Telling the Story of Food Justice:

A Case Study of The Urban Farming Institute of Boston

A thesis submitted by

Valerie Oorthuys

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

February 2015

Adviser: Penn Loh
Reader: Barbara Parmenter

Abstract

Through the use of storytelling, this thesis examines the Food Justice approach to food systems work, uncovering a collaborative vision from members of the Urban Farming Institute of Boston. By exploring community engagement and economic development work achieved through small scale urban farming, narratives provide a framework for transformative food system change. Planners may gain from this a greater understanding of their role as facilitators of Food Justice and the value of storytelling for use in the planning process.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank Penn Loh and Barbara Parmenter for their guidance throughout this process and for their support for this type of thesis project. Their encouragement pushed me to pursue a methodology that otherwise may not have been a part of my education.

I am very grateful for the help of Patricia Spence and each of the individuals who were willing to participate in the interview process. I learned so much from each of their thoughtful responses, and the perspectives they shared with me deepen my own understanding of our communities.

Lastly, I would like to thank Norah Dooley and Kris Carter for their advice in crafting stories and editing narratives.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Telling the Story of Food Justice:

A Case Study of The Urban Farming Institute of Boston

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis seeks to deepen the understanding of the vision of Food Justice, characterized through a case study of community leaders and practitioners at The Urban Farming Institute of Boston and an analysis of their stories. The guiding questions for this research come from the observation that Food Justice work has not been brought into dominant discourse, yet its implications for public health, land use, community control, and economic development are felt throughout the neighborhoods of Boston. It is especially important that planners, as well as community residents, engage with Food Justice activists to gain realistic perspectives on the state of our communities and needed responses to issues of equity.

This project details the Food Justice approach to food systems change, its relationship to urban planning, and needed connections with intercultural competency in community development work. In addition, it includes an audio narrative comprised of stories gathered through interviews with stakeholders at the Urban Farming Institute of Boston (UFI). This example of storytelling frames the implications of Food Justice efforts and uncovers its utilization by a community- based organization.

Several core narratives are illuminated through these stories. First is the need for community participation and leadership in planning initiatives. Specific to urban farming operations is the need for communities to have power over land use decisions. Secondly, stories describe that urban farming, as an activity of Food Justice, extends beyond solving issues of food access to incorporate

economic development opportunities. Within this, stories cement a shared understanding that entrepreneurship through urban farming is a key strength of the communities engaged with UFI. Narratives provide a reframing of these communities as a hub of economic opportunity in Food Justice, with the potential to be identified for their Food Justice innovations. Finally, without connecting these efforts to holistic justice issues and listening to community narratives, misconceptions about the goals and strategies of this work prevail. The narratives included in this project give an image of what Food Justice looks like at a local level.

Content of the stories gathered provides justification for the use of storytelling in planning and community engagement. Food Justice is strengthened by an analysis of examples of activities, strategies, and motivations. These stories weave together descriptions of the sense of pride of community strengths, memories of how neighborhoods have taken shape, the necessity of transformative food system change, and challenges associated with paving the way for community leadership. Stories gathered clarify connections between theories of Food Justice and its application by community practitioners.

Food Justice and the Conventional Food System

In the past century, the food system has changed tremendously. Agriculture has become a less desired land use as the country shifted priority to other industries. Farming became mechanized to increase efficiency and lessen the cost of food production. Specifically in the time between 1950 and 2000,

"production on U.S. farms more than doubled, with a fraction of the human labor" (Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future, 2010, p.5). Numerous ramifications of these changes have rendered the American food system unsustainable for consumers, as it has damaged the health of the environment, the strength of the economy and the prosperity of people. Holt-Giménez (2010) contends that industrial agriculture

> "has proven to be as resilient and protean as capitalism itself. It constantly expands, squeezing profits from the food system by destroying existing forms of production and consumption and replacing them with new ones. No obstacle, crisis, or disaster in the food system is too large or too small that it can't be turned into some kind of opportunity for corporate profit" (p.313).

Worse still, the food system perpetuates injustices: "In the United States, this context consists of an environmentally and socially destructive centralized agribusiness system in which race and class inform inequalities of material resources and decision-making power" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.12-13). Public policies subsidize large corporate farms' commodity crop production, while participation in emergency food programs increases. Poor labor conditions, the disappearance of markets, and the increase in diet- related illnesses are each hallmarks of the industrial food system. Food Justice advocates work for fundamental holistic change to transform this unsustainable system, which "begins with the struggles that have taken place in the fields and the factories, which have a long and deep history in the United States" (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010, p. 126). Food Justice advocacy is relatively new, and perspectives from those who are affected most directly from food injustices are invaluable to the progress of the movement, as Food Justice reveals "a different type of narrative that has

been used as an important tool for identifying strategies for change" (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010, p.223).

Food Justice in Boston

Even in a wealthy state such as Massachusetts, food injustice impacts residents' opportunities to thrive. Project Bread's 2013 Status Report on Hunger states that 11.4% of households in the state depended on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) in 2012 (p.4). Additionally, in 2011, "46% of fast-food workers in Massachusetts (two-thirds of whom are adults) are both eligible for and relied on $173 million in aid in SNAP, Medicaid and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) to try and meet their basic expenses each month" (Project Bread, 2013, p.5). This, among other statistics, demonstrates clearly that the system as it currently exists is replete with inadequacies. These statistics are even more pronounced in the neighborhoods of Boston, with, for example, 33% of Dorchester's residents receiving SNAP in 2010 (Zarell, 2011). The number of SNAP recipients in Boston has increased nearly 92% between 2005 and 2010 (Zarell, 2011). Again in Dorchester, over $40 million in SNAP was redeemed at local grocery and convenience stores in the first half of 2010 (Zarell, 2011).

Low income communities and communities of color are located in areas with lower access to affordable, healthful foods, yet there is also an inequitable distribution of opportunities to actively participate in the food system. Because communities of color in Boston have been segregated through redlining, gentrification, and disinvestment, access to opportunity is starkly different in each

4

neighborhood. In the years between 1950 and 1980, nearly a third of the population of Boston left the city due to white flight and blight, leaving stagnant vacant land in its wake (Agyeman, Alkon, & McCullagh, n.d.). Patterns of migration and devaluation most harshly affect Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan, Boston's 'majority minority' neighborhoods. Still today, the Boston Public Health Commission demonstrates in their 2013 Health Report of Boston that the white population in the city generally enjoys better health outcomes, higher employment, and increased instances of housing tenure. Furthermore, unemployment rates in Boston are currently more than three times higher for black men than for white men (Boston Public Health Commission, 2013). As a response to these injustices, prioritizing Food Justice may increase equity in Boston.

In 2010, the city of Boston solidified an interest in increasing the capacity of the city's food system to address concerns through the creation of the Mayor's Office of Food Initiatives. The office's current stated directives focus on increasing access to healthy food and nutrition, increasing local food sales through urban agriculture, supporting food related businesses and cultivating public and private partnerships (Office of Food Initiatives, 2014). This recent commitment provides opportunities for planners to design food policy supportive of community desires. Boston is now establishing itself in the United States as a leader in food initiatives through its support of urban agriculture, food business incubation and entrepreneurship, farmers markets, and SNAP programs.

Municipal support of food system activities brings economic, environmental and social benefits related to Food Justice activities.

In Boston, food system work has uncovered tensions between Food Justice practitioners and municipal planners assigned to food policy. A notable example of this is the city's process of rezoning to legalize commercial urban agriculture citywide. Adopted in late 2013, the Boston Redevelopment Authority's (BRA) Urban Agriculture Rezoning Initiative, titled Article 89, was the result of a three year planning process. This began with a pilot program which created an Urban Agriculture Overlay District (UAOD) on three city-owned vacant lots where commercial farms would be operated by organizations selected through a Request for Proposals (RFP) process. This initial phase specifically impacted Dorchester and Roxbury by targeting land in these communities. The UAOD designation process proceeded rapidly, apparently due to pressure from the Mayor's Office. Although there was strong support for urban agriculture and food activities in Dorchester and Roxbury prior to the creation of the UAOD, the city did not actively seek out community participation or support. Moreover, Article 89 was piloted while demographics in Dorchester and Roxbury have again been shifting as affluent whites have moved from the suburbs back into the city. For many residents, this program was seen as a land grab for outside interests, and the pace of the project appeared suspicious. The rezoning uniquely affected these communities because of their entrenched economic and racial segregation.

Agyeman, Alkon, and McCullagh (n.d.) facilitated focus groups in the spring of 2012 to discuss the UAOD process, and participants spoke up about a

history of strained relations: "each of the residents who attended our focus group described a scenario in which City officials either neglected a lot in their neighborhood or prevented them or a neighbor from maintaining one" (p.18). Many residents held concerns about commercial farming in their community, specifically with questions about the potential for farm animals or soil contamination. However, discussions with community activists uncovered that these issues likely masked a deeper concern: Why hadn't the community been a part of the initial planning process? Neighbors felt they would not be able to benefit from the pilot farms, and therefore would be disenfranchised in their own neighborhoods. The Conservation Law Foundation's Growing Green report details how urban agriculture in Boston could create 223 new jobs and provide over 1.5 million pounds of food annually- with so much economic opportunity at stake, it is no wonder that the community would be vying for oversight and control of the project (2012, p.5). Residents' distrust of the city is well founded, because of past racist policy and due to their current feeling of invisibility; "A new playground installed in 2009 took ten years of resident activism and work," which is unheard of in affluent, white neighborhoods of Boston (Agyeman, Alkon, & McCullagh, n.d., p.20). Fortunately, this is not the end of the story. Municipal leaders for Article 89 responded to community anger by allowing community participation and discussion to craft the final citywide zoning amendment, apparently divorced from the pressures of the Mayor's short timeline. The example of Article 89 shows the importance of community partnership in food planning.

Boston's introduction of urban agriculture also exemplifies how storytelling can inform the planning process. The city's history of silencing low income communities and communities of color necessitates storytelling. It is the intent of this thesis project to engage with stories and share why food justice work is necessary to producing positive, vibrant community development. Multidisciplinary, comprehensive approaches are needed to attack such a nuanced problem. Food Justice creates new enterprises to gain community control over opportunity. Without knowing the stories of constituents, municipal food policy cannot succeed in being just.

The Urban Farming Institute of Boston

The Urban Farming Institute of Boston (UFI) offers a case study of thought leaders involved in the introduction of commercial urban farming to Boston and an opportunity to observe how Food Justice is operationalized in community based work. The organization was founded in 2012 by individuals specializing in community development and Food Justice. UFI aims to strengthen the food economy by creating jobs for community residents through farmer training and access to land. The directives of the organization are as follows:

- Train residents from Massachusetts's urban areas to become successful urban farmers;
- Acquire and prepare land for farming;
- Educate community, city and state stakeholders in support of appropriate policy changes in regards to land use and urban farming practices.
- Through research and development, document, map the urban farming industry and its impact on social, economic, health

outcomes for both practitioners and the industry as a whole in order to create a new paradigm. (The Urban Farming Institute of Boston, 2014).

UFI provides a unique case study for this thesis. The board and staff of UFI bring vast experience in community organizing and cultivation in Massachusetts. The board's historical knowledge of and experience with policy change and its effects in the neighborhoods, paired with their advocacy work around Food Justice, provide a strong collection of stories. UFI's commitment to community based work, their unique emphasis on entrepreneurship, the reach of their advocacy, and their active leadership in the field were key deciding factors in selecting this organization as the sole case study for this research. Thought leaders from UFI influenced the Article 89 planning process as it slowed down to allow for more community input and discussion. Notably, UFI broke ground on the first new farm in Boston in July of 2014 under Article 89 in the Garrison- Trotter neighborhood of Roxbury. Solutions such as these that address economic disparities through Food Justice are needed. It is my hope that the narrative gathered for this project supplements this effort.

Personal Background

In my role as a student at Tufts and through my work in Boston's neighborhoods, I have seen that community leaders have not been given opportunities to participate in planning decisions. This thesis stems largely from the observation of tensions between community leaders and planners during Boston's urban agriculture rezoning process. I followed the phases of Article 89, initially passionate about farming and excited by the prospect of legal commercial

farms in Boston. My motivations changed as I heard more about the selection of land for the pilot program, leading me to learn about Food Justice.

While at Tufts, I participated in a project that identified vacant land suitable for urban farming use within the city of Boston. This work illuminated land use concerns I was introduced to through the city's public meetings regarding Article 89 and deepened my interest in community engagement around land, food, and equity. This thesis provided me an opportunity to learn from the stories the city initially disregarded.

Thesis Structure

The written thesis includes a methodology chapter, discussing the process used to address the research questions. Chapter 3 provides a literature review. Topics covered include the Food Justice approach to food systems change, an overview of food planning, and a description of intercultural competency. These three areas of research create a foundation for planners to interpret narratives from interview participants, discussed further in Chapter 5.

Analysis of interviews with the Urban Farming Institute is presented through an oral history narrative, outlined in Chapter 4. The narrative highlights the activities of UFI, descriptions of the need for Food Justice work, personal stories related to food and farming, challenges in the field, and envisioned goals. The audio narrative may be accessed through ProQuest.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Research Questions

By answering the following research questions, this project aims to build on the current discourse in the Food Justice Movement through analyzing lived experiences of local leaders at the Urban Farming Institute of Boston (UFI):

1. How does the Urban Farming Institute envision Food Justice?
2. What are motivations for Food Justice work?
3. What is useful for planners to learn from these stories?
4. How does storytelling enhance planners' understanding?

Literature Review

A literature review, divided into three parts, will contextualize the results of the case study. The first part works to define Food Justice by comparing it to other food movements and by describing its anti-oppression framework. Secondly, it briefly reviews planners' involvement with supporting Food Justice. Lastly, intercultural competency in the field of planning, and specifically with food planning, is broadly discussed.

Qualitative Research

The research questions for this study are pursued through analysis of interviews with members of The Urban Farming Institute of Boston (UFI). A goal of this project is to take the listener "into respondents' lives," and to do this effectively a case-focused analysis was selected (Weiss, 1994, p.168). The use of oral history allows the sound of the contributing voices to become part of the

analysis, or "how a story is said" (Reissman, 2002, p.232). Looking deeply into the motivations of those involved with this single group allows the opportunity to tell a story grounded in the commonality of the interviewees' work.

Conducting this research with UFI uncovers nuances of Food Justice. There is a lack of research on Food Justice organizations. Analysis of these organizations could offer advocates "a very insightful case study to better understand the opportunities and perils of seeking a cohesive frame for [Food Justice]" (Sbicca, 2012, 457). Through the case study utilized in this thesis, the audience may learn broadly about the type of work and motivations of its participants, knowing that some details are specific to the subjects.

Storytelling as a Tool for Planners

"Change the story, and you change the city" (Goldstein et al., 2013, p.6)

To effectively answer the research questions, results of the case study interviews are presented as an oral history narrative, which can be thought of as a method of storytelling. Storytelling is no stranger to planning. Planners utilize storytelling in multiple ways outside of spoken narrative, such as through mapping, imagery, 3D modeling, or video, and each method has the ability to show change, priority, problem or success (Klaebe et al, 2007). Though the power of storytelling and its use as a method is thought to be a "softer" science, it can divulge common themes, dissect story elements or deepen conversations already happening (Sandercock, 2003; van Hulst, 2012).

In recent years, as new technologies and media have altered conventional communication, storytelling is increasingly seen as an essential tool for planners (Klaebe et al., 2007; van Hulst, 2012). The crucial relationship between storytelling and planning illuminates the past and looks towards the future, mediates through conflict, addresses intercultural needs, and builds a democratic, participatory community. By "organizing our attention, [stories] give us the details, messiness and particulars that matter to the storyteller. . . They also show the moral stance of the teller. In general, listening to and telling stories are fundamental activities in everyday planning practice" (van Hulst, 2012, p.302). Storytelling is both a tool to inform planning and a tool that describes planning (Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 1992; van Hulst, 2012).

Storytelling allows planners to link the past to an envisioned future (Goldstein et al., 2013; Klaebe et al., 2007; van Hulst, 2012; Throgmorton, 1992). Useful storytelling "can articulate a collective identity that transcends spatial and temporal limits, shaping a community of otherwise disparate voices into a coherent and plurivocal vision of the future" (Goldstein et al., 2013, p.16). In this way, stories allow for healing, as the subjective nature of one's own recollection allows for "therapeutic outcomes" of storytelling (Klaebe et al., 2007, p.6). Collaborative "planning is then less about authoritative guidance and more of a means for communities to take turns creating and retelling partially shared stories and weaving together a collective life out of their authentic lived experience" (Goldstein et al., 2013, p.6). Facilitated storytelling is a productive element of the planning process. For example, Goldstein et al. (2013) found that "storytelling

helped to forge a common purpose, develop a shared repertoire of knowledge and skills, and lay the groundwork for collaboration by requiring managers to work together across jurisdictions" (p.13). Stories therefore have the power of unifying communities.

Narratives also have a key role in intercultural planning. Sandercock (2003) explains:

> "there is usually a dominant culture whose version of events, of behavior, and practices, are the implicit norm. It is also usually the case that those engaged in planning, as a state-directed activity, are members of the dominant culture, and therefore less likely to recognize, let alone question, dominant cultural norms and practices. For a society to be functionally as well as formally multicultural, those norms occasionally have to be held up to the light and examined and challenged. One effective way to do that is through story" (p.19).

Because of this, it is important to pay attention to the authors of a narrative: the storyteller, characters, and the audience. Understanding their insertion into the planning process, planners must remember that they are joint authors in the created narrative (Throgmorton, 1992). Van Hulst (2012) argues that reviewing research where storytelling is used as a tool for planners "would normally reveal a commitment to more inclusive, community-focused forms of planning and less to bureaucratic, hierarchical forms that probably still form the bulk of instances of planning" (p.304). Through this cooperation, storytelling is necessary to facilitating negotiation and conflict resolution, as well as to aid in building democratic, participatory plans.

Storytelling is not always the best tool, nor the only tool. Van Hulst (2012) contends that "formal decision-making, investigation or the making of

concrete plans" may not be helped by stories (p.305). Storytelling is a progressive tool, yet there are still limitations;

> "Stories do part of the work. They mostly work at the level of sense or meaning-making. That is, they help actors to formulate what is important to them, what they value. They help put issues on the agenda, legitimize what is put on the agenda and reason towards a plausible, credible decision regarding those issues. At the same time, stories can be used to comment on or make use of what is on the agenda and the decision-making that develops" (van Hulst, 2012, p.311).

However, ignoring stories "undermines the experience and shared meaning of those living in a city" (Goldstein et al., 2013, p.1). Planners and communities must engage in storytelling to "identify system properties that are meaningful and compelling and enhance their personal and collective agency. They need to decide what will be made resilient, what are desired outcomes, whose resilience should have priority and who plays what role in transforming things for the better" (Goldstein et al., 2013, p.16). Stories help communities find avenues for transforming policy; often scholars "working on storytelling actually aim at influencing planning practice, rather than 'just' describing or explaining it" (Goldstein et al., 2013; van Hulst, 2012, p.303).

Interviews

The oral history narrative is comprised from thirteen recorded first-person interviews held over the course of six weeks. Participants from the Urban Farming Institute include staff, members of the board, farmers, and graduates of their Urban Farmer Training Program (UFTP). Each interview lasted between 35 and 80 minutes, though the majority of these were an hour in length.

The interviewees responded to questions regarding their personal and professional motivations for their work and their perspective on the mission of the Urban Farming Institute. The interviews focused on the participant's involvement with UFI, their community vision, opportunities and challenges within the Food Justice movement in Boston, and inspiration to continue their work. These were narrative interviews, and the stories shared were both factual and conceptual: interview subjects recounted historical details of their professional experience and provided personal accounts of their passion for the work (Kvale, 2007). Guiding interview questions were also crafted to aid in piecing together a narrative structure during interview synthesis. Sbicca's 2012 research on People's Grocery (PG), a Food Justice organization in Oakland, offered one model for this methodology. Her interview questions were organized into four groups; "(1) perceptions of and involvement with PG, (2) experiences in West Oakland, (3) understandings of FJ, and (4) perceptions of and experiences in movement building." (p.458).

Each interview was audio recorded on a Zoom H2n Handy Recorder and edited using Audacity.

Interview Synthesis and Analysis

The narratives collected through interviewing were interpreted through a Food Justice lens. After each interview, I took notes on the most prevalent themes of the interview, any stories that were particularly striking, and made a quick reflection on the interview process and efficacy of the questions posed.

Subsequently, I transcribed each interview. The transcripts were analyzed through meaning coding, as described by Kvale (2007). Transcript segments were placed into theme categories. The sound and flow of the final story was taken into consideration at this point. Storyteller Ira Glass recently discussed his process of transcribing interviews for radio content, and methods for efficiently sorting through data and editing to find and solidify a story construction (Orin, 2014). Per those recommendations, I labeled story clips that are entirely necessary for the success of the story, clips that are part of broader themes which became evident, and clips that are not directly related to the research questions or were not supportive of the material as a whole. As much as possible, strength was assessed relative to clarity in the description of the concept, contribution of a counterpoint or new perspective, and the use of storytelling tools, such as providing illustrative detail or vocal timber. Story themes became evident through both Kvale and Glass' methods. Segments sorted into categories enabled further creative narrative analysis.

Kvale (2007) states that, "the analysis may also be a reconstruction of the many tales told by the different subjects into a 'typical' narrative as a richer, more condensed and coherent story than the scattered stories of single interviews" (p.112). To this end, audio clips from the interviews are braided together so that many voices describe one theme or category. During the editing process, I kept track of the number of comments from each participant, with the hope of nearing equal time among participants.

With the advice of Norah Dooley, Executive Director of MassMouth, I reviewed various methods of story mapping. Reissman (2002) explores narrative structures such as Labrov's "fully formed" narrative and episodic organizations (p.232). I also considered Sandercock's (2003) components of a story. The final narrative in full most closely follows Burke's method, termed "dramatism," which answers "'What was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he [or she] did it (agency) and why (purpose)'" (Reissman, 2002, p.232). Using the software tool Prezi, transcripts were sorted to fit the story map illustrated in Figure 2.1.
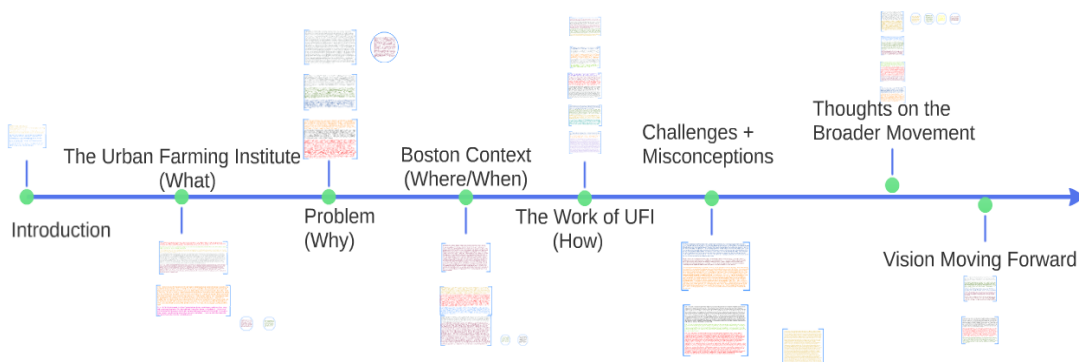
Figure 2.1: Story Mapping Methodology

Validity of Research

To ensure validity of this research methodology, I referred to Reissman's discussion of various ways of approaching validity: through "persuasiveness," "correspondence," "coherence," and "pragmatic use" (2002, p.258-261). To verify that each theme was addressed persuasively, so that it was "reasonable and convincing," I used longer audio segments so that the speaker provided content, to the extent that was possible (p.258). To assure validity through correspondence,

each audio clip used was approved by the speaker. However, Reissman mentions that this may not be a method of gaining lasting validity, that "Human stories are not static; meanings of experiences shift as consciousness changes" (p.259). With the passage of time, meanings of these stories may lose relevance or a participant's new experiences may reshape the connections and associations they make with the discussed material. To approach coherence, Reissman, citing Agar and Hobbs' (1982) three avenues, explains that:

> "Investigators must continuously modify initial hypotheses about speaker's beliefs and goals (global coherence) in light of the structure of particular narratives (local coherence) and recurrent themes that unify the text (themal coherence). Interpretation of meaning is constrained by the text in important ways, offering a check on ad hoc theorizing. It is difficult to apply Agar and Hobbs's framework to interaction in interviews, and the model assumes a rational speaker with a discourse plan, which will not suit all investigations" (p.260).

Global, local, and themal coherence between 13 different interviews is a difficult goal. Connections between stories were brought together as often as possible. To work towards validity of the narrative through pragmatic use, Reissman suggests transparency in the research process, which this section seeks to provide (p.261). Finally, in order to protect my interview participants, and in working with the Tufts University Institutional Review Board, the full individual transcripts and recordings of interviews will not be made public.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the methodology used in this study. First, I acknowledge that my positionality as a white woman has invariably affected my interviews, my relationship to those participants, and the story I found through my

research process. My insertion is especially important as much of the interview time was dedicated to discussing sensitive issues of race and class. It is also important to note that my work in this project was to craft the interview questions and edit my own retelling of the narrative collected, which is distinctly different from allowing others to approach me with stories to record.

Participants may have guarded their experiences because the interview was, in most cases, the first time we had met. Trust could have been better facilitated through multiple meetings with each interviewee. A limitation to the validity of this research also lies in my relationship with each participant and my "ability to create a stage where the subject is free and safe to talk of private events for later public use" (Kvale, 2007, p.8). Additionally, my method of preparing participants may have differing results had I used a workshop method (Klaebe et al., 2007). Using this strategy, I could have discussed methods of storytelling with participants in great detail to facilitate their narrative creation. I also could have opted to hold interviews with groups of participants, which may have helped interviewees to feel immediately supported of their opinions by their peers. Group interviews may also have sparked new discussion.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

PART ONE: Examining Food Justice

> *"The vision espoused by many food justice activists goes beyond one in which wealthy consumers vote with their forks in favor of a more environmentally sustainable food system to imagine that all communities, regardless of race or income, can have both increased access to healthy food and the power to influence a food system that prioritizes environmental and human needs over agribusiness profits"* (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.6).

Food Justice is a response to the consequences of the global industrial food system, with a particular focus on racial and economic equity. Food Justice is part of a wave of food movements that have formed over growing distrust of the conventional food system due to growing environmental, social, and economic crises. Advocates recognize disproportionate burdens for low-income communities and communities of color, which are aggravated in the current dominant system. Through the use of an anti-oppression framework, activists work to transform the food system.

A growing body of literature, the majority of which has been published within the last ten years, utilizes the framework of Food Justice to reflect concerns over the dominant narratives of the food system, which neglect to address tensions of race and class. At each facet of the food system, illustrated in Figure 3.1, advocates establish sustainability, building ecologically sound, equitable, and socially just practices.
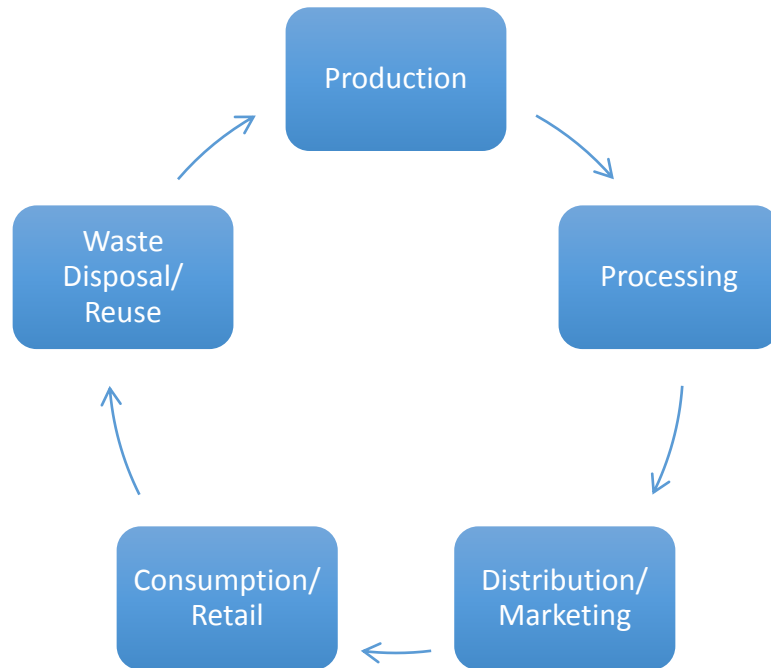
Figure 3.1: The Food System

For example, in regard to food production, Food Justice issues may include land ownership, farmworker rights, opportunities for entrepreneurship, and environmentally safe growing practices. Goals consist of attracting new small farmers, improving wages and working conditions of farmworkers, as well as ensuring respect for land and the environment. Food Justice takes into consideration how the location of activities, such as farming, affects nearby communities while also looking at who holds leadership positions. This line of questioning, extended to each component of the food system, gives a comprehensive look at systemic issues as they relate to Food Justice.

Advocates create pathways for participation for all, at each point in the food system. Alkon and Agyeman (2011) see that,

> "communities of color have been subject to laws and policies that have taken away their ability to own and manage land for food production,

though members of these communities continue to be exploited as farm laborers. Moreover, low-income communities and communities of color often lack access to locally available healthy food, and what food is available is often more expensive than similar purchases in wealthier areas" (p.4).

Food Justice advocates concerned with food accessibility scale up efforts so that foods are sold through multiple avenues, and so that the varieties of foods available reflect a connection to place and cultural needs, "not only as a way to build community, but as a tool toward racial and economic liberation" (Alkon and Agyeman, 2011, p.335). In the Food Justice movement, low income communities and communities of color are allies and leaders in developing strategies and frameworks for change. Similarly, Holt-Giménez (2010) points to the ways communities "are abused by the present food regime" as evidence of the need for change (p.323). These illustrations of the state of the food system show the immediacy of the need to address these deeply rooted systemic problems and move away from the dominant system which has taken power away from consumers and producers. Food Justice values equity, giving power back to individuals and communities by providing choice and opportunity, regardless of race, class, gender, or ability. Though still a relatively new concept, the Food Justice movement has three core aims, as articulated by Gottlieb and Joshi (2010):

> "(i) seeking to challenge and restructure the dominant food system, (ii) providing a core focus on equity and disparities and the struggles by those who are most vulnerable, and (iii) establishing linkages and common goals with other forms of social justice activism and advocacy- whether immigrant rights, worker justice, transportation and access, or land use" (p.ix).

Participants in the movement, often found within, or working for, community-based organizations, support the right to food access for all and work to enact autonomy through local food economies (Agyeman & Erickson, 2011; Agyeman & Simons, 2012; Holt-Giménez, 2010, Mares & Peña, 2011). The work operates simultaneously on local, national, and global scales as it "identifies different issues, groups, constituencies, and strategies. It targets the industrial agricultural and concentrated land ownership patterns, the exploitation of those who work the land or in the food production factories, and the hazards and inequities embedded in our dominant food growing and production system" (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010, p.149). The goals of Food Justice are further bolstered and corroborated by the related work of numerous social and environmental movements. Food Justice is part of a holistic social change movement that is able to "borrow from most every strand in the web of interrelated organizations and ideas" to combat inequities (Morales, 2011, p.150).

However, literature on the subject reveals that there is not yet consensus among scholars on the definition of Food Justice: "even among advocates and groups that have adopted the term *food justice*, there remain contradictions or at least differences in translating understanding to action" (Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010, p.xiv). Perhaps this is due, in part, to the existence of multiple food movements which are motivated by different food system needs. For this thesis, I will discuss activities and messaging of the Alternative Food Movement in comparison to Food Justice.

The Alternative Food Movement

The Alternative Food Movement (AFM) is arguably the most visible opposition to a global industrialized agricultural food system in the United States. The narrative of the Alternative Food Movement illustrates a focus on sustainable food production and access to nutritious foods. This movement gained ground in Europe, the United States, and Canada in the last thirty years, older than most Food Justice organizations. Guthman (2011) defines this movement as inclusive of "the broad range of practices and programs designed to bring producers and consumers into close proximity and to educate people of the value of local, sustainably grown, and seasonal food" (p. 264). AFM activists work to increase economic activities that support local food systems. Additionally, representative facets of the movement include local scale projects such as farmers markets, community supported agriculture programs (CSAs), community gardens, and curricular programming. AFM advocates are dedicated to food policy reform, with their influence in federal policies such as the Farm Bill, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), and the National School Lunch Act (NSLA). In recent years, AFM strategies have successfully linked federal and community goals through municipal support. With vocal leaders such as Wendell Berry, Michael Pollan, and Mark Bittman, the agenda of the alternative food system is pervasive.

Critics of the Alternative Food Movement have voiced concern over its perceived exclusivity, as it ignores social constructs of food (Slocum, 2007; Guthman, 2008; Guthman, 2011; Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Alkon, 2012). Their

vision propagates their ideals, often showcasing "an agrarian past that is far more easily romanticized by whites than others" (Guthman, 2011, p.275). Affluent white neighborhoods dominate alternative food practices and institutions.

Moreover, the Alternative Food Movement conflates barriers to entry, such as privilege of choice, with the need for food 're-education'. Increasingly, "charges of elitism have grown in light of influential organizations such as Slow Food USA championing local organic food despite high costs, which have often shut out low-income consumers" (Sbicca, 2012, p.455). Slow Food USA purports that "A better, cleaner, and fairer world begins with what we put on our plates-and our daily choices determine the future of the environment, economy and society" (2014). Those who cannot choose what they consume are therefore unable to participate in this way. Consumers' choice is further limited because market spaces tend to be placed in neighborhoods that are generally wealthier (Guthman, 2008). The Alternative Food Movement tends to treat households unable to buy into the movement as people in need of education surrounding diet and nutrition. Low-income households are not able to participate, as it has adopted a 'vote with your fork' strategy.

The goal of food education, as AFM describes it, emphasizes alternative food's focus on local solutions. Alternative Food advocates support "nutrition education via cooking classes and recipe distribution. Other responses include eliminating vending machines from schools, changing lunch menus, establishing farmers' markets in low-income areas and enabling the use of food stamps, WIC and senior coupons at farmers' markets" (Slocum, 2006, p.329). These efforts,

however well intentioned, may be misplaced, as "critics see the re-localization of food systems as certainly providing benefits to some, but not necessarily providing greater democratic participation" (DuPuis et al., 2011, p.294, Gottlieb & Joshi, 2010). Guthman (2011) articulates that

> "Many alternative food advocates in the United States see lack of knowledge as the most proximate obstacle to a transformed food system, and in their elevated esteem for farmers- and chefs- relative to others who make their living in the provision of food, these advocates think that consumers should be willing to pay the 'full cost' of food" (p.263).

The Alternative Food Movement misunderstands consumers' relationship to the food system. Alkon and Agyeman (2011), share the "belief that the dominant narrative, compelling as it may be to some, might drown out other stories. In these additional stories, food is not only linked to ecological sustainability, community, and health but also to racial, economic and environmental justice" (p.4). Education may certainly create health and social benefits for some, yet it does not appear to be a strategy capable of solving Food Justice concerns for all.

Exclusivity can also be attributed to the assumed universalism of whiteness in the Alternative Food Movement (Slocum, 2007; Guthman, 2008). The lack of a clear anti-racist framework exemplifies to some scholars that the Alternative Food Movement may be colorblind. This colorblindness is problematic due to "the assumption that values held primarily by whites are normal and widely shared" (Harper, 2011, p.23). Not only is it geographically easier for white wealthier households to participate in alternative food activities, but many of these projects are managed and patronized by a white, affluent

population, leaving the practices less appealing to low income communities and

communities of color. The Alternative Food Movement:

> "thrives on a culture of food that has been made white. How this food is
> produced, packaged, promoted and sold—engages with a white middle
> class consumer base that tends to be interested in personal health and
> perhaps in environmental integrity. White, wealthier bodies tend to be the
> ones in Whole Foods. . . There is a physical clustering of white bodies in
> the often expensive spaces of community food—conferences, farm
> tourism, community supported agriculture and alternative food stores—as
> well as the location, in the feminist sense, of non- profit staffer vis-à-vis
> food insecure person" (Slocum, 2007, p.526).

Without coordinating efforts between the Alternative Food Movement and

Food Justice, community interests are potentially further obstructed as equity

issues continue to be ignored by both the conventional food system and the

dominant food system change movement. Scholars have focused research on the

damage done by AFM practices through whites' domination (Alkon, 2012;

Hoover, 2013; Mares & Peña, 2011; Slocum, 2007). Further concerns associated

with the Alternative Food Movement are that "the white face of the movement is

perceived as a diversity problem rather than as a relational process embedded in

society that constitutes community food" (Slocum, 2006, p.331). The ability to

incorporate this message in alternative food groups is difficult, as evidenced by

Slocum's (2006) research on incorporating anti-racist practice in organizations

dedicated to alternative food. In her 2007 research, Slocum cautions

> "while the ideals of healthy food, people and land are not intrinsically
> white, the objectives, tendencies, strategies, the emphases and absences
> and the things over- looked in community food make them so. Whiteness
> coheres in alternative food practice in the act of 'doing good', a productive
> moment, that should not be condemned outright [. . .]What white farmers,
> feminists and foodies bring to writing, companion species, foodways, land

care, regionalism and farmers' markets is imperfect and inarticulate but also productive and part of ethical relating" (p.532).

Food projects that are not racially aware create white spaces. Guthman (2008) sees that this reinforces white food advocates' opinion that their work is charitable. For example, whites placing farmers markets and urban agriculture projects in communities of color often "lack resonance in the communities in which they are located" (Guthman, 2008, p.431). However, this dissonance is not due to a difference in values (Mares & Peña, 2011). Though the Alternative Food Movement and Food Justice share similar concerns regarding the economics of industrialized agriculture, the availability of foods and the sustainability of farming practices, the current messaging and limited scope of AFM limits its transformative power.

Despite differing strategies, Food Justice scholars see value in their relationship to the Alternative Food Movement. The AFM approach to food system change brings opportunities "to make food production more ecologically sustainable, just and humane and, more broadly, to enable thinking about ethical relations" (Slocum, 2007, p.531). Alkon (2012) shares that "My only consolation is that the predominantly white food movement increasingly recognizes the need to understand the influence of racial and economic inequality in the food system. These issues are not yet central but are moving in that direction" (p.170-1). Rather than using their frameworks to separate each movement, it could be more productive "to work toward building a stronger and deeper critique of industrialized agriculture, which includes injustice along with environmental and social degradation" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.4). Differences in language and

central goals may work to challenge ideals and strategies, and in turn, to broaden and strengthen the movement. Certainly, denying commonalities between the frameworks of Food Justice and of the Alternative Food Movement leads to further disunity.

Understanding the Anti-Oppression Framework

Essential to the objective of transforming the food system is Food Justice's utilization of an anti-oppression framework. Anti-racism work is still not widely practiced professionally, and deep effects of institutionalized racism in the food system prevail.

Connecting issues of racism and classism is essential to understanding Food Justice. Institutionalized racism is rooted throughout the United States' food system, which

> "was built on a foundation of genocide, slavery and layers of racist institutions that have dispossessed racialized groups of cultural pride, land and wealth, in gender- and class- specific ways. It survives, for instance, through the work of people of color who serve, disproportionately, in the hazardous work of farm labor and food processing. Institutionalized racism intersecting with processes of colonialism, welfare ideology and gender and class oppression is also visible in the areas of food insecurity, disease and excess death" (Slocum, 2006, p.337).

This worldview is juxtaposed with "whites' land ownership, greater food security and lesser vulnerability" (Slocum, 2006, p.338). In uprooting the conventional food system, control and opportunity need to be given back to low income communities and communities of color. Slocum (2007) finds that a prerequisite for change is for whites to recognize their privilege and to describe and frame the

food system in terms of benefits of whiteness. As well, justice cannot be approached without equity in leadership positions within food movements. Alkon and Agyeman (2011) agree: "Essential to the food justice movement is an analysis that recognizes the food system itself as a racial project and problematizes the influence of race and class on the production, distribution, and consumption of food" (p.5). To approach an equitable and just food system is to erase burdens placed on low income communities and communities of color and instead to create opportunities for control, ownership, and autonomy.

Through this work, it is understood that food politics are a crucial element of paradigm shift, that "food justice offers critical race theorists an opportunity to better understand how environmental racism and environmental privilege can affect racial identity formation" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.331). Racism and racial identity must be understood in relationship to the food system, as "food is deeply intertwined with both personal and cultural identities" and "racial difference is produced through geographies of food" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.10; Slocum, 2007, p.520). An anti-oppression framework understands that this encompasses more than solitary acts of racism, but the "multiplicities of racisms at work" (Pulido, 1996, p.143).

It is important for Food Justice advocates to explore what whiteness means. A thorough explanation of the manifestation of race and institutionalized racism can be found in Slocum (2007). Whiteness is "a set of structured privileges, a standpoint of normalcy, or a particular set of cultural politics and practices" (Guthman, 2011, p.266). Harper (2011) writes about whiteness as "to

know and move through a white-dominated nation such as the United States in a manner in which culturally familiar objects, spaces, and places are deemed racially 'neutral.' However, within nations that have a history of racialized colonialism, such objects, spaces, and places are often culturally specific to whites" (Harper, 2011, p.223-4). The food movement occupies one of these spaces, and currently benefits those who have privilege. It is the work of anti-racism to "decenter white as 'normal' or unmarked" (Guthman, 2011, p.266). Slocum (2006) shows that some whites working in the food movement are quick to glance over effects of racism, that they are often more comfortable pointing out other concerns in the food system, and thus never approach anti-oppression work. Simple awareness of systemic racism is not enough; "Whites may notice racism— it may even be cool to do so. They may be anxious about it or actively work against it, but ultimately holding onto the right to things that privilege enables and not recognizing that this is what we do means whites avoid an honest reckoning" (Slocum, 2006, p.337). Additionally problematic is that white alternative food practitioners often "prefer a countercultural image," seemingly denying their participation in this expression of racism (Slocum, 2006; Alkon, 2009; Hoover, 2013, p.113). A movement toward food system reform led by whites will never approach equity. With the absence of anti-racist practice, whites engaged with alternative food "fail to decenter whiteness" and therefore fail to create a just food system. (Slocum, 2006, p.343).

The presence of people of color participating in alternative food activities does not indicate success. In relationship to food practices, whiteness "is

dominant regardless of the number of bodies in a certain place" (Slocum, 2007, p.521). Anti-racism work is not meant to identify "who is a racist or not, but to uncover what whites think about being white and what effects that has on a racial system" (Guthman, 2011, p.266). In this way, anti-oppression frameworks allow whites to reflect on their place in the food system and on their position in transforming it. Anti-racist practices "offer a view of a different, progressive form of whiteness" (Slocum, 2007, p.522). Guthman (2011) believes that "Perhaps a place to start would be for us whites to state how much we do not know to open up the space that might allow for others to define the spaces and projects that will help spurn the transformation to a more just and ecological way of providing food" (Guthman, 2011, p.278). Detailed information regarding operationalizing anti-oppression work in Food Justice organizations is found in Slocum 2006 and 2007. Slocum (2006) demonstrates that anti-oppression work deconstructs the organizational structure of groups:

> "organizations with staff privileged by gender, class and/or whiteness learn how to be allies across difference in their work. Anti-racist practice would require nonprofits to know what issues are of concern to communities and then to evaluate whether these concerns are being addressed by their work. Organizations would then attempt through resource allocation, rhetorical practices, policy advocacy and so on to shift the balance of power toward historically oppressed groups in order to enable problem identification, leadership and solutions to develop within these com- munities" (p.340).

Utilizing anti-racist trainings creates honest discussion regarding the effectiveness of the strategies of organizations seeking food system change. This will be particularly useful as language and framing around Food Justice is cemented and as community based food organizations work together for change.

Anti-oppression work is a continuous practice, not a goal that may be reached (Slocum, 2006). Slocum (2007) reminds practitioners that this conversation does not at all times include all people of color; it should not be assumed that concerns are shared universally. She writes, "for instance, in nonprofit programming, a focus on poor blacks' consumption of 'bad' food and their subsequent obesity may inadvertently support bootstrap ideology" (Slocum, 2006, p.338). As well, Slocum notes that not every issue is one of white privilege, though it is one of the major barriers to security and justice in the food system: "To do so would ignore the agency of diverse peoples of color as well as the role of class exploitation and gendered relations of people of power" (Slocum, 2006, p.338).

Anti-racist practice is crucial to creating just food systems, yet "the question remains as to how, in the present tense, to work from the nexus of multiple racial, spatial, and economic circumstances" (Slocum, 2006; Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.337).

Disunity in Movement Language

Food Justice scholars identify the need to find cohesion in language concerning strategy and vision. Differences in framing threaten the impact of Food Justice. If food movements do not incorporate "an explicit focus on justice, we may be ushering in this type of two-tiered food system, based on a politics of complacency among the privileged who benefit from the alternative agrifood system" (Allen, 2008, p.159). The Alternative Food Movement and Food Justice

need to work in partnership to arrive at their transformative vision, as they each

are working against the effects of the industrial food system. Gottlieb and Joshi

(2010) believe the Food Justice paradigm would be clarified if there were "a

central metaphor to situate the ways in which the food system could be

transformed" (p.5). Food Justice advocates accept varying definitions of their

work (Slocum, 2007; DuPuis et al., 2011; Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Gottlieb &

Joshi, 2010). Illustrating this, Slocum (2007) reasons that she uses "the terms

'community food' and 'alternative food practices' interchangeably to stand for

this loose confluence of efforts" (p.522). Practitioners are also tasked with

ensuring that communities will support the possibility of new messaging. Sbicca

(2012) explains that "this is a crucial question given the often divisive roles that

race, class, and gender play within the agrifood system as well as the [Alternative

Food Movement] (p. 457). Food Justice will be strengthened with streamlined

messaging.

> However, Agyeman and Simons (2012) remind us that
>
> "in the same way as 'environmental justice' arose out of a disquiet over
> control of the environmental agenda in the 1980s, and 'climate justice' is
> growing as a result of a lack of equity and justice considerations in the
> mostly science-economics focused climate campaigns, discourses around
> 'food justice,' 'food democracy' and 'community food security' are rising
> to the top of the agenda for many food system scholars and activists" (p.
> 86).

The Environmental Justice framework is a useful example for Food Justice

advocates "to emphasize the disproportionate lack of access to healthy foods"

(Sbicca, 2012, p. 457). Collaboration with similar environmental and social

justice movements is instrumental, "for only through such collaboration can a

mass movement confront, and eventually transform, a destructive industrial agriculture into a just and sustainable food system" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.344). Coalition building is a step toward unity (Hassanein, 2003).

Through reviewing scholars' perspective on Food Justice, it is evident that it is easier to define Food Justice by its vision rather than by its activities. Food Justice empowers "all communities, regardless of race or income, [to] have both increased access to healthy food and the power to influence a food system that prioritized environmental and human needs over agribusiness profits. This vision clearly weaves together justice and sustainability" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p.6). The literature discloses a history of food movements, which have varying messages, strategies, and languages. What is clear is that advocates are not united in mission and language- though strategy and methods may differ, it is apparent that at this point, there is still disparity among scholars in distinguishing Food Justice. As cities across the country begin to tackle food system concerns, the need for transparency in this growing field becomes clear. Strategies for creating strong, resilient communities are misplaced without a just food system.

PART TWO: Food Justice and Planning

Food system planning is a multidisciplinary field that calls for participation from broad networks of food system stakeholders (Pothukuchi, 2004; Freedgood et al., 2011). The impetus to make the connection between Food

Justice and planning came largely from communities recognizing the need for

municipal response to the strain of externalities brought on by the conventional

food system (Pothukuchi, 2009). Food Justice work is valuable to municipal

departments and can strengthen effects of current directives. Planners must utilize

Food Justice to provide equitable service to the communities they serve as they

move forward with planning initiatives.   This section provides justification for

Food Justice planning and an overview of key strategies food planners are

currently using.

Policy trends in the United States began to shift around the year 2000 to

support food initiatives in urban areas, adopting a comprehensive systems

approach that benefits food systems advocates (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999).

The American Planning Association (APA) demonstrated their interest in food

planning through the creation of a Food System Planning Working Group and the

release of policy guides and reports dedicated to successful food planning

measures (Raja et al., 2008; Hodgson, 2012; American Planning Association,

2007). Scholars find clear linkages between food policy and planning;

> "First, food is a basic human need; planning has a deep interest in making
> places better serve the needs of people. Second, food systems are
> interconnected with communities' economies, vitality, health, and natural
> environments; attention to interconnections among communities' social,
> economic, physical, and environmental dimensions is yet another essential
> theme in planning's professional identity" (Pothukuchi, 2004, p.360).

As such, planning initiatives and policies have long impacted food system work.

For example, in areas such as land use and economic development, planning has

affected the location of food businesses, opportunities for food related

entrepreneurship, and success of small farms. The food system alters the

landscape of cities; "it makes public places available like coffee shops, restaurants, and farmers markets where social interaction more and more takes place" (Clancy, 2004, p.436). Current planning perspectives consider that objectives surrounding strengthening the food system need to be approached comprehensively and through coordinated efforts, as food planning. Examples of supporting a community food system include "reducing unnecessary freight transport; supporting the local economy; creating links between rural and urban, producers and consumers; and leading to closed loop cycles that may prove more sustainable than current food systems in the long term" (Nichol, 2003 p.409-410). Applying a systems approach allows municipalities to more efficiently meet goals.

Without planning for Food Justice, communities face significant risk. Pothukuchi's (2004) research details this through outlining major concerns found in the conventional system, such as: the distance from producer to consumer, environmental concerns, diet-related illness as a result of choice, access, and cost, global capitalism- consolidated markets, hunger and food insecurity, and a lack of systems approaches (p.358-9). Food Justice is a multidisciplinary practice, requiring comprehensive solutions. In the literature, scholars are critical of the pace at which planning has incorporated food initiatives. Thibert (2012) recalls that the history of urban agriculture "in North America did not appear *as a result* of planning; rather, it emerged as a social and environmental movement *in spite of* planning" (p.352). Scholars emphasize that planners' disregard of the food system

is problematic. Food systems change creates opportunities for progressive

development in many sectors:

> "For example, a lack of food system analysis leads planners to fold grocery store development and location into a broader category of commercial retail development without considering the higher priority that food merits among household needs. Failure to systematically devise communitywide plans for composting food wastes results in their being dumped into landfills—thereby making landfills 12 to15% larger than they otherwise would be and depriving households and farmers of a valuable organic fertilizer" (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000, p.114).

Planners have created a strong foundation to guide strategies of food

systems planning. CLF Ventures, Inc. and the Metropolitan Area Planning

Council recently compiled a Municipal Food Systems Planning Toolkit,

identifying five planning priorities which directly intersect with the food system

and can benefit from its inclusion; economic development, health, environmental

sustainability, equity, and education (Hamilton et al., 2013). This toolkit details

the parallels between planning goals and food system needs, showing logical

applications of food planning. As with other policy initiatives, progress in the

field requires advocates and practitioners at all levels; neighborhoods, cities,

regions, national.

> "Such an integration of food security goals into the larger community agenda may also result in specific forms of interaction between local municipal agencies (perhaps even the development of a city department of food), between urban and rural areas, between different levels of government, and between public, private, and nonprofit agencies" (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000, p.121).

In her 2004 research, Campbell clarifies stakeholders, and their values, powers,

and goals: how are planners incentivized to do this work, for instance, "a mandate

from their local governing body would significantly influence their involvement

with food issues" (Clancy, 2004, p.437). Without this mandate, practitioners may broaden their networks to work with existing planning departments and build coalitions. In these areas, collaboration should be emphasized.

Comprehensive and collaborative planning is essential to the success of Food Justice. Food Justice cannot be thought of in isolation from policies and initiatives derived from a variety of municipal departments. Hoover (2013) asserts the need to have planners and advocates actively collaborate in community visioning. He suggests continuously asking questions such as,

> "How does a neighborhood predominately occupied by African Americans see themselves participating in this movement? What sort of food would this neighborhood be more inclined to purchase, or, better yet, grow? What does a local Latino community believe should be included in city zoning codes?" (Hoover, 2013, p.113).

From this perspective, planners are responsible for facilitating community visions and needs. Because of their vast networks, planners can partner with community leaders to ensure that the food economy is sustainable and vibrant (Clancy, 2004). To cultivate sustainable opportunities at each link in the food system, planners must actively engage with their communities.

Planners may lend their skills to aid in comprehensive food planning through a variety of tools. In each case, viable solutions will be unique to each community. Existing documents and toolkits detail how to effectively plan for sustainable development and incorporation of food system and food economy activities (Pothukuchi, 2004; American Planning Association, 2007; Raja et al., 2008; Hodgson, 2012; Hamilton et al., 2013). Planners and scholars have found specific methods useful for targeting approaches to specific community needs.

The following pages contain a brief review of four strategies for incorporating the vision of Food Justice into planning work.

Food System Assessments

Planning scholars agree that utilizing assessments is critical to understanding key issues unique to each locality (Campbell, 2004; Pothukuchi, 2004; Freedgood et al., 2011). Food system assessment tools are rather new, and most have only emerged in the past five years. However, assessments, such as environmental impact assessments or needs assessments, are commonplace to practitioners. Community Food Assessments (CFAs) analyze assets and opportunities to help planners, advocates, and municipal leaders strategize optimal approaches to strengthen the intended community.

Pothukuchi (2004) details a comprehensive explanation of the CFA strategy, outlined in Figure 3.2. Assessments aid in "understanding (and resolving) problems faced by residents in gaining access to nutritious foods, creating university-community partnerships, [and] improving access to locally produced and healthful choices of food while strengthening regional agriculture" (p.362). Assessments link community concerns, reinforcing a regional perspective, "especially in the areas of agriculture, social welfare, and nutrition" (p.373). A method of sustainable planning, Community Food Assessments demonstrate their value to all planners by producing regional strategic visioning (p.372).

Neighborhood, city, or
regional context

Food system activities

- Production
- Processing
- Distribution
- Consumption
- Recycling of food
  system wastes

**Community
Development Objectives**

- Preventing hunger
- Enhancing community health
- Strengthening local economy
- Revitalizing neighborhoods
- Conserving natural resources,
  protecting the environment
- Developing just, equitable
  social processes and outcomes
- Preserving cultural heritage
- Etc.

Strategies for community change

- Mobilizing the community
  (organizing, coalition-building,
  collaboration)
- Community education
- Public policy advocacy
- Physical improvement, program
  development
- Social services development

**Community Food
Assessment**

**Community & Food System
Change Agents**

- Individuals
- Nonprofits & community-based
  organizations & coalitions
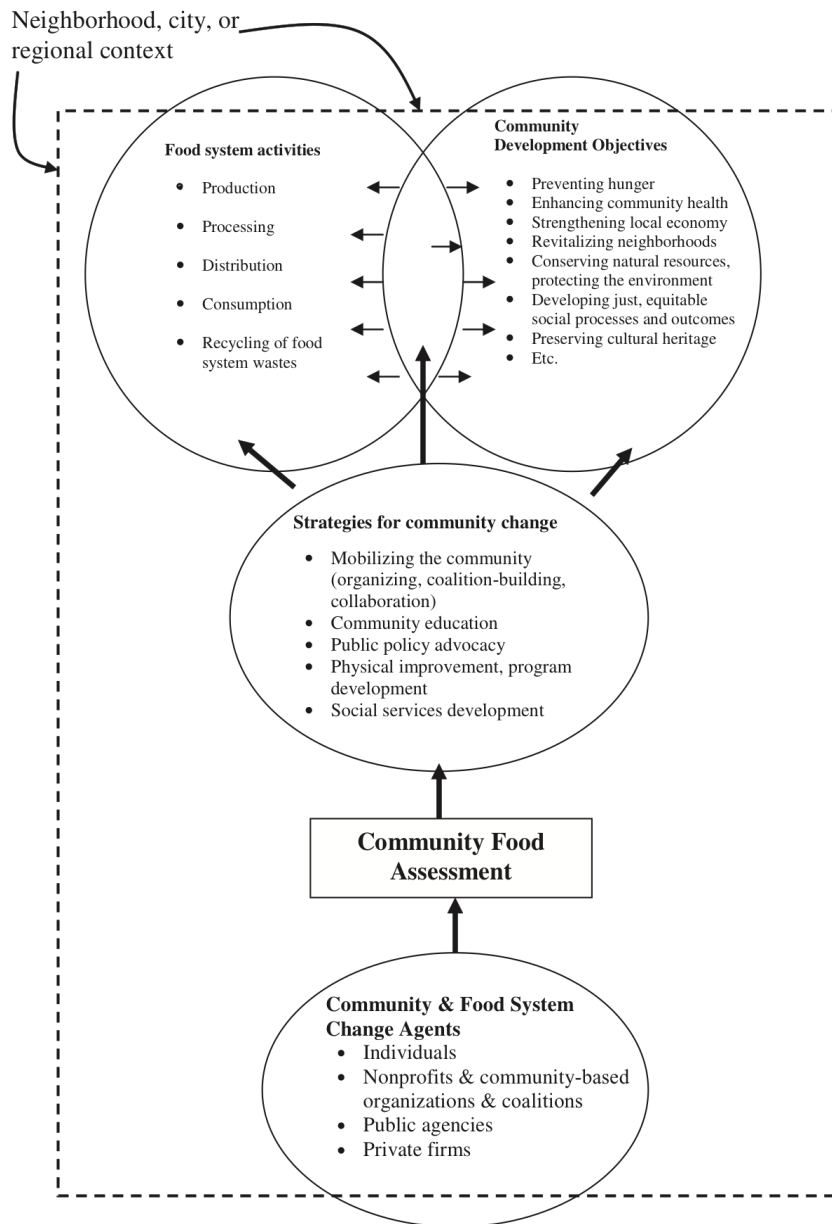- Public agencies
- Private firms

Figure 3.2: Community Food Assessment Strategy (Pothukuchi, 2004, p.361).

Freedgood et al. (2011) expanded on Pothukuchi's work, charting an

overview of food system assessment opportunities and plotted types of

assessments that planners may want to utilize. This chart includes categories such

as the foodshed assessment, comprehensive food system assessment, community

food security assessment, community food asset mapping, food desert mapping,

land inventory food assessment, local food economy assessment, and the food industry assessment (p.86-88). Utilizing an array of assessment tools increases community engagement and allows planners to tailor the focus of their work to meet specific needs of communities.

Transparency and Accessibility of Data and Research

Scholars recognize that planners support food system work through making data and research accessible and transparent for community advocates. Planners should be proactive in collaborative processes and should dedicate capacity to making data and information available (Campbell 2004). Spatial analysis of resources, assets, and opportunities using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) must be shared with communities, who often lack access to this technology. Pothukuchi and Kaufman (2000) suggest planners may aid in gathering data, analyzing connections, and assessing planning implications.

Food Policy Councils

Literature on food planning reveals support for creating Food Policy Councils (FPCs) to facilitate connections between policy and practice (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999; Pothukuchi, 2009). While most FPCs hold no regulatory authority, they are closely linked with planning agencies and municipal governments (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999). The number of Food Policy Councils has sharply increased in North America, from 15 active councils in 1999 to 193 reported in 2012 (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999, p.214; Winne, 2013).

Examples of innovative Food Policy Councils come from the Toronto FPC and the Portland- Multnomah FPC in Oregon (Raja et al., 2008). General projects and tasks of an FPC consist of:

- "analyzing the impact of the private food industry on low-income communities; improving the access of low-income residents to food stores by improving transportation or influencing grocery store location decisions;
- establishing community gardens for affordable and fresh produce; facilitating food related employment and entrepreneurship;
- educating residents and leaders on issues related to nutrition, food shopping, gardening, and preparation; encouraging environmentally sustainable food production and distribution;
- strengthening urban-rural links by connecting local farmers with local consumers; and devising innovative hunger-prevention programs" (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999, p.220).

Members work to translate community requests and needs into municipal or regional policy to create opportunity and pursue the creation of a sustainable food system. FPCs negotiate between numerous interests, as members represent each area of the food system, including

"farmers, food processors, wholesalers or distributors, retailers, institutional purchasers, school food-service staff, nutritionists and dieticians, anti-hunger advocates, food- related and other nonprofits, cooperative extension service faculty and staff, religious groups, academic researchers, concerned citizens, and representatives from local, county, and state government agencies or departments" (Campbell, 2004, p. 350).

In 2012, the Harvard Food Law and Policy Clinic published a toolkit that provides FPCs with strategic guidance towards success. By systematically addressing food system needs, bringing together local governments and communities, and empowering entrepreneurs to improve the vitality of a region, Food Policy Councils assist in the creation of strong community food economies.

Food Planners in Municipal Departments and Planning Agencies

Another avenue through which food planning can be operationalized is the formation of a municipal Department of Food. Several cities in the United States have created departments for this work, and Metropolitan Planning Organizations have also created roles for food planners. Examples of comprehensive city plans incorporating food planning come from Seattle and Madison (Raja et al., 2008). The addition of food planning strengthens the local and regional economy, improves the health of citizens, and prioritizes equitable solutions (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000). These departments could assume the following functions:

> "a. *A central intelligence function*, to facilitate market operations for different food system functions – from production to consumption to disposal of wastes – through regular issuance of market analyses;
> b. *A pulse-taking function*, to alert the community through periodic reports to danger signs in the economy that may impact food access, hunger and nutrition, population and food business movements;
> c. *A policy clarification function*, to help frame and regularly revise food system functions of local government;
> d. *A community food security strategic plan function*, to phase specific private and public programs as part of a comprehensive course of action towards enhancing community food security for a period of 10 to 20 years;
> e. *A feedback review function*, to analyze through careful research the consequences of program and project activities as a guide to future action" (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999, p.219).

These five core functions demonstrate the reach of food planners with a municipal remit. For example, planners, in the course of working for the city, can make public land available, and perhaps in a more thoughtful, deliberate manner than might otherwise be realized without their translational role; "the city's role is not simply to deregulate but rather to regulate appropriately, and in consultation with those who are already farming" (Thibert, 2012, p.355). A department dedicated to food planning integrates goals of community food planning into the city's

comprehensive plans, and can clarify commonalities and opportunities for effective, sustainable practices (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 2000).

Obstacles that Food Justice advocates face will be overcome "only when they can integrate political will, skilled policy and program practice, appropriate food system expertise, and strong interdisciplinary and intersectoral partnerships developed around middle- and long-term goals but with immediate mutual benefits" (Pothukuchi, 2009, p.365). Support from the American Planning Association and the proliferation of food planning work in U.S. cities hints at longevity of the practice and indicates that planners are necessary to support the goals of Food Justice. These tools and strategies signify the importance of food planning to community development and show that there are tangible ways planners can facilitate food system transformation.

PART THREE: Intercultural Competency and Planning

An overview of intercultural competency is necessary to fully connect the field of planning to Food Justice work. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a watershed moment in the United States' treatment of cultural equity and fairness concerns- current progress in the Food Justice movement stems largely from this era of social activism. Since that time, various professional fields have thoughtfully considered how to interpret their practice through the adaptation of intercultural competence. Currently, the majority of literature on intercultural competency is located in the health care, social work, psychology, and education

fields; there is an apparent lack of discussion of the linkage between intercultural competency and urban planning (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012). As such, the following section will draw from current thinking in professional fields to find how intercultural competency might become a priority in the practice of planning.

Scholars debate the definition of intercultural competency, as its proximity to discussions of inclusion is often problematic (Lum, 2007). An introduction to intercultural competency requires the knowledge of how it is different from terms such as race, ethnicity, minority, class, multiculturalism, and diversity (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008). These words do not connote the same meaning as intercultural understanding, since "culture is predicated on difference and on otherness and is a complex, dynamic and embodied set of realities in which people (re)create identities, meanings, and values . . . no one person can be reduced to one single or fixed cultural or other form of identity" (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012, p.359). Culture is fluid and "the identification of cultural background of an individual can be problematic, because the impact of culture can be conscious or unconscious" (Lum, 2007; Tseng & Streltzer, 2008, p.1). Culture refers to all ways of identifying one's self, such as through gender, sexuality, ability, race, or economic standing (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012). Culture is inclusive of *behavior* and is expressed through routines and customs (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008). Agyeman & Erickson (2012) point to the limitations of equating 'intercultural' with words such as 'multicultural' or 'diverse,' terms that have historically prompted reactive work in an effort to "manage," to "negotiate," or to "handle" it (p.360-361).

In brief, intercultural competency is the continuous search for cultural

knowledge and the understanding of how to fold this into one's one worldview or

professional responsibility. Put another way, "*Cultural literacy* is the capacity to

acquire, interpret and apply knowledge about culture. This creates the possibility

to take an apparently familiar issue or discipline and to look at it afresh through

an *intercultural lens*" (Wood & Landry, 2008, p.245). This lens affords greater

clarity and circumspection than one might otherwise have. Cultural competency

creates "a cultural capital that enables us to act sensitively and effectively in a

world of differences. It is as crucial for survival as is the ability to read, write and

count" (Wood & Landry, 2008, p.250). Cultural competency does look at racial

and economic inequalities, yet it is inclusive of all inequity, because "it is

intimately about increasing equality" (Agyeman & Erickson, 2012, p.359).

Betancourt et al. (2003) offer a comprehensive understanding of the vital

connection between intercultural competency and the health care system. The

authors summarize this relationship as follows:

> "One that acknowledges and incorporates- at all levels- the importance of
> culture, assessment of cross-cultural relations, vigilance toward the
> dynamics that result from cultural differences, expansion of cultural
> knowledge, and adaptation of services to meet culturally unique needs. A
> culturally competent system is also built on an awareness of the
> integration and interaction of health beliefs and behaviors, disease
> prevalence and incidence, and treatment outcomes for different patient
> populations" (p.294).

Their definition articulates the range of influence culture has on a patient's

interaction with health care. Interculturally competent care produces positive

health outcomes. Tseng and Streltzer (2008) discuss intercultural competence's

connection to "cultural empathy" as "the ability to develop an empathic

understanding at an emotional level so that a true connection can be made, which, in turn, often allows the most appropriate care to be rendered" (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008, p.128-9). "In a medical setting, three types of culture are present and interact with each other—namely, the culture of the patient, the culture of the physician, and a specific medical culture" (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008, p.8). In the context of the planning field, this could be understood as the culture of the planner, the culture of the resident or citizen, and the culture of planning in the specific community, neighborhood, or municipality. The authors note that with each of these distinctions come assumptions and expectations to be cognizant of. More broadly, the health care field demonstrates that,

> "Beyond sensitivity, a clinician needs to have a certain base of cultural knowledge about humankind as a whole, and of the particular patient and family concerned. It is impossible to know about every cultural system. However, it is desirable for a clinician to have some basic anthropological knowledge about how human beings vary in their habits, customs, beliefs, value systems, and illness behavior, in particular" (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008, p.128).

Planners may draw from cultural knowledge as well. To gain cultural knowledge of those they serve, planners should look to networks with community organizers, through public meetings, and, most importantly, through intentionally developing a working relationship with the communities served. Culturally competent planners incorporate into their work this type of information gathering/ community relationship forming. From the medical field, planners can learn about their insertion into community work, while remaining passively aware of the inherent power imbalance, and its attendant complications.

Lum (2007) describes social workers' commitment to intercultural competency. To begin, the author points to the National Association of Social Workers Code of Ethics, adopted in 1996, which, like the medical field, underscores the impact of cultural knowledge;

> "In brief, *our working definition of cultural competence* in a social work practice context involves the *mutual consent* of the worker and the client to become *culturally proficient by participating together* in the *exploration and learning* of cultural and ethnic history, values, and behavioral issues which are relevant to *understanding particular problems* in the helping relationship as part of the *micro practice process* and to work toward the development of *meso and macro policies and programs* which benefit clients who are culturally and ethnically diverse" (p.20).

The author uses "meso" to describe organizational approaches and "micro" to describe individual approaches (Lum, 2007). To become more competent, planners may need to release some of the tacit hierarchical status the field appears to have accepted to work from a role of facilitator rather than authoritarian (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008). It is important to note that the current conversations in the social work field point to a few criticisms regarding effecting intercultural competence. Namely, scholars want to see quantitative measuring of outcomes, and an application of epistemology to define frameworks and definitions for cultural competence (Lum, 2007).

The American Institute of Certified Planners' (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, last updated in 2009, notes that planners' "overall responsibility to the public" includes seeking "social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration." To this end, certified planners "shall urge the alteration of policies,

institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs" (American Planning Association, 2009). This is the only direct reference to intercultural competence in the entire document. While the AICP Code of Ethics requires socially just planning, it lacks a thoughtful examination of how this may be accomplished in realistic planning processes. To institute explicit intercultural competency in the field of planning would require a new framework to consider avenues of leadership and community participation opportunities, as well as the full range of planning tools and skills used. Intercultural competency is needed to plan for all populations; planners must openly enter into their work with an ethic of honest and transparent communication (Tseng & Streltzer, 2008).

The profession must clarify how planners incorporate intercultural competence "to recognize, understand, and engage difference, diversity, and cultural heterogeneity in creative and productive ways" (Agyeman, 2012b). Agyeman and Erickson (2012) look to Sandercock (1998) to characterize intercultural competency in the planning field- it is the "range of awareness, beliefs, knowledge, skills, behaviors, and professional practice that will assist in planning *in, for*, and *with* "multiple publics'" (p.359). Practitioners must see that cultural knowledge reflects the neighborhood, which is never static. Cultural competency is not achieved outright, but exists as a continuous process of learning and care throughout a planner's career. This notion works well with planners' understanding that communities are always in flux and that planners must work to anticipate and respond to constituents' changing needs.

However, the planning field is already privileged and rather myopic; "It is important to note at the outset that the professions most closely associated with place making and the policy, planning, design, and development of public and open spaces are not known for their difference or diversity, nor for their cultural heterogeneity" (Agyeman, 2012b). Policies determined or written by urban planners related to transportation, land use, housing, or zoning, for example, are each generally completed with only the understanding of the planners' culture, rather than cultural knowledge of the community.

Though much of the literature on intercultural competence and planning is theoretical, some scholars offer actionable means of approaching cultural literacy in planning. One place to institute change is through educating new planners through curriculum on intercultural competence. Agyeman and Erickson (2012) detail topics to discuss in planning courses aligned with competency themes they have noted as systemic elements. Additionally, Wood and Landry (2008) offer practical guidance for planners and policy makers. Their work includes introductory self- reflection questions to bring awareness to planners' individual assumptions. The authors also offer Figure 3.2, taken from Brecknock (2006), to illustrate how questions of intercultural competence may affect a planning process.
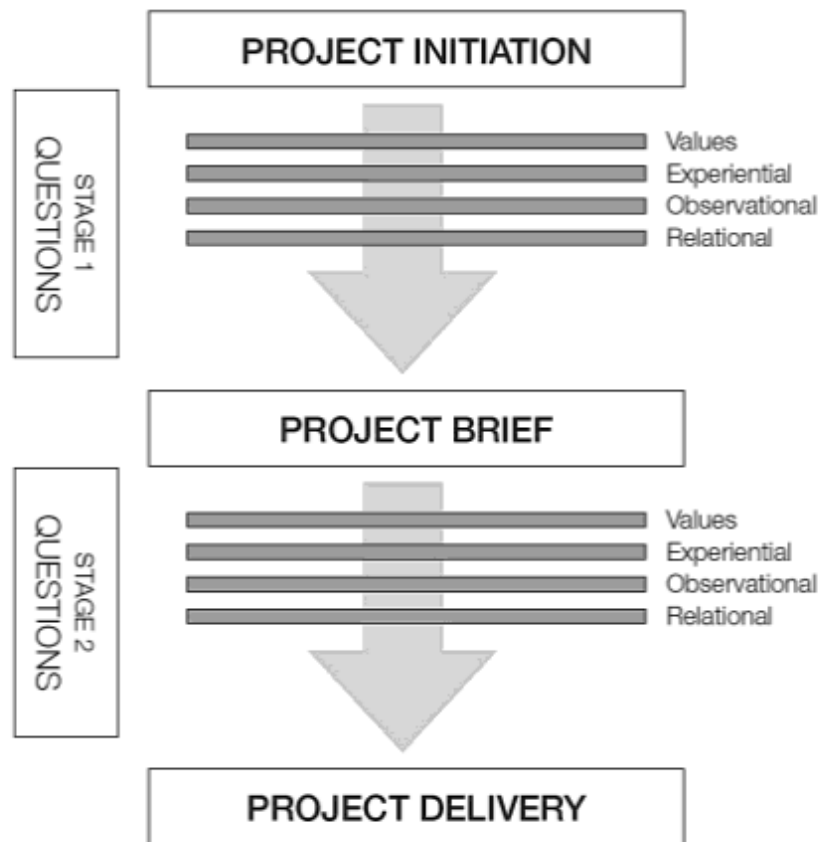
Figure 3.3: Intercultural competency filters applied to the planning process. Brecknock (2006), sourced in Wood & Landry, 2008, p.248.

Cultural competence, the process of revealing one's own cultural assumptions and exploring cultural knowledge and assumptions of others, can be exposed through cultural filters. Culturally competent planners approach each stage of a project's planning process critically, through filters. In the above figure, the values filter asks, "what values should inform the project?" (p.246). The experiential quality filter seeks "the nature of the experiences the project aims to create" (p.246). The observational quality assesses "the visual impact of the project," and the relational quality inquires, "what linkages will a project enable or prevent?"

(p.246). This example of cultural filters is useful in considering how to practically apply cultural literacy in the field of planning.

This line of questioning is particularly constructive when applied to issues of planning for Food Justice. Rather than coordinating planning processes in isolation, these questions help planners look to the community for help identifying potential benefits and barriers. As place makers, planners must prioritize the intercultural lens, thereby positioning communities in an economic and social advantage (Wood & Landry, 2008).

Chapter 4: Audio Narrative

Telling the Story of Food Justice

Section I: Introduction

Section II: The Urban Farming Institute of Boston, 00:03:01

Section III: The Problem, 00:12:09

Section IV: Boston Context, 00:30:16

Section V: The Work of The Urban Farming Institute of Boston, 00:55:41

Section VI: Challenges and Misconceptions, 01:21:58

Section VII: Thoughts on a Broader Movement, 01:36:33

Section VIII: Vision Moving Forward, 01:51:58

Chapter 5: Findings, Recommendations, and Conclusions

Findings

The Urban Farming Institute of Boston utilizes a Food Justice framework in their approaches. Through farmer training, land acquisition, and advocacy work, UFI addresses racial and economic inequity. These activities shape UFI's vision of Food Justice, which includes three main tenets: facilitating community control, increasing economic opportunity, and connecting to additional justice goals.

Community Control

In discussing their definition and understanding of community, interviewees from UFI talked about their excitement with youth involvement, learning from farmers and advocates in and outside of the city, and specific memories of bonding with neighbors in Dorchester and Roxbury. These individual connections are what continue to build community in the Food Justice movement. What strengthens these connections is a central value that most interviewees emphasized, which makes racial and economic justice possible-community control and choice. It is clear that UFI's work is guided by the best interests of community members, including neighbors who live by vacant lots or new urban farms, youth who visit farms or who may be interested in learning about food production, and consumers who purchase food at nearby grocery stores or corner stores.

UFI has benefited from several partnerships that have proven vital to community control. Coordination with the City of Boston's Department of Neighborhood Development, The Trust for Public Land (a national land trust), and Dudley Neighbors, Inc. (a local land trust) have made land acquisition for commercial farming possible for UFI. Farming curriculum adapted from the New Entry Sustainable Farming Project arms trainees with skills and knowledge to be successful urban farmworkers and owners. Private land owners, such as Sportsman's Tennis Club, have provided additional land for farming. These relationships show that UFI reaches out to engage stakeholders in their Food Justice approach to food systems work.

What is key in order for Food Justice to succeed is that it is practiced by and for the community, a sentiment repeated frequently throughout the interviews. Each farmer I spoke with readily shared their sense of pride in working in the community they grew up in. Towards this end, UFI is involved in considerable community engagement in the selection of vacant lots to be converted to urban farms. UFI's understanding of Food Justice dictates that communities of color are not simply aware of what work is being done, but that they may become active leaders in the movement as well. Reflecting on community control, one interviewee directly mentioned the importance of ensuring that UFI is not colorblind. Ideas of community control were also linked to community food security and equitable access to benefits of food system change. Interviewees noted that they felt local food production is extremely important, given its ties to land stewardship, climate change, and local economics. Stories from participants

show that self- sufficiency and community sovereignty are gained through Food

Justice and its implementation at UFI.

Economic Opportunity

Diversifying economic opportunities in the food system is at the core of

UFI's vision of Food Justice. From the stories gathered, it is evident that UFI

actively considers what meaningful employment looks like. Though no specific

salary was quoted, it is apparent that full-time farm work is not lucrative, and at

this point, may be hard to come by due to land limitations. However, numerous

interviewees shared that they felt this will change in the coming years. Current

farmers and farming trainees, termed "agra-preneurs," are developing the market

for their produce, and they anticipate that more public land will be allocated for

commercial farming. Though interviewees warn that the work is hard, they do

believe UFI offers an entry to good jobs through their farmer training. Current

graduates working as farmers with City Growers appreciate working on

commission, so that they are paid fairly for their labor. Interviewees noted that

they are exploring new economic models of employment, such as a cooperative

model to reduce costs and benefit from shared resources. There is clear

determination to create a sustained economic climate for the future success of

urban farmers. Another participant shared that farming with UFI and City

Growers does not require a CORI check, so that all community members are

eligible for work. Prioritizing job creation differentiates the Urban Farming

Institute from other efforts for food system change. At this point, small farms are

economically viable when produce is sold to restaurants and grocers at cost.

Therefore, many interviewees stated that they are not currently increasing food

access, a main goal for many Alternative Food Movement practices. UFI sees the

strength of the communities in which they work and seeks to create a center of

economic opportunity in food production.

Connections to Additional Justice Goals

Interviewees discussed how their vision for Food Justice intersects with

additional justice goals. A number of interviewees warned that Food Justice

stories may not provide a complete picture of the transformative change that

participants are involved in, and that in discussing Food Justice, they did not want

to distinguish from other types of justice; that the movements are too closely

linked. In this way, participants spoke of how food production and job creation

intersects with issues of inequity. Food Justice is interdisciplinary- it is connected

to housing, public health, technology innovation, education, environmental

justice, and land development. Several interviewees were led to working towards

Food Justice through their initial involvement with work in these other fields.

Food Justice's prioritization on issues of race and class creates linkages to this

work in other sectors. One interviewee shared a vision of Food Justice as being

able to provide a comprehensive support system to their farming trainees through

partnerships in other sectors so that their community is holistically empowered.

UFI explores these areas through their partnerships and advocacy work.

In sum, the Urban Farming Institute envisions a model of Food Justice that utilizes new economic models of farming and entrepreneurship to ensure community control and choice within a broader understanding of justice and food movements.

Motivations for Food Justice Work

Stories from participating members of the Urban Farming Institute illustrate deep connections to the goals of Food Justice originating in formative personal experiences. The majority of interviewees have years of experience living and working in the neighborhoods of Boston, with over half of the interviewees noting that they were raised, or spent considerable time in Dorchester, Roxbury, or Mattapan. Interviewees identified a notable disconnection in these neighborhoods between the underutilized skills and passions of their community members with the detrimental and lasting effects of redlining, busing, and disinvestment which, taken together, have segregated Boston's neighborhoods. One interviewee recalled towing cars from a vacant lot in summer heat- symbols of white flight left ignored. Another example of motivation came from an interviewee who chose to start a garden, near a bus stop where children were bused to and from in the 1970s, to provide a space of rejuvenation. Another participant spoke of their own recent frustration with a lack of farmers markets in Roxbury and how the experience prompted the interviewee to learn to grow food their self. A common theme here is lack of community control: many interviewees describe blighted, idle, and unmaintained lots

saturating their neighborhoods, which lead to an interest in taking back the growing number of vacant lots to turn them into productive spaces.

A majority of interviewees had experience growing food in their youth. Many interviewees noted that food production for personal consumption is common in Dorchester, Roxbury and Mattapan. These participants spoke of a strong connection to land and nature, as well as the love of working outdoors and growing food with others. These interviewees were interested in sharing this passion, by teaching others about food production, by selling produce, or by maintaining an attractive farm in their neighborhood. Numerous stories elucidate the joy and dignity of work, a love of plants, or a religious connection, and for others the feeling of accomplishment in weeding or harvesting contributes to lasting motivation for their ongoing work.

Multiple interviewees mentioned that Food Justice can be viewed as a strength of their geographic location, and that they are motivated by a community identity of sector expertise and opportunity. Interviewees shared that land availability and farming can provide instances of community ownership to mitigate gentrification, while improving community food security. Again, it can be seen that identifying Food Justice as something practiced by and for a community motivates UFI.

Planning for Food Justice

Aside from a deeper understanding of Food Justice frameworks and connections to other planning initiatives, planners may learn a lot from these

stories in terms of the importance of community engagement, the necessity of urban commercial farming, and unique economic development opportunities that Food Justice efforts can mobilize.

Interviewees share how they have responded to a lack of community engagement and their vision for future communication and partnership. Planners must support this work by facilitating this community vision. These stories themselves provide planners with a rationale for community engagement. Interviewees explained their perspective on how city demographics have changed and how this has impacted discourse around food system transformation, detailing numerous reasons for Food Justice work, beyond dominant narratives of food access and the need of low cost healthy food; these are creative solutions to known issues. This shows that food planning must be thought of on a community basis. Certainly, these responses are not the same ones that could have come from any other neighborhood in Boston.

Additionally, interviewees spoke about the importance of recognizing communities of color as leaders of the movement. Interviewees cited their frustration with the origins of Article 89 (the citywide urban agriculture rezoning) during which communities and their leaders were not called upon for their expertise or guidance. Planners must learn how to identify stakeholders and engage honestly with community. From these stories, planners can also learn about the various partnerships an organization such as UFI needs in order to find success. Moreover, interviewees called for transparency with data and information that planners at the municipal level may hold. For example, a few

interviewees mentioned that learning about current ownership and future plans for vacant lots in their neighborhoods would enfranchise them in their own communities, and assist in visualizing the roadmap for the planning of potential farms. Common sense pathways for community members to have access to this information will support Food Justice.

Interviewees made clear arguments for needing urban farmers and land for urban food production. They drew links to community food security, job creation, environmental justice, healthy food access, and community beautification. Echoing other participants' sentiments, one interviewee called for urban farms to be included in all urban land use plans. One interviewee spoke of urban farms as planned spaces that need intentional design and coordination; planners can provide design guidance and connections to appropriate municipal departments to help set up needed features, such as water/ utility access or curb cuts.

Every interviewee discussed Food Justice in terms of economic development opportunities. Planners can help create an economic climate supportive of small urban farmers. These stories provide a unique look into for-profit models of small agriculture, and planners can hear about specific barriers to entry in the field. Examples include needing zoning to legalize commercial farming, free or very inexpensive land, access to markets to sell produce, and communication within municipal departments to build a functioning farm.

Rather than having a seemingly piecemeal food policy strategy, the city of Boston should draft a comprehensive food plan. This plan should be created in

coordination with community leaders and should be targeted to the specific strengths and needs of each neighborhood. Through framing Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan as an innovation center for Food Justice and economic development, interview participants call for increased community control of decision making. Approaching community sovereignty would not only affect change in terms of farming opportunities, but it has the ability to affect housing, commercial business, and the overall makeup for the local economy. To this end, planners should aid UFI as they consider operating as an urban agriculture community land trust. Planners can support the development of this sector expertise through making land available and data transparent and accessible. Bureaucratic processes, such as licensing for commercial urban farms, should be streamlined. Participants show that in Boston, Food Justice is a locally driven cause- not coming from City Hall, but from households in the neighborhoods. Food planning must support community visions.

Urban farmers could be better supported through recognition as small businesses and through the creation of local produce distribution strategies. These steps will help urban food production become more economically efficient. One interviewee speaks of needing small farmers to be thought of as small business owners, and for direct support from the Small Business Association through subsidies or loans. Other interviewees spoke specifically of needing better distribution methods, so that food can be transported quickly from farms to buyers, and so that one buyer may fulfill an order through purchasing from

multiple farms, which will be needed as the number of urban farms in the city grows.

Reflections on the Use of Storytelling

The use of storytelling, as opposed to an interview process, gave me a deeper understanding of the opinions and perspectives participants shared. I believe that storytelling altered both the structure and content of each meeting I held, as well as my analysis and editing of the final narrative. At the beginning of each meeting, I reviewed basic storytelling techniques, guiding the participant to illustrate each story they shared. As well, keeping the end product in mind, I often asked for contextual information to be repeated, or for seemingly rudimentary concepts to be explained in full. This repetition and review would sometimes spark new connections or provide an opportunity for the participant to revise their wording. Moreover, I was not wedded to my prepared questions, as I may have been in a structured interview; the discussion more closely followed the participant's line of thinking, which brought me closer to their experiences. For many of these interviews, participants asked me to answer the questions I posed as well, which allowed for deeper discussions. Additionally, editing audio clips into a narrative with many voices describing each section's theme required consideration of the relationship between each clip I included, and each participant I spoke with. During this final phase the use of storytelling gave me practice in presenting the complexities of Food Justice to a wide audience, providing another opportunity to reflect on context and meaning.

While it may be unrealistic to recommend that planners learn the technical skills to produce stories, I feel that planners need to be involved in the process of storytelling. Planners can learn from listening to this audio narrative, however there is more to be gained from participating in the process itself. The method of storytelling used for this project required deliberate and thoughtful questioning, not often possible through traditional models of community engagement. My storytelling process was interactive, giving me invaluable practice in discussing issues of race and class. Storytelling provides an avenue for planners to engage proactively with the communities they serve, to seek out opinions and spend time in the neighborhoods.

Should others choose to replicate this methodology, it may be important to note that this final product has significantly altered from my original goals. I initially aimed to create a podcast, as a shorter format would have given stories greater exposure. However, the many hours of audio I gathered translated into a much longer oral history narrative because of the rich perspectives provided by participants and due to my limitations with storytelling and technical audio editing skills. To fellow novices, I recommend limiting the number of interviews held, as editing audio requires considerable time. I also recommend transcribing all interviews, including timestamps, as this streamlined my analysis and editing phases. Lastly, I found that noise removal is very difficult, so ensuring access to a quiet space is essential. All told, storytelling proved to be an engaging and creative process that enriched my connections with Food Justice.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further research could be done on the relationships between community based organizations working towards food systems change, such as a direct comparison of the experience of an organization more aligned with the Alternative Food Movement and a Food Justice organization. As well, more research could be done into the dynamic between types of food organizations in Roxbury- there are a handful of models at work offering an interesting mix of innovation and opportunity. This may also offer a chance to research the interplay between Food Justice and the Alternative Food Movement

As UFI explores cooperative models for farmers, more research could be beneficial. For example, there are several strong farming incubator models in the region, namely New Entry Sustainable Farming Project (NESFP) in Lowell, Massachusetts and the Intervale Center in Burlington, Vermont. However, these examples are not operating in cities with limited land available, such as Boston- more research could be done into viable models of farmer incubation and cooperative structures in urban areas. This case study revealed more about Food Justice in an urban environment, and certainly Food Justice will look different in rural or suburban communities. More research could be done to focus on how to specifically support small farmers, both urban and rural.

Lastly, several questions arise as urban agriculture becomes more prevalent in Boston. Planners and advocates may be interested in learning if there is a limit to the number of farms a city 'should' have. Additionally, how do we ensure equity in who gets land and farm licenses? Now that Article 89 legalizes

urban farming, there will be an influx of interest in opening urban farms. How will community input be weighed? How do we ensure community ownership as the movement grows? Could neighborhoods get authority for licensing farms as an effort toward community control through land trusts? As sharing economy models prevail, who gets a say in which businesses come to neighborhoods? More research on new economic models, community sovereignty, and food system planning will help tailor strategies to specific needs.

Conclusions

The stories collected through this methodology reveal nuances to operationalizing Food Justice work in Boston. Interviewees discussed a range of topics, such as urban policy, community ownership, food access, environmental health, access to good jobs, the dignity of work, new economic models of food system work, and generational and intercultural connections. The depth of the stories shared showcases the convergence of Food Justice in many facets of life.

Participants put forth both a unified definition of the problem Food Justice attempts to solve and a statement of purpose. Participants described the problematic systems they seek to change through their work, and offered examples of misunderstandings they encounter within their personal networks and within food system work generally. They call for supportive policy and increased lines of communication both within neighborhoods and with policy makers.

Though the Urban Farming Institute of Boston is a relatively new organization, interviewees are active in systemic change as they test economic

models and continue to evaluate their efficacy. It is evident that one of their key aims is to create a professional identity in Dorchester and Roxbury surrounding urban agriculture. UFI approaches Food Justice by creating new enterprises in communities of color. The Urban Farmer Training Program educates residents to become farm workers and owners and aims to match them with land secured through their partnership with land trusts. This framing challenges the perspective that food system change comes mainly through increased access to healthful foods. These experiences and the motivations of thought leaders at UFI should incite advocates to continue collaboration with planners as well as Alternative Food Movement activists.

It is my hope that the narrative collected here expands understanding between planners and community advocates as well as contributes to a deeper understanding of Food Justice. The theoretical basis for Food Justice with an anti-oppression framework is embodied in the work of the Urban Farming Institute of Boston.

Appendices

Appendix A: Partial List of Interview Participants

1. Willie Brown

2. Nataka Crayton

3. Jennifer Hashley

4. Charlotte Kahn

5. Tristram Keefe

6. Mel King

7. Barbara Knecht

8. Glynn Lloyd

9. Christopher Muhammad

10. Klare Shaw

11. Patricia Spence

12. Bobby Walker

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Briefing

1. Review purpose of interviews
2. Review storytelling tips
3. Written consent, any concerns/ questions?
4. Turn on recorder

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about a time that someone prepared food for you.
2. (Farmer/Gardener) What is one of your favorite things to grow? Why?
3. Describe the Urban Farming Institute.
   a. Why was it founded?
   b. How did you become involved with the organization?
4. Tell me about any collaboration with like-minded organizations.
   a. How is this work taking shape in Boston?
5. What other projects have you been a part of, what experiences, etc.
6. Do you feel that you are serving a community?
   a. Tell me about the community you serve.
   b. What is their power?
7. Tell me about a time you have felt close to the community.
8. Tell me about a time when you have felt disconnected.
9. What would happen if UFI were not involved with this community?
10. Why should people care?
    a. What should others know about the work you do?
11. What is so powerful about food?
    a. Why is this important?
12. Is there anything about this work that you feel is misunderstood?
    a. By whom?
    b. How could it be better supported? Who is supportive?

13. What has led you to this work? Was there a specific moment that motivated you?
    a. What happened after that?
    b. Will it end?
    c. Who do you learn from?
14. Do pressures you come across in your current community work feel the same as they have in the past?
    a. What has changed?
15. Tell me about challenges that you have faced in this work.
    a. What is the biggest challenge now?
16. Tell me about a time that you've failed.
17. What keeps you inspired?
18. Tell me about your vision for the community.
19. Do you have a story about community work and food you'd like to share?
20. Do you have a story about progress that you'd like to share?
21. Is there anything that we have not covered that you would like to add?

Debrief

1. Turn off recorder.
2. How was your experience of this interview?
3. Do you have any questions for me?
4. Thank you for participating, review follow-up.

References

Agyeman, J. (2011). New agricultures, cultural diversity and foodways. Retrieved from http://julianagyeman.com/2011/10/new-agricultures-cultural-diversity-and-foodways/

Agyeman, J. (2012a). Cities of (in)difference? Retrieved from http://julianagyeman.com/2012/04/cities-of-indifference/

Agyeman, J. (2012b). Cultural competency: Towards culturally inclusive practice. Retrieved from http://julianagyeman.com/2012/08/cultural-competency-towards-culturally-inclusive-practice/

Agyeman, J., Alkon, A. H., & McCullagh, M. *Silence is not consent: Participatory planning and urban agricultural zoning in Boston, MA*. Unpublished.

Agyeman, J., & Erickson, J.S. (2012). Culture, recognition, and the negotiation of difference: Some thoughts on cultural competency in planning education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 32*(3), 358-366. doi: 10.1177/0739456X12441213.

Agyeman, J., & Simons, B. L. (2012). Re-imagining the local: Scale, race, culture and the production of food vulnerabilities. In S. Dooling, & G. Simon (Eds.), *Cities, nature and development: The politics and production of urban vulnerabilities* (pp. 85-100). England: Ashgate Publishing.

Alkon, A. (2012). *Black, white and green: Farmers markets, race, and the green economy*. Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Alkon, A. H., & Agyeman, J. (2011). *Cultivating food justice: Race, class, and sustainability.* MIT Press.

Allen, P. (2008). Mining for food justice in the food system: Perceptions, practices and possibilities. *Agriculture and Human Values, 25*, 157-161.

American Planning Association. (2007). Policy guide on community and regional food planning. Retrieved from

https://www.planning.org/policy/guides/pdf/foodplanning.pdf

American Planning Association. (2009). AICP code of ethics and professional conduct. Retrieved from https://www.planning.org/ethics/ethicscode.htm

Betancourt et al. (2003). Defining cultural competence: A practical framework for addressing racial/ethnic disparities in health and health care. *Public Health Reports.* 118, 293-302.

Block, D., Chavez, N., Allen, E., & Ramirez, D. (2011). Food sovereignty, urban food access and food activism: Contemplating the connections through examples from Chicago. *Agriculture and Human Values, 29*(2), 203-215.

Born, B., & Purcell, M. (2006). Avoiding the local trap: Scale and food systems in planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 26*, 195-207. doi:10.1177/0739456X06291389

Boston Public Health Commission. (2013). *Health of Boston 2012-2013: A neighborhood focus.* Retrieved from http://www.bphc.org/healthdata/health-of-boston-report/Documents/HOB-2012-2013/HOB12-13_FullReport.pdf

Boston Redevelopment Authority. (2013). *Article 89: Urban agriculture.* Retrieved from

http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/getattachment/a573190c-9305-45a5-83b1-735c0801e73e

Brown, S., & Getz, C. (2011). Farmworker food insecurity and the production of hunger in California. In J. Agyeman, & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 121-146). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Campbell, M. C. (2004). Building a common table: The role for planning in community food systems. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 23*, 341-355.

Clancy, K. (2004). Potential contributions of planning to community food systems. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 23*, 435-438. doi:10.1177/0739456X04264893

Conservation Law Foundation. (2012). *Growing green: Measuring benefits, overcoming barriers, and nurturing opportunities for urban agriculture in Boston.* Retrieved from http://action.clf.org/site/Survey?ACTION_REQUIRED=URI_ACTION_USER_REQUESTS&SURVEY_ID=3241

DuPuis, E. M., Harrison, J. L., & Goodman, D. (2011). Just food? In J. Agyeman & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 283-307). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Freedgood, J., Pierce-Quiñonez, M., & Meter, K. A. (2011). Emerging assessment tools to inform food system planning. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems and Community Development, 2*(1), 83-104.

Gilmore, R. W. (2002). Fatal couplings of power and difference: Notes on racism and geography. *The Professional Geographer, 54*(1), 15-24. doi:10.1111/0033-0124.00310

Goldstein, B. E., Wessells, A. T., Lejano, R., & Butler, W. (2013). Narrating resilience: Transforming urban systems through collaborative storytelling. *Urban Studies Journal,* 1-19. doi:10.1177/0042098013505653

Gottlieb, R., & Joshi, A. (2010). *Food justice*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Guthman, J. (2008). Bringing good food to others: Investigating the subjects of alternative food practice. *Cultural Geographies, 15*, 431-447.

Guthman, J. (2011). "If they only knew": The unbearable whiteness of alternative food. In J. Agyeman, & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 263-281). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hamilton, J., Carver, L., Tanguay, J., & Conroy, J. (2013). Municipal Food Systems Planning Toolkit for MAPC Communities. Boston, MA: CLF Ventures, Inc. and Metropolitan Area Planning Council. Retrieved from http://www.mapc.org/sites/default/files/Food_system_guide_3-18-14.pdf

Harper, A. B. (2011). Vegans of color, racialized embodiment, and problematics of the "exotic". In J. Agyeman, & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 221-238). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Harvard Law School Food Law and Policy Clinic. (2012). Good laws, good food: Putting local food policy to work for our communities. Retrieved from http://blogs.law.harvard.edu/foodpolicyinitiative/files/2011/09/FINAL-LOCAL-TOOLKIT2.pdf.

Hassanein, N. (2003). Practicing food democracy: A pragmatic politics of transformation. *Journal of Rural Studies, 19*, 77-86.

Hodgson, K. (2012). *Planning for food access and community- based food systems: A national scan and evaluation of local comprehensive and sustainability plans.* American Planning Association. Retrieved from http://www.planning.org/research/foodaccess/pdf/foodaccessreport.pdf

Holt-Giménez, E. (2011). Food security, food justice, or food sovereignty?: Crises, food movements, and regime change. In J. Agyeman & A.H. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class, and sustainability* (pp. 309-330). Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Hoover, B. (2013). White spaces in black and Latino places: Urban agriculture and food sovereignty. *Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development, 3*(4), 109-115.

Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion.* Sage Publications.

Johns Hopkins Center for a Livable Future. (2010). History of food: Background reading. Retrieved from http://www.jhsph.edu/research/centers-and-institutes/teaching-the-food-system/curriculum/_pdf/History_of_Food-Background.pdf

Klaebe, H., Foth, M., Burgess, J., & Bilandzic, M. (2007). Digital storytelling and history lines: Community engagement in a master-planned development. *13th International Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia,* Brisbane. 1-13.

Kobayashi, A., & Peake, L. (2004). Racism out of place: Thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the new millennium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 90*(2), 392-403.

Kvale, S. (2007). Doing interviews. Sage Publications.

Lum, D. (2007). Culturally competent practice: a framework for understanding diverse groups and justice issues. *Brooks/Cole Cengage Learning.* Belmont, CA.

Mares, T. M., & Peña, D. G. (2011). Environmental and food justice: Toward local, slow and deep food systems. In J. Agyeman, & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 197-219). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Minkoff-Zern, L., Peluso, N., Sowerwine, J., & Getz, C. (2011). Race and regulation: Asian immigrants in California agriculture. In J. Agyeman, & A. Alkon (Eds.), *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 65-85). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Morales, A. (2011). Growing Food *and* justice: Dismantling racism through sustainable food systems. *Cultivating food justice: Race, class and sustainability* (pp. 149-176). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Nichol, L. (2003). Local food production: Some implications for planning. *Planning Theory and Practice, 4*(4), 409-427.

Office of Food Initiatives (2014). Retrieved from
http://www.cityofboston.gov/food/

Orin, A. (2014). I'm Ira Glass, host of This American Life, and this is how I work.

Retrieved from http://lifehacker.com/im-ira-glass-host-of-this-american-life-and-this-is-h-1609562031

Pothukuchi, K. (2004). Community food assessment: A first step in planning for community food security. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 4*, 356-377.

Pothukuchi, K. (2009). Community and regional food planning: Building institutional support in the United States. *International Planning Studies,14*(4), 349-367.

Pothukuchi, K., & Kaufman, J. L. (1999). Placing the food system on the urban agenda: The role of municipal institutions in food systems planning. *Agriculture and Human Values, 16*(2), 213-224.

Pothukuchi, K., & Kaufman, J. L. (2000). The food system: A stranger in the planning field. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 66*(2), 113-124.

Project Bread. (2013). *Status report on hunger in Massachusetts.* Retrieved from http://support.projectbread.org/site/DocServer/Status_Report_2013.pdf?docID=8041

Pulido, L. (1996). A critical review of the methodology of environmental racism research. *Antipode, 28*(2), 142-159.

Raja, S., Born, B., & Russell, J. K. (2008). *A planners guide to community and regional food planning: Transforming food environments, facilitating healthy eating.* (No. 554). American Planning Association.

Riessman, C. K. (2002). Narrative analysis. The qualitative researcher's companion. (pp. 217-270) Sage Publications.

Saldivar-Tanaka, L., & Krasny, M. E. (2004). Culturing community development, neighborhood open space, and civic agriculture: The case of Latino community gardens in New York City. *Agriculture and Human Values, 21*(4), 399-412.

Sandercock, L. (2003). Out of the closet: The importance of stories and storytelling in planning practice. *Planning Theory & Practice, 4*(1), 11-28.

Sbicca, J. (2012). Growing food justice by planting an anti-oppression foundation: Opportunities and obstacles for a budding social movement. *Agriculture and Human Values*, *29*(4), 455-466.

Slocum, R. (2006). Anti-racist practice and the work of community food organizations. *Antipode, 38*(2), 327-349.

Slocum, R. (2007). Whiteness, space, and alternative food practice. *Geoforum, 38*, 520-533.

Slow Food USA (2014). Retrieved from http://www.slowfoodusa.org/

Thibert, J. (2012). Making local planning work for urban agriculture in the North American context: A view from the ground. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 32*, 349-357.

Throgmorton, J. A. (1992). Planning as persuasive storytelling about the future: Negotiating an electric power rate settlement in Illinois. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 12*(1), 17-31.

Tseng, W., & Streltzer, J. (2008). *Cultural competence in health care: A guide for professionals.* Springer.

Urban Farming Institute of Boston (2014). Retrieved from http://urbanfarminginstitute.wordpress.com/

van Hulst, M. (2012). Storytelling, a model *of* and a model *for* planning. *Planning Theory, 11*(3), 299-318. doi:10.1177/1473095212440425.

Weiss, R. S. (1995). Learning from strangers: The art and method of qualitative interview studies. The Free Press.

Wekerle, G. (2004). Food justice movements: Policy, planning, and networks. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 23,* 378-386.

Winne, Mark. (2013). Food policy councils: A look back at 2012. Retrieved from http://www.markwinne.com/food-policy-councils-a-look-back-at-2012/

Wood, P., & Landry, C. (2008). The intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage. Earthscan.

Zarell, R. (February 10, 2011). One-third of Dorchester households now use food stamps. *Dorchester Reporter.*