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Niche to Mainstream in Sustainable Urban Food Systems: The Case of Food Distribution in Portland, Oregon

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Niche to mainstream in sustainable urban food systems:

The case of food distribution in Portland, Oregon

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Abstract

To address the negative environmental, political, and social consequences of the dominant, industrialized global food system, communities around the world have developed goals and values underlying a *sustainable food system*. Conceptualizing food production, distribution, and consumption as systems helps clarify the ways food affects social and natural environments, with the distribution element as the critical juncture where the product reaches the consumer. Urban food systems are a particularly important environment in which to study movements toward sustainability. This paper focuses on the movement for a sustainable food system in Portland, Oregon, with particular focus on the city's markets for food acquisition – food retail, farmers' markets, community supported agriculture endeavors, restaurants, food service and distribution companies, institutional purchasing programs, and community gardens, as well as the organizations that support the work of these businesses and programs. Leaders in the field of sustainable food systems are now beginning to operate with a strategy for change that emphasizes incorporating sustainable food products and sustainable food system values into mainstream food markets instead of remaining in niche, alternative markets as has occurred in the past. This notion is supported by economic and social theories including the consumer information model, stakeholder theory, social movement theories of change, and network theories. This paper explores the extent to which Portland food distribution businesses, programs, and organizations attempt to fulfill the goals of a sustainable food system movement with moving from niche to mainstream in mind. The fact that the movement is in fact acting according to new strategies for change emphasizing the mainstream is indicated by the movement's extensive consumer education and creative use of marketing, strong social and business networks, and organized local policy influences.

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Chapter One – An Introduction to Food Systems

Introduction

For people around the world and throughout history, food has served many purposes: nourishment, cultural and social tradition, employment and livelihood, and pleasure. However, mounting commoditization, industrialization, centralization, and globalization of the agriculture and food systems are changing the way food is produced, distributed, and acquired around the world, meaning a smaller number of large global entities than ever throughout history controls food that travels farther than ever before. Large food processors and retailers produce and market enormous quantities of standardized, uniform products and have significant decision making power in determining how and where agricultural production takes place, taking autonomy away from traditional agrarian production and causing consumers in developed countries to lose their knowledge of food origins.

While these facts alone trouble food systems across the United States, plenty of other difficulties plague them as well. Advances in technology that allow longer storage of perishable goods and less costly shipping have encouraged the food system to sprawl to great lengths, with food in the United States traveling an average of over 1,500 miles from producer to consumer – up to 25 percent farther than it did in 1980 (Pirog, Van Pelt, Enshayan, & Cook, 2001). Cheap gasoline and transportation subsidies have also facilitated the expansion (Halweil, 2003) with grave environmental costs. While agricultural yields skyrocketed throughout the 20th century – increasing by 25 percent in the 1940s, 20 percent in the 1950s, 17 percent in the 1960s, 28 percent in the 1980s – this was only at the expense of more and more fossil fuels, with every calorie of food actually produced now costing ten to several hundred calories of energy. Sadly

enough, most of this energy goes up in smoke from the exhausts of smokestacks and tailpipes. Along with these developments, heightened use of chemicals in the production of produce, use of antibiotics and growth hormones in animal production, and mounting contamination scares may be weakening of consumers' faith in the food system (Clancy, 1997). Agricultural communities throughout the country face uncertain economic and social futures due to this weakened trust, as well as strains from a decline in the number of small farms, a falling return to farmers for their products, and widespread rural poverty (University of California SAREP, 2004).

The advent of genetically modified food products (genetically modified organisms, GMOs) has seemingly created a solution for some aspects of the problem, by virtually eliminating the need for chemical fertilizers and pesticides. However, the energy use inherent in transportation and the social breakdown of agricultural communities are actually likely to be heightened with the use of GMOs, considering it would require an increase in centralized, industrial, corporate production. The prospects of a localized system utilizing GMOs are poor considering the high costs of research, development, and other technical aspects, which create large economies of scale. A food system of engineered products is inherently global (Magdoff, Foster, & Buttel, 2000; Altieri, 2000).

To address these sorts of concerns specialists from relevant fields and communities around the world are developing alternative ways of producing, distributing, and consuming foods. The City of Portland, Oregon, along with many other urban areas, is turning to the idea of community food security and a community-based, local, sustainable food system[1] – a collaborative effort emphasizing sustainability and adequacy integrated into the region to enhance the social, nutritional, environmental, and economic well-being of the place – to

[1] The concept of a food system is widely used in food science, agriculture, nutrition, and medicine to describe and analyze the complex ways in which food moves from producer to consumer and related activities (Sobal, et al., 1998).

generate realistic, cause- and place-based solutions for the myriad problems discussed above. Advocates for local food systems claim that these systems can provide maximal generation of economic capital, increased nourishment and food security, support for sustainable agriculture and smaller family farms, direct producer/consumer links, increased citywide self-reliance, and a direct reduction in the energy dependence of the city.

To fully understand the difference between the dominant food system and a community-based system requires a grasp of many different elements – production, distribution, acquisition, consumption, etc.; however, this paper focuses only on the *distribution* element of the food system. Defined as the "transfer of output from production and processing through multiple channels to places where food acquisition occurs in the consumer subsystem" (Barkema, 1994), distribution is the critical juncture in the food system where the food product reaches the consumer. It is also the focal point for efforts to alter and condense the route from producer to consumer. Additionally, it is the point where corporate control over food systems can be most difficult to break down, considering globalization has created enormous economies of scale that undercut the price of locally-produced commodities and are highly technical, posing high barriers to firm entry. Food systems and food distribution are especially important to study within an urban setting such as Portland because over the years many cultural, social, and economic factors have significantly separated urban populations from food production.

This paper focuses on efforts toward community- and locally-based sustainability in an urban food system using food distribution in Portland as a case study, in an attempt to understand why the movement has been so successful there. Chapter One provides background information regarding the nature of food systems, their importance in urban areas, and the goals and values of a local food system. After gaining some understanding of what a local food system is and what

it stands for, Chapter Two presents theoretical models to help explain why Portland's movement for a local food system has been so successful. Chapters Three and Four present the case study of Portland's local food system movement, in two parts. Lastly, Chapter Five describes how Portland's movement exhibits the theoretical elements of Chapter Two, focusing on three indicators, and provides conclusion to the paper.

Food Systems

To analyze the urban food system of Portland, I use a framework developed by Sobal, Khan, and Bisogni (1998) in the paper, "A Conceptual Model of the Food and Nutrition Systems." This paper defines a food system as:

> The set of operations and processes involved in transforming raw materials into foods and transforming nutrients into health outcomes, all of which functions as a system within biophysical and sociocultural contexts.

Developed through examinations and synthesis of commonly used and understood concepts,[2] the integrated model expounded in this paper considers the processes that occur within the system as well as relationships between this and other biophysical and social systems (Sobal et al., 1998). The system configuration includes three subsystems: producer, consumer, and nutrition, each of which involves three stages representing input of resources, transformation of materials, and output of products. Overall, these nine stages represent key processes in the system: production, processing, distribution, acquisition, preparation, consumption, digestion, transport, and metabolism of food products (Figure 1). Starting with raw materials, flow through

[2] The authors developed this framework as a meta-analysis of conceptual models such as food cycles, food webs, food chains, etc., feeling no model "broadly described the system" and that most "focused on only one disciplinary perspective or segment of the system" (Sobal et al., 1998).

this system transforms crops into food products that are distributed to consumers, who reap nutritional and health-related outcomes.

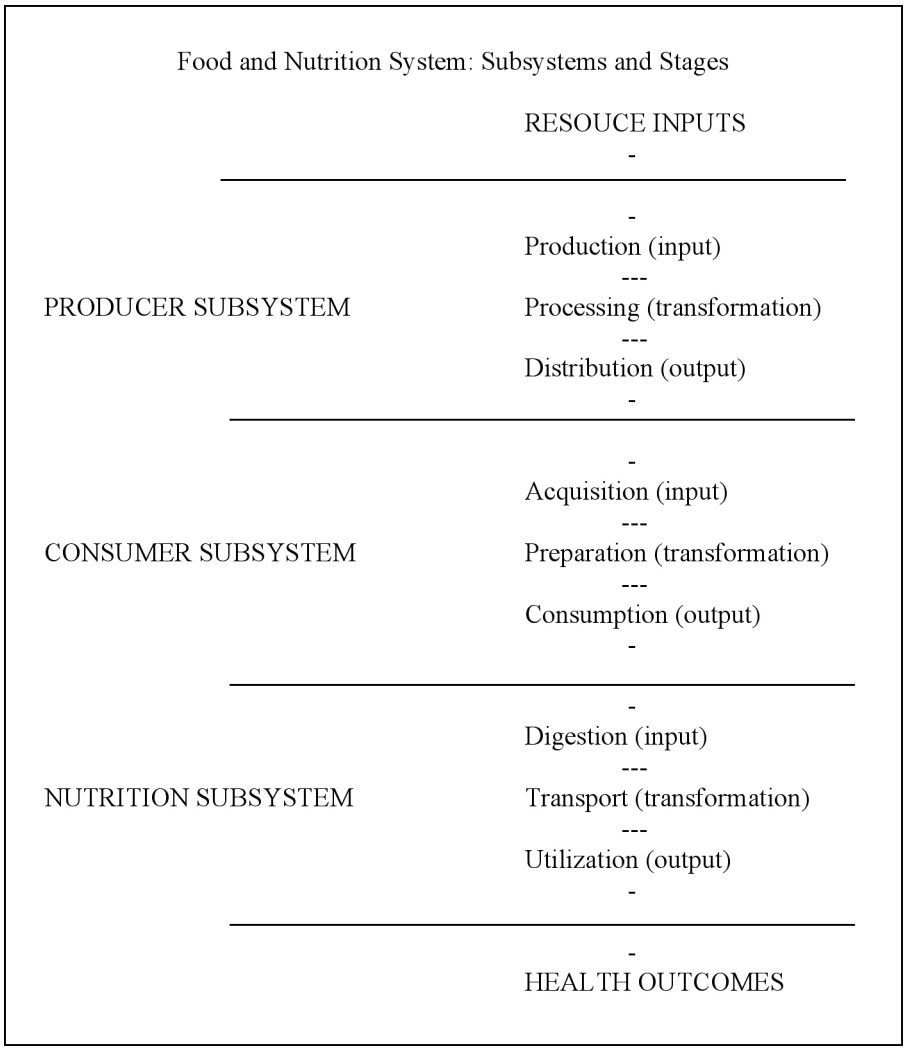

Figure 1. Food and nutrition system: subsystems and stages (Sobal et al., 1998)

This is not to make it seem as though the food system operates mechanically or identically in all communities. Food systems are a result of a wide variety of environmental, social, and economic conditions, as well as the work of various individuals and institutions throughout the stages (Figure 2). Materials, energy, and information continuously flow within systems, subsystems, and the environment in which they exist, resulting in dynamic differences between food systems in varying communities. Each element of the food system is important but

not necessarily equal and looking at the food system in various ways can place weight on different elements. When looking at a food system as a function of the natural environment, for example, the food production and waste disposal[3] stages may be principle concerns. Food systems can also be diagrammed as a function of these myriad influences (Figure 2).

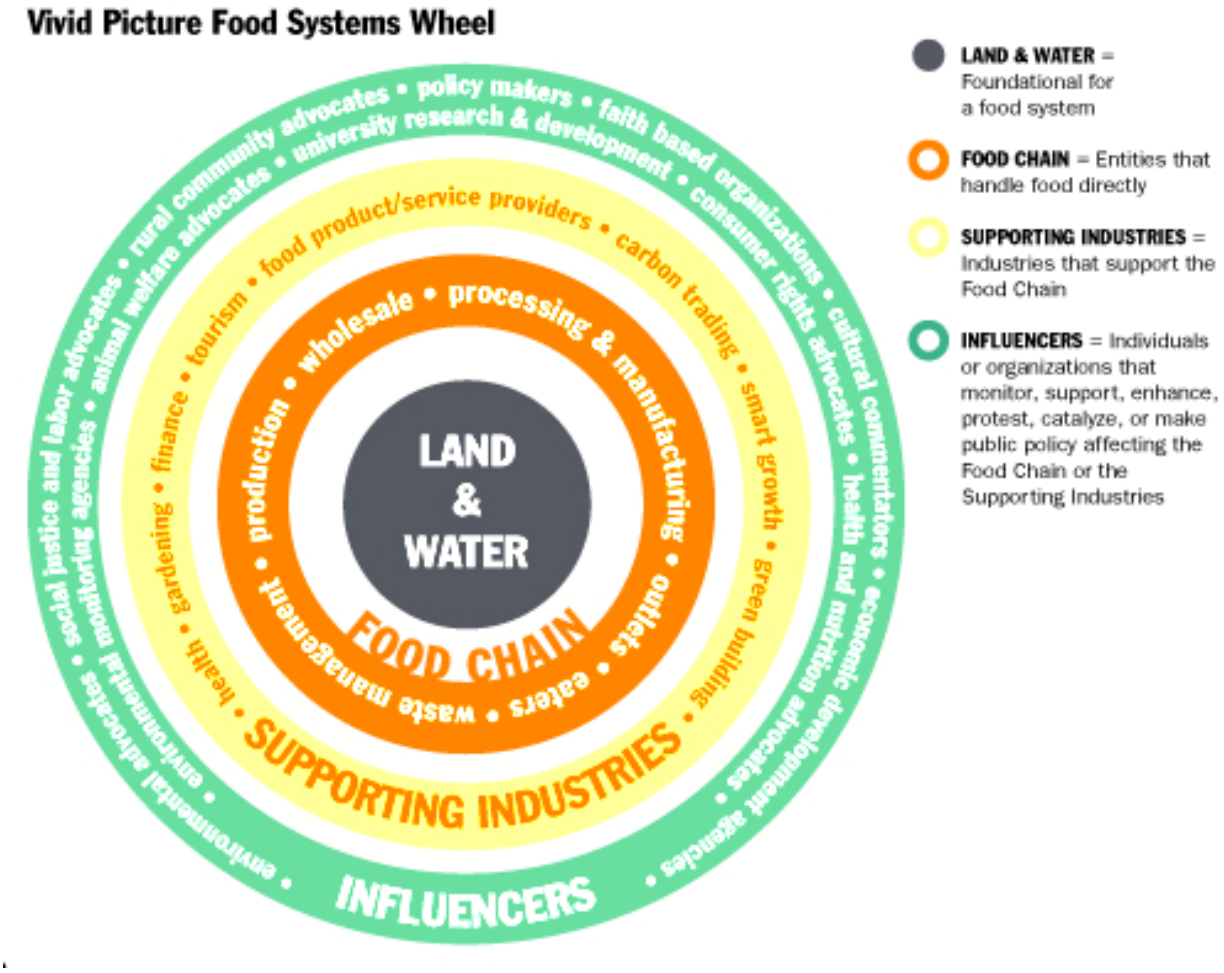

Figure 2. Diagram of food system components and influences (Vivid Picture, 2005).

Distribution

Early in the 20th Century, when nearly everyone grew most of their own food, the producers and consumers of most foods were the same – family members, close neighbors, or at

[3] Waste disposal is a stage not considered in Sobal, Khan, and Bisogni's model, assumingly because their work is oriented in a human health perspective.

least members of the same community or region. Over time, however, diversifying food companies, centralization of processing plants, and globalization of food sources have widened the gap between farmers and their markets (Clancy, 1997). Although a portion of consumers in industrialized nations still rely on some home-scale food production and processing, most use market distribution channels as points of food access (Sobal et al., 1998). Currently, major market distribution streams include the wholesale and retail streams (supermarkets, food cooperatives, farmers' markets, consumer supported agriculture, etc.), and the food service industry (restaurants, cafeterias, and caterers). The emergency food system, including shelters, food banks, etc., comprises another key stream of distribution (Senaur, Asp, & Kinsey, 1991). Choices made within these streams by consumers, producers, processors, and other participants in the food system have significant impacts on our natural, social, economic, and cultural environments as well as the structure of the food system.

Sociocultural Environment

Any food system operates within and is influenced by social, economic, and biophysical environments, with each step additionally dependent on people to provide labor, research, and education. The sociocultural environment includes economic factors, cultural values and traditions, individual satisfaction, knowledge, and skills. The natural environment includes physical materials such as soil, water, and chemical elements; physical forces like climate and energy; and physical factors such as biodiversity. A food system produces a number of environmental and social outputs including: animal and food wastes, nutritious diets (and subsequently, healthy people), regional financial capital, and knowledge regarding food systems, agricultural techniques, and cultural traditions. It constantly interacts with other systems, including economy, government, culture, health care, and transportation. These exchanges are

essential for proper operation of the food system and a successful food system must be flexible enough to withstand fluctuation and change in these other systems (Sobal et al., 1998). Scarcity of inputs, mismanagement of outputs, or the inability to successfully connect with the proper social and environmental systems can limit the ability of a food system to function, resulting in food insecurity and hunger that undermine people's ability to live, work, and learn, and in food production techniques that threaten and pollute natural resources.

Urban Food Systems

In general, urban areas are hotspots for food insecurity. Urban residents generally have far less awareness of and are far more physically separated from food production. As urban populations become poorer, food insecurity is found increasingly in cities. More than half of the world's population will be living in urban areas by 2008, the urban population grows by more than 180,000 each day, and over 750 million of the world's poorest people live in urban areas without adequate shelter and basic services (World Bank, 2004). Almost 80 percent of the United States' population is urban (United Nations Statistics Division, 2006). While these figures do not directly relate to Portland's food system, they begin to relate the importance of initiating change in any region's urban areas. Koc et al. (2000) state that most of these urban populations have very little understanding of how their food is produced, transported, processed, or distributed and that although the dominant, global food system claims to offer wider product choices at cheaper prices it often makes access to locally produced foods very difficult. Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) argue that although these food issues should be a top priority of metropolitan public policy, the average citizen and most urban planners perceive them as "falling within the purview of rural policy, applying mainly to farmers" and thus ignore them. Admittedly, food is generally produced outside of urban areas, and urban historian Arnold

Toynbee (1970) even went so far as to define cities entirely by their inability to provide a self-sufficient food system: "A city is a human settlement whose inhabitants cannot produce, within the city limits, all of the food they need for keeping them alive." While Toynbee may not endorse such a food system, the idea that cities do not need to produce their own food has conceptually distanced food issues from urban issues, even though food matters are economically and nutritionally very important to city dwellers. Depending on their income level, city households spend from 10 to 40 percent of their income after taxes on food purchases (Senaur et al., 1991). The impact of the urban food system on poorer households is especially critical because they not only spend a higher proportion of their incomes on food but may also experience a lack of choices due to lower rates of automobile ownership and a general lack of supermarkets in inner-city areas (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999). So while food matters seem to have great importance in urban areas, Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) have identified four significant factors in why the food system has low priority among urban policy officials and city residents:

- urbanites generally take the food system for granted – few see serious problems related to food access, availability, or affordability;
- the historical development of cities has led to the definition of urban issues as predominantly in opposition to or in contrast with rural and agricultural and thus food is not perceived as an urban issue as important as housing, crime, transportation, or other more visible issues;
- technology (transportation, mechanized farming, refrigeration, food processing) has rendered invisible in local food retail the loss of local farmland; and

- a “persistent dichotomy” in public policy between urban and rural policy, especially in the United States.

Local Food Systems

According to Henderson (2000), the restructuring of the global food system under corporate control since World War II has resulted in “a crisis with environmental, economic, and social dimensions.” In the last 40 years, the value of international trade in food has tripled and the tonnage of food shipped between nations has grown fourfold while population has only doubled (Halweil, 2002). The reasons for this are partly demographic – since more people live in cities, fewer live near food production centers – and partly technological – advances allow for more ease in shipping food (Halweil, 2002). Supermarkets developed in the 1920s, gradually replacing small local markets, and since many people owned cars, stores were built far away from cities on large tracts of land that allowed for more space for merchandising and parking (Clancy, 1997). Paired with increasing globalization and centralization of food sources, these factors moved food production away from consumer populations. However, this long-distance transportation of food requires more packaging, refrigeration, fuel, and human labor and generates huge amounts of waste and pollution. Products traveling long distances also require preservatives and additives and encounter many opportunities for contamination along the way (Halweil, 2003). This situation also does not bode well for those producing the food – instead of dealing directly with the retailer or consumer farmers deal with an endless string of intermediaries, producers, and distributors in deals of which they are a small part. In some cases, such as grain commodities, this has been the case since the mid-19th Century, but for most agricultural production, this is just recently becoming a pressing issue. Farmer incomes reflect this as they receive less and less of the revenue from their products. A farmer’s share of the food

dollar (after input costs) has steadily declined to less than 10 percent in 1990, down from 40 percent in 1910 (Magdoff, Foster, and Buttel, 2000).

In response to many of the problems plaguing urban food systems the concept of community food security and the sustainable food system have developed.[4] Food production and distribution systems existing solely within an urban area's *foodshed*[5] (Figure 3) or within some other defined "local area"[6] offer long-term, plausible solutions for the environment, food security, health, and local economic development.

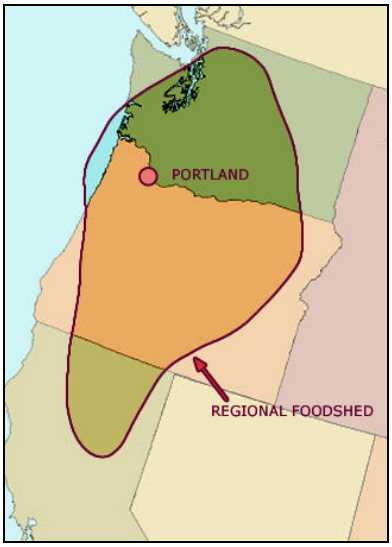

Figure 3. The Portland foodshed (Brady, 2004)

Regional foods not only offer greater variation based on local cultural preferences and ecological differences (biodiversity, season, climate, etc.) but also provide fresher and more

[4] This concept may also be termed a "local food system" or a "sustainable food system." These terms are generally interchangeable with little difference in values or meaning, though may connote slight differences in perspective (e.g. while the term "sustainable" may inject more definite economic and environmental goals, I found it to be indistinguishable from the other terms when used in describing a food system). Each may be used in this paper.
[5] The term "foodshed" is similar in concept to that of a watershed and is used to describe the flow of food from the place of production to the place of consumption. Thus the Portland foodshed thus describes a region where food could be consumed in Portland and still be considered local.
[6] "Local area" is often defined as a 150-mile radius from the consuming metropolitan area, but can vary from place to place. A foodshed results from research into major commodity flows and geographic constraints for a specific place, while the 150-mile radius is more general.

nutritious foods in season[7] (Koc et al., 2000). Sometimes local products also cost less due to lower transportation expenses and fewer intermediaries between producer and consumer (Halweil, 2002). Keeping the side effects of agricultural production close to home means the environmental externalities of farming are more visible, which provides incentives for farmers to convert to organic production. By linking production centers to metropolitan areas, local food production can also reduce fossil fuel use, a weighty environmental issue. This and other reductions should not be overlooked – a diet of local fruits and vegetables, grains, and some meat entails about 4 to 17 times less petroleum consumption and 5 to 17 times less carbon dioxide emissions than an equivalent diet purchased from the conventional food chain (Halweil, 2004). These systems also increase biodiversity and discourage mono-cultural cropping, two important environmental benefits of sustainable agriculture (Perkins, 1999).

A regional or national network of local food systems may also quell threats of food scarcity, boost the local economy, and foster a sense of community. The United Nations Development Programme (Smit, Ratta, and Nasr, 1996) recommends local food production as a strategy for stabilizing food resources and Koc et al. (2000) argue that it will enhance rather than diminish the advantages of a global food system for food security. A regional system also creates potential for local development and employment in agriculture and food production (Halweil 2002), making it a vital and fundamental part of any local economy. A study from the New Economics Foundation in London found that every 10 pounds spent at a local food business is worth 25 pounds to the local area, compared with just 14 pounds when the same amount is spent in a supermarket (Halweil, 2003). Money spent on local foods stays in the community longer creating jobs, raising incomes, and supporting farmers (Halweil, 2002). By encouraging

[7] Regional foods are more nutritious due to freshness, seasonality, lack of chemical application, and less exposure to transportation-related substances (fumes, etc.). They are also likely to create more nutritious diets because of the decrease in processed foods.

citizen involvement, local systems additionally promote community development and allow for more effective regional control of chemical inputs and quality. Redclift and Mingione (1985) remark that participation in local food systems is especially appealing because it presents populations with an opportunity to identify with a defined community, to bond with nature, and to connect with "the liberating potential of the escape from capitalist relations of production, the release from the alienation of work, and the individualistic search for creative alternatives." Studies show that engagement with community is closely related to a more supportive position toward buying local foods and to more receptivity toward arguments for doing so (Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Inc., 2002).

The Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education Program (SAREP) at UC Davis (2004) defines a community food system as a collaborative effort in which sustainable food production, processing, distribution, and consumption are integrated to enhance the environmental, economic, social, and nutritional health of a particular place.

At first glance, many of the goals of a local food system – increasing access to food, maximizing nutrition, and boosting economic capital – seem integral to any food system. However, Eileen Brady, a leader in the Portland local food system movement and until recently Vice President of Ecotrust's Food & Farms Program (see Organizational/Programmatic Support section of Chapter Four),[8] makes a key distinction between community food systems and the globalized food system that typifies the source of most of the food Americans eat: "A sustainable urban food system has a set of value-based … paths from producer to consumer. As opposed to being based on efficiency, [a sustainable urban food system is] based on the value of place" (personal communication, June 22, 2004). The College of Agricultural and Life Sciences

[8] Cross-references to businesses and organizations will be made throughout the paper, especially in the analysis of data. This serves both to show the extensive social network of the movement and to provide valuable background on the work of each establishment.

(CALS) at Cornell University (2004) asserts four distinguishing aspects between the two types of systems:

- *Food security* – Community food security addresses food access *within a community context*, making sure that hunger problems are addressed with the long-term sustainability of the community and the beneficial development of low-income communities in mind, with a simultaneous goal of developing local food systems (whereas food security efforts usually focus on individual and household needs, and not those of the community).
- *Proximity* – In community food systems the distances between various components of the system are generally shorter than those in the dominant, global food system are. This proximity increases the opportunity for enduring relationships to form between farmers, processors, retailers, restaurateurs, consumers, etc.
- *Self-reliance* – While total self-sufficiency (where all food is produced, processed, marketed and consumed within the community) is not necessarily an aim of community food systems, increasing the degree of self-reliance is an important aspect.
- *Sustainability* – Access to strong and thriving markets for diversified agriculture, reduction of non-renewable inputs, less reliance on agri-chemical fertilization and pest control, and expanding citizen participation in food system decision-making are encouraged.

Varying movements toward a local food system may focus on any or all of these distinguishing differences, based on the prioritized needs of the community and region in which the food system exists, as well as the social base of the groups and individuals who participate in specific

movements. The following is a compiled list of issues and values key to such a community food system, from several sources. Any number of these may be the explicit goals of a particular local food system, which creates a wide variety of local food systems within the broader global movement.

Efforts to develop community food systems should focus on increased participation by local residents working on matters such as:

- *Nourishment and food security* – improving non-emergency access by all community members to an adequate, affordable, nutritious diet;
- *Maximal generation of economic capital* – increasing and securing food and agriculture related employment, boosting local food retail and processing markets, and increasing institutional procurement of local agricultural commodities;
- *Support for sustainable agriculture and resource use* – supporting a stable and expanding base of family farms that use integrated, less chemical- and energy-intensive production practices and that rely on local inputs as much as possible, and acting in a way that increases the overall natural capital of the area;
- *Direct product/consumer links* – presenting opportunities for consumers and producers to interact directly or at least to shorten the distance between the two;
- *Worker justice* – improving working and living conditions for farm labor such that farmers and farm workers can be fully contributing members of the community;
- *Self-reliance* – communities achieving a degree of self-reliance in food and exploring the extent to which they can meet their own food needs;
- *Supportive public policies* – creating food and agriculture policies that ensure ecological farming practices, decrease barriers to local marketing, link local

agriculture to federal food assistance, and promote local food production, processing, and consumption;

- *Heightened pleasure in eating* – increasing enjoyment of food among community members; and,
- *Preservation of farmland* – preserving land strictly for farm use and therefore making possible the success of small farms

(Cornell CALS, 2004; Garrett & Feenstra, 1999; SAREP, 2004; Wilkins, 2000).

The range of these goals is quite wide – preservation of farmland is a fairly objective, empirical pursuit that is easily measured, while heightened pleasure in eating is a far more subjective, participatory matter difficult to measure or control. Communities and regions more likely to pursue certain kinds of policies and programs and that have had success with those types in the past are likely to focus on some goals over others.

Enacting change in the food system is not a simple process, however. Rosset (2000) and Altieri (2000) each describe the "substantial obstacles to widespread adoption of alternatives," citing political-corporate power and vested interests in the status quo, such as the massive governmental subsidies provided for industrial agricultural production, as the greatest current obstacle. They also discuss the psychological barrier to believing alternatives can work that is created by this obstacle. Heffernan (1999) discusses how, as consolidation in corporate food companies increases, major decisions in the food system are increasingly made by a declining number of agri-business and retail firms, with little room left in the decision making process for independent farmers. Even policy changes are unlikely to bring about revolution, considering the strength of this corporate power (Altieri, 2000). With five major retail firms accounting for over 40 percent of food sales in the United States (up from 20 percent in 1993) (Hendrickson, et

al, 2001) and four firms controlling over 40 percent of major commodity processing (Heffernan, 1999), agricultural economists are going so far as to refer to the system as "food manufacturing" as opposed to food production, a term referring to retailers' power in deciding what food ends up on their shelves and in what form (Heffernan, 1999). The power of these corporations to influence the ways in which food is grown has created a technological and land use system perfectly suited to monocultural, chemical-dependent crops, making a switch to polycultural, organic, or other less industrial techniques technologically difficult (Altieri, 2000).

Literature on globalizing food systems acknowledges the salience of the growing movement for sustainability, but critiques whether the movement will ever gain hold in the face of such difficulties to overcome. Altieri (2000) and Henderson (2000) argue that the lack of unified, systemic organizational response has been a serious setback to change, largely because of the interdisciplinary nature of the interests backing activism. The solution to the problem may lie in the alliance of urban and rural interests, organizing to take control of local resources (Altieri, 2000, and Henderson, 2000).

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Chapter Two – Literature Review and a New Strategy for Change

The interdisciplinary nature of a food system, particularly that of a local food system, implicates a wide variety of theoretical models. There is little to no literature currently available to answer the question of why a sustainable food system movement such as Portland's is successful, so I start with a food system-specific theory presented by sustainable food system leaders, then use a number of economic and social theories unconnected to sustainable food system to further clarify relevant issues.

A New Strategy for Change toward Local Food Systems

Due to the relatively innovative and young nature of movements for local and sustainable food systems, little literature exists specifically regarding models for success amongst the movements. Eileen Brady, having worked with colleagues for many years to explore and map the conceptual matters behind a successfully sustainable food system, explained to me what she and others believe is the major difference between a truly successful attempt for a local food system and those that fail or fall short.[9] This paper recognizes the work of Brady and her colleagues on the Vivid Picture Project, resulting from years of work amongst national food system leaders and synthesizing information gathered from people working at all points of the food system, as a given, then exploring other disciplines that expand upon and help explain this theory.

[9] Information regarding "Brady's Strategy for Change" comes both from personal communication with Brady (January 10, 2006) and from Vivid Picture, 2005. The Vivid Picture Project is a highly conceptual, large-scale project aiming to answer the questions "What would a sustainable food system look like for the state of California in 2030?" and "How do we move from niche to mainstream?" It should also be noted that I played a small part in the project, and am listed in the project team of authors and collaborators in the final pages of the report.

Brady begins by clarifying what she calls a *theory of change* underlying the project's recommended *strategy for change*, indicating that every movement has some underlying philosophy or "mental model" for how to go about changing the dominant system and what the movement is actually trying to change (personal communication, January 10, 2006). A theory of change may describe who is included in a movement, who holds the power, who the key change agents are, and what exactly they are trying to change. In a movement for a sustainable or local food system, a theory of change would describe how major players in the movement view change and the philosophy underlying how they go about enacting this change. A strategy for change, on the other hand, would include distinct goals, indicators, and recommendations for action, as well as the values underlying the movement. It would also describe at what levels the movement is trying to enact change, for instance with consumers, farmers, intermediaries, small businesses, local officials, large corporations, or any others.

The Vivid Picture Project's theory of change describes what many perceive as a major dichotomy between the strategies of change commonly used in sustainable food systems movements and what they see as the more successful way to approach the matter. The difference hinges mainly on the perceptions of nonprofits, public agencies, and local governments participating in food system activism, programs, and policy change, but includes the perceptions of any other participants acting in similar ways.

In the old model, still commonly used, participants in food system movements have asked themselves a question of what is necessary to change the food system, and acted accordingly (Vivid Picture, 2005). Brady and the report conceptualize this questioning as a "fill in the blank" of "we could change the food system if…," and describe the old strategy for change as having three common answers to this question (Vivid Picture, 2005). Individuals or entire

organizations may use any of the three in isolation based on the objectives of their work, but are likely to use all three in conjunction, so widespread is their commonality. The first is "…*if we educate customers*," operating under the notion that if the movement provides information ("the truth") to the consumers, they will make shopping decisions that will help change the food system. The new choices made by these consumers will drive demand for sustainable products, feeding the social movement behind these choices. A corollary to the consumer education element is that if the movement educates children now, they will grow up to make the consumption decisions that will continue to change the food system. The second approach is "…*if we stop the bad actors*," using litigation and regulation to stop the actions perceived as harmful to the environment and society, such as chemical use in agriculture, poor treatment of farmworkers, etc. The third element is "…*if we create an alternative food industry*," on the assumption that there is no way to beat the dominant, unsustainable system, but that the creation of "our own" system with alternative farmers, stores, restaurants, etc. will provide sustainable means until the "bad system" fails and it can become the new dominant system. This has led to the creation of a strong but small sustainable food system around the country.

Brady describes a number of problems with this theory of change (personal communication, January 10, 2006). To begin with, each of these three tenets requires the existence of a "bad guy," or something for the movement to fight against. While she acknowledges the importance of recognizing failures in the current system, she posits that a movement built solely on fighting against an adversary creates instability and creates a system based on occupying merely a niche of the total food system. In fact, many of the leaders of the modern organics and natural foods movements have "fundamentally defined themselves as out of the mainstream." A movement attempting to spread while continuously defining itself as

"different" will have difficulty acclimating to the pressures of growth and becoming mainstream. Within the past decade or two, the dominant and alternative systems have experienced a large amount of merging, creating widespread dissention amongst the movement, with some feeling that merging into the mainstream inherently means a dilution of the values driving the movement. For example, some may be against putting natural and organic foods into large supermarket chains, feeling as though the movement should not support such corporations. The institutionalization and industrialization of organics and the corporate adoption of natural foods, among other recent trends, have caused sustainability advocates to question whether the alternative can actually become the conventional. However, the presence of a movement infused with social change indicates a hope to expand the movement to some broader level. The successes of previous food system movements should not be ignored; they have produced the past 35 years' emergence of sustainable agriculture and food systems movements, and have seen some growth of a mainstream sustainability movement in organics and other natural products. But for sustainable food systems movements to be built on a theory of change that fundamentally complicates its ability to expand beyond the fringe creates serious weaknesses (Vivid Picture, 2005).

What theory of change is necessary for the movement to move from fringe to mainstream, infusing the entire food system with the values of a sustainable one? Brady answers that, contrary to previous mental models, a successful theory of change should not be about "the right leaders" or "the right fights," but rather about "owning the whole system and not just the fringe," and developing the strategies to do so (personal communication, January 10, 2006). She argues that movements should recognize systemic, interdisciplinary opportunities for growth out of the fringe it has previously occupied, focusing on the "bragging rights" of successes instead of

the specific problems caused by the "bad guys." Thinking of the movement as a broad collection of efforts influencing a wide variety of food system elements, tying together the economic and social elements of the movement, creates far more success than the previous ways of perceiving change. An opportunities-based perspective "has more winners than losers," overcomes divisiveness, builds alliances, and focuses on providing incentives for positive change. The mantra of such a movement would be: "We are all in this together. All of us must benefit" (Vivid Picture, 2005). Such a movement helps stakeholders in the food system see sustainability as inline with their own needs and desires.

The following are necessary components of the strategy behind an opportunities-based movement:

- Be incentive-based, instead of fear- or penalty-based;
- Be values-driven, conforming to the values of sustainability;
- Be transformative at the core and at the same time have broad appeal;
- Have more winners than losers, leading to greater economic and social returns than the current system;
- Address mutual vested interests, offering tangible benefits;
- Provide energy, momentum and suggest direction, inspiring people to identify with and join the movement;
- Solve more than one problem or create more than one opportunity (Vivid Picture, 2005).

Overall, the specific economic, social, and environmental goals of a food system in the new strategy are the same as those of any local food system movement, with a few modifications to indicate the shift into the mainstream as a priority. These are listed in Appendix A: The Vivid

Picture Project's "Goals for a New Mainstream". As an interesting indicator of what an opportunity-based system looks like as opposed to others, we can be conscious of the verbs utilized in these goal statements: "promote," "provide," "facilitate," "encourage," "honor," "preserve," "recycle," "reward," "allow," and so on.[10]

The values of a sustainable food system movement with mainstreamization in mind are slightly different from past movements, however. This new type of movement focuses not only on sustainability values – interconnectedness, diversity, health, and regeneration – but also on "bridge values" that are common to both sustainability movements and conventional food systems (Vivid Picture, 2005). The "bridge values" are profitability, efficiency, innovation, safety, ownership, and competition. The goals in Appendix A: The Vivid Picture Project's "Goals for a New Mainstream" each include the values to which they adhere.

If the sustainable food system movement is still to ask itself "we could change the food system if …," the answer should now be "if we begin to think about our efforts systemically, and focus on the positive opportunities to increase the presence of the values of a food system" (Vivid Picture, 2005). While the previous strategy for change helped to build the niche market the sustainability movement now occupies, the new, opportunities-based, systemic theory of change will help build a new mainstream market for sustainable food systems. In some sense, this new strategy for change would not be possible without the existence of the prior strategy.

Economic and Social Theories of Change

This paper attempts to describe the unique opportunities presented by the movement's economic and social elements and the relationships between them, particularly in relation to

[10] While these terms seem to avoid the conflict that is inherent in any movement for change, this only displays the intention to seek positive opportunities and solutions for the conflict that occurs.

Vivid Picture's theory of success. The patterns and structures that result from the relationships between these two elements are part of what has made the Portland movement successful. In terms of the economic success of the movement, this paper attempts to explicate why Portland consumers and businesses are increasingly focused on local food distribution, and the steps they take to make it successful. Regarding the social movement for sustainable food systems, this paper will explain why Portland's population has made the choices necessary for the economic success of the movement, and how the strongly networked nature of the movement has leant itself to fulfilling participation for consumers, activists, local officials, and business owners alike.

Network Theories

Common to social movement and economic change theory is the idea that interorganizational networks assist greatly in the collection and mobilization of resources for innovation or policy change. This idea of networks is greatly implicated in the successful theory of change described above. Networks can exist amongst businesses, nonprofits, public agencies, local governments, and any other participants within a food system. Both economic and social elements are affected by these networks.

Della Porta and Diani (1999) argue that social movements depend on three types of networks for their existence and efficacy. Networks can: (1) link movement organization in consultation, (2) link them in mobilization, and/or (3) allow greater recruitment of activists. People are more likely to join a movement organization if they are involved in some other organization, and the resultant overlapping memberships facilitate circulation of information, contribute to feelings of trust and respect within the movement, and provide for more efficient action.

Ehin (2004) posits that people and organizations are constantly self-organizing into networks and that, together with social capital and the tacit knowledge of the participants, this accounts for most of the effectiveness of any organization. Self-organization relies on the dissemination of information amongst a network of groups and people, where every individual participant has some opportunity to update the common visions and objectives of the movement. Ideally, a healthy and effective self-organizing network contains four major elements: (1) challenging aspirations with mutual benefits and a common vision, (2) shared identity with unrestrained trust, face-to-face relationships, and a sense of interdependence, (3) dynamic alignment with shared leadership, consensus decision-making, and systems thinking, and (4) individual autonomy with self-reliance, talent and expertise, and social responsibility and accountability. Challenging aspirations are particularly important for a group or network, acting as an "internal compass … [keeping] all its members and teams advancing towards common objectives without the necessity for conventional policies and directives."

Much of the discussion regarding social movement networks is also relevant to the wide variety of research regarding inter-firm business networking. The cooperation of small- and medium-sized businesses is widely recognized as a positive means of pooling resources and expertise, organizing political power, and solving common problems (Rosenfeld, 1996; O'Donnel, 2004). Rosenfeld (1996) categorizes such networks into "hard" networks, used to co-produce, market, purchase, or operate in product or market development, and "soft" networks, used to solve common problems, share information, or acquire new skills. O'Donnel (2004) also categorizes business networks, using these categories to predict how the networks will be used by business managers and owners. Businesses may engage in limited, medium, or extensive levels of networking based on the frequency of network activity, may be reactive or proactive in

their relationships with other network actors, and may have weak, medium, or strong ties based on the intensity, intimacy, and time commitment of the network. This classification is used to make generalizations about networking outcomes, such as the more selective a business is about its clientele or the more it relies on repeat business, the weaker its network ties will be.

In other words, networks amongst organizations, businesses, and other institutions in the food system movement provide for interdisciplinary and systemic efforts towards sustainability as described in Vivid Picture's report, focusing on broad opportunities instead of the specific problems associated with each particular group. The more groups and people working for change come from varying directions (economic, social, etc.) and networking together, the more likely it is that the group will have a chance at overcoming its place on the fringe of the food system and instead begin to integrate itself in the dominant food system.

Social Movement Theories

The movement for a sustainable food system is both an economic change movement and a social movement, infused with decades of social activism for organic foods, worker rights, and a number of other causes. Because general economic and political incentives act against the formation of sustainable food systems, it takes the initiative and commitment of involved activists to make successful change. The efforts of Portland's population described throughout this paper come only because of the work of hundreds of committed business owners, non-profit employees, consumers, academics, school administrators, local government officials, and others, who both start their own businesses, projects, and programs and educate others who start them. These movement participants hold any numbers of the values and goals underlying a sustainable food system, becoming involved because of their interest in health, environmental, cultural, and/or other issues.

The movement's footing in a social movement means it experiences a number of phases of identity throughout its lifetime, as all social movements do (Friedman and McAdam, 1992). The broader this identity is and the easier it is to participate in the movement, the broader the impact it will have and the more likely the movement will infuse the dominant system. According to Friedman and McAdam (1992), a social movement exists primarily in the individually and collectively held notions of identity that transform over time as the social movement becomes institutionalized. Emerging movements generally grow out of preexisting institutions and organization, producing a new collective identity based on the redefining of existing roles and values. As the movement outgrows its beginnings, leadership passes to entirely independent new organizations, and the collective identity becomes a part of how its individual members view themselves. In the last stage of movement development, it fashions for itself a broad and value-based identity of such saliency that it becomes a public good available to a wide sector of the population. In many cases, the lack of control caused by this expansion of identity can cause the downfall of the movement, but in others, it can cause the values underlying the movement to be integrated into mainstream society.

Della Porta and Diani (1999) also describe social movements in terms of identity, posing a number of models to explain how people use this identity to enact change. A *collective behavior* perspective explains how social movements provide participants with a channel for meaningful action based on the identity, emphasizing emotional, spiritual, or ethical engagement. A perspective emphasizing *resource mobilization* describes how the creation of a social movement is the rational and strategic decision of a group of people associating themselves with a certain identity. Another perspective sees social movements as a means of aggregating and representing a wide variety of different interests and identities for the purpose of influencing the

political process. Each of these perspectives emphasizes how the association of oneself or of one's community with certain values is the foundation upon which social movements are built.

The Vivid Picture strategy for change explicitly describes how local food system movements should envision themselves as social movements trying to attract participants. It describes opportunity-based movements as having broad appeal, addressing mutual stakes, and "providing energy, momentum and suggest[ing] direction, inspiring people to identify with and join the movement…" (Vivid Picture, 2005).

Discussion of social movements also explores the mechanisms with which they influence policy, since policy change is generally a main objective of social activism. Giugni (2004) describes three models of social movement outcomes based on how they influence policy. In the *direct-effect model*, social movements directly affect policy changes, where in the *indirect-effect model*, they do so through the influence on political allies and public opinion, which then influence policy change. What Guigni (2004) proposes as reality, however, is that the "social movements, political alliances, and public opinion interact to bring about policy change" in a *joint-effect model*, with the latter two helping the first identify political opportunities for movement emergence, development, and outcomes. The joint-effect model emphasizes the sort of systemic change indicated in Vivid Picture's strategies for change.

Economic Market Structure Theories of Change

The following two theoretical models – Stakeholder Theory and the Consumer Information Theory – attempt to describe why certain products are available and why people buy them; in other words, the various influences on what businesses produce and what consumers purchase. In terms of the Vivid Picture Project's strategy for change, these theories seem to suggest that both businesses and consumers take into account both economic and social

information produced across the entire system when making production or consumption decisions.

Stakeholder Theory

Integral to the success of a food system movement is its influence on businesses to change their practices and to alter what products they make available for consumption. Factors such as marketing, government information, social movements, the desires of local communities and others influence consumer demand, and Stakeholder Theory holds that these factors also influence what businesses make available for consumers in the first place. As a product of the notion that organizations are constantly confronted with a wide variety of moral issues requiring some theory of organizational ethics, stakeholder theory posits that business managers and decision makers take into account the interests of stakeholders as a means of achieving the organization's own goals, mainly of profit maximization (Phillips, 2003). According to Freeman (cited in Phillips, 2003), a stakeholder is any person or group who "can affect or are affected by the achievement of the firm's objectives." Under stakeholder theory, stakeholders are seen as having some instrumental value in helping the firm achieve the goals or as having some intrinsic value on their own (Burton and Dunn, 1996), whereas firms would normally consider stakeholders merely for their role as potential consumers. In other words, the various elements of the sustainable food system movement affect the decisions made by businesses, which see them as stakeholders with some influence on the success of their business, instead of merely being seen as individual prospective consumers.

Under broad conceptions of stakeholder legitimacy, elements such as competitors, activists, and the natural environment may be considered stakeholders (though the latter is under strong debate, which is discussed later in this section) (Phillips, 2003). Some groups are

normatively legitimate stakeholders due to their ability to directly affect the organization (Phillips, 2003). Examples of these groups are the communities in which the organization is located and the suppliers used by the organization, and to these groups the organization has a distinct moral obligation. Other elements, such as advertising, social movements, local government, and public information dissemination are derivatively legitimate stakeholders for their ability to affect the normative stakeholders (Phillips, 2003). Lyon and Maxwell (2004) list stakeholder pressure as one of the important factors motivating corporate environmental improvements, along with competitive pressures, consumer demand, regulatory pressure, and a few others.

While stakeholder theory provides a means with which ethical and other such factors can affect the practices of businesses and other organizations, whether environmental ethics and limitations are a stakeholder factor is under debate. In the case of a food system, the environmental impacts of food production are certainly a limiting factor in the sorts of foods available, but this does not necessarily affect the decisions made by businesses. The debate centers on the environmental impacts of food production act as a stakeholder-type influence in how food businesses make their decisions. Starik (1995) argues vehemently that the environment has been an economic and ethical stakeholder for years while not ever formally recognized in theory literature as being one. Phillips and Reichert (Phillips, 2003; and Phillips and Reichart, 2000), on the other hand, argue that just because the environment is a necessary constraint on business practices that does not mean it is a stakeholder and that environmental values are assumed by the advocacy of legitimate social movement and community stakeholders. Whether the organization recognizes environmental matters directly without the influence of some other stakeholder depends on the individual environmental worldviews of employees,

founders, and upper management (Phillips and Reichert, 2000). Starik (1995) takes this argument to mean that the environment can be a stakeholder, but that it is up to the organization to consider it one – just as it is an organization's prerogative to consider any other stakeholder as legitimate – and that those that do will have a more realistic, though complex, view of the business atmosphere in which they exist. The environment as a stakeholder is likely to impose constraints on an organization's regular activity, considering corporate environmental responsibility generally requires more costly inputs or restoration activities, but the organization may wish to take the environment into account to varying degrees.

To summarize, stakeholder theory accounts for the influence of social movements and other social elements on business practices and what sorts of products they make available. In terms of the food system, this means that the various social and political organizations striving for a sustainable food system have some tangible influence on the products made available by the various restaurants, grocery stores, food distributors, etc. This influence and phenomena is quite obvious in the practices of Portland food businesses, as will be described in the case study.

Consumer Information Model

The dominant model of consumer decision-making suggests that consumers use information provided through a number of means to pare down the available choices in the market to into purchase choices. The resultant demand, along with other factors, influences how companies change their market behavior and create new products. In other words, this means that consumers looking to purchase food products use varying sources of information to narrow down the options from which they will pick to purchase or from where they will pick to purchase or consume it. This information includes advertising, media-dispersed information, policy-required data (such as the nutrition information on the packaging of every food item),

information from organizations and institutions, the physiological effects of certain food products, and culturally and socially conditioned preferences. The final consumption decisions made across a large population influence the practices and innovation incentives of the companies that produce, process, and distribute food.

Padberg and Westgren (1979) describe how, in the past, market theory prescribed market change and product evolution via technological improvement, with marketing and the dissemination of information as mere sales lubricants. They make the argument, however, that product evolution is a process spanning technology, communications, and marketing, with consumers collecting information about the array of product choices and then initiating search processes to "limit the set of alternatives from which to make purchase decisions." The notion that consumer desire for information is a salient influence in market structure is widespread (Padberg and Westgren, 1979; Baker, 2003; Wessells, Johnston, and Donath, 1999; Park and Lohr, 1996). Padberg and Westgren (1979) continue to discuss how information regarding personal values, such as environmental conservation, product safety, and the decisions made by the people with whom the consumer likens his or her purchasing behavior are particularly important in a consumer decision making. These factors often manifest themselves in marketing, which furthermore promotes confidence in products by seemingly reducing the purchasing risk (Padberg and Westgren, 1979).

Specifically in regard to environmentally-valued food markets, literature suggests that consumers have begun to demand this market niche due to the addition of the value to the breadth of attributes consumers look for in food products, the increase in information and marketing about the environmental benefits of various food products, and the growth in social acceptance of the niche (Wessells, Johnston, and Donath, 1999; Barkema, 1993; and Lohr,

2001). This indicates that, as the values of a sustainable food system infuse the dominant food system information, consumers will increasingly choose "sustainable" foods and further influence mainstream adoption of sustainable values. Cathy R. Wessells, Robert J. Johnston, and Holger Donath (1999) discuss how information regarding the environmental benefits of food products is necessary for demand to increase and thereby change the market and its impact on the environment. The salience of demand factors in influencing the market allow consumers to challenge the food industry to tailor available products for such niches, but at the same time, unpredictability in consumer behavior has been cited as a factor for industrialization and conglomerations of the food system, since larger firms are better suited to handle changes in consumer demand and to take risks on new markets (Reed and Clark, 2000). As the niche market begins to influence the mainstream, this will be less of an issue.

The consumer information model suggests one major phenomenon in consumer behavior relevant to the development of sustainable food markets. With often little time or effort to process all relevant information, consumers experience "information overload" and have trouble articulating their specific desires, instead demanding new products similar to familiar ones (Padberg and Westgren, 1979). As far as organic and local food markets are concerned, this means consumers demand a wide variety of goods in this niche market, often mimicking what's available conventionally, with foods as conventional as microwave TV dinners, junk foods, and other such popular items now being produced organically (Lohr, 2001). This indicates that it may be necessary for some merging of the dominant and alternative food systems to occur before any widespread change can occur, an argument also made by Vivid Picture's report. Vivid Picture's goals for local food systems include encouraging eaters to gain information about "where, how and by whom there food is produced" (Vivid Picture, 2005).

Conclusion

The success of the Portland movement for a sustainable urban food system speaks greatly to its existence as a social movement based in economic change and to its systemic strategies for change. The relationship of activism to a viable market provides a means for the identity of the social movement to materialize in a meaningful way to participants, and the preponderance of various social movement and business networks has created a strong and thriving means for these groups to influence policy change. These broad and interdisciplinary alliances have produced a comprehensive systemic model with which the Portland movement moves forward, instead of the patchwork, symptomatic response models seen in the past and in other sustainability endeavors. Overall, the result of these networks, groups, and principled businesses is a strong, active flow of information to the consumer to assist them in making the choices that support the movement and allow its continued existence, and the active creation of opportunities for the once "fringe" sustainable food system market to grow into and merge with the dominant, mainstream system. Because of its adherence to the new strategy for effective change, the Portland movement for a sustainable food system has seen much success amongst its food distribution subsystem.

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Chapter Three – The Case of Food Distribution in Portland, Oregon, Part I

The City of Portland, Oregon

The city of Portland is Oregon's largest urban area, with a population of 524,944 just over 2 million in the metropolitan area (Portland State University Population Research Center, 2004). Located on the Willamette River in the northwest corner of the state, Portland is a dense, diverse urban area well known for its successful public transportation system and other celebrated urban planning endeavors. The Port of Portland leads the West in grain exports and the city's diverse economy includes a broad base of manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, business services, and regional government. Major industries include machinery, transportation equipment, lumber and wood products, technology, and tourism, attracting more than seven million visitors annually. The city boasts a strong history in local beer and coffee brewing cultures, as well as robust art and music scenes. But it also retains one of the worst economies in the country; the Portland-Vancouver, Wash. metro area has an unemployment rate of approximately 7.9 percent, 2.8 percent higher than the national average (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005a and 2005b). The city is also plagued by high rates of homelessness and hunger and the state of Oregon in particular has consistently ranked in the top five for food insecurity and hunger. In the 2003-2004 fiscal year, Multnomah County emergency food services gave 138,782 food boxes to 38,976 people throughout the metro area (Starr Farris, personal communication, July 23, 2004).[11]

[11] Updated information for the 2004-2005 fiscal year is not available for such a specific area, but is for the state as a whole, where an estimated 190,000 people ate from emergency food boxes each month (Oregon Food Bank, 2005).

Food distribution in Portland

In looking at the various forms of food distribution around Portland, I have found the following aspects to be the most apparent:

- Food retail,
- Restaurants,
- Farmers' markets,
- Community supported agriculture operations,
- Garden projects,
- Food service companies,
- Food distributors, and
- Institutional purchasing.[12]

Also integral to this aspect of the food system are a number of organizations or groups that have direct influence in the move towards sustainability in food distribution. The descriptions in this chapter and the next are not exhaustive of each category; there exist many more businesses and organizations in Portland doing similar things. For example, the three restaurants described are a mere few of the dozens of restaurants moving in the same direction. It would have been impossible to highlight all of the efforts throughout the city, and those depicted below should adequately illustrate in concept and example what is occurring on a grand scale.

[12] The emergency food system (food banks, shelters, etc.) is a distribution stream frequently mentioned when discussing urban food systems; however, it is not prominently described here, since the use of local foods in this stream is not nearly as deliberate as the others. Food banks are indirectly and briefly discussed in the description of Oregon Food Bank's Learning Gardens, Portland Community Gardens, and the Portland Farmers' Market.

Every section in this chapter includes some introduction explaining the role of the businesses and/or organizations highlighted, followed by a chronological, narrative account "telling the story" of the local food system elements within that sector.

These accounts provide basic descriptions of the enterprises' work and structure, indirectly describing their efforts to adhere to two sets of elements:

1. The goals comprising a local food system described in Chapter One, including but not limited to:
    - Fostering a sense of community amongst participants, customers, and surrounding neighborhoods;
    - Decreasing the environmental impact of its own actions and/or the actions of others and supporting the environmental integrity of agricultural production;
    - Educating others about the importance of community food systems and environmental awareness; and,
    - Supporting efforts towards a community-based food system by decreasing the line from producer to consumer and helping create networks among food producers, distributors, and consumers.
2. The theoretical constructs presented in the literature review, including but not limited to:
    - The "bridge values" of a sustainable mainstream movement: profitability, efficiency, innovation, safety, ownership, and competition;
    - Networking with other firms and organizations also engaged in the movement;
    - Expanding opportunities for people to identify themselves as part of the sustainability movement;
    - Affecting local policy change toward opportunities for local food systems;

- Taking into account the values of the community and various social movements when making decisions about their practices;
- Providing the consumer with information to alter their decision-making processes (i.e. consumer education);
- Engaging in all of the above in the hope of moving from a niche to a mainstream market with the recognitions that a) a successful movement will be systemic and interdisciplinary, and that b) the movement should focus on expanding opportunities for positive change rather than on chastising the wrongs of the mainstream system.

The importance of two elements in particular – networking and consumer education – is evident in the overlap of the two in both lists. While the first list posits their importance as core goals of a sustainable food system, the second describes their theoretical significance in maximizing the success of the movement. These two elements in particular are strongly evident in just about every organization or business highlighted in the following case study.

Methods and Sources

Because the City of Portland is currently experiencing one of the most significant surges in social, economic, and agricultural action towards a sustainable urban food system, collecting data about the city's food system was unproblematic. The majority of this information gathering was completed online (most of the restaurants, organizations, and businesses researched have websites) and by primary documentation (pamphlets, menus, educational publications, articles, etc.). Another crucial resource was interviews; at least one key individual from each highlighted establishment was interviewed. Interview questions inquired about not only the structure, proceedings, and role of the enterprise, but also the opinions and perceptions of the interviewee regarding city policy, future visions, sustainable food systems, and other topics. Each interview

was tape recorded or transcribed by computer, with three e-mail interviews as exceptions. Quotes from these interviews are used in the data analysis, with the interviewee identified by name and affiliation within the text and the date of the interview in parentheses.

I also conducted participatory field research – frequenting public farmers' markets around the city throughout the week, securing a volunteer position with a relevant organization (Portland Community Gardens), attending meetings of highlighted organizations and collectives, and frequenting many of the featured restaurants and food retail stores. Living in the city sporadically during the research (a total of over 1.5 years) and conducting field research allowed me the opportunity to view the matter through the eyes of a Portland citizen and consumer, a perspective integral to the success of the food system.

To determine which restaurants, farms, stores, etc. should be contacted or spotlighted in the first place, I picked names from articles and information from Portland organizations. I often turned to relevant Portland-oriented environmental organizations that I had known previously to be involved in food matters, such as Ecotrust.

As the research continued, I discovered a strong and extensive web of connections between interviewees. Frequently, interviewees or organizations under focus were currently collaborating or had recently collaborated with others. It was mainly within this web of contacts that my research focused, but this could not be helped as the connections mainly became clear later on. I believe these links, prevalent as they are, constitute a major characteristic of the system that should not be overlooked in analysis and that accentuates the community basis of the work being done. This network is evidence of the first in the list of theoretical constructs – networking amongst businesses, organizations, and other players to enact systemic and broad

change. It is described indirectly and indicated by the references to other organizations and businesses mentioned in the case study.

Food Retail, Farmers' Markets, and Community Supported Agriculture

Buying Food for Home Consumption

Food retail, farmers' markets, and community supported agriculture endeavors (CSAs) are all viable ways of consumers purchasing local and organic foods for home consumption. Cooperative groceries, farmers' markets, and CSAs are most often distributors of local and organic goods (though not always), and the expansion in popularity of these outlets can strongly affect the accessibility of local items in an urban area.

Farmers' markets help contribute to a local food system by:

- Educating consumers about how their food is grown and processed;
- Supporting small family farmers;
- Protecting air quality and the environment by shortening the distance food travels from farm to consumer and by encouraging sustainable agriculture practices; and,
- Creating a community activity that helps revitalize community resources (Portland Chef's Collaborative, 2004).

Shopping at a farmers' market allows consumers to interact with the farmer and learn about the methods use to grow the food. Farmers' markets are quite beneficial for the farmer, because in eliminating much of the distribution and other "middle man" costs, farmers receive a larger portion of the food dollar when they sell direct. Because of these cost reductions, produce at farmers' markets is often cheaper than at a grocery store. Restaurants, food distribution companies, and other sorts of food businesses often shop at farmers' markets for the food they

use in their operations. In Portland, this practice is common. The Portland Farmers' Market,[13] the People's Co-op Farmers' Market,[14] and the Kaiser Permanente Farmers' Market,[15] all highlighted in this section, are markets of differing sizes, structures, and locations.

Community supported agriculture endeavors are a combined effort of the farm and its community of supporters (also called "members" or "subscribers") and provide the farmer with some financial security in the face of farming's unpredictable nature. Each season, members provide the money and occasional volunteer labor that allows the farm to produce food for the season. In exchange, these members receive a share of the produce each week, sometimes along with meat, eggs, flowers, cheeses, or other products. Members can purchase shares of differing sizes and assortments, but the intention is for the member family to receive all the produce they need for the delivery period, usually one to two weeks. CSAs not only provide an economically viable way for small farmers to continue producing in the face of large agribusiness, but also provide the consumer with a means of interacting with the grower and the land on which the food is grown. Portland is home to 29 CSAs, a quickly growing number. Most of these farms also sell at farmers' markets, natural groceries, and/or co-ops, and may also provide food for local restaurants. Gathering Together Farm[16] and 47th Avenue Farm[17] are two of the most well known CSAs serving the city.

Today's typical supermarket carries more than 30,000 products, with about half of these items produced by only ten multinational food and beverage companies (Halweil, 2003). These

[13] Information regarding the Portland Farmers' Market comes from personal communication with Dianne Stefani-Ruff (August 3, 2004), and the Portland Farmers' Market website (Portland Farmers' Market, 2004).
[14] Information regarding People's Co-op Farmers' Market comes from personal communication with Sarah Cline and Neil Robinson (June 2, 2004).
[15] Information regarding the Kaiser Permanente Farmers' Market comes from personal communication with Jim Gersbach (July 22, 2005) and a Portland Business Journal article (Moody, 2005).
[16] Information regarding Gathering Together Farm comes from personal communication with John Eveland (July 28, 2005), and the Gathering Together website (Gathering Together Farm, 2005).
[17] Information regarding 47th Avenue Farm comes from personal communication with Laura Masterson (June 23, 2004), and the 47th Avenue website (47th Avenue Farm, 2006).

stores are the most prevalent food source throughout the United States. The Portland metro area is home to a wide variety of grocery stores, many of which are naturally oriented, such as well-known national chains Whole Foods and Trader Joe's stores. The two retail stores highlighted in this section – New Seasons[18] and People's Co-op[19] – were chosen for their prominence in the community and their local history.

1969-1989: In the beginning – groceries, cooperatives, and CSAs

In 1969, a small group of Portland residents started Nature's, a supermarket chain dedicated to the distribution of natural, organic, and local foods. A predecessor to stores like Whole Foods, Wild Oats, and other natural grocery stores, Nature's was structured much like any other grocery store, but provided only natural products. Bigger than the small cooperatives and natural food stores sprouting up across the country, Nature's found success in the bourgeoning environmental and natural foods movement in the Northwest.

At the same time, Portland saw the development of a number of cooperative grocery stores. Functioning democratically, members of these co-ops were able to vote on business issues, could volunteer in the store for a discount, and had the opportunity to yield some control over the food available to them. People's Cooperative Grocery, started in 1970, was one of the first to start in the city. Neil Robinson, People's current produce manager, remarks that People's was at the forefront of the organic movement in Portland when it first started, at a time when organic food was not distributed as widely as it is today.

[18] Information regarding New Seasons comes from personal communication with Brian Rohter (June 17, 2004), Eileen Brady (June 22, 2004), Krista Anderson (June 10, 2004), and the New Seasons Market website (New Seasons Market, 2004).
[19] Information regarding People's Cooperative Grocery comes from personal communication with Sarah Cline and Neil Robinson (June 2, 2004), and the People's Cooperative Grocery Website (People's Co-op, 2004).

For more than 15 years, natural grocery stores and cooperatives were the only means for Portland residents (as well as people around the country) to purchase local, organic, and natural items. At the end of the 1980s, however, Community Supported Agriculture endeavors – long popular in Europe – found their way to the United States. One of the first CSA farms to service Portland was Gathering Together Farm, just over an hour away from the city, started by John and Sally Eveland in 1987. Since its inception, this farm has sold food direct to consumers on site, via CSA subscription, and at farmers' markets, and to food distribution companies, restaurants, and grocery stores.

1990-1999: Farmers' Markets, and the birth of New Seasons

In 1987, a small group of farmers' market managers from around Oregon organized the Oregon Farmers' Markets Association to provide support for what seemed to be a growing trend of farmers' markets. It is unclear how many markets served the Portland area at the time, but two of the most popular markets started soon afterwards. People's Co-op started their market in 1991. The market featured 10-20 local farmers and artisans each week, year-round. It is rare for a grocery store to have a farmers' market since the market openly offers products available in the store, but People's attributes their sponsoring the market to their commitment to the economic feasibility of small farming operations. In 1992, soon after this market started, the Portland Farmers' Market was founded as a non-profit organization with the aim of creating a space for community interaction and development and for bringing local foods into the limelight. At this point, the market occurred downtown once a week on Saturdays, with 14 vendors selling produce and other goods.

The mission of the Portland Farmers' Market accurately portrays its efforts to educate Portland citizens and consumers, to build community, and to support the local food system – "To

enhance the business success of our region's small farms by operating vibrant urban farmers' markets that serve as community gathering places. In support of this mission we will:

- Foster commercial and educational relationships between our vendors and city-dwellers.
- Serve as a small business incubator for local farms and artisan food products.
- Enhance the region's quality of life by encouraging environmentally sound agriculture and access to local, healthier foods."

This same year the Market started, the federal government started the Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, mandating that some amount of food vouchers given to low-income WIC- and food stamp-receiving families be spent at farmers markets. This not only increased the access of low-income families to the fresh, nutrition foods mainly provided at farmers' markets, but also public awareness about the prevalence farmers' markets, now a strongly growing trend around the country.

In 1997, the Portland Farmers' Market expanded to an additional Wednesday afternoon market, in a different area of downtown Portland. Primarily oriented to serve people working downtown who are hesitant to come back for the Saturday market, this market is smaller, but well attended. As the Market became more popular and the consumer base stabilized, coordinators felt compelled to help these producers make the most out of their participation. In 1999, they held a growers' roundtable for local farmers and processors, to address any concerns or difficulties they experienced in selling at a market. The group discussed issues such as how to set up an attractive booth and how to market and price their goods competitively. Many of the growers commented that selling at the market was a major benefit because they are not only able to meet customers and get retail price for their products, but are able to set their prices based on the real cost of producing the food.

Meanwhile, CSAs continued to develop throughout the city. In 1995, Laura Masterson started 47th Avenue Farm on less than an acre of land near her home, and began to sell shares of her organic produce to friends and other close contacts, not having enough capital to market her farm extensively.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Nature's grew as an independent chain, until purchased by vitamin corporation General Nutrition Centers (commonly known as "GNC") in 1996. Because GNC's food operations headquarters were in Portland, Nature's retained its local control and most of the managers and other high-level employees stayed with the company. Until, that is, GNC sold Nature's to Boulder, Colo.-based Wild Oats, now one of the largest natural grocery chains in the United States, in 1999. Sensing changes that steered Nature's away from its philosophical and localized roots and towards the growing corporate natural foods movement, many of Nature's top employees disengaged from the company. This included Brian Rohter and his wife, Eileen Brady. They, along with a few other Portland families, including the ex-President of Nature's, started New Seasons Market in 1999. The founding of the company is attributed to a desire amongst these founders for a "business that we could be proud of – a business with a commitment to its community, to promoting sustainable agriculture, and to maintaining a progressive workplace."

2000-present: Expansion and education

In February 2000, the first New Seasons Market store opened to positive publicity and rave reviews from customers. After an incredible success following this opening, the company expanded quickly, opening its next locations in Summer 2000, Summer 2001, Summer 2003, Summer 2004, and Fall 2005. Three more locations are slated for opening before Summer 2007.

The company boasts a strong commitment to sourcing locally- and organically-produced foods, which president Brian Rohter attributes to a strong desire to support local farms and make farming more economically viable for small operations. During Oregon's strongest growing season, June thru October, approximately 60 percent of the produce carried by the store is locally produced, dropping to 40 percent during the rest of the year.[20] Overall, if products are available locally and for a decent price, the company will not source elsewhere. All beef products sold in the store are locally produced, and pork products from within a close range of the city. All dairy products used in the store are organic, and the store deli offers a wide variety of organic dishes and an entirely organic salad bar. To manage relationships with local farmers and food sources, New Seasons has a staff member designated entirely to building relationships with local produce sources – Chris Harris is the New Seasons Produce Merchandiser/Local Buyer. Working with smaller local growers asks more for the merchandisers and department managers in terms of ordering and scheduling. Harris says, "The peak local season is a chaotic and hectic time with products being ordered and arriving at various days and times … Some items are delivered directly to stores, others are delivered to a local wholesaler who splits up the order and delivers to the stores. Some items come from multiple suppliers and arrive at different stores on different days" (personal communication, March 31, 2006).

Eileen Brady, Rohter's wife, calls the company's employee and management base a close-knit "tribe," or "clan," with many families working together or for a number of related local-food businesses and organizations around the city.

However, New Seasons takes a unique approach to natural food retail, one that that is commonly identified as the source of the company's early and continuing success. Along with

[20] The exact number of producers selling to New Seasons at any given time varies widely, even on a daily basis, as items go in and out of season and as individual producers have different availabilities.

gourmet, organic, and local products are mainstream corporate brands such as Coca-Cola, Frito Lay, and General Mills. According to Rohter, his wife Brady, and company documents, there are many reasons for this strategy. One is the increased ease in shopping, so that families who prefer both natural and mainstream products can go to one store for everything they need. Deeper reasons include a hope to make New Seasons an equivalent to non-natural, mainstream supermarkets that neighborhoods generally rely on. "Very few people shop at natural food stores because it's their neighborhood store," Brady says. "We asked ourselves, 'How do we make [organic and local foods] more accessible? How do we become a neighborhood market? That's why we offer all kinds of products, which encourages people of all needs and backgrounds to shop at a store that also showcases local and organic products."

After drawing in the consumer base, New Seasons engages strongly in educating their consumers about the various values of eating locally, seasonally, and organically. The stores hold frequent in-store tastings with local farmers and encourage local farmers' markets, CSAs, and other opportunities for connecting food with its origin in the mind of the consumer. In 2002, the New Seasons staff was joined by local chef Krista Anderson, a leader of the local food system movement and co-founder of the local Chef's Collaborative (see Organizational/Programmatic Support), as store chef for two locations. In May 2005, Anderson was promoted to Company Chef, responsible for coordinating and creating new menu items for all locations.

The first few years of the 2000s saw expansive growth in all elements of the food retail distribution stream, including farmers' markets and CSAs as well as grocery stores. In 2001, the Portland Farmers' Market added a third Thursday market to their weekly line-up. The market, located in the parking lot of the Jean Vollum Natural Capital building in downtown Portland,

shares a location with Ecotrust (see Organizational/Programmatic Support), Hot Lips Pizza (see Restaurants), and other active members of the local food system movement. In 2003, over 350,000 shopping trips were made to all three of the Market's locations, producing over $2.9 million in sales. At about this time, the Market began developing a wide variety of educational and outreach programming related to the local food system, most in coordination with the local Chef's Collaborative. In 2003, the market hosted 50 Chef in the Market demonstrations, bringing in local chefs such as Greg Higgins from Higgins Restaurant (see Restaurants), David Yudkin of Hot Lips Pizza, and others to talk about cooking with local, seasonal, and organic produce. This year also saw 15 Taste the Place samplings of local foods, and six Kids Cook at the Market classes for children. In addition, this year low-income shoppers used more than $30,000 of Farmers' Market Nutrition Program vouchers at the Market, with more than $1 million used at farmers' markets around the state. The Market also donated over 20,000 pounds of leftover produce to various shelters and food-related charity organizations around the city.

A 2004 survey of Portland Farmers' Market customers found that that 4-5,000 people shop at the market per week, spending an estimated $600,000. When asked why they frequent the market, people answered in the following ways (in order of decreased importance): to meet producers, to support sustainable agriculture, the atmosphere of the market, for high quality produce, and to support local farmers. Most commonly, they answered "all of the above." By 2004, the three markets throughout the week now boast 250 vendors collectively, with three long waiting lists of vendors hoping to sell their goods at the markets. The Saturday market featured an average of 125 vendors and 7,000 customers each week; the Wednesday market 45 vendors and 4,500 customers; and the Thursday market 45 vendors and 2,000 customers.

In January 2006, the Portland Farmers' Market absorbed the Thursday afternoon/evening Eastbank Farmers' Market, started in 2003, when its coordinator resigned. Market staff voice hope that this market will help address the unmet demand of vendors on the waiting lists for participation.

In the mid-2000s, farmers' markets began to gain popularity amongst the health care industry as a means for access to fresh, nutritious foods. As such, health care facilities across the country began to plan for opening farmers' markets on site so that patients, employees, and local residents could enjoy fresh foods at decent prices. Facilities can use food from the market in their food service plans to make them healthier, in the face of growing criticisms of unhealthy, fast-food type meal services. In May 2005, the Kaiser Permanente health care facility in North Portland, a low-income area of the city plagued by obesity and related health issues, opened a farmers' market on Wednesday afternoon/evenings in conjunction with various interested community organizations. Every week approximately two dozen vendors set up booths for the more than 1,000 people who come to the market, including patients, hospital staff, and local residents. Unlike other farmers' markets run by Kaiser Permanente around the country, this one is owned and run by Kaiser instead of outside market organizers, in the hopes that it will gain permanence.

In the face of increased demand, Laura Masterson expanded 47th Avenue Farm in Fall 2002 to a plot of land within city-owned Zenger Farm, an agricultural education center near city limits. By 2004, 47th Avenue comprised 14 acres in locations around the city including Masterson's original spot and the acreage on Zenger Farm, and feeds more than 50 subscribers each year. Around this time, it also started offering a "Farm Patron Share," a normal share at a higher cost which "more accurately reflects the true cost of growing your food because it

includes your farmers' salary." 47th Avenue also began offering different types of shares with add-ons such as eggs, flowers, and goat cheese, produced by other local producers.

47th Avenue is not certified organic, because certification is an expensive and effort-intensive process, but it adheres to organic and other sustainable agriculture techniques. Inviting customers to the farm and encouraging them to participate in the growing process fosters trust between the producer and the consumer that the product is being grown in an environmentally friendly way. Six work parties throughout the summer, a monthly newsletter, and weekly food pickups make for constant communication and interaction between the farm and the consumer at a level that is rarely found outside of CSA operations. Like many other local farms and CSAs, 47th Avenue has sold produce to local restaurants and retail, such as People's Co-op, but Masterson comments that she's much more interested in focusing on the CSA aspect of her business because of the community interaction it allows her.

By 2005, Gathering Together Farm comprised over 50 acres of land and distributed over 40 crops each year, with the help of a staff of over 50 people. Half of the farm's sales come from farmers' markets, mainly in Portland, and 20 percent come from selling to wholesalers, such as Organically Grown Company (see Food Service, Food Distribution, and Institutional Purchasing), and other markets, such as restaurants like Hot Lips Pizza. Ten percent of their business is the upwards of 125 CSA shares they sell each season to Portland consumers, distributing mainly through the Wednesday Portland Farmers' Market.

Conclusion: Broadening access and increasing awareness

Since the 1960s, Portland has seen massive growth in the availability of local and organic foods for purchase from stores, farmers' markets, and community supported agriculture endeavors. Throughout the city, 29 farmers' markets, including the Portland Farmers' Market

markets and the People's Co-op market, mean people can shop at a market in the city almost every day of the week. Despite the growth in Americans' dining at restaurants and food service cafeterias, eating at home is still the top source of food by volume and by money spent, making the availability of local and organic products for purchase integral to the success of a local food system anywhere. Portland has not only made these products available through specialty markets such as cooperatives and CSAs, which are likely to be used only by those already interested in promoting a local system, but also through supermarkets and intense expansion of farmers' markets. By specifically demarcating local products and providing information about and opportunities to directly connect with the producer, these stores, markets, and CSAs are not only shortening the actual path of the food from producer to consumer, but also the conceptual one, bringing food production back into the minds of those who eat it. Each of these businesses acknowledged their work to make small, independent farming a more economically viable endeavor in the hopes of helping it overcome the obstacles against deterring from the dominant food system.

Restaurants

Eating local while eating out, on any budget

Restaurant fare is quickly becoming one of the major sectors of Americans' diets. By offering local and organic produce, highlighting local farmers, and participating in community events and educational endeavors, restaurants involved in a sustainable food system not only improve their own impact on the environment and in communities, but educate consumers as well. Portland restaurants of all types, from small neighborhood cafes to fast food restaurants to the most highly acclaimed gourmet restaurants, are using regional sources for their products and

promoting efforts towards a mainstream sustainable food system. Research has found that local chefs, along with nutritionists and local farmers, carry significant weight as messengers on local food purchasing (Greenberg Quinland Rosner Research Inc., 2002). The restaurants highlighted in this section – Higgins,[21] Hot Lips Pizza,[22] Burgerville,[23] and the Food for Thought Café[24] – were chosen to represent the many different types of restaurants participating in the food system, and are the most well known examples of restaurants participating in the local system.

1960s-present: Connecting restaurants with producers

In 1961, Dutch immigrants to the Northwest opened Burgerville, a fast food chain, in Portland neighbor Vancouver, Wash. In 1984, a local family started Hot Lips Pizza, a small pizza parlor quickly expanding to around 10 locations throughout the city. While both of these restaurants began with little to no emphasis on sourcing local or natural products, they both had a future in store with strong leadership positions in the movement.

In 1994, high-profile gourmet chef Greg Higgins opened Higgins Restaurant in downtown Portland, featuring an entirely seasonal and local menu featuring a large percentage of products grown by small local farms. Higgins' commitment to local products began in childhood, growing up in an agricultural community and experiencing the financial difficulties of small farming endeavors. An avid organic gardener himself, he refused to use anonymous products shipped from all over the world, not knowing how they were grown or who grew them. "There exist today a growing need for commitment to sustainable food practices," Higgins writes

[21] Information regarding Higgins Restaurant comes from personal communication with Greg Higgins (August 1, 2004), and the Higgins Restaurant website (Higgins Restaurant, 2004).
[22] Information regarding Hot Lips Pizza comes from personal communication with David Yudkin (June 3, 2004), the Hot Lips website (Hot Lips, 2004a), the Hot Lips menu (Hot Lips, 2004b), and the Oregon Natural Step Network's case study (Castle, Duke & The Castle Group, 2000).
[23] Information regarding Burgerville comes from personal communication with Jack Graves (June 7, 2004), and the Burgerville website (Burgerville, 2006).
[24] Information regarding the Food for Thought Café comes from the Food for Thought website (Food for Thought Café, 2006).

on the restaurant's website. "We believe strongly in supporting farming techniques that are sustainable, organic, and regenerative. The cuisine here at Higgins is truly rooted in our Northwest soil."

Higgins works with 30 to 40 farmers throughout the year whom he contacts in a variety of ways, including the Farmer-Chef Connection (see Organizational/Programmatic Support) and local farmers' markets. As a backup to direct connections with farmers, which is necessary for a restaurant of Higgins' prestige and capacity (serving 300 people every day), Higgins uses regional distributor Organically Grown Company (see Food Service, Food Distribution and Institutional Purchasing). During the summer, almost 90 percent of the ingredients used at the restaurant are purchased directly from the farm; during the rest of the year, this amount dips to 60-70 percent. Fish is purchased directly from the fisherman through the Fisherman-Chef Connection (see Organizational/Programmatic Support), and chicken, pork, and beef are all sources from regional companies including Oregon Country Beef (see Food Service, Food Distribution, and Institutional Purchasing), a cooperative of natural family-owned ranches in the region that raise beef without the use of hormones, antibiotics, genetically modified grain, or animal by-products.

In 1998, Greg Higgins, Krista Anderson (of New Seasons Market), and other leading Portland chefs interested in the use of seasonal, local, and organic fares started a local chapter of the Chef's Collaborative, a nationwide organization started on the East Coast in 1993. This organization is described more in-depth in the Organizational/Programmatic Support section of Chapter Four, but should be recognized here for its impact on restaurants involved in Portland's local food system movement.

The same year it was founded, the Portland Chef's Collaborative started their "Adopt-a-School" program, bringing local chefs into public school classrooms to teach about food and culture, sustainable agriculture techniques, food's impact on the environment, and hands-on culinary activities. Chef Linda Colwell, later to become a leader in the city's farm-to-school movement, took leadership of the program and taught it at dozens of schools within the first year.

Also in 1998, David Yudkin, owner of Hot Lips Pizza, heard a presentation about The Natural Step, an organization dedicated to helping businesses transition to sustainable practices. Partially as a means of bringing the business out of a financial depression, Yudkin decided to make his operations more sustainable. By 2002, Yudkin had changed Hot Lips' practices in almost every way, including energy saving elements in the business' four locations, using electric vehicles to deliver pizzas, committing the business to the use of local, seasonal, organic products whenever possible, and many other features. Hot Lips purchases products from more than 20 local farms throughout the year, including meats, produce, wheat, fruits, and flowers and plants. Yudkin maintains "great relationships" with the farmers and has hired a staff member for the sole purpose of communicating with producers, most of whom he connects with through farmers' markets (mainly the Thursday Portland Farmers' Market, located in the parking lot of one of Hot Lips' downtown locations). According to Yudkin, his business is "helping create a market for the farmers" by purchasing a consistent quantity and therefore reducing the farmers' risks of surplus goods. The movement toward a local food system, he says, "Makes it economically viable for small farms to exist. It presents them with an opportunity to exist and be successful."

In April 2002, Hot Lips won a BEST sustainability award, given annually by Portland's Office of Sustainable Development, in the category of Energy Efficiency. In April 2004, Hot

Lips won another BEST award, this time in the category of Small Business Innovation, an award created especially for Hot Lips considering its high level of sustainable practices. The reasoning behind the award included Hot Lips' commitment to local purchasing practices, especially for its work with third-party certification organization Food Alliance (see Organizational/Programmatic Support) and Shepherd's Grain to create a certified local market for wheat and flour that did not exist previously.

In Spring 2000, students at Portland State University formed Food for Thought, a group intending to provide a means of purchasing local, seasonal, and organic meals on campus and to influence the sustainability of the university's overall food service ventures. The Food for Thought Café opened on campus in the spring of 2003, after extensive planning by the student group and discussions with university administration. The café features entirely local, seasonal, and organic meals and snacks at reasonable student prices.

Throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, Burgerville continued to increase the little emphasis on local purchasing they had from their beginnings. By the 2000s, the company was well known for its diverse menu of items made with seasonally available, Northwest-sourced ingredients. In fact, it became a testament to the idea that any type of restaurant, even a fast-food chain, can function within a local food system. The 39 restaurant locations use myriad products from local sources, including bakery items, ice cream, cheese, meats, produce, and paper products. Burgerville was the first restaurant in the country to sell Gardenburger-brand veggie burgers, which started as a small local company. Local contacts are made through the company's director of purchasing and corporate chef, who is also a member of the local Chef's Collaborative.

Burgerville sells free-range turkey burgers and in early 2004 used Food Alliance to construct a precedent-setting partnership with Oregon Country Beef. This partnership, in which Burgerville uses only the cooperative's natural beef in their burgers, made the company the first fast-food chain in the nation to use natural beef. It also made Burgerville the cooperative's largest customer, purchasing over 1.75 million pounds of beef each year. In April 2004, this partnership won Burgerville a BEST sustainability award in Sustainable Food Systems.

It is often difficult for a company as big as Burgerville, with almost 40 restaurants, to make deals with local producers, who have trouble producing in a large and consistent enough volume to supply all the restaurants. But the company often looks to larger farms in the area (still not as large as industrial farms, however) and creates contracts in which they are often the sole buyer of certain products. They buy, for instance, the entire blackberry and raspberry crops from local Fuji Farm for their seasonal milkshakes.[25]

Vice President Jack Graves commented on these sorts of purchasing practices, saying the extra work it takes to develop such partnerships is well worth it. "The thing that we feel good about is that we're able to help create sustainable ranching," Graves says. "There are very few ranchers left but we've got these ranch families that are able to sell their product at a profit. [Oregon Country Beef] is raising beef the way we feel good about." Overall, the company's saying they hope to take a "vital part in the social and economic cycles of the Northwest, touching and improving the lives of countless others, who then reach out and touch countless upon countless more" portrays their community-building goal.

[25] Fuji Farms did and could, however, survive financially in the instance that Burgerville no longer purchased these crops.

Conclusion

Restaurants serve a two-fold purpose in local food systems. Not only do they provide market opportunities for and boost the financial feasibility of smaller local farms, but they can also serve as substantial educational and outreach mechanisms. Consumers, for example, are unlikely to think of fast food or other non high-end, non sit-down restaurants as viable means for addressing the issues of the dominant food system. As restaurateurs and other leaders in the field involve themselves with organizations concerned with local food systems, their ability to influence the movement increases. Since the 1980s, Portland has produced leaders in the field of local and natural restaurants, most likely partially due to the prevalence of groups such as the local Chef's Collaborative and the ease of using programs such as the Farmer-Chef and Fishermen-Chef Connections, described in Chapter Four. As chefs can network together around causes relevant to their work, they can share ideas and advice on how to overcome difficulties, as well as begin to influence chefs and restaurant owners who would otherwise not be as interested in the movement.

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Chapter Four – The Case of Food Distribution in Portland, Oregon, Part II

Food service, food distribution, and institutional purchasing

Getting local foods from the farmer to cafeteria tables

When entering the cafeteria of a school, university, prison, health care facility, corporate campus, or any other such institution, one has little choice in the matter of what they eat. As such, institutional purchasing via food service companies and the food distribution companies that supply them have large influences on the prevalence and success of any local food system. For these companies and programs – which largely remain behind the scenes – to change to local and organic purchasing is a relatively new trend, but Portland companies and programs in all of these areas have begun to make strides toward sustainability.

Food service companies provided $45 billion of food around the United States in 2003 (USDA ERS, 2005). Food distribution (otherwise known as "wholesaling") is a $589 billion per year industry in the United States, larger even than food retail. Generally, food goes through a distributor before it ever reaches the retail store, restaurant, or food service company. While the direct-purchasing efforts of businesses engaging in a local food system are probably preferable, distributors who offer local and organic foods make it much easier for these foods to end up on the tables or shelves. Schools, prisons, corporations, health care facilities, and all of the many other types of institutional campuses serve hundreds of thousands of meals a day in cities around the country. While some of these institutions coordinate food service themselves, they also often turn to food service and food distribution companies to handle their cafeterias.

A number of businesses and collaborative programs are highlighted in this section, including Organically Grown Company distribution,[26] Oregon Country Beef ranching cooperative/beef distribution, [27] Bon Appetit food service company,[28] Aramark food service company's partnership with local prisons,[29] Portland Public School District's farm-to-school program,[30] Portland Public Schools Garden of Wonders program,[31] and local efforts to bring local foods into Legacy Health Systems.[32]

1978-1998: Laying the foundation in food distribution

Organically Grown Cooperative (OGC) was founded in Eugene, Ore., 100 miles south of Portland, in 1978 as a non-profit advocacy group and meeting place for agricultural workers. Together members bought fertilizer, seed, and other resources, and discussed issues related to regional agriculture. In 1983, the growers involved decided to convert the organization into a for-profit cooperative to market and distribute their products. Soon, they were distributing any other produce they could from farms in the region, including Gathering Together Farm. After opening a warehouse in Portland in 1993, and soon two others in the Northwest, OGC became the largest distributor of organic produce in the region. Almost all (98.5 percent) of the produce

[26] Information regarding Organically Grown Company comes from personal communication with David Lively (July 23, 2005), and the Organically Grown Company website (Organically Grown Company, 2005).
[27] Information regarding Oregon Country Beef comes from personal communication with Connie Hatfield (July 31, 2005), and the Oregon Country Beef website (Oregon Country Beef, 2005).
[28] Information regarding Bon Appetit comes from the Bon Appetit website (Bon Appetit, 2005).
[29] Information regarding Ararmark's partnership with Multnomah County Correctional Facilities comes from personal communication with Amy Joslin (July 15, 2005) and Multnomah County News Release (Multnomah County Public Affairs Office, 2004).
[30] Information regarding Portland Public School District's farm-to-school programs comes from personal communication with Mike Moran (July 13, 2005), Linda Colwell (July 20, 2005), and Kristy Obbink (July 21, 2005), the Portland Public Schools website (Portland Public Schools, 2005), and Food Policy Council web pages (City of Portland Office of Sustainable Development, 2005a; 2005b).
[31] Information regarding Garden of Wonders comes from personal communication with Linda Colwell (July 20, 2005).
[32] Information regarding Legacy Health System's farm-to-health care program comes from personal communication with Neha Patel (July 21, 2005).

distributed by OGC is certified organic, with products such as organic mushrooms much more difficult and/or expensive to source.

In 1990, Organically Grown Company started LADYBUG Brand, a subset of distribution featuring locally grown and seasonal produce of more than 120 different fruits and vegetables year round. Among many other farms, Gathering Together Farm distributes produce through LADYBUG. Around 20 percent of the company's total distribution is LADYBUG brand, which can be specifically requested by purchasers.

In 1986, Doc and Connie Hatfield started Oregon Country Beef ranching collaborative with just over a dozen other ranching families in Oregon. Under financial stress to keep their ranch profitable in a struggling commodity market and amidst growing criticism of ranching's environmental impacts, Connie happened upon a local market opportunity amongst "health buffs" looking for antibiotic- and hormone-free, grass-fed, sustainably grown beef products. "We called ourselves ranchers," she says, "yet there was this market for beef products only 55 miles away, and [these potential customers] had to send away to Argentina for expensive meat just to get what they wanted."

OCB ranchers could now have some element of control and full knowledge of their cattle's processing, even owning their cattle until sold to the processor, which is very uncommon for ranching cooperatives. Each member ranch is third-party certified sustainable by Food Alliance, required since 1998, and is responsible for adhering to "Grazewell Principles" of sustainable ranching, handed down by the organization. They also attend two yearly co-op membership meetings, participate in Customer Appreciation Day in August (where customers visit and tour ranches and learn about OCB), and spend one weekend per year doing store visitations or in-store meat demonstrations in Seattle, Portland, or San Francisco. Altogether,

OCB sends about 900 head of cattle a week to the processing plant. The cattle are vegetarian fed from birth to processing, and if treated for sickness (less than one percent of all cattle) are immediately taken out of the OCB program and processed traditionally.

1999-2005: Food service and institutional purchasing takes the bait

Founded in 1987 as a catering company in Palo Alto, Calif., Bon Appetit Food Service Company is a leader in companies supporting a local food system. In 1999, the CEO of the company, which at this point was already operating extensively in Portland's universities and corporate campuses, issued a strict mandate for all company operations to purchase extensively from local producers and artisans. This "Farm to Fork" program brings into the company's mission its "Dream to be the premier on-site restaurant company known for its culinary expertise and commitment to socially responsible practices … for the well being of our guests, communities, and the environment."

The company has a straightforward commitment to sustaining the environment, local communities, and individual health through its purchasing and culinary decisions. The Circle of Responsibility program trains each account's manager and executive chef in the company's sustainability practices and displays a board highlighting these programs in the facilities, providing brochures about environmental, social, and health-related issues. Monthly newsletters feature seasonal recipes and further explain the mission of the company. Certain foods in the facility are labeled as vegetarian, vegan, organic, low fat, and other designations deemed important to the company. Options for fair trade, shade grown, and organic coffees are made available to each site, as well as biodegradable disposable products, recycling programs, and sustainable seafood purchasing decisions. Decisions to utilize these programs are often up to the budget and administration of each particular site, though the broader efforts to purchase locally

and organically are a part of every site's operations. The company also boycotts purveyors that do not support farm workers' rights, favors meats grown without the use of antibiotics, and contributes to local food banks.

In 2000, Bon Appetit food service began a strategic venture with Oregon's Intel corporate campuses, working with the company to provide their 20,000 Oregon employees, guests, and contract workers with a sustainable food service system. This partnership, along with many of Bon Appetit's other Portland deals, is coordinated through Food Alliance's Marketplace Partners program, fully described later in this chapter. In 2002 and 2003, Bon Appetit added other purchasing practices to their lineup, including dedications to purchasing sustainable seafood by the conditions of Monterey Bay Aquarium's Seafood Watch program, rBGH-free milk, and antibiotic-free poultry.

A survey conducted by the Food Policy Council and Ecotrust in 2003 found that many institutional purchasers in the Portland area have a high interest in increasing the amount of locally grown foods they purchase (Pierson, 2003). These same institutional purchasers were also asked to describe the prevailing factors influencing purchasing decisions, with top responses being price, quality, and availability. They also cited a number of opportunities and barriers to regional purchasing, including policies, options with existing distributors, and coordination organizations (such as the Food Alliance, the Farmer-Chef Connection, etc.) as helpful factors, and price, demand, volume, food quality and safety, and contracts/vendor agreements as difficulties to overcome (Pierson, 2003). Likewise, growers interviewed cited many of the same positive and negative factors to selling direct to institutions and distributors.

A year later in 2004, the Multnomah County Sheriff and the Food Policy Council (described later in this chapter) began collaborating to encourage Aramark, the food service

company responsible for Multnomah County Correctional Facilities' food service program, to pilot test local purchasing at the facility. While Aramark's company policy does include some environmental and sustainability endeavors and they have partnered with Food Alliance, just as Bon Appetit has, their normal practices barely rival the intense sustainability emphasis of Bon Appetit's practices. This project would test their ability to open up new local food system programs.

The results of this yearlong pilot program found that $57,000 was spent on local products, 45-65 percent of which would have otherwise been spent non-locally. The pilot also shows no increase in food, labor, or other costs, which is unusual. Aramark's distributor for the facility is now equipped, through the help of the Food Policy Council and other involved parties, to track which of the foods they distribute are locally produced, and this tracking is now mandated by the contractual responsibilities of all distributors to the correctional facilities. Three Food Alliance-certified farms were identified as major sources of local produce for the facility, including Fuji Farms, one of the major producers for Burgerville. Key players in this pilot project were asked to speak at that year's Farmer-Chef Connection (described later in this chapter), which that year attracted over 225 attendees.

Among all institutional purchasing programs both in Portland and around the country, the most fitting attempts have occurred in the institutions most focused on health and nutritious diets – heath care facilities. The average U.S. hospital serves more than a million meals per year (How hospital food service, 2004), and not only serve patients and staff, but also visitors and other community members through on-site cafeterias, vending machines, and catering services (Silverman, et al., 2002). Fast food restaurants and other unhealthy options are now commonplace in many hospitals and clinics, and food service for patients and staff are often not

much healthier. Seventy to 80 percent of U.S. hospitals operate their own food service, deciding what foods to purchase and from whom (Romano, 2004). Generally, these food service operations purchase food through a distributor or wholesaler. This can make farm-to-health care direct connections with farmers easier than with schools or other institutions. The remaining 20 percent contract with private food service companies. Aramark, for example, manages food service for approximately 450 U.S. health care facilities (Romano, 2004).

In Portland, farm-to-health care projects are now only just starting to develop. Neha Patel, working with the Oregon Center for Environmental Health and the Oregon Chapter of Health Care Without Harm, has been helping Legacy Health Systems, an Oregon-based non-profit health care network of hospitals, clinics, and other health care services, develop a farm-to-health care program since 2004. Nationwide efforts to change the purchasing practices of health care food service operations have been spearheaded by Health Care Without Harm, an international organization charging health care facilities to use their immense purchasing power to promote practices healthy for both their patients, and the environment. Specifically, the group has been working the facilities around the world to "define and develop" food purchasing practices consistent with environmental and health-related principles. This includes providing more fresh fruits, vegetables, meats, and seafood that are organic, antibiotic free, and/or locally produced.

According to Patel, Legacy hopes to develop a food policy delineating healthy food purchasing practices, including locally grown foods that are pesticide and antibiotic free. While local purchasing has not yet begun, Patel is hopeful that the efforts will come to fruition. "There's definitely some energy around [this project]," Patel says. "The hospitals have been very excited about this." Aside from purchasing, health care in the Portland area and around the

country are turning to farmers' markets, such as the Kaiser Permanente Farmers' Market, as a viable option for improving access to healthy and locally grown foods. The success of the Kaiser market may encourage expansion of health care farmers' markets throughout the metro area, state, or region.

In Spring 2005, Bon Appetit won a BEST award in Sustainable Food Systems for their work with Intel. More than 60 percent of the food served on these campuses now included sustainable products. The partnership had increased one local farm's production by 73 percent, and increased Shepherd's Grain Co-op's (the same used by Hot Lips Pizza) production by 125 percent. They also use OCB for their beef supply. This same year, Bon Appetit issued an "Eat Local Challenge," using incentives to encourage its sites to serve a lunch made completely of ingredients within a 150-mile radius of the site. A number of sites in Portland participated.

In March 2005, Organically Grown Company hosted the first annual "Bringing Produce to the People: A Sustainability Summit," aiming to bring together representatives of the organic food trade to discuss ways of creating a sustainable organic initiative that redefined and strengthened the values of the original organics movement. Panel members included Greg Higgins, and participants included Brian Rohter, John Eveland of Gathering Together Farm, and over 150 other people involved with local organics movements and projects.

1998-2005: An introduction to Farm-to-School Programs, and the Garden of Wonders

The federal National School Lunch Program has been intimately connected with U.S. agricultural production from its conception. However, parents, schools, health experts, and other groups have raised questions over the past few decades regarding the nutritive value of the food served in schools. Much of the food provided by the government is not fresh produce, and many

school districts have turned to contracts with outside companies – fast food, junk food, and soft drink companies – to provide cheaper food for their students as the costs of traditional food service have increased over recent decades (Brillinger, Ohmart, & Feenstra, 2003). Other groups have been concerned about the environmental and health hazards of modern agricultural production, with children far more affected by the pesticides and other chemicals applied to the foods they eat. Studies and health experts also suggest that nutrition and a healthy diet are intricately linked to increased academic performance, intellectual development, and good classroom behavior (Cohen, 2000). Out of these concerns grew the farm-to-school movement. The foundations of farm-to-school are seemingly simple – connect preK-12 schools with local farms for fresh, high quality, nutritious produce and other foods – but in practice, the programs are far more dynamic. Current farm-to-school initiatives generally include a variety of efforts, including school gardens; environmental, nutrition, and agricultural education; visits to local farms and farmers' markets; and, most importantly, the availability of fresh, locally grown foods for schoolchildren.

A school, district, county, or an entire state may emphasize or organize any number of farm-to-school projects of all types. In Portland, efforts to provide local foods in schools have occurred at all levels.[33] On the state level, no Oregon policies specifically encourage or call for purchasing of local foods, but a number of recent bills have been introduced suggesting efforts such as the elimination of vending machines and competitive foods throughout the state; however, none have passed.[34] At the county level, the Food Policy Council has taken on a major

[33] Only public school projects are discussed in this paper. It is both possible and likely that private and parochial schools in Portland have begun to integrate local and/or sustainable foods into their meal programs. These projects are much harder to track, however, and do not suggest the overall extent of farm-to-school efforts, as public schools projects do.

[34] Senate Bill 870, originally produced with strong language eliminating vending machines and competitive foods in public schools throughout the state, now changed to encourage districts to prepare "wellness policies." The bill has not been passed as of writing.

initiative with school food leadership, hoping to coordinate the efforts of all public and private efforts in the Portland and Multnomah County. County commissioners and other county-level officials have become active in encouraging policies promoting local purchasing and other farm-to-school-related programs.

Overall, however, the food service purchasing, budget, and other procedures are determined on a district-by-district basis, meaning most of the work happens on that level. According to Mike Moran of the Food Policy Council, the Portland Public Schools district is aggressively interested in developing more farm-to-school projects. Local purchasing, school gardens, and other aspects of farm-to-school occur at generally small-scale and varying levels throughout the district, but overall these efforts run under the radar.

In 1998, Linda Colwell of the Portland Chef's Collaborative and its Adopt-a-School program applied for and received a grant to develop a curriculum guide for K-5 garden-based agricultural education, and started the Garden of Wonders program at Edwards Elementary School in Portland. This program developed a plot of land in conjunction with the Portland Community Gardens (see Urban Agriculture and Home-scale Food Production) space that had been on the school's property for more than 20 years. The program began by bringing children into the garden to learn about food production and gardening and integrating it into social studies, science, and math curriculums as they tended and harvested flowers and produce. The project's eventual mission was the development of a farm-to-school program for the school, bringing local farmers and producers into direct connection with the school's cafeteria. While on occasion the garden may have been able to produce enough to be added to a meal, Colwell preferred that the students eat the food directly in the garden.

At the end of the 2004-2005 school year, Colwell held a "Chefs in Residence" program, bringing local chefs into Edwards to create from-scratch, local, seasonal menus every day for a week (breakfast and lunch). Chefs from restaurants such as Higgins participated, and the program received wide acclaim and substantial media attention.

In Spring 2005, Oregon's governor charged the state's sustainability board, Oregon Solutions, with a 3.5-year initiative exploring the opportunities for sustainability in the state's public schools. The so-called Sustainable Oregon School Initiative seeks to find ways to "move Oregon's K-12 school districts and their schools toward a comprehensive state of sustainability ... supported externally by resources from a permanent statewide program" (Zero Waste Alliance, 2005). The broad web of changes recommended by the initiative includes food, suggesting that the state may soon move forward with policies encouraging the use of local and environmentally friendly foods in public schools around the state. According Moran, the project has a lot of good intentions, but little political energy to back it up.

In April 2005, the Food Policy Council and Ecotrust hosted the Nourishing Kids and Communities action forum, attracting over 120 school board members, administrators, teachers, parents, and many other community members to discuss visions for farm-to-school and farm-related education programs. Soon after, in June, Portland City Council unanimously adopted a resolution to create a "wellness committee," charging the school district to develop a district wellness policy focusing on student nutrition and health. Following this, the Portland Office of Sustainable Development announced in July 2005 the creation and opening of a Farm-to-School Coordinator for the district, recognizing a need for a leader to coordinate the various policies and programs around the city. Duties would include coordinating the expansion of any public-

private partnerships in the city's emerging farm-to-school programs, and synchronizing citywide efforts for these programs, most notably including those of the Food Policy Council.
In Fall 2005, Linda Colwell assumed this Coordinator position. In July 2005, the district closed Edwards Elementary, the location of Garden of Wonders. Most of its 200 students moved to Abernethy Elementary for the 2005-2006 school year and Colwell transferred Garden of Wonders. Not only was there opportunity for a physically larger garden, Colwell as Farm-to-School Coordinator was also provided with the resources to stretch her educational program and food service responsibilities.

Present: Stability in service and distribution

Bon Appetit now employs over 10,000 people around the country, serving in more than 190 cafes in 26 states. It serves over 55 million meals each year, providing its sites with the full array of food services as do most other food services, making conscious decisions regarding social and environmental responsibility, including cooking food from scratch using fresh, seasonal ingredients, making "responsible" purchasing decisions regarding produce, coffee, seafood, and service ware, and "providing opportunities" for employees to "develop their potential and abilities."

Currently, Oregon Country Beef includes approximately 100 member ranches throughout Oregon and bordering areas of adjacent states. Beef is sold through its revolutionary partnership with Burgerville, as well as to New Seasons Market (the Hatfields have known Brian Rohter since his meat-cutting days in Eugene), Higgins Restaurant, and many other businesses around Portland. "[Our business partnerships] are really just wonderful," Connie says. "We don't change our prices up and down ... we know they're going to need a certain amount of product. It's wonderful for the co-op and the ranchers, and it's wonderful for them. These businesses

come to our appreciation days and visit our ranches, and we visit them to show the customers where their food is coming from. The businesses usually tell us 'thank you' and it's a great honor."

Organically Grown Company now sells throughout the West Coast, mainly to retailers, with 40 percent of their total sales going to cooperative groceries. They also sell to retail outlets such as New Seasons Market, and restaurants such as Higgins. The majority of the company's clients are independent retailers focusing on local and organic foods.

At Abernathy, Colwell has a teaching classroom for Garden of Wonders, where she teaches weekly lessons in food and cooking to the school's K-5 students. With the help of a small staff, she will coordinate the school's menus, made entirely from scratch and strongly emphasizing the use of local and seasonal products purchased directly from farmers. While the infrastructure of the kitchen severely limits the type of foods she'll be able to cook (the kitchen is built with only chilling and heating equipment, such as ovens), this project will test whether farm-to-school is possible on a regular food service budget and how much coordination it takes to have a functioning program.

Ecotrust has begun a partnership with Garden of Wonders, Abernethy Elementary, and Portland Public Schools Nutrition Services to methodically track, analyze, and share the results of Colwell's pilot farm-to-school program. Results of this study will be used for future policy, programming, and planning decisions by the district's Nutrition Services.

Conclusion: Creating a thriving environment for institutional purchasing

With the development of distribution companies able to provide food service and other businesses with local, organic, and seasonal foods, the purchasing and widespread use of these products for institutional and other uses becomes less logistically complicated. Food service

companies with a strong commitment to sustainable practices, such as Bon Appetit, mean that sites that might not otherwise have such dedication to local purchasing are now providing consistent demand for the local food system. Direct connection programs for both public and private institutions seem to require some degree of governmental or corporate policies, respectively, to develop successfully. Organization of suppliers and local policy changes are discussed in Chapter Five, but it should be noted here that these have been important ingredients in the success of businesses and programs highlighted in this section.

Urban Agriculture and Home-scale Food Production

Bringing food production back into cities and backyards

The presence of urban agriculture endeavors, productive food-growing land in the midst of large metropolitan areas, goes against mainstream patterns of industrial agriculture, bringing farming back into cities where it has long been absent. In cities around the world up until the end of the 19th century, food production took up as much as one-third of all city space (Halweil, 2004). In the 1880s, after the industrial revolution and the advent of refrigeration and transportation technology pushed agriculture further away from the hearts of cities, English urban planner and architect Ebenezer Howard envisioned what he called the "Garden City," where agricultural lands and other green spaces were kept in close but distinctively separate contact with every city (Halweil, 2004). As a result, the "Greenbelt Cities" constructed during the Depression in the United States and in the postwar towns of Great Britain saw little farmland within the city, but were enclosed by parks and farms making up a "protective greenbelt" that would limit the city's expansion and discourage settlement beyond city limits (Halweil, 2004).

Three full-scale farming operations – Zenger Farm in Southeast Portland (on which 47th Avenue Farm is partially located), Luscher Farm in Lake Oswego, and Sauvie Island Organics on Sauvie Island – are multi-functional CSA operations and educational centers located on city-owned lands.

Community gardens and home gardens allow people to gain the experience of gardening and home-scale food production in a guided, helpful environment, and are a creative solution to the problems of dominant food systems. Garden projects, especially those connected with schools, community centers, and low-income neighborhoods, are recognized as an important source of fresh produce for all populations. They provide spaces for community interaction, decision-making, problem solving, creativity, and celebration, as well as opportunities to learn about food production, develop job skills, increase agriculture literacy, and generate food-related businesses. Gardens create links to nearby restaurants and soup kitchens, increase urban green spaces, and provide areas for urban agriculture. Studies show that people who garden at home are favorably inclined to purchase locally grown food from farmers' markets or local grocery stores (Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Inc., 2002) and these garden programs might encourage that consumer trend. Portland Community Gardens,[35] the Oregon Food Bank Learning Gardens,[36] Growing Gardens,[37] and Portland's recent Diggable City project[38] are highlighted in this section as viable means of increasing urban food production.

[35] Information regarding Portland Community Gardens comes from personal communication with Kristy Erbez (Summer 2004), and the Portland Community Gardens website (Portland Parks and Recreation, 2004).
[36] Information regarding the Oregon Food Bank Learning Gardens comes from personal communication with Starr Farris (July 23, 2004), and the Learning Gardens website (Oregon Food Bank Network, 2004).
[37] Information regarding Growing Gardens comes from personal communication with Debra Lippoldt (June 30, 2004), and the Growing Gardens website (Growing Gardens, 2004).
[38] Information regarding the Diggable City Project comes from the Diggable City Report (Balmer, et al, 2005).

1970s: Early progress

Portland Parks and Recreations division developed Portland Community Gardens in 1975. The program provides garden plots at a low annual cost to residents throughout the city, and includes Children's Garden plots and experimental and educational plots displaying various food production techniques.

Due to Oregon's well known "urban growth boundary" (UGB) land use planning policy, enacted in 1977, the remnants of the Garden City ideology are still present in Portland. Every city and metropolitan area in the state was and is still required to determine a UGB, outside of which urban growth cannot intrude on farm or forest land (Metro, 2005). Portland's boundary is not static, however, and has been expanded more than a few dozen times since the 1970s. This means that greenland and agricultural land can remain close to the city, while in places around the country without UGB-type policies, this sort of land sprawls further and further away from residential areas.[39]

1990s-present: Gardens galore, and planning for more!

Growing Gardens is a local nonprofit organization promoting personal organic gardening as a method for low-income households to increase their food security. Founded in 1996 as the Portland Home Garden Project, Growing Gardens began installing home gardens for low-income neighborhoods in Portland. In 1998, the organization expanded its mission to build gardens in partnership with other groups, bringing in hundreds of community volunteers, and changed its

[39] The UGB was created as part of a statewide land-use planning program in Oregon in the early 1970s. Then-Governor Tom McCall encouraged the set of UGB policies, then the nation's first set of land-use planning laws, in front of the Oregon Legislature in 1973. McCall brought together a coalition of farmers and environmentalists to convince the Legislature that the state's "natural beauty and easy access to nature would be lost in a rising tide of urban sprawl" (Metro, 2005). The guidelines of the UGB policy package require every city and county to: set urban growth boundaries, use urban land wisely, and protect natural resources. The coinciding of these policy goals with a sustainable food system movement is easy to see.

name to Growing Gardens. The next year they began offering workshops and other educational events and in 2000 started their YouthGrow educational program for children. All of these programs work to fulfill the organization's mission: "To promote food gardening for improved nutrition, health, and self-reliance while enhancing the quality of life of individuals and communities."

The organization functions within four main programs: Home Gardens, Partner Gardens, Youth Grow, and Learn & Grow. The Home Garden Program includes raised bed gardens built at individual homes and three-year no-cost enrollment with seeds, plant starts, classes, and the organization's newsletter. In 2003, Growing Gardens built 38 new Home Gardens enlisting 180 volunteers to install them, linked 39 Home Gardeners with mentors, distributed over 2200 seed packets and 1100 plant starts, created 11 compost bins, and delivered 90 pounds of steer manure and 11 pounds of fava beans for cover crop.

The Partner Garden Program builds gardens in partnership with organizations including schools, apartment complexes, shelters, and other non-profits. It includes garden installation and the same three-year enrollment program. In 2003, Growing Gardens built five Partner Gardens, held four workshops at these sites, linked 15 Mentors to 15 Partner Gardens, and added two Partner Gardens serving non-English-speaking gardeners. Part of their extensive educational pursuits, monthly workshops and mentoring through the Learn & Grow Program provide educational sessions with topics like Cooking Summer Vegetables, Seed Saving, and many others. In 2003, these workshops reached over 275 people and trained 22 mentors.

The Youth Grow Program is after-school and summer garden education program providing experience with gardens, youth service learning, and volunteer education training for elementary school to high school children. Growing Gardens has often worked with other well-

known players in the local food system such as the Chef's Collaborative, Hot Lips Pizza, and Greg Higgins of Higgins Restaurant on annual fundraisers and events.

Since 2001, the Oregon Food Bank (OFB) Learning Gardens have provided the opportunity for people of all income levels to learn how to grow their own food. OFB is an integral part of the city's emergency food system, supporting a network of more than 800 hunger-relief agencies throughout the state, and the learning gardens are just one way in which OFB is claiming part of a move towards a community food system. Rachel Bristol, the Executive Director of the Food Bank, is also a co-chair of the Food Policy Council. These two gardens in Portland and Hillsboro, Ore., give low-income volunteers access to a share of the harvest and teach them to grow nutritious food and to take harvest to the table.

People of all income levels interested in gardening can work with experienced gardeners at the Portland Learning Garden or attend the garden's series of free workshops and cooking classes. Low-income volunteers gardening six hours per month are eligible for a share of the harvest and for access to resources allowing them to grow food in an apartment or yard. The garden sends the majority of the produce to OFB-participating emergency food programs (shelters and food banks such as the Salvation Army, the Northeast Emergency Food Program, East Portland Community Center, and many others) for weekly Harvest Share help-yourself produce days. The Learning Garden also offers a container-garden area, demonstrating techniques that allow people who have limited outdoor space to garden productively. Theme beds within the garden demonstrate companion planting techniques (using a "guild" of plants that are mutually beneficial when grown in tandem), vertical gardening, and ethnic foods gardening. The Nutrition Education Program teaches cooking with whole ingredients, food

preparation techniques, grocery purchasing, and meal planning with an emphasis on healthy, local foods.

Similar to the OFB Learning Gardens, Portland Community Gardens started their Produce for People program in 2003. Designated beds at each Portland Community Gardens' 29 gardens were set aside for food to be tended and harvested by garden members and donated to local food-related charity organizations. This first year, the program provided over 10,000 pounds of food, with the three participating Children's Gardens donating over 100 pounds.

This same year, the St. John's Woods Gardens, associated with the St. John's Woods low-income housing project in North Portland, began the Foodworks program, using 700 square feet of Housing Authority of Portland land. Foodworks brings at-risk youth to the site to grow salad greens, which they then sell at the Portland Farmers' Market (Balmer, et al., 2005). Revenue goes back into the garden and pays the youth for their time.

In November 2004, Portland City Council passed a resolution initiating an urban agricultural inventory, "The Diggable City Inventory," hoping to identify city-owned lands that could be utilized for community gardens and other agricultural production. Portland Community Gardens, the OFB Learning Gardens, and the Food Policy Council are designated partners in the project. By June 2005, the Diggable City team of Portland State University urban planning graduate students had produced a final report and presented it to the city, finding 289 pieces of otherwise unused city-owned land that could be used for agricultural activities. The report recommends, among other things, that the city form an Urban Agriculture Commission to oversee the development of a formal urban agricultural policy for the city.

Conclusion: A valuable contribution to the movement

While gardening is probably unlikely to be a significant part of mainstream food distribution, organized garden projects allow for the niche to grow and for institutionalized gardening opportunities to become more accessible. On the most basic level, gardening increases eaters' awareness of food production and what it takes to grow their food, information which may change their purchasing practices.

Organizational/programmatic support

Scaffolding for the movement

Just as scaffolding supports the building of a structure but is taken away once it begins to gain its independent stability, many of the elements described in earlier sections of this chapter would not have started or stabilized without outside influence and assistance. The basic need of a local food system movement to overcome the difficult obstacles to becoming economically and logistically viable necessitates this help, whether from governments, organizations, or other businesses. The efforts highlighted in this section make possible the work of the individuals, groups, and businesses described throughout the case study. This support helps to influence local policy, to organize events and collaborations, to secure funding, and to provide technical and expertise assistance with program development.

The work of the organizations described in this section – Food Alliance,[40] the Portland/Multnomah County Food Policy Council,[41] Ecotrust,[42] and the Portland chapter of the

[40] Information regarding Food Alliance comes from personal communication with Natasha Bellis (June 8, 2004), and the Food Alliance website (Food Alliance, 2006).
[41] Information regarding the Food Policy Council comes from personal communication with Brian Rohter (June 17, 2004), the Food Policy Council website (City of Portland office of Sustainable Development, 2004), and attending upwards of ten Food Policy Council meetings (dates not recorded).

Chef's Collaborative[43] – have been discussed in brief through their connections with most (if not all) of the businesses, organizations, and projects described thus far. Provided here, however, are any missing details and a chronological description of their work.

1997-present: The development of a strong support system

In 1997, an extension service between the University of Washington and the University of Oregon advocating sustainable agriculture moved to Portland and formed a non-profit, called Food Alliance. Dedicated to creating market incentives for sustainable agriculture practices and supporting small local farms, Food Alliance created a third-party certification system in 1998. This matrix of certification standards defines environmental, economically, and socially sustainable agriculture production, with guiding principles including standards for water and soil conservation, reduction or elimination of pesticides, protection of wildlife habitat, safe and fair working conditions, and the welfare of farm animals. Certified farms are not necessarily certified organic, but adhere to the myriad environmental regulations set forth in the certification standards.

Certified farms are then processed through Food Alliance's Marketplace Partners program, connecting them with retail stores, restaurants, food service companies, and other outlets for their certified products to be distributed. As mentioned earlier, the partners discussed throughout this paper have included: Bon Appetit, Hot Lips Pizza, Burgerville, and Oregon Country Beef. For businesses hoping to source local and "sustainable" products, this program drastically eases the process of making initial contact and provides assurance that the products

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[42] Information regarding Ecotrust and its Food & Farms program comes from personal communication with Eileen Brady (June 22, 2004), Debra Sohm (June 17, 2004), Janet Hammer (June 8, 2004), Deborah Kane (March 1, 2006), Ecotrust's 2003 annual report (Ecotrust, 2003), and the Ecotrust website (Ecotrust, 2004).

[43] Information regarding the Portland chapter of the Chef's Collaborative comes from personal communication with Greg Higgins (August 1, 2004), personal communication with Krista Anderson (June 10, 2004), and the Portland chapter of the Chef's Collaborative website (Portland Chef's Collaborative, 2004).

were actually produced with sustainable principles in mind. These businesses do not have to source any certain amount of certified product, though are encouraged by Food Alliance to source as much as possible given the season and product. Businesses are provided with marketing materials regarding Food Alliance and the certification process, and are encouraged to post information regarding the specific farms used. Food Alliance also sponsors events at Hot Lips and Burgerville, bringing their partner farmers and ranchers into the stores to talk to customers.

What Food Alliance does, essentially, is act as a temporary intermediary to connect small farms and purchasers, but without claiming any financial gain and with having the eventual goal of phasing itself out of the relationship. Just as federal organic certification allows consumers to recognize food grown without chemicals, Food Alliance certification makes it easier for consumers to recognize products produced in an entirely sustainable manner. As their website says, "In a marketplace overflowing with choices, consumers want guidance in placing their trust and support. They need – they deserve – credible information to make food choices that support their values. The Food Alliance certification provides this credibility."

Ecotrust, started in Portland in 1991, is a well-known local non-profit organization dedicated to the sustainable economic prosperity of the Western region of the country and to helping create a world in which a "conservation economy is emerging." Their official Food & Farms program did not start until after they began working on local food system issues, but their food system work began most notably with the inception of the Farmer-Chef Connection and the Guide to Local and Seasonal Products, coordinated jointly with the Portland chapter of the Chef's Collaborative. According to Deborah Kane, current director of the Food & Farms Program, Ecotrust views its work in three steps: (1) create a vision for sustainability in the

particular topic, (2) create tangible examples of change, and (3) build constituencies to support the change throughout the system, including the mainstream. These steps exhibit the way movements change and expand identities to a broader portion of the population, and means that Ecotrust's work fits perfectly into a sustainable food system movement adhering to the Vivid Picture Project's theory of change and strategies for change. Likewise, the Vivid Picture Project fulfills step one of this process, creating a vision of what a sustainable food system would look like. Portland's movement for a sustainable food system could, in fact, be considered the second step, serving as an example of what the Vivid Picture Project is outlining. The Portland food system does not quite adhere to all of Vivid Picture's goals, but is well on its way.

The first annual Farmer-Chef Connection event was held in Spring 2001, providing farmers and local chefs, retailers, and institutional buyers interested in creating direct purchasing connections with a means of finding each other and setting up these deals. Forty-two producers and 26 buyers attended the daylong event, which included educational workshops and presentations and periods where these parties could interact. Ecotrust and the Chef's Collaborative followed the event with the first annual publication of the *Guide to Local and Seasonal Products*, a directory with contact information and selling/purchasing details of sellers and buyers of local and seasonal food products. It lists farms, purchasers (restaurants, food distributors, etc.), and other producers by product and by location, and provides advice and tips for both sellers and buyers on how to navigate direct connections. This first year, listings in the directory were provided for participants of the Farmer-Chef Connection, with the notion that, in the following years, even non-participants could supply listings. Both the Connection event and the Guide continue annually.

In 2002, Ecotrust officially launched their Food & Farms program to coordinate their various local food-related projects and programs. Eileen Brady, wife of Brian Rohter, co-owner of New Seasons, Vice President of Ecotrust, and many other positions in the movement, was named director of the program. She describes the work of the program, "We are building visions for what a sustainable food system would look like, and we're building new infrastructure. We're trying to create a line directly from the top of the food system (producers) to the bottom (consumers), passing around the middle. We want to dominate the system, not be on the fringe."

In May 2002, City and County Resolutions created the Portland/Multnomah County Food Policy Council to provide advice to these local governments regarding food policy matters, including economic, environmental, and social sustainability and the continuous development of local and organic food systems to maximize the nutrition level, availability, and enjoyable consumption of food. Members throughout the Council's existence have included Greg Higgins (once a co-chair), Brian Rohter of New Seasons Market (also once a co-chair), David Yudkin of Hot Lips Pizza, Scott Exo of the Food Alliance, Rachel Bristol of Oregon Food Bank (current co-chair), and many other movement leaders. It has also included representatives from groups like the African American Health Coalition, the Sustainable Development Commission, and Portland Public Schools, as well as retired farmers and representatives of local businesses.[44] However, while affiliated with these outside establishments, members are asked to participate on behalf of themselves and their expertise and not necessarily the interested of their business or organization.

[44] Currently, the Food Policy Council includes members affiliated with the following: Kaiser Permanente, Portland State University (3), Oregon Farmers Market Association, Oregon Food Bank, Metro (local government), Food Alliance, Oregon Health and Sciences University, 1000 Friends of Oregon, Gaining Ground Farm, a retired farmer, Oregon State University Extension Service, and Hot Lips Pizza.

In general, food policy councils are government bodies associated with a city, county, or state, and are a recently new development in the realm of food system policy analysis. Many resources consulted for this project called for the creation of or growth in power of such councils to address the many short- and long-term problems with food that are not currently being addressed by all levels of government. Councils usually take on a range of actions in their communities, under broad categories of research and analysis, community education, policy advocacy, and community development (Pothukuchi & Kaufman, 1999).[45] Food Policy Councils are often comprised of a common "cast of characters," including regional experts on health, community development, food retail, local agriculture, food security, and other relevant food system issues.

In Spring 2003, the third annual Farmer-Chef Connection attracted 69 producers and 65 buyers, and the *Guide to Local and Seasonal Products* was made available online. This made it much easier for buyers and sellers to provide and continuously update the necessary information, as well as to search by specific needs for beneficial partners. This same year, Ecotrust, the Chef's Collaborative, and the Pacific Marine Conservation Council hosted the first annual Fisherman-Chef Connection, expanding the structure of the Farmer-Chef Connection to local fisheries. This first event attracted over 100 fishermen, restaurateurs, and other buyers. It continues as a separate annual event.

Also in 2003, Ecotrust began their Buy Local campaign, publishing the *Tale of Two Tomatoes* publication. Headed by the Debra Sohm of the Food & Farms program and Dianne Stefani-Ruff, the executive director of the Portland Farmers' Market, this publication explained

[45] The Portland Food Policy Council, for example, has pursued in the past three years policy recommendations including permanent farmers' market spaces, "conservation easements" of agricultural land protected from development, institutional purchasing of local and organic foods, and the creation of a Sustainable Food Program Coordinator. Each of these recommendations has been or is being seriously considered or followed through with by the City and/or County.

the benefits of buying locally grown tomatoes, and was distributed to over 340,000 people in California and Oregon through inserts in prominent newspapers. Soon afterward, local tomato sales doubled from $113,000 to $240,000. Sohm and Stefani-Ruff received a grant for the project from the FoodRoutes Network, a local organization headquartered in Pennsylvania, and were accepted into the Network's "Buy Local" program, which will continue to give them assistance and network them with other similar projects.

When the Food Policy Council was first created, it was mandated to present a report to the City Council and County board within a year. This first report was presented in October, 2003, and outlined the values of a local food system. It identified six strategies for local government: plan for food access, increase visibility of regional food, support food and nutrition programs, model purchasing practices, defend land use law, and implement awareness campaigns, all with the goal of changing the ways food moves from producer to consumer. In fact, the guiding principles of the Council are based upon these strategies, all related to the notion that every city and county resident has the right to an adequate supply of nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate and sustainability produced food and that, for this food to be produced, local agricultural pursuits need to be protected.

In 2004, a Food Alliance survey showed that farmers and ranchers certified by their program reported positive customer feedback, increased customer loyalty, the emergence of new markets for their goods, sales increases, and price premiums averaging 8 percent. At present, the certification program now includes over 85 certified farms and ranches in Oregon, amongst 215 total producers across 16 states. The Marketplace Partners program now connects certified regional farms with two direct markets (farm stands), six grocery stores, eight food service sites

(serviced by Bon Appetit and Sodexho food service companies), six food distribution companies, and over 30 restaurants (including Burgerville and Hot Lips Pizza) in Portland.

The Portland chapter of the Chef's Collaborative group now maintains a mailing list of 400 to 500 chefs, restaurants, farmers, and other organizations, with a regular participant list of about 100. Monthly meetings and other frequent events help keep chefs and producers motivated to continue spreading the movement and aware of everything going on in the city. "It's important for chefs in this type of work to have other people to talk to," Krista Anderson of New Seasons Market and the Chef's Collaborative comments, "because it's not always the easiest to run your business and we can share solutions with each other." Active members include David Yudkin of Hot Lips Pizza, and Burgerville's company chef, along with representatives from almost every business and organization highlighted in this paper.

In late 2005, Eileen Brady resigned as Director of Food & Farms and Vice President of Ecotrust to pursue her leadership positions in other related projects, such as Vivid Picture. Ecotrust appointed Deborah Kane, a veteran local food systems leader and former executive director of Food Alliance from 1997 until 2004. Kane's first project for Food & Farms is the launch of a publication *Edible Portland* in April 2006, a chapter of the national network of *Edible Communities* publications. This publication is the first of Kane's vision of increasing the communication activity within Portland's local food system movement. Kane also sees herself as moving the Food & Farms program to the second of Ecotrust's three-step process; Vivid Picture under Brady outlined the vision for change, now the program under Kane will work to broaden Portland as an example of sustainability and to increase the movement's identity so more people will be involved.

Conclusion

The most palpable conclusion reached from description of Portland's local food system movement is that the city is actively working toward a tightly-knit, cooperatively functioning network of programs, business owners, nonprofit organizations, and consumers who are dedicated to producing a community-based urban food system. All of this seems to stem from a mutual desire amongst a significant and growing portion of Portland residents (including business owners) to make sustainable food production a viable, lucrative career; to provide nutritious, fresh, good-tasting food for people of all income levels; to reduce the impact of the food system on the environment; and to generate meaningful relationships between those who produce the food, those who distribute it, and those who eat it. Granted, there is also a significant amount of the population uninterested or possibly even averse to the movement for a sustainable food system. There is no data available concerning the demographics or characteristics of those in support of or indifferent to the movement. There are programs designed for people to encounter local products when shopping at their neighborhood store or eating in a variety of restaurants around the city, as well as programs giving people the skills and resources needed to grow their own food.

The extent to which the Portland local food system adheres to the strategy for change outlined in Chapter Two can be somewhat inferred by the descriptions in Chapters Three and Four – for instance, the work of New Seasons Market and Burgerville are somewhat obvious means of bringing natural and local foods into mainstream food retail and restaurant markets. But where the work of the other businesses and organizations in this chapter are less obviously adhering to the values of the strategy, a number of indicators make it easier to observe. In particular, the use of cause-related marketing, the influence of the movement on local policy change, and the

phenomenon of clients organizing suppliers to overcome the logistical difficulties of buying locally are all means by which the movement has begun to use an opportunities-based approach to moving beyond the niche market and into the mainstream.

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Chapter Five – Making Portland's Movement Mainstream

Evidence of Portland's movement for a sustainable food system is strong amongst the various food distribution market streams. The assistance of non-profit, local government, and other organizations in the success of this distribution system is also substantial, and has helped these businesses expand their reach beyond what might otherwise be a fairly small niche market. All categories of businesses comprising a normal food distribution system – grocery stores, restaurants, food service, and the like – are actively engaging in opportunities for an environmentally, economically, and socially sustainable urban food system in the city. The degree to which the movement adheres to the goals of a local food system should be clear from the case study. This chapter explores the extent to which the preceding case study adheres to the new strategy for change and other theoretical elements outlined in Chapter Two. The connections between the theory and the case study should also be partially clear from the data in the case study.

In Portland's local food system, the movement's efforts to enter the mainstream food system are signified by three distinct elements: 1) marketing and consumer education, 2) local policy change, and 3) networking amongst various elements of the movement, notably including the organization of the supply chain (farmers and producers). These phenomena are the most salient indicators of the case's adherence to the new strategy for sustainable food systems.

Marketing and Consumer Education

In the case of a local food system movement, marketing and promotion of products is two-fold – it serves the conventional benefits of advertising to any business endeavor, but also acts as consumer education. This creates a marketing system that not only increases profits, but

also changes the consumers' values in a way that further increases profits and draws them into the social movement underlying the business. Imagine, for example, that an automobile company engaged in a marketing campaign that not only advertised their product, but also educated consumers about some social movement for the promotion of driving, telling them how driving positively affects the world and their lives.[46] In this system, marketing for one business in the movement works positively for other businesses in the same or other industries within the movement. Crane (2000) describes how collaboration with competitors, purchasers, and advocacy groups are all potentially important means of marketing. All of this contributes greatly to the movement's ability to enter the mainstream market, mainly in its abilities to educate consumers, attract them to the movement, and maintain a high level of positive publicity about the movement and its underlying values and goals. Green marketing can target less committed consumers for greater "market penetration," expanding the customer base beyond the "green niche," while at the same time effecting social change (Crane, 2000). Additionally, green marketing signals to consumers already conscious of their purchases which products to buy and/or where to buy them from – in other words it can attract non-niche customers by educating them about the cause, and niche customers by making sure the product's/business' "greenness" is known.

Consumer education and personal advocacy prove to be principle elements of a changing system. Koc et al. (2000) claim that food-security concerns require public awareness. Studies have found that inconvenience and ignorance are the biggest barriers to building support for locally produced and grown foods, even when consumers have some understanding that the food is fresher or of better quality and that their purchase would be part of supporting and sustaining a

[46] To some extent, marketing always attempts to convince consumers that the product will benefit at least their own lives, if not society as a whole. But the differences between normal marketing and marketing for products of a social movement, such as a movement for a local food system, should be clear.

local economy (Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Inc., 2002). This makes making further education even more important. David Yudkin of Hot Lips Pizza agrees, saying, "there's a huge conceptual leap to make, but when you build awareness, you build advocacy" (personal communication, June 4, 2004). Of the myriad ways businesses, organizations, and individuals in Portland educate consumers, Krista Anderson of New Seasons and the Chef's Collaborative recommends one specific way – "You educate people by providing them with the tools to make their own choices. We can encourage them to decide one way or the other, but do not make the choices for them. It's important to just give them the information they need" (personal communication, June 10, 2004). This sort of education emphasizes the notion that consumers use information to make purchasing decisions and that any change in decision making needs to be as easy as possible. Many experts agree that education is key to individual advocacy and integral to any change. Browne, et al., (1992) claim that in order to "rehumanize consumption, reintegrate food into the culture, and turn producers and eaters into allies, people will have to acknowledge and act on their responsibility."

The effects of marketing and promotion are clear in the context of the consumer information model. The better and more attractive information available regarding the product, the more likely the product will be in the group of consumption options of the final decision-making stages, partially based on simple knowledge of the product's existence. Likewise, advertising can provide information about the product's attributes, such as health impacts, price, or cultural and social meaning that also assist in the decision-making process.

Literature on the relationship between advertising and consumer behavior is extensive, but a short summary may be helpful. Walters (1974) describes promotion's influence on the

consumer, explaining that it affects their wants, motives, perceptions, and needs, then provides five distinct ways in which promotion and advertising affects consumers:

1. Promotion does not create consumer wants, but makes them aware of their wants;
2. It causes the consumer to reevaluate their feelings and attitudes toward certain products;
3. It conditions consumer perception of a variety of elements in their life, including himself or herself, stores, other people, and the past and future;
4. It induces consumers to action through positive or negative motivation; and,
5. It flows through interpersonal communications to influence others not directly in contact with the promotion itself.

This is admittedly a straightforward look at how marketing affects personal decision-making and speaks to consumers' desires; in reality, it is probably more complicated. However, the basic principles are likely the same. In the case of food, other marketing principles also affect consumers' purchases, most notably including food as a marker of cultural and social identity and the marketing of certain food attributes, such as caffeine and sugar, for their physiological influences.

There are many principles behind promotional techniques, but a few in particular are relevant to the food system case. For one, promotional messages are easier to learn when not interfering with earlier habits (Walters, 1974). In the case of a food system movement under the new strategy of change, this makes a lot of sense – promoting local and organic products under the notion that you can purchase many of the same products in the same way that you always have but instead local and/or organic is a substantial element of moving these products into mainstream food consumption patterns. Another principle is that consumers are continuously

seeking out the possible benefits in a purchase. "It is human nature to be interested in the payoff" of a purchase choice (Walters, 1974), and the promotion of a local food system should then focus partially on the opportunities for any of the sustainability and bridge values described by the new strategy for change. Experts also say that marketing is more effective when promoting some sense of identity or group belongingness along with the product (Walters, 1974), which speaks highly to social movement theory – the marketing of local food system products actually benefits the entire movement by increasing access to the movement's identity.

Most of the businesses and organizations highlighted in the Portland case study engage in marketing and consumer education regarding local food systems and their products. Some level of this is expected considering these businesses would engage in marketing despite their participation in the movement, but in many cases, consumer education is strongly emphasized. Hot Lips Pizza, for example, has a strong educational aspect, frequently holding demonstrations and classes for adults and children at local farmers' markets and keeping a large supply of educational materials regarding sustainable agriculture and local food systems in the store. Higgins Restaurant's approach to education is fairly subtle, hoping first to win the customer over with the quality of the food. For as much as the restaurant's menu changes (sometimes even daily), the staff tastes every item and is well versed in the type of ingredients and where they came from. The back of the menu features an essay about the restaurant's mission, and farmer profiles are available for customers to read. Bon Appetit's food service sites feature continuously updated information regarding their practices and the local farmers from whom they purchase food served in the cafeteria. These are only a few examples of consumer education within the Portland movement. Oftentimes, consumer education and marketing

campaigns emphasize the movement's sense of community identify and inclusion, with marketing statements such as "Where you go when you know" (Burgerville).

Additional marketing structures also lend to the mainstream encouragement of the system. Food Alliance and other third-party certification systems are one form of "eco-labeling," a recent development in marketing and environmental consumerism that signals to consumers when a product has been produced with some environmental impact mitigation in mind. "Organic" is one of the more high-profile eco-labels, along with "dolphin-free" tuna or "fair trade" coffee and chocolate. Wessells, Johnston, and Donath (1999) explain eco-labeling programs as offering an opportunity to provide consumers with environmental information, which, "unlike price and other easily observable product attributes … related to a product's production, are often impossible for the individual consumer to assess." At the same time, eco-labeling creates a market-based approach for addressing environmental issues, acting as promotion for the suppliers of these products and creating new markets for sustainable products in which supply and demand can be assessed more easily. For instance, Food Alliance makes it easy for marketplace \partners to use its name as an eco-label by providing them with materials to promote Food Alliance-certified products in their stores or locations. The BEST awards may also be considered an eco-label, in some respects, considering that the receipt of the award signals to consumers that the business adheres to some level of sustainable operating procedures; likewise with marketing regarding participation in the Chef's Collaborative, the Farmer- and Fishermen-Chef Connection, and other such organizational networks. Alliances in marketing between the business and these sorts of external organizations and certification systems lend credibility to the eco-label (Crane, 2000) and further promote the network.

In the recent years, retail offering local products and products purchased direct from producers have developed special marketing programs to increase awareness of such products and their benefits. From its start, the Portland Farmers' Market has placed information at each booth about the selling farm or company, including details about acreage, location, owners, crops, and other information. In 2003, People's Co-op developed the "People's Produce" program, a new classification for produce sold in the store. The Co-op labels produce as such whenever the store purchases it from a local farm with which the store has a relationship. While it may not be certified organic, any uncertified farm that sells to the store must complete an application and registration form to help assure sustainable techniques. Information about farmers in the program is displayed in the store for customers to easily access. In May 2005, New Seasons launched the "Home Grown" program, specially labeling all products in the store that regionally grown, caught, or manufactured. New Seasons also regularly brings farmers into the store to talk about their products and conduct free tastings. Both "People's Produce" and "Home Grown," along with these other programs, make shoppers more aware of local products and make it much easier for those already aware to make conscious decisions about local purchasing.

In sum, the marketing engaged in by Portland's local food system focuses on fostering local food system values in the consumer base and then creating easy opportunities for them to identify products produced with those values and use that information to narrow down their food choices.[47]

[47] There is an interesting difference between marketing to encourage specific purchases and marketing to merely narrow the choices from which the final decision will be made. Local food system marketing has a large element of the latter, since oftentimes these organizations and businesses would claim an allegiance to marketing for the movement as a whole, and not necessarily for their particular product.

Networking and Supply Chain Management

As displayed by the chart below (Figure 4) and described implicitly through this chapter, Portland's local food system movement has experienced increasing activity for more than 45 years, particularly within the past eight years (since 1998). The late 1990s and early 2000s saw the advent of many of the events and organizations that led to most of the networking within the movement, such the Chef's Collaborative, Food Alliance, Ecotrust's Food and Farms Program, the Farmer- and Fisherman-Chef Connection, and many others. As these organizations began to collaborate in finding viable market opportunities and in consumer education, it increased the likelihood of success for both already existing businesses and programs and new endeavors entering the movement. As network theory stipulates, connections and relationships between various players – organizations and businesses – increases sharing of resources and information, and in the case of this local food system movement, this is definitely the case. Increased networks can also serve to open up opportunities to utilize the movement's identity, in other words, make it easier for people to feel as though they are a part of the social movement. Chapter Two's discussion of the last stage of social movement development claimed movements either falter under broad identities or are fortified, and in the case of Portland's sustainable food system movement, the latter is obviously the case. As the network becomes stronger and more opportunities for change are utilized, more people can and do get involved.

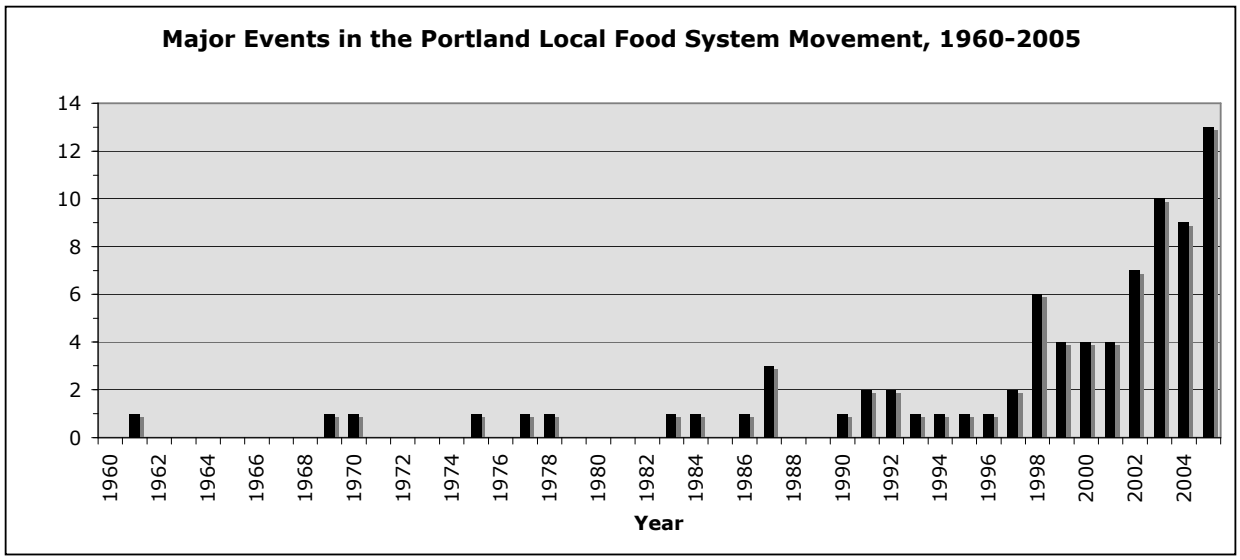

Figure 4. Major events in the Portland Local Food System Movement, 1960-2005

Other cities around the United States have begun to experience local food system movements comparable to Portland's, but on a much smaller scale. The story of Portland's movement indicates that once a viable network is built, the relative ease in entering and stabilizing the movement makes it possible for rapid growth and expansion of the movement. In other words, an increasing network may exhibit somewhat of a "tipping point" for a local food system movement, after which success and entering the mainstream food system will be much easier. As Figure 4 shows, this seems to have happened in Portland in 1998, when three of the major networking efforts – Growing Gardens collaborations, Food Alliance third-party certifications, and the Portland chapter of the Chef's Collaborative – were conceived. In other cities with movements for local food systems, this tipping point may not yet have come.

The logistical difficulties of local purchasing, particularly with direct-connections to farmers, are substantial enough to keep many businesses from coordinating these purchases. Finding ways to network and organize the supply chain can make it easier for restaurants, grocery stores, and other elements of the distribution subsystem to connect with and purchase

from local farmers and producers and expand this into the mainstream. As described in the previous section, third party certification systems and eco-labeling provide some organization to the supply chain, making it easier for purchasers to get in contact with producers and to have assurance that the products are produced with the values of the local food system movement. Likewise, networking organizations and events such as the Chef's Collaborative, the Farmer- and Fisherman-Chef Connection, farmers' markets, and, most notably, the *Guide to Local and Seasonal Products*, provide a structure to the supply chain the mitigates some of the difficulties of farm-to-market connections, allowing the connections to become a larger part of the mainstream food system.

While many interviewees made their work seem uncomplicated, there are undoubtedly difficulties as well. Many businesses sourcing local products stress the large amount of work and communication it takes to keep relationships with farmers strong and functioning, admitting it might be easier for them to use a wholesaler or distributor. Receiving one coordinated delivery from a large, experienced food distributor featuring straightforward ordering procedures is a lot less difficult and complicated than seeking out deals and delivery schedules with many different individual producers, who often cannot produce with the same level of predictable volume and quality as can a distributor. A perhaps unintentional benefit of farmers' markets are the immediate access to a variety of local producers, making it easy for restaurants and other such purchasers to immediately buy what they need for that day's or that week's offerings. The efforts of the highlighted organizations to lend some stability and organization to elements such as product offerings and availability, contact names and data, and other important information make it substantially easier for purchasers to make these contacts.

Local policy change

Local policies are incredibly powerful tools for cities to utilize in striving for a local food system. City, county, and other municipal policies can guide anything from land use and agricultural preservation to the use of local foods in correctional facilities or funding for studies regarding food access in low-income parts of the city. Positive policy change can create a political environment that heightens the likelihood of success for the burgeoning local food system movement and helps boost it into the mainstream, particularly when influenced by the distinct desires, concerns, and needs of the organizations, businesses, and populations involved in the movement. For example, an ordinance requiring some percentage of local purchasing from public institutions helps to increase stabilize the market for these products and forces food service companies or other purchasing structures to find ways to make local purchasing easier – thereby making it more likely to expand and become a part of the mainstream market.

Goldsmith and Wolman (1992) argue that strong leadership and/or a strong organizational structure are far more likely to influence local policies, since they have a much higher potential to mobilize citizens and to assist government in the research behind and implementation of policies. Established groups and organizations with long-standing status or with well-known leaders are far more likely to influence policy because of their likelihood to have good working relationships with authorities, while non-established groups are generally regarded as a "nuisance." Another one of the authors' main arguments is that public policies that accurately reflect citizen preferences strongly determine how effective that local government is in encouraging citizen well being. Portland's local food system movement exhibits a policy influence structure with both strong leadership and organizational structure, namely in the Food Policy Council but also in the other organizations described throughout the case study. The Food

Policy Council includes participants from many backgrounds,[48] advocating from their extensive experience with food systems issues like health, justice, and environmental sustainability, among others. Because local government is more aware of citizen preferences through these groups, the resulting policy environment is strongly opportunity-based, seeking to provide benefits to a wide variety of people and groups in the city and providing a means for the movement to expand to the mainstream.

Also quite important to local policy formulation and influence is the prevalence of citizen involvement and participatory policy research. Organizations such as the Food Policy Council, Ecotrust, the Portland Farmers' Market and others have all engaged in the organization of citizen forums and other means of collecting preferences regarding policies that have led directly to policy change for Portland's food system. For example, it was input from a citizen forum on food policy in Portland that originally formulated the creation of the Food Policy Council, and the Nourishing Kids and Communities action forum led directly to the school district's mandate for "wellness policies." Fischer (2000) describes citizen participation in policy influence to be an incredibly potent element of environmental policy making. The importance of this influence lies in citizens' "local knowledge," or their distinct empirical and normative understanding of the local context. Contrary to traditional thoughts on policy influence, "local knowledge [has come] to be seen as a complex, valuable source of largely untapped knowledge that speaks directly to specific kinds of problems" (Fischer, 2000). Participatory research as a whole emphasizes knowledge as an instrument of power and seeks to create relationships between citizens, experts, and policy makers to broaden the resulting policy systems and its supporters across a much wider

[48] See case study discussion of the Food Policy Council starting on Pg. 90 for more information regarding composition of the Council.

section of the population (Fischer, 2000). The implications of this on attempts to move an environmental movement into mainstream society are clear.

As described in Chapter Two's discussion of social movement theories, Giugni (2004) proposes that social movements, political alliances, and public opinion work together to influence policy change by identifying various opportunities for positive change within the movement. This not only adheres directly with the sort of change encouraged by the Vivid Picture model, but also emphasizes networking amongst businesses, organizations, and other elements of the movement. In Portland, this sort of change is very visibly organized via the Food Policy Council, which integrates local government, social, and business leaders to provide an effective means with which to affect policy change, and is the largest single instance of this influence.

Portland is unique to have a group like the Food Policy Council – less than 20 exist around the country – and for it to be housed in the Office of Sustainable Development means it will continuously seek opportunities for developing an economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable food system via policy change. The creation of the council came in part from the City and County's recognition of "overwhelming support" amongst Portland and Multnomah County citizens regarding a body for food policy (City of Portland, 2002), indicating the group's commitment to facilitating dialogue between citizen preferences and local government. The Council's vision is to "Imagine a community where all citizens have access to nutrition, fresh food; where agriculture is a thriving part of the local economy, and where food production and distribution contribute to a healthy environment" (City of Portland Office of Sustainable Development, 2004).

While many other groups in Portland exist under the same premise of supporting a local food system and providing input to local policy, the council sees their explicit ability to influence city and county policy as a unique and influential opportunity. "City and county government can be an important ally in strengthening our local food system," the council's website says. "Local governments … have mandates to address social and environmental issues … [and] provide opportunities for citizen involvement. City and County policies profoundly shape local food production and distribution" (City of Portland Office of Sustainable Development, 2004). Ex-Council-Co-chair Brian Rohter of New Seasons Market comments, "We have the power to influence policy makers to understand the importance of taking agriculture, food, and hunger issues into consideration as they plan for our city's future" (personal communication, June 17, 2004). The Council also recognizes that local governments' policies regarding local food systems can often be counterproductive without a unified, comprehensive approach such as a food policy council, and this lack of productivity can inhibit the success and strength of the movement (City of Portland Office of Sustainable Development, 2004). The Council is also unique for its ability to bring in the concerns and preferences for a wide variety of industries and organizations within the movement, with representation from a wide variety of fields within the city. This provides a productive means of bringing together these diverse needs and presenting them regularly to local government and ensures that policy changes cover a wide variety of food system aspects.

Over the past four years, the Food Policy Council has tackled a large number and a diverse assortment of policy projects and recommendations, including:

- Permanent spaces for farmers' markets, helping to ensure the stability of farm direct sales;

- Coordination of institutional purchasing programs;
- Conservation easements for agricultural land surrounding the city;
- Researching barriers to low-income residents' access to fresh and affordable food and developing community-based solutions to improve food access, including maximizing access to federal and state food and nutrition programs;
- Seeking out land for expanded community garden and urban agriculture programs; and,
- Continuing developments toward a Portland Public Market, featuring local foods and artisan goods on a permanent, daily basis.

This is only a very small selection of the type of programs on which the Council has worked. Because it has only been active since 2002, many of its projects have not had the opportunity to directly influence policy, but in some cases, they have been a strong influence. The Council was "instrumental" in the development of the resolution that led to the Diggable City project, directing City bureaus to conduct an inventory of city-owned land that may be suitable for community gardens and other urban agriculture uses (Balmer, et al., 2005). The Farm-to-School Coordinator position now held by Linda Colwell was a proposal of the Council, and the forward movement of the Portland Public Market has been in part due to the support lent by the group. Policy influence is also lent by many of the other groups and businesses discussed in the case study, but on a more indirect basis. Oftentimes, these groups present their concerns at Food Policy Council meetings or actually have leadership on the Council.

The Portland/Multnomah County Food Policy Council provides a structure with which organizations and businesses can affect local policy. Most of the other organizations and businesses involved in the movement also help influence local policy through participation in

interest groups and/or the organization of citizen interests via forums and other participatory research mechanisms. Appropriate food policies can greatly increase the success rate of a local food system movement and without the structure and work provided by all of these organizations, efficient and effective policy change toward a local food system would likely be difficult.

Conclusion

In the case study, I described organizational and programmatic support as being integral to the survival of Portland's local food system movement (and likely any other food system or social movement). Here it becomes clear why that is so – eco-labeling, marketing, networking, organization of the supply chain, and local policy influence are the distinct domain of the organizational and programmatic support organizations described in the case study.

The status of a local food system is most strongly implicated in the behavior of the consumer and business owner – without their final decisions to utilize and/or purchase locally and organically produced foods and to support the movement's goals, success and status as an element of the mainstream food system are incredibly unlikely. However, the efforts described in this chapter broaden the market for locally and organically produced foods and provide a means for overcoming the major obstacles of battling the dominant, industrial, globalized food system described in Chapter One.

It is also important that advocacy for a local food system relies on quite a few perspectives and elements. A purely environmental critique of an urban food system may focus merely on the food production aspect, namely organic farming and other sustainable agriculture techniques, and not on education, food distribution, or other elements. Cornell CALS (2004) remarks that building a community food system requires comprehensive and holistic approaches

to meeting the food needs of a particular population. While sustainable agriculture is well needed and an important environmental benefit, Dahlberg (1993) notes in *Food for the Future* that this can only be successful to the extent that other parts of the food system and the rest of society can also become more community-oriented and sustainable. Political and social issues are integral to the food system, and economic feasibility, broad citizen participation, health issues, and other matters must be considered along with ecological concerns. Clancy (1992), however, suggests in one of her speeches about food systems that "thinking about cities as ecological entities is a good start, and a phenomenon to be encouraged." Much of the advocacy from businesses and organizations in Portland was initially elicited by environmental concerns, which quickly gave way to sociocultural and economic matters. These perspectives are necessary to transitioning to the mainstream.

Food systems are integral to the health of the local economy; the quality of the regional environment; local land use and transportation; the health of neighborhoods, communities, and people; and the preservation of agricultural land. Therefore, research into this area bears on economic considerations of social and natural capital, as well as matters of urban planning, governmental food policy infrastructure, local economic structure and development, health care, and food security. The matter deals with many of the country's and the world's most pressing issues, including poverty, hunger, health, agricultural pollution, community development, economic development, rural revitalization, and urban-rural linkages. Analysis of food systems in cities around the world may provide valuable windows into cause-based solutions for these and other problems. In Portland, movements toward a community-based food system have brought about solutions for problems of food insecurity, fractured neighborhoods, and financially insecure local farms, among others.

Successful Portland businesses and organizations like those highlighted in this paper can serve as important models for businesses throughout the city looking to be a part of a local food system or become more sustainable. The city itself may serve as such a model for emulation with other cities around the country. Many interviewees described visions for what they would like to see of their businesses and organizations, of Portland's food system, and of food systems around the country over the next five to 10 years. If phenomena like all of those described above – farmers' markets, farm-to-market connections, widespread support of local products, and community-oriented urban agriculture, beneficial policy environments – prove lasting and strong, it will signal society's ability to strengthen the line between consumer and producer, carrying out a vision of a secure, sustainable, mainstream people- and community-oriented food system that can mitigate the concerns of the present dominant system.

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Appendix A: The Vivid Picture Project's "Goals for a New Mainstream"

The 22 goals of the Vivid Picture project form what it calls "the backbone" of its vision for sustainable food systems. The project claims that all of these goals must be met in order for a food system to really be sustainable. Because the project's focus was on California in the year 2030, this focus is explicitly mentioned in many of the goals; however, it is only to show the scale on which the goals exist, and these goals can be transposed to any other state or similar organizational level.

"A sustainable California food system will:

- **Promote food choices that lead to healthy eating.**

  In a healthy food system, freshness, nutrition, and taste are primary goals and people eat a balanced diet with fresh whole foods that are produced and processed in ways that maintain high nutritional content. *(underlying values: health, safety)*

- **Provide easy access to healthy food from retail outlets for all eaters in California**

  In a sustainable food system, available transportation, household income, the existence of food outlets, social assistance, and other factors make it easy for all Californians to obtain healthy food. *(underlying value: social equity)*

- **Provide affordable food for all eaters in California.**

  In a sustainable food system, Californians are able to purchase healthy products at reasonable prices. (*underlying value: social equity)*

- **Provide for meaningful livelihoods and opportunities for all food and farming workers.**

  In the future sustainable food system, people employed in California' food an agriculture sector have access to fairly compensated, dignified and meaningful work that provides a respectful and safe working environment as well as significant opportunities for personal development and advancement. *(underlying value: social equity)*

- **Facilitate continuous entry for beginning farmers, fishers, foresters, processors, retailers, restaurateurs, and ranchers.**

  The sustainable food system facilitates the transfer of businesses and reduces barriers to entry for newly establishing entrepreneurs, supporting new entrants and entrepreneurs in a variety of ways in starting up food initiatives and businesses. *(underlying values: regeneration, profitability)*

- **Provide eaters with food produced and processed as close to home as possible.**

  A sustainable food system encourages the availability of diverse foods produced in each region, promoting both successful regional food economies at home and focusing exports on complementary items that cannot be produced in the importing region. *(underlying values: diversity, interconnectedness)*

- **Encourage eaters to know where, how and by whom their food is produced.**

  In a sustainable food system people know where their food comes from, how and by whom it was grown, raised, or caught, and how and where it was processed and packaged. *(underlying values: diversity, interconnectedness)*

- **Support deepening regional identities through food.**

  In a sustainable food system, food and food product play a role in defining and deepening

a sense of place and identity in a given region. They build market opportunities and generate demand for both unique and staple products. *(underlying values: diversity, interconnectedness)*

- **Honor and draw on the diversity and richness of different food cultures.**

  A sustainable food system supports and encourages the rich variety of foods and food traditions in the state, providing fresh foods to all cultures and encouraging immigrant producers to maintain their livelihoods. *(underlying values: diversity, interconnectedness)*

- **Support and increase biodiversity in plant and animal products (including marine species).**

  A sustainable food system provides people with real choice in the foods they eat. Not only are the products diverse, but within a product category, a range of crop and breed varieties are offered as well. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, diversity, regeneration, innovation, efficiency)*

- **Conduct farming, ranching, and fishing activities so that water, air, forests, and soil resources re enhanced and biodiversity and wildlife habitat are increased so that food products continues in perpetuity.**

  In a sustainable food system, farming practices preserve and enhance wild and riparian areas, and successfully manage freshwater and marine food sources. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, diversity, regeneration, innovation, efficiency)*

- **Preserve farmland, forests, and oceans.**

  In 2030, food production, processing, and distribution do not undermine the health or

quality of farmland or forest and ocean ecosystems. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, diversity, regeneration)*

- **Recycle its wastes and reduce the use of petroleum and other non-renewable inputs.**

  The sustainable food system consumes as few input materials as possible (in particular non-renewable inputs such as fossil fuels) and minimizes its production of unwanted outputs (such as solid waste, effluent and air pollution). *(underlying values: interconnectedness, regeneration, innovation, efficiency)*

- **Employ humane practices in animal care.**

  Animal production in the future sustainable food system adheres to high standards of animal welfare, encouraging a state of complete mental and physical health where animals are in harmony with their environment. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, innovation, efficiency, health and safety)*

- **Provide opportunities for revenue from on-farm energy production, tourism, education, and other value added services (in addition to food production).**

  Producers are able to supplement their income with value-added activities on their land, through services such as mentoring young farmers, contribution to smart development, and offering rural recreational activities. *(underlying values: social equity, regeneration)*

- **Reward farmers, fishers, and ranchers for conservation services.**

  A sustainable food system compensates farmers, ranchers, and fishermen for providing stewardship services other than day-to-day food production, such as wildlife habitat management, ecosystem service provision, energy production, compost generation, and recycling of urban wastes. *(underlying values: regeneration, profitability)*

- **Provide opportunities for food, fishing, and farming operations to be profitable.**

  In a sustainable food system, cooperation and transparency are encouraged among all actors in the value chain so that risks and rewards are shared, supply is managed, quality is maximized, and all entities throughout the value chain have viable profit margins. *(underlying values: regeneration, profitability, interconnectedness)*

- **Characterized by many locally owned and operated food and farming businesses.**

  A sustainable food system will require a critical mass of businesses throughout the value chain that are owned and operated by local people who are vested in the community, having enough of the regional market share to provide economic resilience to the region and nurture community, innovation, accountability, and quality. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, regeneration, diversity, ownership, profitability)*

- **Encourage business structures and forms of capitalization that provide investment and ownership opportunities to workers and community members.**

  The sustainable California food system will promote community-based, community-owned, and managed business models that foster a sense of investment among local members. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, regeneration, ownership, profitability)*

- **Allow fishers, farmers, ranchers, processors, retailers, and restaurateurs to retire from their business while maintaining their business as a family or locally owned asset.**

  In a sustainable food system, producers are provided alternative exit strategies that facilitate the transfer of their operations to family members of other new entrants from

the community. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, regeneration, ownership, profitability)*

- **Promote efficient markets that share information and proceeds equitable among all players in the food chain.**

  The future sustainable food system sees power and market share more equally distributed among links in the food chain as well as among actors at each level, and cooperation, partnership and information sharing will be the norm rather than the exception. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, efficiency, innovation)*

- **Allow businesses of all sizes to participate in the system as long as they are abiding by sustainable practices and principles.**

  In 2030, the food system is structured in such a way that enterprises of all sizes are able to thrive; economic success is determined increasingly by fair and sustainable business practice. *(underlying values: interconnectedness, efficiency, innovation)*