 2015). Youth convicted of theft would elect to take on an internship with SFF as an alternative to incarceration paying restitution to their victims while gaining farm skills. With a program curriculum that explores the connections between mass incarceration and food injustice, the youth are trained in farming and social justice.

4.2.3 *Drive Change*

Founded by Jordyn Leyton, a former high school English teacher at Riker Islands correctional facility in New York City, Drive Change is a social enterprise aiming to broaden opportunities for young people coming out of adult jail and prison through a fleet of locally sourced food trucks. With New York being one of only two states that prosecute 16 and 17-year-olds as adults – sending them to prison instead of juvenile detention – re-entry programming is key to supporting youth branded by the criminal justice system (Kamin, Huffington Post, March 20 2013). Formerly incarcerated youth are trained to handle the cooking and business affairs of Snowday, Drive Change's first food truck.

Drive Change embraces social enterprise model to lower recidivism rates for youth with evidence-based practices and holistic approaches in an effort to transform lives. The organization's re-entry program aims "to lower the recidivism rate for program graduates from 70% to 20%, and to place 100% of program graduates into full-time employment or educational opportunities" (Kamin, Huffington Post, March 20 2013). Roy Waterman is the Director of Program for Drive Change. A common fixture at the Snowday food truck, he serves as Mentor and Head Chef to the 24 young people employed and empowered per year. Waterman's background as a formerly incarcerated entrepreneur, owning his own Caribbean soul food catering company, is fundamental not only in providing experience based support to youth in the program but as an example of success in social justice and entrepreneurship.

4.2.4 *New York analysis*

Collectively, The BLK ProjeK, Soul Fire Farm and Drive Change serve a critical role in addressing systemic issues of poverty, hyper-incarceration, and community underdevelopment with food system interventions. Located in The South Bronx, upstate in Grafton, NY, and Manhattan respectively, each organization has acquired important gains within the specific microcosm of their region in New York. These three organizations are not necessarily partnered, in comparison to similar Boston-based organizations. The BLK Project is the personal mission of Tanya Fields, based on her experience as a Bronx community member receiving food stamps and not having the economic and geographical resources to access adequate food for her family. Fields was "saving my own life..."

³ Freedom Food Alliance was established by Jalal Sabur, black farmer and prison abolitionist, in 2009 as a collective of farmers, political prisoners, and organizers in upstate New York who are committed to incorporating food justice to address racism in the criminal justice system. One of the Freedom Food Alliance's central efforts is Victory Bus Project, a program that reunites incarcerated people with their loved ones while increasing access to farm-fresh food.

[because] I know what [the community goes] through. This resonates with me and I want to do something to help them, and to help me" (Leonard, Grist.org, April 24 2012). As an African American woman, Fields entered food advocacy with negative reception. She states, "if my name was Lauren and I was from Wesleyan, and I was living in Brooklyn, there would be people coming out of the woodwork to help me" (Leonard, Grist.org, April 24 2012).

Soul Fire Farm has gained a reputation as an incubator and healing space for anti-oppression activists and exploited members of society. The organization is unapologetically positioned within the space of Black Liberation with revolutionary rhetoric infused into farm training through food sovereignty. The farm's location in Grafton, NY is an important feature to create the tranquility and space needed to run a 6 acres farm – land availability is not an issue as it is for urban agriculturalist Tanya Fields. Although SFF serves the needs of the immediate Albany community⁴ and international partners, the farm's location separates the organization from the communities within the boroughs of New York City affected intensely by systemic oppression.

Drive Change is an important fixture in the social justice community in New York City. The organization has partnered with Black Lives Matter activist organizations geared at transforming the criminal justice sector. The mission of the organization is in direct alignment with the political push to "Raise the Age" in New York State, ending the practice of trying 16 and 17 year olds as adults. Although the farm-to-truck theme **does** address sustainability, the food truck's role does not directly speak to community food access issues. Drive Change is a supporter of food justice initiatives, but the organization's fundamental mission is to serve as a pragmatic re-entry program focused in breaking down barriers to create opportunities for formerly incarcerated teens.

5. Conclusion

As I am in the preliminary stages of this research project, I seem to have more questions than a firm conclusion. My focus on pragmatic Pan Africanism in community development and food system markets engage the importance of race, class, marginalization and autonomy in addressing the systemic underdevelopment of low income communities of color. Regarding my case study organizations: How are race, class, and gender dynamics addressed in organizational leadership and community engagement? How does the nonprofit industrial complex inhibit the creation of real change and autonomy for communities of color? Are there smaller community-food base social enterprise initiatives that are impactful but functioning under the radar?

The six organizations outlined have a profound impact on low income communities of African descent, but only three of the six organizations (Fresh Food Generation, BLK ProjeK, and Soul Fire Farm) are headed by African Americans – specifically women. These same three organizations also overtly engage with the historical and cultural aspects of Pan African communalism. But all six organizations function under an anti-oppression model of community building and engagement connecting with key themes of Revolutionary Intercommunalism and economic cooperativism. The three organizations founded and lead by white individuals are cross cultural, racial, class and gender with people of color and impacted communities members serving in important leadership positions (Board members, Managers and Directors).

⁴ Albany, 300,000 residents, 20 % black and Hispanic (14% and 6% respectively) 13.7% in Poverty , U.S. Census Bureau; generated by Lisa Betty; using Quick Facts; <<http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/INC110213/00,36001,36005,36061>>; (9 September 2015); Alice P. Green, "What Have We Done? Mass Incarceration and the Targeting of Albany's Black Males by Federal, State, and Local Authorities" (Albany, NY: The Center for Law and Justice, Inc., October 2012), Web. 9 Sept 2015 <<http://www.cflj.org/cflj/what-have-we-done.pdf>>

My engagement with the dynamics of race, class and gender will be important features of my analysis, but community engagement, impact and economic growth will also serve an integral role in my exploration of social enterprise and entrepreneurship from communities that have been "locked up and locked out" (Alexander, 2012,pp.260).

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MAKING FOOD VALUED OR THE VALUE(S) OF FOOD: A STUDY OF LOCAL FOOD GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS IN NEWCASTLE, ENGLAND

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Keywords: new institutionalism, food policy, discourse

Abstract: This paper charts some of the changes that have occurred within the city of Newcastle in northeast England regarding different actors perceptions and involvement with the potential creation of a holistic food policy for the city, between 2009 and 2015. The paper is informed by a range of qualitative data and adopts a new institutional approach, which focuses on the sociological and discursive institutionalisms, to help explore the evolution and constraints to the emergence of a food policy for the city.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

There has been an increasing trend towards the development of local/city/municipal based food policies and strategies in recent years, particularly but not exclusively in the global north, but which collectively has marked 'the rise of urban food planning' as a practice (Morgan, 2013, p.1379; 2015). Such strategic engagement reflects the increasing political awareness of food that has promoted a growth in partnership working and civil society collaboration (Bedore, 2014; Morgan, 2013, 2015). One reason behind this may be the 'convening power of food' (Morgan, 2009, p.343) which given the multi-functional character of the food system and its potential to intersect with a range of policy and communal interests facilitates their possible coming together, and which stretch beyond the traditional and often mandatory scope of local/municipal government actors such as public health to consider wider economic, social and ecological benefits from these connections (Wiskerke, 2009; Morgan, 2015). Although the motivations from local government have been questioned amidst austerity capitalism and pressures placed on local civil society actors responsiveness to overcome or relieve social problems while not impacting on economic growth or other policy agendas and imperatives (Mansfield and Mendes, 2013; Bedore, 2014). However, what is emerging is a growing wealth of detailed engagement with food policy, and the institutional arrangements associated with this, although with the exception of Halliday (2015) and her explicit application of new institutional analysis in studying five English initiatives, the institutional arrangements in the process of a policy's possible creation and implementation are rarely expressly considered.

1.2 Aim

This paper's aim is to offer an exploratory consideration of emerging food policy related initiatives in the city of Newcastle in northeast England, focusing particularly on the changing institutional involvement with food by different actors revealed through a discursive institutionalist perspective.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 *New Institutionalism and the role of discourse*

Institutions are about and reflect process. The body of literatures referred to as 'new institutionalism' emerged in the 1980s and recognized the importance of values, norms, rules, practices and structures and how these become internalised and institutionalised in everyday practice. Such institutions affected both daily life and individual and organisational behaviour, primarily with respect to political and policy situations and the distribution of power within these. There is no one singular approach but rather a body of work from social and political sciences that together has contributed to the development of what has often been referred to as new institutionalisms (Hall and Taylor, 1996; see also March and Olsen, 1984; 1989; 2006; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991a; Lowndes, 1996; 2002; Blondel, 2006). Three core strands of new institutionalism have been identified: rational choice, historical and sociological (Hall and Taylor, 1996). Rational choice approaches argue that actors respond to exogenous imperatives (whether crisis or some form of dilemma) by making strategic decisions motivated by self interest that pursue goals of utility maximisation and the institutions created are a reflection of this, whereas historical institutionalism suggests that actors will reflect on past behaviours and how these are interpreted will be used to inform future expectations and as such institutions develop and follow a routinized or path dependent trajectory within their specific setting (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Steele, 2011). Sociological institutionalism is concerned with how an individual's or organisation's behaviour is structured and defined as appropriate by social and cultural norms. Sociological institutionalism works with the idea that institutions occur by the internalisation and taken for grantedness of norms and practices, but as these are informed by cultural frames of reference and values they reflect a more practical and subjective reasoning than the other institutional strands (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Vigar et al., 2000; Steele, 2011). A process informed by social relations may reproduce or reinterpret the diversity of signs, symbols, discourses and framings with respect to wider economic relations and civil society hints at the possibility of continual institutional evolution (Hall and Taylor, 1996; Vigar et al., 2000; Steele, 2011). In turn through greater consideration of the creation, maintenance and possible change to institutions has led to an exploration of its impact on actor's behaviours and influence local governance arrangements and practices, including planning (Lowndes, 2001; Cars et al., 2002; Davies, 2004; González and Healey, 2005; Fuller, 2010).

New institutionalist approaches have been criticised for their apparent propensity for constraining behaviour and static situations rather than offer a capacity to initiate, encourage or explore change (Lowndes, 1996; 2002). For example within historical institutionalism there has been a tendency to focus on ideas within an existing policy area rather than how it may change especially with respect to different external ideas (Fuller, 2010). However, within sociological institutionalist approaches, institutions are recognised as embedded processes that are socially constituted and socially constructed. This recognition has enabled the 'rules of the game' to be subjected to wider scrutiny through specifically considering how social and cultural relations inform and shape the identities, expectations, interests and behaviour of individual actors within and outwith formal institutional settings. One such way has been through a focus on discourse and incorporating discourse analysis into sociological institutionalism and its focus on the 'meaning structures and constructs' of institutions (Schmidt, 2010, p.5). A distinctive policy discourse analysis drawing from sociological institutionalism has also been taken forward by Vigar et al., (2000) which focused specifically on the social relations that underpin the production and use of discourses as a frame of reference within specific policy settings to help identify how policies and other ideas are articulated, defined and

positioned recognising the possible impacts of the discursive practice for power relations and wider context specific consequences.

Schmidt (2008, 2010) has through her development of 'discursive institutionalism', and its potential to capture endogenous change and continuity, argues for it to be seen as an additional strand of new institutionalism that complements and bridges the other three approaches:

'The 'institutionalism' in discursive institutionalism suggests that this approach is not only about the communication of ideas or 'text' but also about the institutional context in which and through which ideas are communicated via discourse. The institutions of discursive institutionalism, however, are not the external rule-following structures of the three older institutionalisms that serve primarily as constraints on actors, whether as rationalist incentives, historical paths, or cultural frames. They are instead simultaneously constraining structures and enabling constructs of meaning which are internal to 'sentient' (thinking and speaking) agents whose 'background ideational abilities' explain how they create and maintain institutions at the same time that their 'foreground discursive abilities' enable them to communicate critically about those institutions to change (or maintain) them' (Schmidt, 2010, p.4).

In this paper I follow a new institutionalist approach that focuses particularly on sociological institutionalism and subsequent authors emphasis on discourse. This recognises that competing ideas and identities are commonplace as not everyone accepts the same rules or shares the same understanding. The discursive approach also enables the issue of power and position to be critically incorporated into analyses of change. Rather than equating power with position, discursive institutionalism recognises that powerful discourses may be also owned and presented by those deemed to be in the least powerful positions. Indeed 'institutions are simultaneously structures and constructs internal to the agents themselves' (Schmidt, 2008, p.322). By following a discursive approach tensions and conflict between institutions can also be more fully explored and addresses a further criticism of new institutionalism (Vigar et al., 2000; March and Olsen, 2006; Torfing, 2001).

As discourses are 'embedded in institutional practices' that guide and pattern behaviour (Hajer and Laws, 2006; p.261), this approach enables the 'how' engagement with food and the idea of a food policy has emerged with regard to the nuances of local actors and the local policy and political context of the city of Newcastle. As the focus is on an emerging food policy in the city it is useful to consider from a new institutional perspective the possibility of path dependent or path shaping responses to the advent of the idea of a food policy for the city.

2.2 Path dependent or path shaping?

Different actors responses are to the appearance of a new issue, event, problem or even new actor have a tendency to adopt one of two approaches: *path dependency* or *path shaping* behaviours (Torfing, 2001; Davies, 2004). As previously noted path dependency is commonly associated with historical institutionalism based on the premise that the extent of past investments and interests will pre-dispose and structure the individual to follow previous behaviour, and so the trajectory that they follow in their daily practice is based on a logic that is contextualised and dependent on past paths (Davies, 2004). Therefore, existing practices and norms become internal and informal constraints on current and future behaviour. Although it is possible that external actors may directly influence path dependent decisions by holding funding, assigning roles and responsibilities (Davies, 2004).

However, from a more sociological and discursive institutionalist perspective the actor's own discourses within which they construct and present any potential change are important. Torfing (2001, p.288) notes that policy paths possess:

'a certain elasticity; in most cases it can account for, and cope with, new and unintended events by means of mobilizing its discursive resources, stretching its interpretative schemes, and modifying its rule governed practices. However, the structured coherence of the policy path also imposes a limit to this elasticity.'

Once the limit of the discursive strategy is reached established rules, norms and practices start failing to provide a structure that can absorb the new issue/event/problem/etc. This changes the possible path taken from one of dependency to shaping; as an opportunity for change emerges through the discursive resolution of possible tensions and conflicts. But, elements of past practices may be incorporated into new responses, resulting in no clear or radical break in behaviours and something more akin to an evolutionary process occurs (Torfing, 2001). Consequently, a discursive perspective can help explore the possible path junctures in participants' discourse and practice as they negotiate food as a new political and policy issue around which a multiplicity of actors and interests are organised and the possible impacts on local institutional and governance arrangements.

3. Methodology

The original empirical data informing this paper draws from a range of sources, these include; interviews with key actors, observations from attending public meetings and publicly available documents, all generated between 2009-2015. Initial interviews conducted during 2009/10 when analysed highlighted varied involvement with local governance arrangements (local policy and/or policymakers and/or service delivery) concerning food issues at a time of political and economic uncertainty (expecting a change in national and potentially local government and still recoiling from the 2008 economic crisis). Since June 2013 through various events and organisational and political developments a food charter has been created for the city and the city is one of the six lead cities for the Sustainable Food Cities network running in the UK, although as yet the city does not have a published discrete food policy. Further interviews were conducted in 2015 with key actors concerning the changes occurring with respect to food policy developments and the institutional landscape.

The analysis presented in the following section emphasises the discursive logics identified following a sociological and discursive institutionalist approach.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Food as a discursive fix

During the 2009-10 phase of research many of the participants reflected on the growth of food as an issue and how it was becoming a feature of the governance landscape. It was generally commented on that there was a background but disconnected central government influence to the growth of what one participant termed the "food agenda" (grower/consumer organisation, 2010); the same participant dismissed central government food strategy with the comment "why have we bothered waiting" and viewed that policy had not caught up with personal politics. [This comment relates to the publication in early 2010 of the UK Government's Food Strategy (Defra, 2010). This strategy

offered no incentive for local level cross-cutting food policy, and following a change of Government in May 2010 was no longer followed.] The underpinning central influence on the food agenda was deemed by participants not to occur through the then UK Government's food strategy (as many were not aware of its development or publication) but through a pre-existing set of national indicators (begun 2004) around which local government with a range of local strategic partners together attempted to deliver common goals for the area based on local priorities chosen from the national indicator set and subsequently agreed with central government (Local Area Agreements), upon which future central funding was tied. This meant that competing background central government policy discourses (such as health inequality reduction to tackling climate change) and their translation into practice through the indicators and area agreements (some of the organisations were involved in such partnerships) was seen as the main influence on food governance arrangements. This also meant that without a dominant or coherent central government policy discourse on food to influence local government actors, participants tended to ascribe power and control in food policy related developments to local government/agency actors, as the following extracts show:

"I think it goes in phases, there was a period in the 80s where everybody had a food policy, because that was all to do with heart disease reduction. And now everybody's got a food policy because it's all to do with climate change. It comes, it goes, and yes, one of the ways that we would sell it to anybody who was interested is to say, yes, doing food will help you tick all these boxes that you have to tick." (National advocacy organisation participant, 2009)

"Well, the National Indicators are about outputs, so they are about changing specific things, obesity in children, independence in older adults, and they're nothing about food ... but those indicators, for loads of them, you could say: 'Oh, you could do something about food for that' ... And I think the clever councils have worked out that food is a cross-council thing, and if they use food as a theme, they can drive an awful lot of work. ... what's in and what's out simply depends on what that council is interested in and there is no guidance anywhere, that says, if you're going to do a food strategy across your council, you have to include X, Y and Z, so they can put in what they want. And to be honest, that's the idea, it's local, it's what's important to you and your electorate and your communities and if they've told you that these are the five things in your food strategy that should be the most important things, then that's what you have in, so they are going to be different." (national quasi-public sector actor promoting food strategy initiatives, 2009)

One reading could construct food as a discursive fix to appease a number of different tensions and pressures from different sources at the local level. This could account for the growth in food strategies and local governance arrangements that were then being seen with some local government actors potentially using a discursive fix and mobilising their discursive resources to engender change and/or find an alternative route to delivering and steering behaviour. Such arrangements may be a radical change from previous practice but they are undertaken within the confines of expected and permitted practice (appropriate behaviours) by central as well as local policy actors. It may be within the context of, and active utilisation of, existing and dominant policy discourses relating to child obesity, community cohesion, climate change, etc., that emerging practices were being negotiated and are evolving into an overarching food discourse that is being reflected in more formalised food governance arrangements (such as cross-cutting strategies and partnerships).

However, the above account relates to national perspectives on food policy and strategies. Based on the participants accounts there was little evidence to suggest that local authorities or agencies within Newcastle had reached the point of discursive stretch, and were working along traditional parameters and activities. Some networks and partnership arrangements were found regarding food but often related to sectoral policy arrangements (i.e. focused on obesity and linking across public health teams and third sector organisations working on health issues and delivering particular services). Indeed, the possibility of an overarching food policy or a food discourse leading to changing practice was directly dismissed by some participants. For example, one growing/consumer organisation representative was dubious of food policy arrangements and particularly at local level, commenting:

"...The local authority's not, food's not its agenda. School meals, public health, you know, it's so bitty. So when you drill down you can't get a kind of coherence. And there's some local authorities have had a bash at it but again, there's so many partners, so many potential partners involved, we end up with another bland statement."

Continuing:

"... maybe we're trying to force a coherence that is probably not going to work at that sort of level, ... my experience is as much to do with a political buy-in, political with a big and small p, and all these policies are only good if there's buy in to them, as opposed to an exercise in, you know, ticking a box, which I suspect that some local authorities get involved in. I mean you'd think somewhere like Newcastle, for instance, having such high environmental credentials, sustainability credentials, might have a go at this sort of thing, but I've no recollection of Newcastle doing anything on the food side. It's been talked about, but not really addressed. So if there's not a coherence of local authorities trying it, then it's not a policy priority."

The participant is also hinting at the growth of food strategies and food governance arrangements being a form of mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991b); where actors, particularly in times of uncertainty begin to model themselves on others, with a local food policy or strategy becoming a 'tick box' exercise.

4.2 External values and expectations

The timing of the first interviews coincided with a grant making scheme that promoted a range of food activities, this national charitable funding programme's existence began to reveal tensions between local actors involved in food-based actions at this time. This particularly highlighted the differences and distrust between those organisations who had been active for a lengthy period in the city and those newly responding to the food issues. For example:

"... I just don't know where the food agenda's going to go, because there's a hell of a lot of people getting in on it ... I mean, we've been doing it [food] for thirty years, because that's what [organisation name] is, that's what we do. But there are other organisations who are kind of getting involved in it and you think: "Is it mission drift, or is it a genuine desire to engage in this particular agenda?" Only time will tell." (grower/consumer organisation participant, 2010)

"Jumping on the bandwagon, because they're not, you know food isn't part of their remit at all but funding for food is ..." (producer/consumer organisation participant, 2010)

During interview with a representative of the funding programme (administered by one national charity, working in connection with another four with diverse interests) it became apparent that such external stimulus was focused on the development of local level food policy. The funding representative (interviewed 2009) commented:

"if it's not community-led then we don't fund it ... so we really don't want a sort of top-down approach at all ... That being said, we do want projects to be connected to the places that they're working in. So on our form, we do ask if they have a contact at the local council and that kind of stuff to make sure that are sort of not just working in isolation ..."

Continuing later:

"... there's another section in the application form that asks how a project will complement or contribute to any local, regional or national strategy and that sort of section you find out about all these different things that areas are doing ... there are all kinds of local strategies and action plans ... an allotment action plan ... but some of them are very local and some of them are wider than that, but they do all have to evidence how they are connected to, or at least be aware of and tie in with some of the local strategies ... but we're trying to encourage it to happen if it's not already happening."

This funding programme provided an opportunity for organisations to continue and develop their activities. However, the application process exerted a pressure on all applicants to engage with local policy actors and promoted the idea of local level food-related strategies. This reflects the practice of coercive isomorphism, through pressure and expectation placed on applicants to engage with local policy (although as to what the extent of this engagement was/expected to be was not discussed) and which also holds elements of mimetic isomorphism through trying to create standard approaches for ease of evaluation purposes (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991b).

This latter aspect is important if we jump forward to 2015 and the existence of a food charter for Newcastle and its membership through the organisation Food Newcastle, and its funding by the Sustainable Food Cities Network (SFCN is itself funded by a major charitable donor, and administered through three leading food campaign organisations). The SFCN aims to inspire 50 cities in the UK to develop sustainable food initiatives (see Morgan, 2015). A representative of Food Newcastle (interview 2015) commented how their relationship with SFCN was somewhat "vague" and while there were no prescriptions regarding their activities they had "funding obligations to campaign on key issues" that were promoted by SFCN. In turn, cities (or rather member organisations) were encouraged to apply for awards from SCFN to externally validate their activities and show the extent of partnership working and local level change and actions achieved on key factors. Newcastle had been awarded a Bronze Sustainable Food City award in recognition of the work happening across a range of food and health related areas, and Food Newcastle was considering when to submit another award application in the hope of achieving a higher level award. The rationale from Food Newcastle's representative being while recognising the evaluation element it also provided a useful "engagement tool" and means of communication so that they could show to those involved in the initiative and those beyond "the work taking place" in the city by the organisation and around food.

4.3 *Uncertainty about the policy process*

Traditionally the linkage between local level policy actions and food have focused on public health outcomes (see above extracts). This historical way of working and lead policy area informed participants actions both in 2009 and 2015, with the local public health authority funding both the

Healthy City initiative (part of the World Health Organisation's network) and more latterly Food Newcastle, funded jointly with SCFN.

However, there was a shift overtime regarding what was deemed possible regarding a food policy over the time period studied. The issue of what was within local public sector actors control dominated participants' constructions during 2009-10 of what was possible through local action (see Hadjimichalis and Hudson, 2007), and as such local government powers, rules and practices were seen as both a constraint on, and opportunity for, action (at least within the known regulatory environment), but also a key site which organisations and groups had to independently attempt to link into. This is illustrated over the following extracts:

"... we don't shout loud enough to the right people about what we're doing. So it gets up to a certain level, but it's getting higher than that level into the sort of strategic and policy sort of areas, that's where we fall down. So we're trying to address that now ... But in the longer term, our aim is to get much more embedded into where we fit into the policy, or make a policy become written to fit into with what we're doing, if you like ... Often these people who are writing policies haven't a clue about what's been going on on the ground. And it's frightening. And they all say: "What a great idea!"
...But to some extent we have sort of tenuous links with a few people, but we want really, to be seen to be the vehicle for a lot of food access projects to happen...'

Continuing:

'We've always had loose connections with PCTs [Primary Care Trusts] across the region ... The longer term hope is that we would get service level agreements with PCTs to actually deliver work that we actually want to do, but within their particular areas ... it's just getting that sort of message known to the policymakers. I mean I don't know enough about policy people to be honest to be sort of definite. I don't know how it works, it's a sort of black magic, isn't it?' (social enterprise, 2009)

However, by 2015 this 'black magic' and uncertainty still reflected the challenge to food related policy however by this latter date through the emergence of a food charter and the range of organisations signed up to it and the activities of Food Newcastle the power relations and momentum for change had subtly shifted, yet ultimate control of the food policy agenda was deemed to lay with the local city authority. This is perhaps best illustrated by an open Council meeting held in the city on sustainable and affordable food in June 2014 (Newcastle City Council, 2014) however while clearly subscribing to the values of the Charter there was no publicly evident change in the approaches to food policy from the Council following the meeting.

The position relayed by an actor within Food Newcastle was that: "there was no rhyme or reason about how a [policy] decision is made" and "who makes policy is unclear". Thus, while they recognised the local authority "as crucial partners to this work" they were "via Cabinet trying to develop a formal relationship between Food Newcastle and the Council" this needed someone on the Council to take the lead, as to date they had been highly dependent on "the integral support of [a few] Councillors" to help take forward the food charter's objectives and specific initiatives. However, not all Councillors were aware of their existence and aims. The organisation was also alert to the fact that they had been supported by consecutive Directors of Public Health but that they were aware of "the tensions in relationships between Council departments" that they were working with. Even

though their funding "had not been prescriptive in generating public health outcomes" there was a greater awareness of the "multifunctional nature of health" as much as food as a facilitator of health outcomes by respective Directors. Moreover, the participant reflected a strong level of frustration that they were not able to feed into key debates or approached as consultees, even though they were in discussion with the Council on different issues. This reaffirms the political nature of food policy development and the challenge of working within pre-existing remits and structures.

4.4 Communication

Throughout Food Newcastle's documents it was stated that they were "a voice for food". The importance of "being a credible, recognised voice" was constantly reiterated throughout interview with the organisation's representative and in public meetings and documents. While stating that they "had a long way to go" to achieve this the participant reflected that "they needed to have buy in" and credibility to have trust placed in them, but to achieve this they were in constant "two way conversations" with a range of actors, the problem being how much attention to give to one issue could mean "letting something else slide" and in turn disengaging possible partners and individuals if they were to attempt to "support all those voices". The publication of Newcastle's Food Charter was a "public declaration" of what a food policy looks like. However, Newcastle "still haven't got the Council taking a strategic approach to food policy so [we] can't feed in". Thus once, again there is the issue of finding the right arena or space within which to voice the aspiration of a food policy, but also to change the perceived institutional structures and boundaries as a participant from Food Newcastle stated that it was difficult because the actors they were trying reach perceived that "responsibility lies elsewhere" and so they had to become "more vocal". This issue being that while they needed 'top-down' support they also required additional support and demands to be made by the general public to help "bring it [food policy] up the agenda".

The most recent development at the time of writing was in July 2015 the recommendation by the Director of Public Health for Newcastle to "Develop an effective full city food policy" (DPH, 2015, p.38) and that the "city as a whole needs to have a more coherent approach to food and healthy eating, particularly for the most vulnerable" (ibid, p.37). Hence, while the idea of a food policy has been raised and the recommendation subsequently adopted, it remains embedded within public health and particularly obesity and healthy eating concerns and associated discourses, even though local sourcing and procurement were considered alongside this primarily for hospital food. The Council's Wellbeing for life Board in relation to the Director of Public Health's recommendations had "Discussed the recommendations, nothing that they had now been adopted by city council as part of its approach to wellbeing and public health improvement in the city" (Newcastle City Council, 2015). Consequently, there remains a constraint on the potential discursive stretch (Torfing, 2001) and broader linkages that may be needed to initiate change and creation of a food policy for the city, that reaches beyond public health areas.

5. Conclusions

The paper and its exploratory focus on activities by actors within the city of Newcastle has identified the following points of interest:

1. The role of external actors (e.g. funding, government targets, SCFN network, evaluation mechanisms) in stimulating local food-related policy initiatives, even through the external

- actors may change over time the appropriateness and awareness of food may be more continuous than at first appears.
2. The past paths and linkages to existing policy areas and associated support (i.e. public health) appear to be initial facilitators of food policy debates within existing policymaking structures but also potentially act to constrain the frames of reference through their association with other more powerful discourses of obesity and the associated actions food-based policy measures. This may be a further reproduction of the taken for grantedness and internalised discourses of food and policy issues and arenas associated it.
 3. A discourse of food policy and its associated breadth has not yet stretched the existing health related discourses to generate further change, but this may be part of a gradual as opposed to radical evolution of food policy in this particular urban context which may act as a basis for further change.
 4. This may reflect the logic of appropriateness as well as path dependency associated with sociological and historical new institutionalism. However, the use and associated practices of discourses can offer a means of investigating the possible change and evolution of policy developments.

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CREATING SPACE FOR URBAN FARMING: THE ROLE OF THE PLANNING PROFESSIONAL

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Abstract: Urban farming projects often involve the (temporarily) redevelopment of urban space by local co-productions of citizens and/or entrepreneurs. To realize their ambitions these coalitions often need support of public (government) resources such as time, money, space and regulation (Green Deal Stadslandbouw, 2013). This paper asks the question to what extent the development of urban farming projects can be understood as an example of planning through direct citizen participation/participatory governance (e.g. Cornwall, 2004; Roberts, 2004) and what this means for the role of the municipal planning professional or civil servant in making these projects successful.

Literature on the role of the municipal planner or civil servant in urban farming projects mainly concerns the role as enabler of projects given the many difficulties for projects. However, when looked at the development of urban farming as an example of citizen participation/participatory governance and the transfer of social functions towards society other roles and tasks of planners seem to be important to make urban farming successful. This discussion paper looks to the role of planners and civil servants in some related government domains such as landscape (e.g. Van Dam et al. 2008, 2010, 2011) and neighbourhood development (e.g. Frieling et al., 2014) to complement our understanding of the role of planners in making urban farming projects successful. With this analysis the paper sets the scene for further research into tools for the planning professional or civil servant to support urban farming. In the paper the situation in Amsterdam serves as an example.

1. Introduction: urban farming and bottom-up planning

In 2014 a successful fruit-grower in a Dutch agricultural area, moved to a plot belonging to the municipality of Amsterdam. There he started a new business-concept: ecological growing of fruits for consumers to harvest them on location. First the idea for this business grew in his mind, then he turned to different municipalities to find a location for his business. This wasn't an easy search but in the end Amsterdam could offer the best possibility. Summer 2015 his 'harvest-garden' is open to the public. Bare land has been developed into a garden full of fruits. On top of that, the garden 'employs' several disabled and mentally ill people as a social service. As the owner says: he doesn't expect them to really add to the productivity of the garden but wants to give something back to society with his garden. To realize his ambitions, help of the municipality has been very important. Being a fruit farmer and a chicken farmer and a health care provider and a catering facility in the same time make things complicated regulations- and authorizations-wise. The ambition to also have lodges on the farm where researchers in biology or entomology or other fields could stay for field work, even make things worse. Ideas simply do not fit into existing plans and regulations. Luckily enough the Amsterdam municipality helped him out with many issues popping-up in the process of realizing his ambitions.

In the centre of Amsterdam, close to Amsterdam RAI convention centre, a chicken-farm operates. 200 chickens are kept ecologically. Their faeces are used to fertilize community gardens next to the chicken farm. Before the economic crises in 2006, a chicken farm and community gardens were the

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latest thing to think about as use for this excellent location. The start of the building of a musical theatre was planned for the end of that year (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2006). But things turned different. Several years later, a movement of citizens, entrepreneurs and civil servants that worked on sustainable energy since 2010 ('Wij krijgen kippen'(we will get chickens)), looked for a place to keep chickens and produce sustainable energy. Together with the municipal department that develops the office location to the south of Amsterdam (Zuidas) they found this place near the RAI Station. In 2014 the chicken farm Minirondeel started its business and got a license to operate for two years (Minirondeel, 2015). Today, this license has been expanded in anticipation of further development of the area.

The two examples above show the importance of ideas of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial citizens for the development of urban farming. The examples also show urban farming competes with other uses of space. Lastly, the examples show the importance of government: both needed the help of the municipality to realize their ambitions. Urban farming has gained more and more attention from governments as they are seen as important for the strategic issue of quality of life in the city (green, health, clean air), liveability of neighbourhoods (integration, participation) and often perform social services (e.g. day care for mentally ill and disabled). For example, the municipality of Amsterdam sees urban farming projects as a means to achieve goals with respect to re-integration into society, social goals, educational goals, awareness with respect to food and issues of health and sustainability, and attractiveness of the city (DRO 2014, pp. 11-12).

Given the goals municipalities have with urban farming projects, it is important that projects take place at all. The difficulties urban farming projects find on their way has gained much attention from urban farming researchers. These are for example: finding a way through rules and regulations and getting cooperation of local authorities, for example to find a site for the project (e.g. Green Deal Stadslandbouw i.o., 2013, Miazzo & Minkjan, 2013). Other hurdles mentioned for urban farming projects in particular are (idem) to:

- obtain enough funding (subsidies, gifts);
- obtain enough knowledge (growing techniques; marketing; sales; finance; legal) (especially unlock local available knowledge);
- get the project within regulations;
- find sites for development of urban farming;
- get enough scale;
- diversify to strengthen the project (as most urban farms draw on various sources of revenue (Denckla, 2013);
- be able to make a business case and to be able to achieve funding;
- develop entrepreneurship;
- to find enough volunteers.

Many municipalities and planners seem to be aware of the role they can play in enabling projects and share their experiences with this (for example Miazzo & Minkjan, 2013; URBACT/Sustainable Food in Urban Communities, 2015). However, some more roles for urban planners in making urban farming projects successful seem to be of relevance. We can become aware of these roles when we see how urban farming projects represent two important characteristics of contemporary planning and policy in the Netherlands and Europe.

A first characteristic of contemporary planning visible in urban farming projects is the movement towards citizen and private initiative for the delivery of welfare state services. The last decade – in reaction to the crisis of the welfare state – has shown this turn in planning and policy away from *big government*. Started in the UK with the Blair government, it has had impact in other countries such as The Netherlands (Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur, 2012; Van Zuydam et al., 2013). More and more governments expect citizens to take greater responsibilities for wellbeing and social services previously organized by the state, such as care for elderly, sick, and disabled people and for neighbourhood development (Aarts & During, 2006; Hurenkamp et al., 2006) .

The second characteristic of contemporary planning which is relevant to the planning of urban farming is the importance of *direct citizen participation* that grew in the second part of the 20th century (Roberts 2004). It is part of a turn to local communities as units of planning and action (Chaskin, 2003) to, as Taylor (2007, p. 299) describes "improve public services and to re-engage citizens with the institutions of government". Direct citizen participation in planning can take many forms but has one thing in common: it is a form of planning in which citizens participate more directly than through the voice of elected representatives. As such, it can be understood as a form of *deliberative governance* (e.g. Van de Wijdeven and Hendriks, 2010) which following Metze (2010) '*promises at least two democratic improvements: first, reflectivity in individuals, conversations and decision making for more informed and supported decision making, and then, more credible decision making*' (Metze, 2010, p. 20). This is part of the shift from government to governance (De Wilde et al., 2014). Thus, planning for urban farming seems to fall in two planning debates: a turn to society for delivering services that have previously been organized by the state, and direct citizen participation in planning.

Taking the situation in Amsterdam as an example, this paper explores what role planners have in urban farming projects looked at it from the viewpoint of the turn to citizen and private initiatives and direct citizen participation in planning. As such it supplements what already is written on the role of planners in (case study) literature on urban farming projects. The paper should be read as a discussion paper. It is a first attempt to bring the issue of urban farming within the discourse of direct citizen participation and citizen initiative. The last section the paper discusses the relevance of bringing urban farming into this discourse and proposes a way forward to use the insights developed in the paper for the development of tools for planners to better enable urban farming.

2. Direct citizen participation in urban farming

Participation democracy can take different forms and levels of activity of citizens. Roberts (2004, p. 320) describes citizen participation as "*the process by which members of a society (those not holding office or administrative positions in government) share power with public officials in making substantive decisions and in taking actions related to the community.*" She calls it direct participation "*when citizens are personally involved and actively engaged*" in the decision process and indirect participation "*when citizens elect others to represent them in the decision process*". Van Dam et al. (2011, p. 17) give an overview of different classifications of the role of citizens in planning and policy and pay special attention to the classification of Pröpper and Steenbeek (1999) in which six levels of participation of citizens are recognized (see table 1).

Table 1. Levels of citizen involvement in policy making

Level	Role of citizen
6	Initiator
5	Cooperation partner
4	Co-decision-maker
3	Advisor
2	Consulted person
1	Target group for research or information
0	No role

Source: Van Dam, Salverda and During, 2011, p. 17, translation my own. This classification adds categories to that of Roberts (2004): direct participation seems to be levels 4-6, levels 1-3 seem not to be part of Roberts' definition, and indirect participation of Roberts is not in the Pröpper and Steenbeek classification. Cornwall (2004) makes a distinction between *invited* spaces and *popular* spaces. At the highest level of participation, citizens take the initiative for developments and, by doing that, create a popular space or arena for action. However, a citizen can also be the initiator of a project in response to an invitation of government. When government is in the lead, Cornwall (2004) speaks of invited space. Besides an invitation to start an initiative in a specific domain or for a specific plot of land, government can also invite citizens to be a cooperation partner, co-decision-maker, or advisor in a policy arena. When citizens only get a role as co-decision-maker, advisor or consulted person, the role of the citizen becomes quite passive and seems to fit better in the description of Frieling et al. (2014, p. 38) of participatory planning in which "*residents are involved merely as clients and consumers rather than coproducers of neighborhood liveability*". Frieling et al. (2014, p. 38) mention that in this form, participatory planning does not increase residents' own initiative. As a target group for research or information the role of the citizen is even more passive.

When we take Amsterdam as an example, urban farming projects seem to fit mostly in levels 5 and 6 of Pröpper and Steenbeek as these are mainly private or citizen initiated projects. Furthermore, projects in Amsterdam take place in invited as well as popular spaces. Map 1 shows professional urban farms in Amsterdam. All of these farms are initiated by entrepreneurs. Most of them have a social function besides the production of food. Map 2 shows volunteer-driven urban vegetable gardens in Amsterdam. Here we see five categories of initiators: citizens; professional non-profit developers of urban vegetable projects; welfare organizations; housing corporations; neighbourhood foundations, and, sometimes, the municipality. For 69 of the 120 projects shown on maps 1 and 2 it was easy to find out through an internet search who initiated the project. It turned out that entrepreneurs, foundations and associations, and citizens are responsible for 56 of these projects. In 9 of these projects housing corporations or a community development organization is involved. Thus, the municipality of Amsterdam, to reach its strategic goals with respect to urban farming (not including school gardens) almost entirely depends on citizen and private initiative. Given the fact that citizen and private initiative is so important for urban farming, it seems to be of relevance to understand the role planners play in citizen initiatives like these.



Map 1: Professional urban farms in Amsterdam, source: <http://maps.amsterdam.nl/stadslandbouw/>, viewed July 17th 2015



Map 2: Volunteer-driven urban vegetable gardens in Amsterdam (existing and in development, not including school gardens), source: <http://maps.amsterdam.nl/stadslandbouw/>, viewed July 17th 2015

3. The roles of planners in direct citizen participation

3.1 Roles of planners

What role then do planners have in direct citizen participation? As mentioned earlier, literature on urban farming has much to say about what urban farming initiatives need to enable them to develop. Proposed actions in this literature to be taken by cities or planners are: help with regulations (remove restrictions and obstacles) (Vermeulen, 2013; Denckla 2013), encouragements to enrich initiatives towards multi-purpose solutions and economy of scope when possible (Vermeulen, 2013), help to generate cross-fertilization between projects (Vermeulen, 2013); make available land for projects, eventually to reduced land prices (Vermeulen, 2013; Denckla, 2013) but also to map which plots are potentially interesting for urban farming (De Graaf, 2013), to help city farms with reduced taxes (Denckla, 2013).

Looked at urban farming as an example of citizen initiatives yet other roles become important. Summarizing literature on direct citizen participation Roberts (2004, pp. 326-327) describes six dilemmas of direct citizen participation which I paraphrase here:

1. Dilemma of size: how can numerous groups and individuals participate in direct democracy? How to organize deliberations?
2. Dilemma of excluded or oppressed groups: how to include all groups in deliberations and who will speak for future generations?
3. Dilemma of risk: how to be able to make decisions about risky affairs by including all people exposed to these risks but at the same time still enable decisions to be made.
4. Dilemma of technology or expertise: how to make the voice of citizens as strong as the voices of administrative and technical elites who have much more knowledge?
5. Dilemma of time and crisis: how to be able to make quick decisions (as sometimes needed) through direct citizen participation?
6. Dilemma of the common good: how to realize thoughtful deliberations that make people think more seriously and fully about public issues?

From these dilemmas I distil two roles for planners or civil servants to make direct citizen participation for urban farming work. They are related to points 1, 2, 4, and 6. Points 3 and 5 do not seem of much relevance for urban farming projects².

3.2 Planners role to engage citizens and include voices: choir director

This role of planners is related to the first two dilemmas. If direct citizen participation is seen as a (new) form of democracy, an important question is whether or not everyone's voice is heard in the process of planning and development. This issue is often raised in literature on direct citizen

² Although point 3 might be of relevance in a discussion on high-tech and large scale urban farming in agro-parks. See Metze & Van Zuydam (2013) for a discussion on the different framings of agro-parks (which they call a boundary concept) in deliberations on these parks. Facilitators and governmental actors have a role to invite participants to "reflect on conflicting frames and engage in reflective governance" (p. 1) with respect to these parks as to enable participants to cross their conflicting and taken for granted views on these parks (of which seeing them as harmful because of all kinds of emissions and the large inputs needed is one which seem to relate to the dilemma of risk) and bridge those. This role is to a large extent in line with the roles of planners that are discussed in this paper but Metze & Van Zuydam add to this the insight that *boundary concepts* can be used as a tool in such a discussion.

participation (e.g. Aarts and Duing, 2006; Chaskin et al., 2012; Frieling et al., 2014; Gaventa, 2003; Roberts, 2004). It is a matter of technically being able to facilitate deliberations with a large amount of people but also of getting people involved (motivate and empower people to be involved) and keep them involved. The latter two have an important relation to trust. A communicative approach to planning might fail to include all voices when actors do not trust the new planning instrument, for example because they feel it does not serve their interests or that it is not trustworthy because in the end, government will take over the initiative (see Levelt & Metze, 2014, p. 2373 for a discussion of this argument of non-participation at the regional policy level). Also Frieling et al. (2014, p 39) point to the fact that coproduction "requires some form of initial motivation among individuals to invest in the participatory process".

Planners have an important role to play in making citizen initiatives trustworthy. Planners should be cautious with bringing their own (policy) agenda's into citizen initiatives. They first and foremost should listen to what initiatives have to offer and what they ask from government (Salverda et al., 2014). This is in line with observations made on engagement of actors at the regional level where the 'shadow of hierarchy' can make or break the ability to become credible and successful as a governance network (Levelt & Metze, 2014).

For planners who create an 'invited space' for urban farming or other projects, these insights mean they have to be aware of the difficulty to get people involved especially when they have limited room for manoeuvre to offer to the public. Thus, planners have to open the invited space as much as possible to new insights and ideas from citizens and private initiatives. On the other hand, when planning for urban farming starts in popular space, planners role to include voices would be much more to enable fellow citizens to join the initiative as to make it trustworthy to not only the first initiators.

3.3 Planners role to cater for the common good: common good guardian

Care for the common good is very closely related to the previous point. An important question for planners involved in urban farming, much discussed in general in literature on direct citizen participation, is to what extent government stays responsible for the realization of policy goals related to them (Aarts & Duing, 2006; Van der Steen et al., 2013). Many authors point to the fact that government still is responsible for making explicit and evaluate the public interest of spatial plans (Van der Krabbe et al., 2014;). Aarts and Duing (2006) raise the issue of citizen initiative in spatial development which should not result in '*a series of free states with own rules and regulations*' (p. 43, translation mine). Government should '*ensure citizen initiatives stay connected to government and the rest of society*' (idem, translation mine). Basic qualities in the spatial domain also include looking after and develop central design challenges (idem, p. 44). This is relevant for urban farming as these projects often demand support from government and thus governments (planners, civil servants) have to evaluate these projects to decide which ones to support: it is a question about evaluation of plans, which "*is central to the planning process*" (Alexander, 2002, referring to Khakee, 1998). How can planners evaluate plans and make sure they serve the common good?

In line with a communicative approach to planning, "*the common good depends on deliberation and not just assurance of political equality or the capture of public opinion*" (Roberts 2003, p. 327). The participatory and deliberative models of democracy believe "*a common understanding of the good life can and will arise when individuals participate and deliberate in public life*" (Häikö, 2007, referring

to Barber, 1984 and Dryzec, 2000). Following this line of reasoning, local citizen initiatives should not be used as a way to realize policy goals at a higher level since this presupposes that outcomes of deliberations around these initiatives are pre-set. Citizen initiatives then, should be seen as ways in which in the public domain values are created (Salverda et al., 2014). Planners first and foremost should listen to what initiatives have to offer and what they ask from government (Salverda et al., 2014). As Durose (cited in Verhoeven en Oude Vrielink, 2012, p. 63) states, planners have a role to play in enabling citizens with their 'thoughtful deliberations': "*Citizen initiatives need support to increase their democratic potential. This is possible when civil servants and social welfare professionals have a focus on citizens. [..and when they] show how to enter into debate with fellow citizens*" and to "*help citizens to connect to each other [...] to harmonise different priorities of citizens and prevent as much as possible unequal relations between citizens with participation*". Thus, one could say, for urban farming projects, whether or not initiated in invited or popular space, planners should play a role as facilitator of thoughtful deliberations between citizens to make sure the common good becomes known.

Furthermore, as not everyone is always involved in deliberations, Van Dam et al. (with respect to citizen initiatives in landscape development) point to the fact that civil servants and citizen initiatives have to convey the initiative and their role in shaping the public space within their own institution (towards politicians and other domains of government) and fellow citizens respectively (Van dam et al. 2011, p. 97). In other words: they have to legitimize the initiative towards different constituencies. One way to do this, might be by referring to the common good that is served by the initiative. This is not only a question of knowing the common good in a project but also of showing it. Here again connection to fellow citizens seems to be important here (Verhoeven en Oude Vrielink, 2012) but also making the project visible to politicians. Sometimes, showing the common good happens in action once a project has started, like in the case of the foodscapes project in the Schilderwijk (neighbourhood in the Dutch city The Hague): "*although each emerging location is met with scepticism, within one year of completion each Foodscape Schilderwijk site has been adopted, accepted and appreciated*" (Solomon & Van den Berg, 2013, p. 83).

Another aspect of the common good seem to be related to the dilemma of technology and expertise and the use of knowledge. More in line with a technocratic view on planning is the idea that local or situated knowledge of citizens is not enough to find the common good. Planning professionals and experts have a role to play to bring-in knowledge about technical possibilities and broader societal goals and interests of future generations. This is in line with what Rydin (2007) and Alexander (2008) conclude with respect to the role of knowledge in planning: "*expertise has an important role in planning to complement democratic discourse*"(Alexander, 2008: 210). Even stronger is the claim that the planner / politician stays a decision-maker when opposite interests are at stake (the shadow of hierarchy as described by Fritz Scharpf (1997)) and free-riders have to be forced to participate in spatial developments, also when these developments have been started as a bottom-up citizen initiative (Van der Krabbe, 2014, referring to Ostrom, 1990).

For urban farming projects, these insight are of relevance because they are just one option for the use of space. Planners have to deal with conflicting (and sometimes changing) claims from citizens and politicians. They are not only there to help urban farming projects develop but also to make sure decisions on support of projects are made after thoughtful deliberations, including voices and ideas of citizens and experts to really arrive at the common good. This might also mean that sometimes urban farming projects will not get support.

3.4 Planners role to ensure basic qualities and levels of services: the backup

A last point to take into account seems to be the quality of the projects once they are in operation: for whom are they created and do they reach the groups that depend on the services they deliver? With respect to urban farming this issue is especially relevant in the discussion of the transfer of welfare state services: when urban farms offer social services government does not organize anymore. Some critics to citizen initiatives say, in the end, government is responsible for the realization of a minimum service (van der Steen et al., 2013, p. 34) and for basic qualities: if projects fail with respect to safety or other problems arise, in the end, it is government who is responsible (idem, p. 38). Thus, a planning professional should make sure projects are in line with basic quality needs and make sure basic service levels are reached when no citizen initiative takes place. In line with this, planners should monitor how citizen-initiated projects work in practice and ensure action is taken by government when projects fail.

4. Conclusion and further research

In The Netherlands, an increase in reliance on private, small scale initiatives is recognizable in spatial planning. In the Netherlands government has turned to a role of facilitator of processes in the new Law on Spatial Planning (WRO) and turned to 'invitational planning' (uitnodigingsplanologie) where government waits for bottom-up initiatives from the market once opportunities for developments are laid-out by government (Van der Wouden, 2015). This development is also relevant for urban farming. Most urban farming projects in Amsterdam are initiated by entrepreneurs or citizens.

As noted earlier, the city of Amsterdam expects urban farming to help forward all kinds of policy goals. To foster the development of urban farming, the municipality:

- Assists with finding suitable plots or empty buildings for urban farming;
- gives information on the needed permissions and operating zoning plans;
- has developed a 'Food Information Point': a central point of call and website that informs initiators of urban farming about the previous two points;
- helps to create a website where initiators and interested people can find and inform each other;
- and, will realize some of the urban farming parts of the Floriade³ 2022 bid book (which did not go to Amsterdam) (DRO, 2014, pp. 27-28).

Furthermore, in its master plan for the development of agricultural land in Amsterdam West the municipality has earmarked some plots for urban farming. Also an interactive map has been created that plots existing urban farming projects (<https://maps.amsterdam.nl./stadslandbouw>). One could say, the focus of Amsterdam is very much on the side of facilitation of urban farming. However, as this paper has discussed, other roles are also of importance when urban farming initiatives – in invited and in popular space – are to be taken seriously as a use for much contested space in the city.

First, planners should be facilitators of thoughtful debate that is inclusive, connects citizens and politicians, and keeps open the possibility that, given restrictions of space and/or budget, other uses than urban farming are deemed as best serving the common good. Although this might seem counter-productive for those who like to foster urban farming, following the literature on citizen initiatives, it seems to be necessary to have such a debate to strengthen the argument for urban

³ Floriade is a world horticulture expo that is organized in the Netherlands once every five years.

farming. An urban farming project that gains government and public support after thoughtful debate seems to have a much stronger position vis-à-vis other uses of space than a project that has received support quite opportunistically without much deliberation and connection to the neighbourhood and larger policy goals.

Second, planners who like to foster urban farming could help its development by making visible benefits of it for achieving policy goals or the common good. This not only would help the deliberations on specific urban farming projects but could also help continued support once projects have started. As suggested in this paper, visibility of benefits might develop in action when projects have started and citizens find-out benefits for themselves or when politicians are invited to projects. Visibility might also be fostered by having evidence of the relation between urban farming and the common good as stated in policy-objectives. Planners could play a role in finding funds to research this evidence. This also is a task for the urban farming research community. Another way forward to increase visibility of the common good in projects (and also for the evaluation of plans), might be by using business concepts as a tool. Business concepts describe how value will be created, how it will be delivered and how it is captured. Business concept literature has a strong bias towards for-profit businesses (the so called 'red business models' (for example the Canvas model of Osterwalder) but can also be used for not-for-profit organizations (Osterwalder & Pigneur 2010) where value creation might not only be private value but also the common good. In its essence they describe what is done, for whom and with what investments (activities, money, agreement) by whom. This possibly could make the rationale for a specific urban farming projects very clear. Further research could develop this idea more with more rigor.

To conclude, to support the development of urban farming and make sure projects get continued support also when other market conditions arrive in cities or politicians change, it is important that more is done than facilitation of projects. Very important seems to be to link these projects to communities (citizens) and politicians and the common good through facilitation of debate and visibility of the benefits of urban farming projects.

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ADAPTIVE GOVERNANCE OR ADJUSTMENT FOR PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT THE URBAN GREEN SPACES? THE CASE OF COMMUNAL AND COMMUNITY GARDENS IN TURIN

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Keywords: urban gardens, adaptive governance, urban transition, urban ecology

Abstract: Urban gardens take on different forms and meanings, which vary depending on the socio-economic context where they located/used and how it evolves over time. This makes a garden comparable to a micro-social ecosystem, different from other gardens and ever changing. Starting from the analysis of two gardens in Turin, the article investigates the plurality of meanings and representations related to the "urban garden" and offers insights about the relative processes of governance and integration with the many features of the current urban agriculture. Despite being all areas with a limited extension, the complex nature of the relationship between gardener and the assigned plot and within peers and with the citizenship, makes it clear that the attempt to govern/manage the phenomenon by the local government / promoting associations, often represents a real challenge in terms of adaptability and response/adjustment to a phenomenon in constant evolution and fully inserted in the processes of the urban transition, characterized both by internal and conservative resistance and pressures asking for change and innovation from the outside.

1. Introduction

In its broad definition, different studies converge in framing urban agriculture through some common categories: a) diversity of involved spaces (urban or peri-urban, legal or illegal); b) diversity of the involved actors involved (citizens, administrators, associations, professional farmers, ...); c) diversity of activities and practices.

In the same way there are common categories to frame urban gardens; although with some fixed elements (arable areas, service elements, irrigation systems, fences) they can assume forms, meanings and functions very different among them, often even far.

By assuming the perspective of human ecology, the specificity of each garden can be considered as an ecosystem in its own. This depends on the interaction among these elements, including the environmental and socio-economic component, on the conditions which discipline the use and management of resources at the level of individual and collective spaces, on the exchange flows with the surrounding environment.

This perspective allows us to look beyond the rhetoric that often trivializes the complexities surrounding the functioning of these micro-systems. The creation of an urban garden by itself does not guarantee functions of socialization. At the same time in the garden, the assignees did not always assume rights of "property" on the use of land according as "they were growing their own backyard."

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This point of view, in continuity with the work of Moore (2008) and Pike (1954) allows us to look at the urban garden not as a category of analysis but rather "as a category of practices". As a consequence, urban gardens have to be analysed with different temporal and spatial dimensions

Urban gardens become a dynamic process, in which they have settled practices and behaviours result of certain socio-economic contingencies, often trapped (in the case of the public allotments' management, in too static regulations).

In the garden different functions can coexist synchronously or they may overlap or come in succession, with all the consequences that a change in functionality assumes for the biological community inside and out of the ecosystem (Guitart et al., 2012).

It also seems interesting to observe the garden's cycles. The garden from the ecological point of view can be considered a closed system inside the modern city, a system that instead is incomplete since it depends on large areas for the energy, food, fibers, water and other materials, so much as to be called by the ecologist Odum (1983) "the parasite of the rural environment".

However, if we consider the garden as a social space taken away from the city, it can be observed how its resilience is also determined by the degree of openness that gardeners are able to get and dosed with the outside. The creation of formal and informal networks of exchanges settle the garden in the district and transmit to the gardener a greater sense of belonging to the territory, which is reflected into an increased attention to the broader urban context (D'Abundo et al., 2008; Glover et al., 2005).

Urban garden as a dynamic ecosystem is a proxy of the transition state that a metropolitan context is experiencing. It can also become a strategic laboratory where experiment and test new forms of governance, which will hopefully become future prototypes of sustainability for the metropolitan area. How institutions are aware of and are able to pursue this challenge considering the different stakeholders? How have they been able to adapt or adjust?

2. Aims and method

The aim of the study is to investigate how over time the different roles and meanings attributed to urban gardens in the context of the metropolitan area of Turin influenced their process of governance.

The institutions faced on one side a strong push and demand for innovation from the citizens who would like to have a garden but with new features and the other side they faced a force of the same intensity, but opposite that was trying to maintain unchanged the status quo from those that owns a urban garden since many years.

Insights from the paper arise from the analysis of the experience of urban garden in the context of the city of Turin and its suburbs since the early seventies and more specifically from the analysis of two case studies, the regulated urban gardens della Bela Rosin in the Mirafiori district of Turin and the communal urban gardens in Grugliasco, a municipality in the first belt of Turin.

The analysis of the context was performed by the reconstruction of the official records and interviews with witnesses, participants to the evolution of the phenomenon. The analysis of the case studies, beyond the participation of some persons who work directly in the management / governance of these two experiences, has involved more than 40 gardeners, that in the period from June to September 2014, were interviewed with a semi structured questionnaire.

The gardeners were interviewed within the space of their assigned garden, usually during the work in the plot. The sample of respondents' gardeners was made of men and women, people of different age groups, old and new gardeners.

3. Urban garden in Turin: yesterday and today

In Turin, urban gardens find their origins in the 70'. They are small areas of spontaneous occupation, which are located near water courses.

The phenomenon is concomitant to the population increase and it is the result of the wave of migration that characterizes the city in the years of the economic miracle. Between the years 50 and 60, the overall balance of migration of the city counts 433,000 inhabitants; Turin in 1975 reached its maximum population of 1,203,000 inhabitants (Mela, 2011). Among immigrants, prevail those from rural settings and among them those from Southern Italy (Bagnasco, 1986).

For the immigrant metalworker, the garden owns a productive function of income support, a form of occupation of the time outside the assembly line, "an antidote to escape from the binary factory-apartment", which allows coming back to land, to the origins. From the perspective of Turin, the spontaneous gardens, commonly referred to as "the garden of the poor", are the manifesto of the situation of marginalization of immigrants.

Until the 80 'the phenomenon grows without being defined any attempt at regulation by the City of Turin and the surrounding municipalities of his first belt (Collegno, Grugliasco, Venaria, Nichelino ..).

It has estimated that the phenomenon only in the area of the city of Turin has come to count 2,000,000 abusive plots , around which gravitated 20,000 families⁵.

The first act of discipline allocation and management of urban gardens comes in 1986 with the Municipal Regulation n. 164 (approved by resolution of the City Council on July 23, 1986 - mecc. 86 00125/46 - Executive from 21 August 1986).

This measure was followed by the adoption of more specific measures by the different districts of the City of Turin and regulations from the peri-urban municipalities, always with the aim of ruling the illegal side of the phenomenon by setting up a system for the allocation of gardens to applicant citizens.

This attitude from the institutions is almost unchanged for the duration of the nineties and early 2000. Only after 2010 and with the manifestation of the effects of the economic crisis, the Civic Administration sees in the urban and peri-urban horticulture a mean to:

- enhance the value of areas that are taken away from the degradation and the marginalization and give them the status of "areas for agricultural use," against the consumption of land and for environmental protection and the improvement of the quality of urban places;
- support the sociality and citizen participation and its possibility to aggregate, promoting social cohesion and the social presidium;
- teach and disseminate cultivation techniques;
- support the organic food production and traditional local varieties;
- promote educational activities for young or those who wish to approach this type of activity (prevention and environmental education);
- promote supportive health care processes of physical and psychological therapy.

Urban gardens, as one of the possible forms of urban agriculture takes on a new significance within the urban green management measures included in the Territorial Plan for Provincial Coordination Plan (P.T.C.P.)⁶, as evidenced by the project TOCC⁷, Turin city to be cultivated proposed by the municipality in 2012.

⁵ Resolution of the City Council of the City of Turin of March 25, 2013.

⁶ This document call for the promotion of peri-urban area, as the contact area between the rural and urban world, through actions for the protection and development of an agriculture, not only devoted to food production of food, but also as a mean for the overall improvement of the urban quality and soil conservation.

TOCC not only represents an ambitious plan of analysis, census, upgrading and management of urban and peri-urban green areas, but it aims also at changing the way of management of these spaces.

The challenge is to strengthen the relationship between the city and the gardeners, by contracting out, through a series of public announcements, entire agricultural areas / green and manufactured to collective bodies (associations, citizens' committees, cooperatives) that are able to create a link between people and the institutions following a bottom-up approach.

Urban and peri-urban agriculture and horticulture can become a valuable support for the solution of food and ecological problems, which can also contribute, particularly in the metropolitan area of Turin, to reduce the cost of managing urban green areas and to introduce alternative forms of management.

The new regulation for urban gardens management of 2013⁸ has been included as a part of the larger project TOCC. The main innovations compared to the previous version of 1986 include the possibility for citizens to use regulated gardens in a different way (collective and family gardens) and the use of green areas (up to 2500 m) by associations and cooperatives to implement horticulture and education activities.

Close to the institutional "pro-garden" movement in the context of the city of Turin and its outskirts there was the development of several informal gardens. Not only the demand for allocation of public gardens by new categories of people was rising, but a number of spontaneous experiences of individual and collective management⁹, undivided surfaces given in concession to private managed by committees of citizens, associations flourished.

Where there are already urban gardens, additional services such as education, a library room, areas for aggregation are provided. The purposes are distinct from those that characterized the gardens colonization of 60-70 years that could be called "second generation gardens". Here, the gardener is a young person in the age group of 20-40 years (young families, students), who look for in the work of cultivating a means of socialization, "of doing the community" and approach the garden as the intermediary for a healthier life.

There is a growing interest in how to make a garden, districts and associations organize courses in gardening, be it the garden on the ground, on the roof or on the balcony.

4. The cases study

4.1 *The regulated gardens of the district Mirafiori Sud in Turin*

The regulated gardens of Strada Castello di Mirafiori belong to the area of competence and management of the District 10 of the city of Turin. The entire zone, near the river Sangone, was transformed in gardens since the early industrial development of the area of Mirafiori becoming part of a historical process / social / economic result of the great migrations from the South of Italy during the '60s. The reclamation of this area was part of a larger project to upgrade the urban and environmental area between the stream Sangone and the Mirafiori South district, promoted in the year 2004-2005. The area was the birthplace of the first regulated gardens from 2007.

⁷ Resolution of the City Council of the City of Turin of March 5, 2012, http://www.comune.torino.it/consiglio/documenti1/atti/testi/2012_00758.pdf

⁸ Rules for the allocation and management of Urban Gardens, approved by resolution of the City Council on March 25, 2013 (mech. 2013 00113/002), executive from 8 April 2013.

⁹ Among these the design of the Bunker in 2013.



After the reclamation work, there were obtained 102 regulated parcels from the pre existing 230 - illegal. Every garden has an area of 100 m², an internal structure for the maintenance of the tools for cultivation and a water supply, according to the rules of the District 10. Since 2010, this area became part of "Miraorti" a process of research/action and of participatory planning in support of the urban government, aim at the creation of the Agricultural Park of Sangone.

A number of initiatives of animation have been promoted with the aim of raising awareness among gardeners in sustainable practices and encourage them to take care of common areas through aggregation practices open to the district such as the realization of collective composters, recreational events and convivial activities with schools, creation of purchasing groups for plants and fertilizers; physical improvement of the fences and common areas through the planting of 200 linear meters of mixed hedges.

The direct knowledge of issues related to the technical management and governance of the gardens led to the creation of a committee of gardeners and pushed Miraorti to propose changes to the Regulations for the management of gardens in the District 10. In May of 2012 the district has approved a new regulation, improving several anomalies that does not allow a proper use of the area. The process has also proposed changes to the old regulation of the Gardens of the City of Turin of 1986, which were accepted in the new regulation of 2013. These changes have favoured the inclusion in the regulation of measures that favour the functional and social mixité in the garden, in the single plot and in the garden. Urban garden has not only to be used by retired workers, but it has to be more open to citizens of the district with different uses to meet the different needs and express fully the multifunctionality of the garden.

4.2 The communal gardens of Grugliasco

In 1984 the Municipality of Grugliasco, decided to tackle the problem of illegal occupation land for agricultural purposes (mainly concentrated in the area of Gerbido), setting up a special area dedicated to the creation of gardens to be given in temporary concession to its citizens. Citizens, which initially are the same owners of the abusive gardens; in exchange for a parcel "official" they leave that they first occupied.

The area is localized first in Via Leonardo da Vinci, then it will be moved to Strada del Gerbido. It is made of 347 parcels of 63 m² (9m x 7m) each.

Today, the management of such areas is ruled determined by a resolution of the city council n.20 of 19/03/2012. Each plot is provided with an external enclosure, running water and a shed for tools.

The area was equipped with a structure - "house of gardeners" - useful for common assemblies, common management and recreational moments among gardeners and families.

Each assignment has a duration of five years, renewable one time. Each gardener is responsible for his lot and all the related operation and maintenance activities. The gardener can cultivate his plot only with the cooperation of the family (made up of people just living together). Only more recently (in this case from 2012), from a final destination mainly oriented to welfare and socialization for elderly pensioners, the regulation issued by the City Council in 2014¹⁰, has been opened to younger people in order to "stimulate a collective consciousness in developing a new image of Grugliasco, able to recover a positive relationship with the environment and to engage citizens in the construction of a modern city, less alienating, more humane."



The 80% of the lots is for pensioners, 20% for other categories of citizens.

The Regulation also sets as a necessary condition for the allocation of the plot, the membership to the Association of all grantees. In addition to the association, as a body of management, there is a municipal committee of management made up of six members, including two councillors, the commissioner of reference, an official of the municipal sector, a Representative of gardeners, a representative of the municipal police. The functions of the Commission mainly concern the management of the list for the allocation of the new or empty gardens and everything related to the technical, administrative and relationship with the gardeners (including disputes). There is also the assembly of grantees and a board of directors (elected by the gardeners themselves) with the task of promoting issues and proposals for a better management of the gardens and report any irregularities to the committee of management. Since March 2014, the management of all the garden and the relationships with and among the beneficiaries, has been outsourced to the Company Le Serre, who made a special information desk for users following the implementation of the resolution of the City Council.

In 2015, thanks to the completion of the expansion, were created 120 additional lots, of which 10 are reserved for the unemployed under the current regulation.

¹⁰ Resolution C.C n. 72 of 22/12/2014.

5. A first insights from the analysis of the case studies in scale 1: 1

The analysis of two case studies show how the relative public administrations are trying to adapt/adjust the system of management and governance of urban gardens, facing a reality (internal but especially external) that has changed dramatically over time. In particular, the latest evolution of the cultural framework that has characterized the issues of environment and agriculture in the context of Turin, has made necessary to change the regulatory framework at the municipal and the metropolitan city level to actively involve groups of population that until now cannot access to urban gardens and with ever more insistence are requiring to do so.

The two case studies under analysis are therefore in the wider framework of Turin two mature experiences, constantly changing over time, but more recently they undergone a radical change. A change, that was already in progress and that the regulatory process has sought to incorporate, in some cases forced into practices, with a more or less effective results.

The two cases, in fact, though quite close from a spatial point of view (at a distance of 10 km from each other), both in the southwest of Turin metropolitan area belong to two different municipalities that have chosen to position themselves differently towards change.

The experience of the gardens of Bela Rosin at Mirafiori, as well as the larger program for regulated gardens in regulated Turin, showed a greater degree of openness towards the new demands that are emerging around the garden.

The regulation allows to citizen of any age to apply for a garden, either alone or associated and establish a percentage in each district to gardens with features other than those exclusively productive (educational, pedagogical, therapeutic).

The regulation maintains a degree of openness to a partial adaptation with respect to future developments, "This Regulation is subject to changes which may be adopted subsequently by the Civic Administration on the basis of experience gained during the period of initial application, and according to standards and suggestions. Any innovations must be fully accepted by beneficiaries. "

It has also been left open the question of renewal of the allocation, which is not an automatic renewal, but it is not excluded. The case of the Gardens regulated at Mirafiori, also shows an higher degree to openness toward the presence of third parties such as associations, cooperatives that promote the associations' between the gardeners and have an intermediary role with the administration. The change to be accepted more easily was accompanied by building a transition phase based on relationships of trust built between the gardeners and the project Miraorti. The autonomy of the association of gardeners and the feeling of common space, however, is still fragile. The management of the common areas is still problematic with regard to the degradation of the areas used as landfills, unused common areas, lack of maintenance, use of inappropriate materials in the gardens, low sensitivity ecological sustainability in gardens, lack of functions and actions of control leading to irregularities in the conduct and abandoned plots where no steps were taken to a new assignment, despite the long waiting list.

If instead we look at the gardens of Grugliasco, the feeling is much more ordered. All the plots are allocated, the maintenance is good, and the common spaces are used. The change, however, has been included in the regulation and practices in a more timid way, providing fewer degrees of freedom for the gardeners and a minor multifunctional use of the gardens. They have created new plots, but only 10 will be allocated to the unemployed. Access is restricted to persons at least of 45 years old and with certain income criteria. It was preserved and guaranteed assignment to pensioners. Changes have been made regarding the degree of renewal of beneficiaries and the duration of assignments, but at the same time there remain a number of exceptions that preserve the status quo (or that is often bypassed with assignments handled within the family, so changing formally the assignee, but the substance remains the same). The level of socialization is strong, but

exclusive and limited to older gardeners (in the sense of ownership and length of the assignment) and there are barriers to entry to the opening relational against the new grantees. This aspect is also reflected in what is the representativeness of the Committee of the gardeners.

The outsourcing of service to the company Le Serre, is a change in the entity that manages the service, but it is not represent a decentralization of managing functions.

The compulsory participation of the association of gardeners, otherwise they need to pay a greater amount for the assignment, is perceived more as an top-down imposition and not as an attempt to create a botton-up participation of gardeners. In Grugliasco, moreover, given the lower level of decentralization than in Turin, where are the districts that manage the service, it is much felt the theme of cronyism. The garden can be a significant pool of votes in a reality of 38,000 inhabitants and it is definitely easier to make political promises to gardeners still keeping their parcel, than to those who request it.

6. Conclusions

The two case studies demonstrate the extent of the challenges for the administrations in trying to govern the delicate boundary between the pursuit of the common good through the use of a public space and the use of a parcel as a private good, especially for those gardeners who live the garden with a strong sense of ownership and embeddedness and that still belong to the generation of the first spontaneous settlers. The two case studies show two attempts to submit different answer, one more oriented towards a process of adaptive governance, though still incomplete as that of Mirafiori, and the other more oriented adjustment as evidenced by the case of Grugliasco. In terms of innovation, this highlights a trade-off between the level of change obtained / granted freedom and the status of order- rigidity maintained which has implications on the level of ecosystem resilience garden

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CRACKING CODES BETWEEN THE HEALTH CARE AND THE AGROFOOD SYSTEM: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FOOD SUPPLEMENT FOR PROSTATE CANCER IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Keyword: food, health, patient movement, prostate cancer, food supplement, short supply chains

Abstract: Both the agrofood system and the health care system are known for their sector specific rules and routines. These routines in general do not favour innovations that transgress the borders of the sector. In earlier documents, Remmers (2014a, b) highlighted the role of patients as emerging and potentially powerful change makers, who cross borders without hesitation, linking the health care and agrofood sector in new organizational arrangements. Patients seem to be to the health and agrofood systems what citizens are in spatial planning: a category whose engagement makes new design (of chains, of products, of areas) more locally adapted, innovative, useful and used.

Core of this paper is a case study of the development of a food supplement for prostate cancer, in which patients play a crucial role. The case study is contextualised by a brief review 1) of the core challenges actors in the health and agro-food system are facing to make food really count for health, and 2) of the emergence of patient movement on food in The Netherlands, to which the author contributes in various roles as a patient advocate, researcher, facilitator and project initiator.

The food supplement for prostate cancer has become available on the market in September 2015, after years of stagnation, through the collaboration between patients, researchers and producers. The paper reviews the process that has led to this sudden acceleration. As a follow-up, the food supplement is now being translated into new, fresh-food based food routines for men at risk of prostate cancer, including the growth and home-delivery of specific crops for prostate cancer. The food supplement is hence paving the way for a new type of producer-consumer relations and short supply chains. The case study suggests that multistakeholder collaboration, geared around a clearly defined and demanding consumer group, is very supportive to make food really count for health, and impact the health and agro-food system.

1. introduction

Both the agro-food system and the health care system are known for their sector specific rules and routines. These routines in general do not favour innovations that transgress the borders of the sector. In earlier documents, Remmers (2014a, b) highlighted the role of patients as emerging and potentially powerful change makers, who cross borders without hesitation, linking the health care and agro-food sector in new organizational arrangements. Patients seem to be to the health and agrofood systems what citizens are in spatial planning: a category whose engagement makes new design (of chains, of products, of areas) more locally adapted, innovative, useful and used.

The paper will first introduce the core challenges that need to be bypassed in order to speed up the incorporation of good food for good health, and align both the healthcare, agro-food sector and the patients movement in their efforts. It then reviews briefly the emergence of the patients movement on food in The Netherlands, singling out the birth of the Dutch Platform Patient and Food. The paper follows with a more detailed case study on the development of a food supplement on prostate

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cancer. It describes the health promise of the food supplement and the development of the coalition that has made its introduction on the market possible, in September 2015, after years of stagnation, through the collaboration between patients, researchers and producers.

In the closing chapter, the potential of the established coalition around the food supplement will be assessed as to impact also the uptake of fresh food for health.

The methodology that supports this paper is participant observation and action research, throughout the development process of the supplement for prostate cancer. The author was chair of the working group on the food supplement, and co-founder of the Platform Patient and Food. All meetings of the working group and of the Platform Patient and Food were carefully documented and accorded in each new step in the process, and a logbook was kept.

2. The challenge: how to make food really count for health?

In recent years, there is abundant attention for the role food plays in maintaining health. On the one hand, a wealth of projects are developed to increase awareness on the need to raise intake of especially vegetables and fruits. Most of these projects are aimed at segments of the population that are most likely to become overweight, in The Netherlands mainly people in lower economic income classes and / or of Moroccan or Turkish descent. These projects are based on conventional notions of 'good food for good health', meaning that they depart on the consensuated scientific knowledge on healthy food pattern, condensed in e.g. the 'Food Guide Pyramid' in the UK, or the 'Schijf van Vijf' in The Netherlands. This consensuated notion is at the same time under attack from a number of "food-guru's", who, in a true tsunami of books make a plea for a food pattern that put a different emphasis, either on a much stronger increase in vegetables, or a different perspective on fats etcetera. Whatever may be the exact argument, most approaches coincide in their promise for public health.

Given the load of public attention for food and health, it is remarkable that there is still very little attention, within formal healthcare institution such as hospitals, for a more precisely defined role for food in the process of maintaining or recovering health. Food, so far, is not part of their 'primary care process', and hence more subject to budgetary constraints than to medical considerations. This is remarkable, as a recent Dutch survey concluded that dietary intervention for elderly persons in hospitals could save between 15 and 78 million Euros a year (Scholte et al, 2015). A positive exception is the recent initiative of Hospital Gelderse Vallei (Netherlands), who on purpose provides specific food recommendations for patients during hospital stay, to avoid that people receive treatment while being undernourished. These recommendations are based on consensuated notions on the right balance of proteins, carbohydrates, fats etc. Very slowly it becomes evident that this consensuated balance should even be further individualised, as the same food may trigger a very different response in people. A recent Israeli study (Zeevi et, 2015) pointed this out very clearly in relation to the maintenance of sound blood glucose levels. Consensuated knowledge holds that especially food containing fast sugars should be avoided, yet in some people blood glucose peaked more after eating sushi than after ice cream, and in one person the consumption of tomatoes yielded extreme glucose levels.

Given the lack of attention for food in formal health care institutions, the focus on generic recommendations on food for health as part of public health, and the multitude of alternative takes on food present in public media, it is not strange that confusion among consumers is growing. The

question that emerges ever more urgently is: *what food does really work for ME?* In 2014, an appraisal on the business potential of personalised food was conducted, and established more clearly some of the current possibilities, dilemma's and challenges to make food really count for the health of an individual (Remmers, 2014b). One of the promising developments is that, parallel to the incipient initiatives within the health care sector as above described, patients are massively experimenting with food to sustain their health. A study from 2004 estimated food experimentation by cancer patients on 50% (Meijer et al, 2004), while a survey in 2014 measured that up to 75% of patients (of all kinds) experiment with food and food supplements (Meijer et al, 2014). Patients do so in the absence of any formal support from their doctors, who, at best, do not obstruct the patients when experimenting with food. Their food experiments draw on a large variety of health paradigms (Ayurvedic, Chinese Traditional Medicine, homeopathic, paleo, orthomolecular, hand-picked scientific evidence etc), food sources (organic, local, conventional farming) and a mixture of whole foods and food supplements.

The results of these home experiments are not documented, neither by the formal health sector, nor by any independent research. Judging from the claims of the patients themselves, successes and failures are both present.

At the same time, there is a massive amount of nutrition research being performed, trying to pinpoint evidence based causality relations between the consumption of a certain food item with a certain chemical substance, and a health effect. For some areas, the evidence is mounting, as for example with regard to the role of turmeric (from *Curcuma longa*, mainly grown in India and Pakistan), which is reported to have a positive effect in the control of certain types of cancer². Bitter Gourd (*Momordica Charantia*) is reported to lower the symptoms of Diabetes Melitus type 2³. For other areas, the solidity of the evidence is under debate, as is pointed out by Prof. Kampman and colleagues (Wageningen University), who have developed a website where lay people can find out what evidence is available regarding food and cancer (www.voedingenkanker.nl).

The problem that emerges time and again is that the knowledge on what food works and what not, is heavily contested even by academic scholars themselves. Hence, it is very difficult for patients to get their doctors back-up their own home experiments. At the same time, food producers cannot claim that their fresh products have a certain health effect, procedures of the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) regulating food claims being very lengthy, strict and costly. Hence, producers are reluctant to invest in development of crops with enhanced concentration of compounds with specific health effects.

Taken all this together, we witness a paralysis in the uptake of food as a recognised medical intervention and prevention strategy, and even more so as a strategy that can be individualised. Both the biomedical sector, the food producing sector and the patients have legitimate questions to each other as regards the role of food for health (see fig 1.). In fact, uncertainty prevails: either scientific uncertainty if a certain relation between a plant compound and health is solid enough; uncertainty

² <http://www.tegenkanker.nl/onderzoek/kurkuma/onderzoeksnieuws-kurkuma/> The Amsterdam Medical Centre is currently performing in-depth research as to combine turmeric in combination with a so-called photo-dynamic cancer therapy <https://www.amc.nl/web/Het-AMC/Nieuws/Nieuwsoverzicht/Nieuws/Geelwortel-tegen-tumoren.htm>

³ See e.g. Fernandes et al, 2007, and www.bitter-gourd.org

on the side of food producers if the investment in new crop development will be paid off by the expected sales; and patient uncertainty as to what food really matches their health condition.

The core challenge, hence, is to develop a collaborative structure in which these uncertainties can gradually be tackled. The prostate cancer coalition on a food supplement is one such collaborative structure that is being developed, and will be dealt with in detail in paragraph 4.

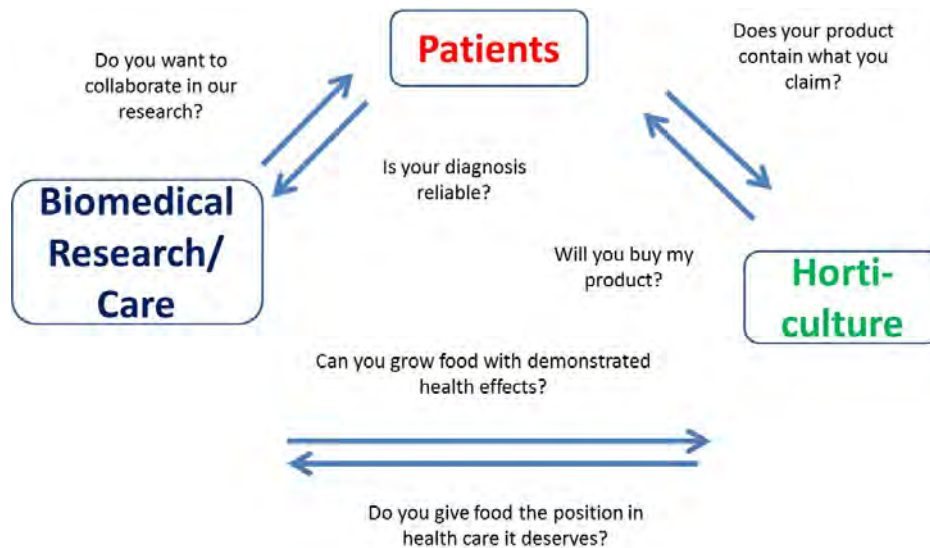


Figure 1. The core actors in health and food, and some of the questions that need to be solved.

3. The emergence of the patients movement on food in The Netherlands

At present, the Netherlands are home to over 400 organisations for people with a specific disease. These diseases concern both physical, mental and psychological/psychiatric diseases. The core areas of work of these organisations are as follows: providing information about the disease, organizing contact between patients that deal with the same disease, and defending the interests of patients with the disease (Smit and De Knecht-van Eekelen, 2015). The organisations are very different in their way of working. Smit and De Knecht (op cit: 15) distinguish patient organisation 1.0 as the traditional organization, working on the core areas with traditional tools; patient organisation 2.0 as the one that involves much more heavily social media; and patient organisations 3.0 as those who deliberately and pro-actively establish collaborations between researchers, patients and business and societal third parties. From the 1.0 to the 3.0 organisation, militancy and focus on patient empowerment increase.

The patient's interest and dedication to food, as highlighted in the previous chapter, contrast quite strongly with the fact that there seems to be hardly any coordinated effort to generate a common patient's perspective on food. Most patient's organisations deal with food only in relation with to their own disease, and when they do it, food is just one of the many items they pay attention to. In 2013, a first attempt to generate a common agenda was formulated in the context of a project born out of the collaboration between two EU patient groups, namely the European Patient's Forum (EPF) and the European Genetic Alliance Network (EGAN). These groups joined forces with the European Nutrition for Health Alliance (ENHA), a multistakeholder group involving dieticians, doctors, food and

pharma industry, working especially on a screening process for malnutrition (Gill'ard, Green and Smit, 2013). Their agenda gathered views of 8 different patient organisations throughout Europe, and is called 'patients perspectives on nutrition'. The agenda includes several recommendations. The focus is on nutrition, not so much on (fresh) food, and pays predominantly attention to (functional) food for assisting recovery, and little to food as a tool to prevent people from getting sick at all. Using this agenda as a point of reference, a brainstorm was conducted in the course of the Personalised Food project in June 2014. The brainstorm led to the formulation of a series of key issues and recommendations on food and health, summarized here as follows (Remmers et al, 2014):

1. Actors in the health and food sector should collaborate as to empower food to become an acknowledged individualised medical prevention and intervention strategy, tuned to the stage in the treatment process and the phase of life one is in (see figure 2).
2. Improve early diagnostic methods, as to be able to design an adequate food strategy as quickly as possible, and to this purpose use DNA analyses, if possible at birth.
3. Monitor and systematize the experience based knowledge born out of the food experiments of patients and citizens
4. Take serious and validate alternative visions on food and health from other health traditions, e.g. Ayurveda
5. Food is not a single but a multiple drug. Food research should focus on the synergistic health effects of food
6. Healthy food is generated by a healthy food system. Actors should focus on creating a healing environment in all dimensions: natural cropping methods, healthy food offerings where groups are vulnerable and easily seduced (schools, sport canteens etc.), a green and inspiring built environment etc.
7. Make healthy food attractive and tasty. Food is not only medicine, it also enjoyment and social contact. Don't medicalise food.

The momentum gathered in the appraisal on Personalised Food led to the establishment, in October 2014, of the Platform Patients and Food, an NGO whose mission is 'to empower food as an acknowledged medical intervention and prevention strategy'. The organization is still very young, but at the same time is attracting quite some clout, with patients and patient organisations of different diseases supporting it: cancer, heart failure, ME/cvs, muscle dystrophy, kidney malfunctioning, lung, immunesystem, to name but a few (www.patientenvoeding.nl). The main topics that the Platform has been working on so far is first, establishing a structure that enables patients wisdom and experience with food to be taken serious and validated, and second, to establish coalitions between health care, food sector and patients as to accelerate the development of good food for good health.

Of note is that while food is the focus of this Platform, the agenda is much broader; food provides merely a prism, that enables to review the integral nature of human health.

4. The development of a food supplement for Prostate Cancer

Food supplements are not equivalent to fresh food as a source of health, but an approximation to it. They form a 'bridge' between medicinal drugs on the one hand, and whole foods on the other. Due to the availability of underpinning biomedical research and an accidental match between the researchers and patients, the development of the food supplement for prostate cancer has become an interesting showcase of the challenges that need to be addressed in order to incorporate food as

part of the primary process of health care on the one hand, and product innovation in the fresh food producing sector on the other.

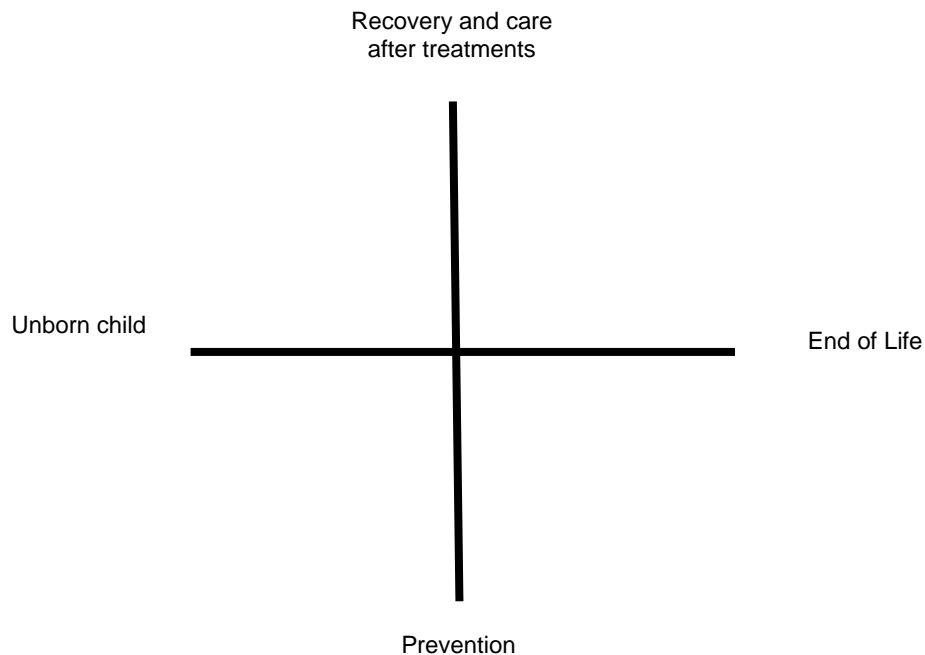


Figure 2. Food should fit both the stage of treatment and the life phase one is in

As part of the appraisal on Personalised Food, in 2014 a coalition was established between researchers and clinicians at the Rotterdam Medical Centre of Erasmus University in Rotterdam, a Dutch producer and wholesaler of food supplements, and the cancer patient movement Inspire2Live.

Source of the collaboration was the research by Erasmus MC on the recipe for a food supplement for prostate cancer. This research had been conducted since 1998, partly autonomously by Erasmus MC, and partly in collaboration by Nutricia and Danone. The elements of the food supplement were based on epidemiological research on the prevalence of prostate cancer in East Asia in relation to diet. In East Asia, the prevalence of prostate cancer is much lower than in Europe or the United States. Lycopene (found in tomatoes), flavonoids found in soya and vitamin E, were the most important components of the supplement, together with a number of accompanying substances. Two types of research had been conducted. First, the supplement was supplied to men which had undergone radical prostatectomy (chirurgical intervention taking away completely the prostate) or radiation. The supplement showed to slow down the doubling time of the PSA-levels (Prostate Specific Antigen, a biomarker that is a measure for the activity of the tumor) with a factor 2.6, as compared to men who had not taken the supplement (Schröder et al, 2005; Kranse et al, 2006). Second, a combination of lycopene and vitamin E was supplied to mice with prostate cancer. Their tumors grew also statistically significant slower (factor 2.6) than in mice who had not been supplied with lycopene and vitamin E (Limpens et al, 2005). These two studies allowed for the assumption that the intake of the food supplement slows down the development of the tumor in humans too. For a 72 year old man, the development of the tumor could be delayed with about 3 years.

These scientific results were available in 2005. The recipe for the supplement was even patented by Nutricia. Yet, it never led to the actual production of the supplement, the main reason being a

business reorientation by the Nutricia. This was much to the frustration of the leader of the research at Erasmus MC, Prof. dr. Schröder, who argued that his patients could not get hold of a soundly researched instrument to manage their health. The situation is quite similar to that of promising, but not yet completely research drugs for patients. Patients who have no other options left, may sometimes use those drugs, known as 'early access to drugs'. This 'early access' almost invariably must be conquered, as the mechanisms as to not allow such use work strongly against it: financial, academic and bureaucratic⁴. In the case of the prostate cancer food supplement, the supplement was promising not only for the researched group of men who had undergone radical prostatectomy or radiation, but also for men who show to have an elevated level of PSA, but without further signals that would warrant immediate medical action. Those men follow a so-called 'active surveillance' protocol, including regular check-ups of the level of PSA (pers com Prof Schröder). In similar vein, the supplement was possibly of use in a preventive fashion for men over 55 years of age with a history of prostate cancer in their family.

Prof. Schröder's frustration was picked up by Inspire2Live, a cancer patient organisation group based in The Netherlands, advocating strongly for breakthroughs in cancer research, clinical practice and health policy (www.inspire2live.org), and urging for intense collaboration between researchers, clinicians and patients. Their insistence on 'nothing for the patients, without the patient' resembles the advocacy for farmer based research in the 80-ies, when 'Farmer First' became proverbial (Chambers et al, 1989; Scoones and Thompson, 2009). Inspire2Live is composed of so-called 'patient advocates', usually well-educated patients who are primarily interested in advancing the state of the art concerning their disease (patient organisation 3.0). To this end, Inspire2Live differs from many other patient organisation, whose primary concern is to put patients of a certain disease in contact with each other (see chapter 3). Three patient advocates of Inspire2Live, including the author of this paper, established a working group with Prof Schroder and colleagues, that was further complemented by a producer of food supplements (Ars Pro Pharma) and a whole sale company of phytotherapeutic products (Holisan). The Business Development Agency of the province of Flevoland (OMFL) was instrumental in connecting with Ars Pro Pharma, who subsequently connected with Holisan. These partners (Erasmus MC, Inspire2Live and Ars Pro Pharma / Holisan) form the core of a working group, that, since its first meeting in april 2014, has met until, September 2015, approximately every 6 weeks.

In retrospect, the development of the working group has gone through a series of phases, unravelling in a parallel mode several issues. Table 1 gives a concise overview of the different issue that needed to be addressed.

⁴ Recently, the case of the drug 'olaparib' made the news in The Netherlands. Olaparib is a drug developed for women with ovary cancer with a specific genetic mutation (BRCA). It happens to provide also excellent results for women with breast cancer with the same genetic mutation, as praxis has showed. Yet, it will not be covered by health insurance, as the research that underpins its effectiveness, has only been tested in the context of ovary cancer. Result: a potentially curing drug is not available for women, that without it will die. Patient Advocay groups such as Inspire2Live are active in cutting through the obstacles. (<http://www.volkskrant.nl/wetenschap/-dit-medicijn-moet-er-komen~a3944132/>)

Table 1. Phases and issues related to the development of the food supplement for prostate cancer

Phase	Issue	Activity	Milestone
Getting connected	Getting connected	Phone calls, email	Connecting (March-April 2014)
Build up of trust	Getting to know each other	Meetings, exchanging views	Build up of trust, identification of the core collaborators (Aug 2014)
	Establishing trust in the potential market	Calculating the potential number of beneficiaries of the supplement	Holisan says 'yes' and places an order with Ars Pro Pharma (Sep 2014)
	Resolving issues re patent	Getting information on the status of the patent	Decision of the group not to establish new patent, and rely on the built partnership for marketing purposes (Aug 2014)
Getting the supplement on the market	Defining a marketing strategy	Discussing how the supplement could overcome currently blocking mechanism	Decisions regarding the characteristics of the stakeholder collaboration, the composition of the supplement, etiquette and research (Aug 2014 – June 2015)
	Developing additional research	Establishing type of research, finding funding	First proposal submitted for funding (Jan 2015), denied, larger proposal submitted (July 2015)
	Fund raising	Search for grants for research and for production of the supplements	Funding for production of the supplement for research purposes secured (Aug 2015)
	Establishing the final recipe	Discussions on what would be wise scientifically and what business wise	Decision to go for the original recipe, without newly promising 'add-on's' (June 2015)
	Defining the text on the etiquette	Consultations with KAG-KOAG about name and further text on etiquette	PROSTAPREV chosen as name for the food supplement (June 2015); supplement available on the market (Sep 2015)
	Establishing a user community	Finding exposure through patients organisations such as Prostate Cancer Foundation, Inspire2Live etc	ongoing
Elaborating a fresh food variant of the supplement	Sensing the interest among new stakeholders (food producers) in a fresh food variant	Talks with a new consortium of pioneering horticulturalists	Project proposal ready (Oct 2015)

4.1 Getting connected

The main stakeholders got connected through the Appraisal on the Business Potential of Personalised Food (Remmers, 2014). This appraisal was commissioned by the Amsterdam Economic Board and Chamber of Commerce, the Province of Flevoland and CAH Vilentum Almere, a University of Applied Sciences, who was able to secure funding through the so-called Centre of Expertise

Greenports, a collaborative network between different Dutch Universities of Applied Sciences. The work was supervised by a Steering Committee, that was staffed, in addition to representatives of the funding organisations, by the Dutch Knowledge Centre of Plant Compounds, Fytageoras (a private research centre on biomedical and plant issues), the Dutch Central Veterinary Service, the project lead of the Green Health Consortium (a collaborative network of a series of Dutch universities of applied science and Small and Medium Enterprises geared towards validating the medical potential of promising plants and cropping techniques), the University of Amsterdam/VU (Prof. H. Westerhoff) and two members of Inspire2Live, a Cancer Patient Organisation. The appraisal was led by Gaston Remmers, in a double role as a professor at CAH Vientum Almere, and as a patient advocate for Inspire2Live, assisted by the Flevoland Development Agency for Business Development (OMFL). The first connection was established in January 2014, between Inspire2Live and Prof. Schröder, who had long been a supporter for patient empowerment in cancer care, and an advocate for reducing cancer incidence. The idea of the food supplement was then pitched at a business venue organised by the Dutch Centre of Plant Compounds early March 2014. Later that month, OMFL established a connection with supplement producer Ars Pro Pharma from the city of Lelystad. Several phone calls and emails yielded finally a group of stakeholders, that first met early May 2014.

4.2 Build up of trust

4.2.1 Getting to know each other

A number of meetings was held between May and August 2014. Purpose of these meetings was to figure out the issues to be tackled, the order of actions to be taken, the partners to work with and to gain trust in each other's commitment and capacities. The first session was organised by Prof Schroder in a Rotterdam restaurant. The coming-into-being of the business coalition was first publicly announced a little later on a seminar on Personalised Food (May 2014), organised by the author of this paper, who offered to coordinate the follow-up of the development of the supplement. Meetings were thoroughly documented. About 10 different stakeholders showed interest; by August 2014, the core collaborators were identified: Erasmus MC, Inspire2Live, Ars Pro Pharma and Holisan, with OMFL on the background.

4.2.2 Establishing trust in the potential market

In order to establish trust in the potential market, it was necessary to become very clear about the potential beneficiaries. On the one hand, this implied a clear identification, by the biomedical researchers, of the target group. Based on the research conducted earlier, the supplement showed results in men having undergone radical prostatectomy, a surgical intervention taking out the prostate. These men were in principle 'clean', meaning that they had no detectable tumor growing, and were under an 'active surveillance' protocol, following regular check-ups by their doctors. However, the scientists argued that by force of logic, it was very reasonable to conclude that also men who showed to have an elevated level of PSA but without a prostate cancer diagnosis, and men with a so-called 'benign tumor', and who were under active surveillance too, were also likely to benefit from the supplement. These categories sum up for about 3000 men yearly, in The Netherlands alone. Additionally, in general men over 50 years of age were indicated a potential beneficiaries. Prostate cancer will almost invariably develop in men, and most men die with the presence of prostate cancer, without it being the cause of their death. Hence, all men over 50 years of age could potentially benefit from it by means of prevention, although there is no research that

underscores this assertion. The eventual number of potential beneficiaries was hence calculated by the group to be approximately 1.8 million men in The Netherlands, with a core focus group of 3.000.

Another aspect of trust in the market, was the possibility to link the supplement with health claims and the interest in the product by patients. As a vendor of phytotherapeutic products, Holisan had ample experience with products that are not formally regulated as medicine, and knew about the troublesome nature of acquiring health claims. So Holisan was not backed off by the absence of a formal health claim. For Holisan, the solidity of the research and the reputation of Erasmus MC were more important. Also the establishment of the working group, and the promise of active patient involvement, were favourable to its decision to produce the supplement.

This decision was crucial. Between April and September 2014, the working group had met on several occasions, and had at length discussed the potential market and the accompanying activities to further strengthen the biomedical underpinning by additional research. The moment came near that Holisan needed to give a clear signal it was serious with going to market with the product – otherwise the whole exercise was useless. Finally, Holisan said 'yes' in the autumn of 2014 and placed an order with Ars Pro Pharma to acquire the composing substances for the supplement by October 2014.

4.2.3 Resolving issues on patent

The recipe for the supplement was under patent by Nutricia. In the spring of 2014, Nutricia was considering releasing the patent, which it eventually did in September 2014. The coordinating group considered for a few months whether it would be fruitful to buy the patent from Nutricia, the argument being the potential marketing benefits. However, after considerable deliberation, it was decided not to buy the patent, first because of the cost involved, and second because of the limited protection it would provide. If a large company would assemble the supplement without permission, the working group would never have sufficient means to win a legal case against such a company. Hence, the working group would produce a supplement with a recipe that would be available to all.

4.3 Getting the supplement on the market

4.3.1 Defining a marketing strategy

The decision not to work under the 'protection' of a patent was crucial, as it highlighted the necessity to find other ways to profile the supplement against other prostate supplements in the market. After all, benchmarking showed that there were a number of supplements available on the shelves of drugstores, that had a some resemblance with the supplement of the working group, that was provisionally named *Prostaprev*.

The benchmarking also raised the question if it was necessary to produce a new supplement at all. The working group considered this to be the case. Main reasons were: a) the already available supplements showed some overlap with *Prostaprev*, but with considerable variation regarding the concentration of the substances, that were furthermore not very clearly defined; b) the exact effect of these supplements could not be warranted by scientific back-up.

The group then established that the core selling strategy should follow four lines: a) *Prostaprev* is the first supplement on prostate cancer backed up with a clear line of research behind it; b) the introduction on the market would be accompanied by additional and complementary research as to

even more firmly establish its effectiveness, including also the uptake of promising new ingredients in a follow-up of the supplement; c) the composition of the recipe would not be altered as to enable a reference to 'prostate' on the label; d) the build-up of a community of end-users and urologists and oncologists that would be informal promoters of the supplement. In the upcoming paragraphs these issues will be elaborated.

For the three patient advocates involved in the coordinating group, the crucial factor to support the supplement actively was the solidity of the already established research on the supplement, and the promise of the development of additional research accompanying market introduction. The communities of urologists and oncologists were expected, by the Erasmus MC team, to be bit harder to convince, as they were thought to be harnessed more thoroughly in their habitual treatment protocols. In essence, the working group established that its own partnership was the main guarantee to realize a successful market introduction and to develop research.

4.3.2 Developing additional research

Two types of additional research were deemed important. First, research repeating the already established research among men, but with a larger scope. In fact, it concerned a so-called 'phase 4' research, the label given to research on drugs that are already available on the market. The second type of research aimed to identify the potential contribution of newly found substances in e.g. pomegranate that might strengthen the effectivity of the supplement. A research proposal for the first research goal was elaborated in January 2015, but was not granted. In July 2015, a larger research proposal combining both research goals was submitted (decision to be expected December 2015). The leadership of these research proposals lies with Erasmus MC, under the supervision of Prof. dr. Bangma, dr. M. Roobol and dr. W van Weerden.

4.3.3 Fund raising

Funds for the research above stated could relatively easily be identified – which doesn't mean that the procedures to receive a grant were easy. The development of phase 4 research on the supplement introduced another issue. Habitually, it is the manufacturer of the drug who provides the drug without costs for the purposes of the research. Usually, these manufacturers are large pharmaceutical companies. However, in this case the manufacturer was a small player, and by no means capable of providing the supplements for free. Hence, additional funding was needed, and finally found in the form of a grant of the province of Flevoland (August 2015). In this, the OMFL, the Flevoland Development Agency for Business Development, played a crucial role.

4.3.4 Establishing the final recipe

The original recipe that was patented consisted of over 10 different compounds. There were two issues that made a closer look at the recipe necessary. First, it was clear from the outset that the supplement could not have any reference to prostate cancer based on the patented recipe alone. To acquire such a health claim meant submitting it to the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA), implying a lengthy and costly procedure, demanding most probably a lot of additional research. And that was precisely what was meant to be avoided. Yet, there were other substances, already approved of by EFSA in previous decades, that would allow for a reference to a general functioning of the prostate – not to prostate cancer. The exact wording of these health references on medicines

and health products is supervised in The Netherlands by the KOAG-KAG Council⁵. 'Saw Palm' (*Serenoa repens*) and 'Nettle' (*Urticae radix*) would qualify for 'for the maintenance of a normal prostate' and 'good for the prostate function'; Saw palm in addition may assert that it is 'good for the urinary tract of men above 45 years'. What both plants exactly do is not mentioned; they do neither affect the development of a prostate tumor. Zinc is another element that is often incorporated in supplements, allowing the statement 'contributing to the maintenance of healthy cells and tissues'. The working group argued back and forth if inclusion of one of these substances would a) affect the working of the recipe that had been researched, and b) if the communicative advantage of a generic referencing to the prostate would outweigh the fact that research had not included such substances. The group finally concluded that although it was not very likely that additional ingredients would interfere negatively with the original ingredients, it could not be excluded either. Second, in terms of public and academic credibility and transparency, it would probably be wiser to stick to the original recipe. These arguments also applied to substances that, in research conducted between 2005 and 2014, to be potentially effective in controlling prostate cancer, such as pomegranate and others (Lin et al, 2015). So, finally, in June 2015, it was decided to stick with original recipe, take it as a reference to on the one hand build additional research, and on the other for product development in the future.

4.3.5 Defining the text on the etiquette

Having decided upon the list of substances, the road to mention on the etiquette an explicit reference to prostate cancer was blocked. Two options were finally left: the name of the food supplement, and a reference to SWOP, the Foundation for Scientific Research on Prostate Cancer, that was a long standing initiative of the Department of Urology of Erasmus MC, aimed at providing funds for scientific research on prostate cancer in particular, and cancers of the urinary tract in general (www.prostaatwijzer.nl). Hence, Holisan designed an etiquette, and submitted it for approval to the before mentioned Dutch KOAG-KAG supervisory council. The name PROSTAPREV was accepted, and also the inclusion of a statement on the etiquette that a part of the sales revenues would be transferred to SWOP. This last option is very interesting, as it also establishes a circular relation between research and product, and guarantees that research is ongoing. Having resolved the issues regarding recipe and etiquette, the supplement could now be introduced in the market, and was launched early September 2015.

4.3.6 Establishing a user community

Establishing a user community forms a corner stone to the successful introduction of the supplement. They are, in fact, the only actors that are legally allowed to link a product to a health claim without the need for a formal approval by EFSA or KOAG-KAG. The vendor of a product has to refrain from any unwarranted claim, and medical scientists and clinicians are to avoid even the least

⁵ KOAG stands for "Keuringsraad Openlijke Aanprijzing Geneesmiddelen" (Council for Public Commendation on Medicines) and KAG for "Keuringsraad Aanprijzing Gezondheidsproducten" (Council for Commendation of Health products). Both are foundations, established in 1926, and founded by branche organisations in health care and pharmaceutical industry. In practice, both foundations work closely together in one Council, and are meant to separate false from true public claims (or acceptable from unacceptable claims) by way of self regulation. Source: <http://www.koagkag.nl/> See Kasteren et al (2010) for an insightful discussion on European and Dutch regulatory mechanisms around health claims for food, and their dilemma's and paradoxes.

suggestion of a health claim that is not considered to be fully 'evidence based'. So end users are a crucial group that can in fact make or break a product.

The idea was hence to gradually build exposure for the supplement by organising meetings with patients, linking with other patient organisations for prostate cancer, such as the Dutch Prostate Cancer Foundation (PKS), use of social media etcetera. A more comprehensive programme is now being formulated. As a first step, Prostateprev was formally presented at the November 2015 'ProstateDay', a multi-topic conference for prostate cancer patients, clinicians and researchers, organised by a network of specialised prostate cancer treatment centres in the South-West of The Netherlands.

All in all, the development of Prostateprev as a food supplement, has turned out to be as expected: a twisted road with uncertainties on the side of both producers, patients and researchers. The success will depend on the one hand on funding for additional biomedical research, and on the other on the effectiveness with which the user community of prostate cancer patients can be reached.

4.4 *Elaborating a fresh food variant of the supplement*

As stated earlier, a food supplement is kind of in-between a medicinal drug and healthy food. As such, it is a convenient way for people to sustain their health without changing drastically their food pattern or lifestyle. However, a food supplement, nor a formal medicinal drug, won't help much if the lifestyle is not corresponding. It is obvious that a food supplement that forms part of a diet of fast food and no exercise comes very close to ridiculous. By adopting a healthy diet alone many health problems can already be avoided, no supplement nor drug is needed for that. The case on Diabetes Melitus 2 provides a good example for that. In the context of the food supplement for prostate cancer the question thus emerged: what if it would be possible to translate the supplement 'back' to a healthy food pattern?

Hence, parallel to the development of Prostateprev and with its market launch at hand, an inventory was started to see if the horticultural sector could be interested in producing and delivering specific products for prostate cancer patients. Could a specific 'prostate cancer food basket' be developed? Such a basket would not only include a variety of fresh food commonly available on the market, but also products with higher contents of specific plant compounds, such as lycopene-rich tomatoes. The basket would moreover include a series of cooking recipes and cooking techniques, as the 'food matrix' impacts the uptake and effectiveness of micro- and macronutrients. And it would probably also include some recommendations regarding physical exercise and stress management. When offered in a comprehensive coaching programme, it is expected to yield considerable benefits, as recent research shows (Bourke et al, 2015). Developing such a prostate cancer specific food basket would be a novel development in The Netherlands, and would possibly inspire the horticultural sector to invest more in the development of higher quality products. When combined with home delivery of the food basket including personal preferences, it would take the development of personalised food and personalised logistics a step further. A whole new short supply chain would be born, based on an intense collaboration between patients, biomedical scientists and horticultural producers. The inventory showed that leading Dutch horticultural firms in the Westland production area close to Rotterdam are indeed interested, and at this moment (November 2015), a project proposal is being elaborated.

5. Cracking codes in the health care and food sector: stepping stones

This paper started off with the assumption that patients are possibly to the health care sector what citizens are to formal spatial planning or farmers to dominant agricultural research. Both citizens and farmers have been long neglected as important sources for innovation. Over the past 2 to 3 decades, their involvement has enabled both spatial planning and agricultural technology to become more meaningful and adapted to local ecological, socio-economic and cultural-historical conditions. Patients may do the same for the health care sector, and, as far as food is concerned, also for the agro-food system.

The case study on prostate cancer discussed here departed from the notion that a collaborative approach would be most promising in order to invigorate food as an accepted intervention strategy towards health, while at the same time enabling innovations in horticultural production and providing patients with products they want. In this collaborative approach, uncertainties of all stakeholders could gradually be resolved and institutional barriers could be circumvented. The prostate cancer case has shown that it is indeed possible to find ways to bypass issues on health claims, and at the same time to undertake biomedical research to further increase the credibility of the claim. It has also shown that when patients back up an issue, product development and market launch may be accelerated considerably. Note that the recipe for the supplement had been gaining dust for 10 years, before it was 'awakened' by the working group. Finally, the case showed that the collaborative network on the food supplement has paved the way to now venture into fresh food as a source for health. With this, suddenly a whole new set of urban-rural linkages emerge, driving farmers to produce vegetables with specific qualities, and demanding them to develop logistic solutions in order to deliver individualized food baskets.

It will take some time before the codes of the health and agrofood sector are cracked to the extent that food can be produced and prescribed for health purposes specifically. We are witnessing a niche innovation, that provides hints as to in what direction future development of short supply chains may go, and where innovation in health and agro-food is to be expected. It is by no means common standard. It seems that the most important thing to do now is to persevere in delivering hands-on successes, gradually engaging dedicated actors from within and outside the dominant health and food regimes.

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DO AN URBAN FOOD POLICY NEEDS NEW INSTITUTIONS? LESSON LEARNED FROM THE FOOD POLICY OF MILAN TOWARD FOOD POLICY COUNCILS

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Abstract: The Food Policy of Milan is one of the first European experiences that is managing an entire process that is articulated on an assessment of the whole urban food system, a public consultation phase to share a common vision and specific priorities, the definition of a document for an integrated policy and a number of projects that are implementing the priorities.

This experience is the result of the cooperation between Fondazione Cariplo, the major Italian philanthropic actor that has been playing from a long time the key role of co-promoter of most part of the local bottom-up social experiences concerning food, and the direct commitment of the municipality, that now is asked to play a different regional role due to process of the definition of the new Metropolitan Area.

The paper will be focusing on the constraints and the opportunities that the institution has to take advantage of the wide social basis that has been consolidated in many years of activities of a number of social actors and networks connected to food issues. One key question concerns the capability to support institutional changes through the consolidation of these new political arenas and not simply to support projects that are already well done by a lot of bottom up experiences.

The observation of the Milan experience gives the possibility to verify how the capability to set the issues of the public debates are connected to the availability of different data and informations that could be crucial to shift from ideological approaches (local-global; small-big; collective-private; etc.) to a more aware public dialogue and decision making process.

A lot of actors and processes, in fact, are being developing not only outside the field of the public action, but also "under" the level of visibility of the most diffused analysis that are available. The paper will discuss the problems and the opportunities that the Milan experience is facing in creating a common and verified knowledge on urban food issues.

1. The context of the Urban Food Policy of Milan

At the beginning of 2014 the Municipality of Milan has launched a series of activities to define an urban food policy that integrates in a comprehensive framework many issues that are directly and indirectly connected to the whole food cycle (production, processing, distribution, trade, consumption, waste and recycling) and to the social, economic and environmental issues that are affected by the food cycle: demographics, welfare, connected economies, input and output of stocks and energy, ecological footprint, etc.

From the point of view of the actions that are outlined by the urban food policy of Milan, the geographical context refers particularly to the municipality and its administrative boundaries but, when considering the scale of reference of the analysis, a lot of issues have been considered at the

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ESTà is a non profit think tank that works to promote the culture of a socially and environmentally sustainable economy. ESTà collaborates with institutions, as well as social and economic actors by providing strategic support, researches, training, coaching, communication and networking services. ESTà operates with a local approach to development an sustainability, supporting small communities as well as international organizations and institutions.

metropolitan or regional scale. This is because a lot of food issues that related to a city like Milan can only be analyzed and understood at a larger scale.

The Milanese context is a complex system of very dense settlements and, secondly, the territory is characterized by elements of excellence in agricultural production. The City of Milan is part of the Parco Agricolo Sud Milano (South Milan Agricultural Park), that includes 88 municipalities, that is the largest agricultural park in Europe as well as being the first to be founded. Beside this, the Milan area is now experiencing an important institutional change that is associated with the process of establishing the Metropolitan Area, replacing the previous Provincia (district) and that, potentially, could bring some institutional changes concerning the policies connected to food.

In the following pages the experience of Milan is used as a background reference to contextualize ideas and approaches that are carried on and observed in a lot of other experiences at local and global level within the context of social movements and local citizens initiatives.

2. New public arenas for new policies

The elements that can be used to build an urban strategy linked to food are declined in different ways depending on the context, because the food cycles are intimately connected to each place; depending on environmental conditions, on the territorial feature and on the peculiarities of social organizations and the economies.

This activity of contextualization covers both the specific contents of an urban food policy, and the institutional forms that these policies may have in a local perspective. Therefore it is crucial to consider not only the general contents of the policies that are related to food (productivity, prices, nutrition, etc.) or to consider the peculiarities of the "urban needs," but also to decline this contents and these needs within the system of actors that are part of a particular context.

The definition of policy issues - environment, production, nutrition, welfare, etc - depends, in fact, on the types and configuration of the actors moving on the scene around the food issues and not only on the initial setting that is proposed by the promoter of the policy. In other words, the possibility of the city government to effectively influence the urban food system depends on its capability to mobilize those actors who brings contents at the urban level, to work on their perception of the relevance of the *food needs* and on their interests. Finally, it depends also on the capability to define new public spaces for dialogue to transform these perceptions, these interests and these needs into shared choices that can be referred to the local context.

This is particularly important in all the policy areas that are not consolidated in the existing institutional systems, including those that are related to urban and regional food system. These policy areas, in fact, requires a discussion and an integration process that has to affect a number of policies that currently are handled in a sectorial way (production, trade, environment, land, etc.) and various institutional levels. Beside this, most of the food policies do not consider the urban and metropolitan context as a specific object of interest, even if the global food system depends to a large extent on the urban ways of life that are shaping an *urbanized world*.

The clearest example of the absence of urban issues in the discussions related to food is the "agricultural side" of the food system. Urban issues are not usually considered in agricultural negotiations at the international level and, in the European Union, agricultural policies are regulated, determined and managed at European, national and regional level and not at the local level. Beside this, there is a clear privilege for rural contexts more than having urban perspectives, and cities are usually considered as end markets and not as an object of specific actions. This approach depends on the fact that, before speaking about urban food policies, generally food policies does not exist, but only agricultural policies, trade policies, transport policies, etc.

Using these considerations as baseline, the paper focuses on the observation of the dynamics between those actors who act in the context of Milan while elaborating their strategies of aggregation in an innovative way to manage issues that are related to components of the food system. The observation of these actors can facilitate the definition of some indications for a theoretical and methodological approach that can help to understand whether and to what extent such types of coalitions of new "food actors" can be a resource to manage the challenges connected to an *urban approach to food*.

3. Grassroots actors and food movements

In recent years new "food actors" have emerged in the context of Milan, occupying and defining new cultural and public spaces in connection with food issues and working at the urban level.

The most diffused type of these actors is a large galaxy of micro-initiatives that refer essentially to the principles of solidarity economy and sustainable lifestyles. These initiatives have generated different forms of informal coalitions that focus on the enhancement of quality local food, the direct relationship between producer and consumer and the importance of human relations in economic exchanges.

In Milan and its surrounding area, at the beginning of 2000s a lot of grassroots experiences begun to develop to promote direct links between production and consumption in which the relationship between town and country was an important factor. In 2002 was founded the first network of Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale (GAS – solidarity purchasing groups), which are groups of families (from 15 to 100 families for each purchasing group) who organize themselves to buy food directly from producers, defining features and price of the products referring on criteria of quality, sustainability and ethical production. The GAS are a phenomenon that was born in Italy in the early 90s and can be identified as the Italian declination of what is defined Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) in the Anglo-Saxon context and something similar to the AMAPs (Association pour le Maintien de l'Agriculture Paysanne) in the French-speaking world.

In the city of Milan about 80 GAS are currently surveyed approximately and, at the metropolitan level, there are around 150 groups. While considering these data we have to compare them with the existing studies that have been made in different Italian regions and that estimate that, in each territory, the number of surveyed GAS (or belonging to any organized network) are about half of the real total.

On the basis of the dynamics that have been briefly summarized above, for years a significant number of projects has been developed to create networks among these experiences of socioeconomic self-organization and to upscale these experiences and in the perspective of stimulating new fields of public action. Most part of these initiatives have been significantly supported by Fondazione Cariplo, the largest Italian philanthropic foundation, that has the mission to support actions on culture, welfare, research and environment throughout the Lombardy Region, of which Milan is the capital city. Fondazione Cariplo has funded several researches and on field projects that are based on social networks, on other forms of self-organized actions that are sometimes co-promoted through partnership with local institutions (GAS networks, farmers markets, community gardens, social horticulture, etc).

Currently, in the metropolitan area, there are dozens of farms that sell directly to GAS with stable partnerships. On this basis, since the mid-2000s there was also a process to create the so called Districts of Social Economy (DES), which arise as coalitions of GAS, farms and other actors that are oriented to act under the principles of solidarity economy (ethical banks, microcredit actors, fair trade initiatives, etc.) with the purpose to promote new forms of local economy with solidarity

principles. Their structure is often informal and they are characterized as networks connected to specific territories

This is only a part of the experiences of *informal public policies* that, in the Milan area, have raised the attention of a significant percentage of the city population. Furthermore, starting from the first half of 2000s a series of action/researches that were conducted by research groups alongside social networks have produced some scenarios to support the development of local networks producers and consumers; trying also to highlight the potential effects of these networks on institutional policies to the metropolitan scale.

These experiences were the vehicle to facilitate the convergence between sustainable consumption practices, different cultural sensitivities, the effects of the economic and environmental crisis, the emergence of new forms of social relationship based on social and solidarity economies and other trends that show a real chance to connect a number of food issues with the social the urban context. After years in which these dynamics have been generated and fed into social processes, some institutional attentions are emerging in the process of changing the current state of substantial separation between territorial, agricultural and rural policies.

4. From grassroots initiatives to public policies

In this rich and varied context, the "lacking connections" are usually the public bodies that have some difficulties to understand if and how to promote specific policies concerning citizens' initiatives. This *lacking connections* generates a great variety of experiments, events and pilot project that are promoted by public bodies. But what really happens is that those projects are often connected more to the political initiative of a local leader than to an ordinary and well structured policy with a real possibility to be sustainable in a medium-long time. This situation is less evident in the contexts where the consolidation of public policies has been possible thanks to the combination between a good capability of public actors to innovate their processes of public interaction and a good organization of the social networks, but this *lacking connection* has to be considered as a very diffused status all over the world.

We can say that a lot of the needs that are expressed in the citizens initiatives connected to food are:

- not yet adequately represented in public arenas;
- not often considered by institutional policies in their deep meaning.

The combinations of all these actors and mutual dynamics brings out a general consideration concerning the capability of these networks to become objects of public policies. This universe of experiences is complex due to the fact that they manage unexpressed needs of different nature and involve very different actors that are hardly be defined in the traditional rigid "social" or "economical" frames that grew up in Modernity (e.g. omnicomprehensive mass associations, business actors, etc.). Consequently, the capability of the public bodies to work in the contexts of these networks is connected to the capability to recognize them in their specificities.

From the point of view of the needs, a fundamental problem to draw and to implement public policies to support citizens initiatives is that all of them brings together something that could be defined as "cluster of needs". In other words, these actions are carried on while managing together different issues and needs that are considered as a part of a whole and not as a sum of sectors or elements that are disconnected each other.

For example in most part of the local solidarity partnerships among producers and organized consumers (like the GAS), the networks organize themselves to guarantee income to farmers, to protect the health of consumers, to educate the taste, to raise the transparency of supply chains, to increase the environmental sustainability, to reduce transportation costs and the resulting pollution, to ensure the existence of agriculture, to maintain the landscape, to characterize and differentiate agricultural products, to find guarantees to the workers, to share a more sustainable lifestyle, to live a wider concept of well-being and much more.

This *cluster of needs* represent, in some way, a sort of continuity with the past; even if there are significant differences both in the contents of the needs and, over all, in the way they are expressed, shared and satisfied.

From the traditional forms of mutual assistance that have always been in the farms and in rural villages - for example sharing tools for cultivation or the collective storage for the foodstuff – starting from the XIX century the sharing practices turned in different part of Western countries into more structured organizations. These organizations, gave legal form to a number of direct partnerships among producers and created cooperatives of production and consumption, as well as mutual aid societies and rural banks. All these forms of collective management had strong local roots and were the direct expression of the capacity of the population to set rules of coexistence in the society and in the economy. These rules were also mutually guaranteed by kind of job-sharing (joint ventures and volunteer work), self-help for the needs of health (mutual aid) and community controlled forms of savings and investment (local banks and collective lendings).

4.1 Shared values and practices

Considering the complexities of the values and the combined effects of these practices, it is important not to see them only as *little experiences*, even if connected in wider networks. Nevertheless, if we see in a deeper way how these practices develop themselves, it must not be underestimated certain risks that are associated with the small size of the cells that are the living elements these networks. Indeed, a proper assessment of the potential and limitations of these practices is necessary to understand if and how there are some opportunities to define public policies based on the empowerment of these practices with valuable effects in a long term perspective.

The small dimension of many of these practices is also due to the fact that they were born and have grown despite public policies, in a substantial lack of financial support, without an adequate regulatory framework and in a more general lack of real assessment of the relevance of a local approach to development of which local food is an important part. This consideration is crucial to compare the potential of solidarity network with the "common market", also not considering the great differences represented by the *cluster of needs* and by the immaterial values of these economies, but only to the pure economic values that are implied.

The farmer who cultivates in periurban contexts of a large city tends to consider his work as a starting point to define in a broader sense the value of what he produces that is generated through the relation with conscious consumers, in the common search of a shared experience. This value is directly related to the intrinsic qualities of the foodstuff and to its *fair* remuneration, but includes also other types of intangible values associated with the farm work, such as the care of the land, the transmission of knowledge and the contribution to a well being context based on the daily consumption.

To describe this space of shared identity that is created between producers and consumers, from the mid-90s the concepts referred to the "consumer-citizens" or to the "co-producers" had begun to be used in Western countries, that in recent years have been diffused in wider contexts. These two definitions highlight four key aspects of local identity that are created in economic relations characterized by pacts that are developed within solidarity networks:

- the production and consumption patterns are transformed by incorporating *elements of citizenship* that put into evidence the importance of civic aspects of economic activities;
- this civic aspects are expressed in the *participative construction of shared social rules* that are considered as part of personal and collective daily life;
- this way of life is connected to a *territorialized idea of well being* that conceives the social relations as a part of a general care for the place of human life (culture and care of the land);
- in this perspective having care of the land tends to bring the farming activities (the *material side* of having care of the land) closer to the purchasing acts (the *ideal side* of having care);

5. From food issues toward food councils

The reference to the context of the new "food actors" of the Milanese context and the interpretation of the dynamics and potential of their actions and in their developments highlights an interesting topic that can help to effectively address the urban food policies.

The interpretation of the experiences suggests that the development of the potential that is connected to these actors can only happens if an adequate attention is given not only to the contents, but also to the ways in which these contents can be defined and implemented. This due to the fact that these actors are interested to propose ways of relating content as their action. The opportunity to learn positive lessons from these actors and to transfer their innovative potential within a public policy depends, therefore, on the ability to build adequate public arenas for these actors.

The point that is proposed here, therefore, is not (or not only) to introduce new contents for food policy, but rather to ensure adequate space representation for the "new needs of the food." In order to get this, what is important is to have a public debate which includes also different actors compared with the ones that, traditionally, are involved in policies.

With this premise, a key element to promote innovative urban food policies is not to go on with the usual division of sectoral policies, but to take advantage of the capability of those actors to connect people and issues; while creating a public space for debating that is more suited to take care of the these "cluster of needs". This is a way to say that, what is important, is to represent these issues and these way of being in Local Food Councils.

These Councils were originally widespread in North America and represent a context in which local governments discusses directly with civil society on a wide range of food issues. They, however, are relatively new in Europe and, after a first experience in London that was activated in 2004, one of the first references and recognized at European level is the food council established in Bristol in 2011. Indeed, this is not of a novelty in an absolute sense, because similar institutions were created in Norway and Finland, respectively, in the late '30s and mid-50s. However, a more modern concept of food policy council has been developed in the early 80s in the United States under the pressure of different kind of social groups (well being, fight against poverty, nutrition, etc.) and has had a rapid diffusion across North America.

In many contexts, Africa and Latin America there are also many other forms of institutionalization of social debate around food as it is around the themes of food that you have generated (or regenerated) various institutions of different levels. Some of the most striking examples in this sense

are represented by public discussions that, starting from the level of the villages and small towns, have led movements and groups that follow the principles of the right to food and food sovereignty even to affect substantially the review processes national constitutions of several Latin American.

Compared with the first cases, that are more focused on the issues of food security and the fight against hunger, the current food policy councils have a broader approach to policies that affect food, with a multidimensional view of the food. There is no definition or a unique pattern of food policy council because they vary depending on the local circumstances and the context that generated them. In general, we can say that the current food policy are groups of people who are variously involved in the food system (consumer associations, third sector actors, academics, business associations, institutions, etc.)

The food policy councils act as real fora to enter the food issues in the institutional agenda, to animate the debate around the theme of food and to stimulate and policies at different levels. There are different models depending on their origin, composition and relationships with institutions: there are food council that are embedded in the City Council, others are independent from institutions and there is also a number of hybrid organizations.

A food policy council is not the solution to the problems of food and not, in itself, it is not necessarily a guarantee that we can promote and implement an innovative policy. They, rather, should be seen as a way - a precondition - to include new actors in the public arena and new needs and to avoid the mechanisms of representation that implicitly reproduce the exclusion of actors and needs that are not represented and that play a significant role in social innovation and in the process towards a more sustainable world.

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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 next 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 areas⁴ 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 relocation);
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

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 stimulates 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 relocalize 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 relocation of the food system, crucial issue in the debate on this themes (for more references see Brinkley, 2013). In food strategies relocation 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 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 create opportunities for new jobs. In other words, Durham local food should fulfil three 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 launched⁵.

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 on⁶.

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 or 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.

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 2015. 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 Strategica⁷, 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)

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?

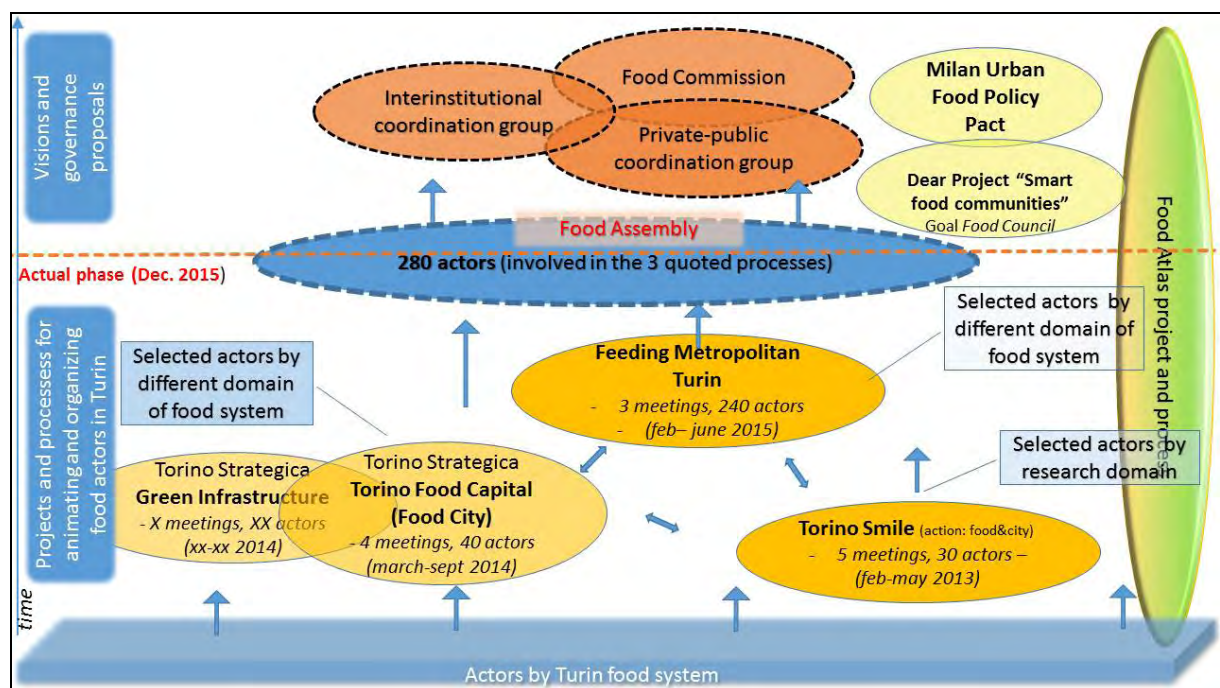


Figure 1 – The actors involved in the Turin Food Governance (image of the authors)

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 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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