

TRANSFORMATIVE INCREMENTALISM:
A Grounded Theory for Planning Transformative Change in Local Food Systems

by

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B.A., University of British Columbia, 1983
M.A., University of British Columbia, 1985

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Abstract

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Local Food Systems (LFS) is a relatively new concept in geographical and planning research. Academic, professional, and public interest in LFS is in part a reaction against the social, environmental, and economic effects of a dominant Production Agriculture paradigm (Lyson, 2004), and growing concern with the potential impacts of climate change on the food supply (Ostry, Miewald, and Beveridge, 2011). While there is a growing public and policy interest in making transformative change in LFS, there is a lack of theoretical work that addresses how change processes in food systems occur.

In this study, a classic Glaserian grounded theory research project investigated the subject area of local food system planning. The primary research goal was the development of a theory grounded in the experience of practitioners, elected officials, and members of the public. The emergent theory, called Transformative Incrementalism (TI) describes the social process underlying planning initiatives focused on achieving significant (transformative) change in local food systems.

The data for this research project are drawn from interviews with 29 elected officials, public stakeholders, and planning staff in five communities with local food system initiatives. In addition, 10 member checking interviews were also conducted. The core category identified in

the emergent TI theory was Power, with Values, Praxis, and Outcomes being other main themes. From this research, Power could be defined as the ability, through authoritative and non-authoritative influence, to have an effect on a person, process, action, or outcome. Values act as sources of power to the extent that they motivate and drive the actions of individuals and groups. Praxis includes activities designed to create, use, and maintain power, such as building relationships with other people that will give ongoing support for food planning initiatives. Outcomes include broader system and social changes resulting from local food system planning processes and activities.

The main findings from this dissertation underscore the fact that the role of power has been largely ignored in the planning literature (Friedman, 2011; Flyvbjerg, 2012; Assche, Duineveld, and Buenen, 2014). Power is the main driver of change; therefore, a lack of understanding about what power is and how it operates would seem to compromise the ability of planning efforts to be effective. This research identifies and illustrates the interrelationship between the political, public, and bureaucratic spheres of actors, and examines how values, praxis, and outcomes are pivotal to transformative change in food planning initiatives. Transformative change is achieved through a long process of incremental efforts (programs, policies, and actions) by actors within the public, political, and bureaucratic groups whose values and beliefs converge and align over time. The incremental efforts are intended to support a transformative change goal.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The concepts of Local Food Systems (LFS) and Local Food Production (LFP) are relatively new in geographical research, with articles and books on the subject emerging in the 1990s. Drawing on the works of Qazi and Selfa (2005), Fonte (2008), Hinrichs (2003), Feagan (2007), Abate (2008), and Pearson, Henryks, Trott, Jones, Parker, Dumaresq, and Dyball (2011), LFS is defined in this dissertation as ‘the supply chain that local food follows from its production through other stages of handling, processing, marketing, consumption, and ultimately disposal.’ LFS planning is implicitly transformative in its intent and focus as its goal is to move from the current dominance of the global Productionist Agriculture (PA) model to increase and strengthen LFS. Expressions of LFS and LFP may or may not in themselves be transformative in intent. It is the act of LFS planning that is implicitly transformative in intent.

From a practical perspective, we need to address the problem of sustainably producing enough food globally (which would include making PA more sustainable) while respecting the need for local areas to improve food security and thereby enhance their own sustainability and resiliency. The goal of increasing and strengthening local food systems requires significantly changing the balance between local and non-local food systems.

Several arguments and reasons for increasing LFS have already been made. In Europe, for example, reasons include: the sustainable development goals in Local Agenda 21 (Granvik, 2012; Abate, 2008; Nichol, 2003), the potential role of LFS in revitalizing local economies (Nichol, 2003), and the desire to enhance local food security (Granvik, 2012; Renting, Marsden, and Banks, 2003). In North America, support for LFS has been motivated by reports

of adverse consequences of the over-reliance on PA (Lyson, 2004; Fonte, 2008), public health issues (Wegener, 2009), and the desire to achieve local food sovereignty (Horst, 2015). It is also a response to concerns around rising energy prices and greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), and to the anticipated consequences of climate change (Ostry, Miewald, and Beveridge, 2011; Rosenzweig and Parry, 1994). In British Columbia, according to Ostry, Miewald, and Beveridge (2011), expanding the capacity of local fruit and vegetable production would be good policy and would serve as a hedge to increasing prices of produce from California in the future. Finally, as public values are shifting towards LFS, there is growing support for LFS planning (Mason and Knowd, 2010; Quazi and Selfa, 2005; Maretzki and Tuckermanty, 2007). Lyson's (2004) *Civic Agriculture: Reconnecting Farm, Food and Community*, Hume's (2010) *The Local Food Revolution*, and Ladner's (2011) *The Urban Food Revolution*, speak to a growing public and policy interest in LFS.

The importance of food system planning and its goal of strengthening LFS is contested. It has been challenged on a number of grounds, such as the lack of scalability of LFS (Parrott, Wilson, and Murdoch, 2002; Mount, 2012), and a perceived overstatement of the potential benefits of LFS (Tregear, 2011). Specific critiques include the notions that there is nothing in local food that is intrinsically more socially just than food provided by PA (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Edward-Jones et al, 2008), or lower in carbon emissions (Coley, Howard, and Winter, 2009), or necessarily fresher (Edward-Jones et al, 2008).

LFS planning responds to the combination of risks associated with our current reliance on PA in the context of global food supply (Lyson, 2004; Ostry, Miewald, and Beveridge, 2011; Rosenzweig and Parry, 1994). Improved LFS capacity is seen as critical for building and increasing local sustainability and resilience (Lyson, 2004; Smith, 2008; Kaufman, 2009; Roseland, 2012). Roseland (2012) speaks to the need for recalibrating our values and policy

tools and using creative and innovative approaches to achieving sustainable development. For Roseland, LFS is an integral part of sustainable development, and he emphasizes a potential leadership role for local communities to be laboratories for innovative food policy intervention.

Notwithstanding the arguments for and against the role and benefits of LFS, communities and planners have been notably and increasingly engaged in LFS planning since 2000 (Horst, 2015). Horst observes that it is not clear whether these food system-related planning efforts are likely to result in “radical transformation” (2015, p. 9), that is, significant change to the current reliance on global and national food systems in favour of LFS. Horst (2015) notes that, while greater attention is being paid to LFS planning, there is a need to explore whether food system planning is effecting transformation in food systems. Her 2015 dissertation explores that question.

My dissertation looks at the question of LFS planning from a different view. Where Horst (2015) addresses the important question as to whether transformative change is occurring, my research seeks to understand the main variables and social processes (such as building relationships, engaging stakeholders and staff members, building trust, and using influence) involved in current LFS planning. But, as I have noted, I would argue that any efforts towards strengthening LFS are to some degree implicitly about attempting to bring about food system transformation. By developing a grounded theory of LFS planning, I hope to contribute to understanding the social processes involved in food production planning at the local level. Such understanding might enable food system planners to be more effective in achieving change.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This is a study about understanding how change-oriented food system planning initiatives occur. Little attention has been paid to the social processes involved in how change occurs in food systems, the timing of LFS planning initiatives, and the trajectory of change initiatives. By ‘social process’ I mean ways in which people interact, communicate and establish relationships and understanding with each other. Although urban planning has been addressing food issues since 2000, the role and effect of planning for food systems’ transformation has only begun to be examined (Horst, 2015).

One of Friedman’s (2011) conceptualizations of the role of the planner is that of being an agent of system change. When planners act this way, Friedman noted that they might be considered to be engaged in what he termed *radical planning*. Friedman (2011) discussed radical planning (system changing planning) in terms of best choices for reaching desired outcomes, but he did not theorize how change processes occur. It could be argued that understanding the dynamics and characteristics of social, political, and economic processes in the context of change initiatives could be important to effect transformative change. In other words, understanding more about how transformative change processes occur would be important and useful knowledge for planners while they develop strategies to increase local food capacity.

THE RESEARCH APPROACH

My dissertation uses the Classic Grounded Theory (CGT) methodology to explore the social processes involved in LFS planning. CGT is an inductive, data-led approach to the development of theory in which the researcher begins with no preconceived theories or hypotheses to be tested. Research questions are general, and analysis begins with open coding

followed by a process of constantly comparing data, selective coding once themes begin to emerge, and ongoing memoing of the researcher's insights into the data. As an inductive research method, CGT requires that researchers ideally approach the study without a specific research question in mind prior to entering into the field. This said, most researchers begin with a general subject matter, such as the planning process in LFS which was identified at the outset as the main interest in this research. Thus, CGT researchers approach an area of interest with a view to learn what is occurring within that area (Cutcliffe, 2000; Christiansen, 2012) rather than be guided by the need to answer specific research questions.

This research explores leading innovative approaches some local governments have developed for supporting LFS. The intention is to develop a grounded theory about the social processes and relationships involved in LFS planning processes. It examines the social processes engaged in by planners, elected officials, and public stakeholders in order to help understand how change-oriented planning initiatives occur.

Data for this research are drawn from interviews with planners, elected officials, and public stakeholders working with a diverse sample of LFS initiatives in a range of communities across British Columbia. The purpose of the interviews was to collect information on the insights, values, perspectives, and experiences of participants working on local food initiatives in order to understand the local planning process, while working inductively in the manner of CGT principles (Glaser, 1978) to build a theory of that process from these data. Interviews were conducted in five municipal areas in British Columbia, including the City of Kelowna, City of Vancouver, District of North Saanich, City of Victoria, and the Capital Regional District.

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

When I began the PhD program in Geography at the University of Victoria, I had been a practicing professional planner for 25 years. During that time, I developed from being a recent graduate with knowledge about planning theories and methods to a planner who experienced the dynamics of working with the public, elected officials, and other municipal staff. I learned to examine other planning exercises to see what worked and what did not work in practice. While I have experience in a wide range of planning subjects (e.g., park planning, downtown revitalization, development planning, bicycle planning, etc.), it was in the latter part of my career that I was introduced to local food system planning and its promising role in creating sustainable and resilient communities. In keeping with my professional practice, my approach in this research was to go to the field to study practice.

THESIS STRUCTURE

It is important to note that the use of CGT methodology has some implications for the structure of a dissertation. This is most evident in the placement of the literature reviews. Because CGT is a methodology to generate theory inductively from the data, and because it emphasizes beginning without a research question, the literature review is better done and situated in the data analysis and discussion stages, rather than as the second chapter in more traditional theses. In my case, however, I present a more general literature review at the beginning of the research project to afford an overview of the food system literature, including identifying and discussing several relevant food system planning tools. I also present a second more focussed review in the discussion chapter towards the end of the dissertation (Chapter 5) to compare and contrast the emergent theory to existing literature. During the CGT process, the results of the analysis point to areas that the literature review should focus on, and this

review and assessment of the literature serves as a further analytical step to delimit and refine the emerging CGT.

The overall structure of the dissertation is as follows. Chapter 1 introduces the research project, research problem, and structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 provides a general literature review to establish the importance of LFS, and identify current LFS planning tools. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, as well as the data collection and analytical process. Chapter 4 begins to unpack the data in accordance with the emerging theory, presenting the core and main categories of variables (themes) that emerged from the data analysis. Chapter 5 presents the full description of the emergent CGT, elaborates on the relationships between the main and core categories, and compares the CGT to the extant literature. Chapter 6 presents the main study conclusions, limitations, and implications.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The study of Local Food Systems and Local Food Production (LFS and LFP) represents a nascent field of geographic study, an emerging focus in urban planning, and increasingly a key part of sustainable development and resilient community discourse (Roseland, 2012). The convergence of several related food system risks like climate change, peak oil production, productionist agriculture impacts, and global demographic trends highlights the critical role that food systems will have at the local level in the future.

Consistent with CGT, this chapter provides an overview of the literature concerning local food system planning. First, Local Food System discourse is situated within the field of Geography. Following that, several themes within the literature are identified and discussed. They include definition issues, understanding the historical relationship between cities and LFS/P, critical perspectives in LFS/P discourse, the emergence of LFS/P in community planning, and tools for local food system planning.

LFS RESEARCH SITUATED IN THE DISCIPLINE OF GEOGRAPHY

Research on LFS has connections with many subfields or topic areas within the discipline of geography. Given limited space, I will focus on the connections that are most relevant to my research program in my overview: historical geography, agricultural geography, and social geography.

It is important to understand how the interest in LFP emerged in the geographic academy, and how the issue of food production became a problem. As a branch of human geography, historical geography examines geographies of the past and how this may affect the present

(Hoelscher, 2006). Historically, the emergence of the city in the form of the first human settlements and agriculture can be traced back 10,000 years to the Neolithic Era (Roberts, 2008; Van de Ryn and Calthorpe, 1986). Agriculture enabled humans to stay in one place rather than follow food sources. From that point, cities were agrarian based, depending on the food available within and adjacent to their boundaries (Angottie, 2009). Farming was an integral urban activity until industrialization and technology, particularly transportation, enabled agriculture to be estranged from the city and banished to the countryside (Angottie, 2009). Urban history details the growth of cities in Canada since the beginning of the 1900s (Harris, 2010) and since the early 1800s in the United States (Hayden, 2004) as being a migration of people away from the inner city to residential suburbs. This trend began slowly and increased its momentum as a number of factors, such as transportation advances, a backlog of demand, access to easier financing, strategic government support, and an emerging pro-suburban culture, combined to see the suburban movement rapidly accelerate after World War II (Hayden, 2004; Harris, 2010). Although suburban domestic gardens did occur, the single land use quality of the suburbs combined with increasing prosperity tended to diminish domestic gardening activity. Harris (2010) associates the growing of fruits and vegetables or keeping of chickens to be the result of an individual's financial needs. Lawson (2005) describes the persistent nature of urban gardening in the form of vacant lot cultivation, school gardens, domestic gardens, and civic gardens. They have been persistent to the degree that interest in them tends to cycle back, and they are associated with economically challenging times like depressions, the World Wars, and the 1970s energy crisis. However, with each gardening movement there were no permanent supports put into place, and they all diminished after each crisis faded.

Another sub-field of geography within which LFP is located is agricultural geography. Merrett (2006) describes this geography in terms of the impacts of industrialization on farms. Another focus in agricultural geography is human- and animal-powered pre-industrial agriculture, for example, slash-and-burn, nomadic herding, rice paddy cultivation (Warf, 2006). Grimes (2006) notes that there is not a single geography of food, but rather many geographies of food, and that one of the most essential is that of plant and animal domestication. He also connects food with the notion of 'place' as illustrated by the French concept of *terroir*, which is used to define the unique qualities of place where food comes from (Grimes, 2006).

Agriculture was significantly affected by the economic revolution of the mid-1800s that introduced mass production techniques and the gradual replacement of labour with machinery (Lyson, 2004). Agricultural economists worked in the early 1900s to establish criteria that would enable farm enterprises to be evaluated as manufacturing enterprises. This model of agriculture was based on individual decision making structured by four factors of production: land, labour, capital, and management/entrepreneurship. The result was more efficient agriculture and fewer producers (Lyson, 2004). This change to fewer producers was not only driven by the neoclassical economic model, but also by scientific improvements and mechanization (Hinrichs, 2003). Currently, about 98% of "the food supply in the United States is produced by agribusiness running industrial farms that employ mechanically and chemically intensive farming methods for the maximization of profit" (Peters, 2010, p. 207).

Social geography is the subfield most pertinent to my research problem. Understanding social processes that underlie urban morphology is the perspective of social geography. Ley (1983) describes social geography as geographical inquiry that moves away from the logical positivism and economic perspectives that had dominated human geography, and

towards an emphasis on social context and social process. Limb and Dwyer (2001) position social geography as a strand of humanistic geography with an emphasis on developing ‘grounded theories’ through investigating the human experience in the context of their social worlds. My research is a focused effort to understand the social processes involved in food system planning and attempts to achieve change.

DEFINITION ISSUES

Prior to discussing the literature on LFS/P, it is important to consider and define how these terms are being used in the literature and in this research. Martinez et al (2010) suggest that it may be appropriate to have different definitions. Qazi and Selfa (2005) argue that there are multiple meanings in ‘localism’ that will depend on the socio-political context, and that the fluidic, variable, and situated nature of alternative agro-food networks (LFP) would work to defy any clarity gained by defining a typology of their forms. Similarly, Fonte (2008) sees local food relocalization strategies stemming from different local (place) contexts and different social networks. Hinrichs (2003) argues that ‘local food’ is a socially constructed idea with multi-faceted and sometimes contradictory meanings. Feagan (2007) notes that the term ‘local’ can be divisive, elitist, xenophobic, and may not address equity or environmental issues. Further, it is appropriable (e.g., agribusiness cooptation of organic farming by including organic farming and language in its practices and marketing), but it may also convey “enhanced rootedness that can reflect universal values of place, attachment, and ecology, in the face of placeless powers - neither exclusionary nor rigid” (Feagan, 2007, pp. 36-37). Illustrating the social construction of meaning in ‘local,’ rural Washington provides an example where practitioners of alternative agricultural strategies minimize association with ‘progressive’ movements in order to be accepted locally because local politics and the

population majority are firmly entrenched in conservative ideologies (Qazi and Selfa, 2005). Noting that the meaning of 'local' is vague, Abate (2008) defines 'local' as an expression of proximity between food production and consumption.

Given the socially constructed, place-based nature of 'local food systems,' it is not surprising that attempts to arrive at a distance-based definition for local has yielded varying results. The United States 2008 Farm Act defines local food as a product that is consumed less than 400 miles from its origin, or within the state in which it is produced (Martinez et al, 2010). In comparison, the 100 mile diet popularized by MacKinnon and Smith's year-long effort to eat only food produced within 100 miles from where they lived has produced a popular distance-based definition (Ladner, 2011). Local food in Sweden is similarly defined as being produced within a 155 mile (250 km) radius from where it is sold (Wallgren, 2006). Further, definitions in the United Kingdom include geographic proximity (ranging from being within 30 miles, a county, a sub-region, or to a whole country), a short supply chain, or consumers' perceptions of 'local' (Pearson et al, 2011).

Popper (2006) argues that locality is another word for place: if "one thinks of different possible scales, locality is nearby" (p. 283). 'Local,' therefore, is a relativistic term, contingent on place, and in terms of scale, it is closer rather than farther away. Attempts to arrive at a standard, quantifiable definition of 'local food' and its production will be problematic and unsatisfactory because its meaning will vary between people and places. It is best understood as a socially constructed, relational concept that varies from place to place. The literature identifies some qualities that can provide consistency around the use of the concept.

Martinez et al (2010) identify several qualities of the local food concept. They see it as a geographic concept that relates to the distance between producer and consumers. It has social characteristics (high social connectivity, mutual exchange and trust). It has supply chain

characteristics (a short supply chain that facilitates some connection between producer and consumer). Finally, it uses sustainable production methods.

Martinez et al (2010) define local food as: “food produced, processed, and distributed within a particular geographic boundary that consumers associate with their own community” (p. 51). This definition speaks to a scale determined by a geographically situated community of consumers. It is silent, however, on the supply chain aspect suggested by several writers as being characteristically short (Renting, Marsden, and Banks, 2003). By inserting a short supply chain aspect into the definition, LFP reflects a smaller (sub-regional) scale more consistent with community scale versus a larger geographical area (provincial or national). My working definition of ‘Local Food Production’ is: production characterized by a short supply chain between the food product and the consumers within a geographical area generally understood as a local community by its consumers.’ ‘Local Food,’ then, is the food produced in this system. This definition of LFP is intentionally silent on any social, political, or environmental agenda. It is intended to be a more neutral definition than would otherwise result if one or more of these agendas were to be incorporated. Further, it is also less problematic given that within the LFP discourse, and also within communities, there are competing and different views as to what these agendas might be (Qafi and Selfa, 2005).

In addition to defining local food and local food systems, it is important to define what is meant by sustainability and resiliency given their concern in this research. The 1987 Bruntland Report, commissioned by the United Nations, presented the imperative for ‘sustainable development’ which it defined as “meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (cited in Roseland, 2012, p. 6). At a more fundamental level, sustainability can be defined as ‘able to be sustained’, where the root sustain means to “strengthen or support physically or mentally . . . [to] keep (something) going over

time or continuously” (Peters, 2010, p. 216). Roseland (2012) advises that the term has been open to contradictory interpretations like sustainable development, sustainable use, protection of the environment, sustained economic growth or as a trade-off between the environment and the economy. Kloppenburg et al (2000) also note that sustainability is a contested word which a number of organizations and actors want to access and be associated with because of its power but whose goals are not necessarily compatible with each other. They note that productionist agricultural interests, and their corporate semioticians, have used the term to describe their activities. Similarly, while sustainability may be used rhetorically as a common goal, its substantive pursuit may be found in markets and technologies, while for others it may be found in “finding alternatives to the [social and technical] practices that got us in trouble in the first place” (Orr, 1992, p. 24).

‘Sustainability’ and ‘Resiliency’ are similar concepts. For this research, I would define the difference between these concepts as follows: sustainability speaks to a state where we are staying within our means (natural income) versus resilience which speaks to the capacity of a system to absorb shocks and maintain function. The latter emphasizes natural and social diversity as a characteristic of high resiliency (Gunderson and Holling, 2002). For the capacity of our ecosystems and social systems to evolve, we need to “conserve the ability to adapt to change, to be able to respond in a flexible way to uncertainty and surprises [This is about] maintaining options in order to buffer disturbance and to create novelty” (Gunderson and Holling, 2002, p. 32).

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP OF LFS/P TO CITIES

While LFS/P is a nascent field, the relationship between LFS/P and cities is as old as the history of cities. Bartling (2012) notes that Mumford identified the domestication of plants

and animals in the Neolithic period 10,000 years ago as establishing the ground work for urbanism. It was an integral part of shaping the city (Bartling, 2012), and remained so until industrialization and transportation advances enabled agriculture to be distanced from the city (Angottie, 2009). As a result of this disconnect (Kloppenburger, Hendrickson, and Stevenson, 1996), generations “have grown up in the United States thinking of farming as an exclusively rural endeavor” (Brown and Jameton, 2000, p. 20). Disconnection (e.g., Kloppenburger’s social distancing, Pothukuchi and Kaufman’s disconnection of rural and urban policy issues) is also evident in Ostry’s (2006) review of nutrition policy and food security, where he identifies an ongoing disconnect between food and agricultural policy and nutrition policy in Canada. It is suggested that, given the continued rate of urbanization and the dependence on highly concentrated global markets, this gap may compromise the ability of poor Canadians to cope with a prolonged state of food insecurity in the event of future economic crises.

Bartling (2012) sees the planning regime of separating land uses that transpired after the Supreme Court’s decision (*Village of Euclid versus Amber Realty* in 1920) to uphold land use regulation decisions as partially responsible for regulations that prohibit urban chickens. This decision confirmed the emerging land use zoning practice in local governments to create single use zones for single family homes. There was also a developing urban sensibility that was hostile to food production land uses. Bartling argues that the conflict should be seen as one aspect of the broader concerns over pollution, housing, working conditions, and ecological impacts that accompanied the industrial city. The exodus to the suburbs was an escape from all issues of the industrial city, including micro-farming, and this was supported by planning regimes (Bartling, 2012).

Speaking to the situatedness of food systems to the community planning literature, Granvik (2012) addresses the recent emergence of the food system as an urban planning focus,

noting that food had been overlooked by planners given other more visible urban systems such as housing and transportation. Mason and Knowd (2010) suggest that agriculture was not just overlooked; it was simply not valued as a result of a neoliberal, economic rationalist principle underlying planning. In the Sydney region of Australia, agricultural land during the 1980s was regarded both politically and by planning professionals as ‘land awaiting higher economic development,’ with no real place in the business of the region. Clancy (2004) identifies several reasons why food system planning has not been viewed as an object of planning. Planners simply did not see food planning as their professional area. They saw it as a rural issue, in part because much of the food system (processing, distributing) has become centralized and relatively invisible to planners. Planners believe that food systems are driven by the private sector, not by the public, and that food does not have the same “public good” status as air and water. Finally, planners simply do not see a problem in the food supply (Clancy, 2004, p. 436).

Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1998) note the absence of local food system planning in the urban planning agenda/literature, and attribute this omission to four factors: (1) urbanites have taken the food system for granted; (2) the development of cities has historically not included agriculture, which has been regarded as a rural issue; (3) the loss of local farmland had not resulted in a lack of food in the stores due to the technologies and practices of the production agriculture business system; and (4) there is a persistent public policy dichotomy between rural and urban policy matters. They also point to the widespread and pervasive significance of the urban food system to the health of individuals, households, and the local economy. They suggest three municipal institutions to undertake more comprehensive action: the city planning agency, the local food policy, and a new city department of food.

Even though LFP appears to have been off the planning agenda for local governments, there is theoretical precedence for including it in planning thought. Campbell (2004) points out that Howard's (1902) Garden City Movement was an intellectual ancestor to the current interest in local food movements. Howard's work was in part focused on how to bring people back to the land. His Garden City solution aimed to combine the best elements of the town with the country. Human "society and the beauty of nature are meant to be enjoyed together" (Howard, 1902, p. 17). Integral to this vision was the incorporation of food production and processing within and adjacent to the town, including, for example, jam factories, farm allotments, dairy farms, large farms, fruit farms, and gardens. Howard saw farm and town as being symbiotic. Refuse of the town was intended to be reused on the agricultural sites, and the town would be the market for agricultural product (Howard, 1902).

THE EMERGING ROLE OF LFS/P FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT PLANNING

Planning interest in LFS/P began to emerge in the 1990s. In Kaufman's earlier work assessing the role, or lack of role, of food planning in 1999, he determined that there was little professional interest, as illustrated by one of his respondent's comments, "If someone in the planning agency suggested we do planning for the local food system, he'd be looked at as if he came from Mars" (Kaufman, 2009, p. 12). By 2009, interest changed as a result, in part, of several recently published books about local food systems and sustainable agriculture that highlighted several issues with the conventional system. Also, since 1999 there has been significant interest shown in professional planning journals and conferences, and some graduate planning schools have offered courses on food system planning, while official plans have begun to address food issues (Kaufman, 2009).

This section outlines the reasons for the emergence since the 1990s of LFS/P in community planning practice and in the literature. In Europe, this emergence was initially driven by Local Agenda 21 (Granvik, 2012; Abate, 2008; Nichol, 2003), by the need to address declining rural economies (Granvik, 2012; Abate, 2008; Nichol, 2003; Renting et al, 2003) through the *re-localization* of food production systems (Fonte, 2008), and by concerns with food security (Granvik, 2012; Renting et al, 2003). In contrast, the North American experience was initially characterized by a growing realization of the adverse consequences of over-reliance on production agriculture (Lyson, 2004; Fonte, 2008), including, for example, public health risks (McMichael, Powles, Butler, and Uauy, 2007; O’Kane, 2012), social distancing (Kloppenborg et al, 1996), loss of community (O’Kane, 2011), a thinning out of our experience with place and lifeworld experience (Feagan, 2007), environmental impacts (McEntee, 2010; Lyson, 2007) such as water contamination (O’Kane, 2011), loss of biodiversity (McMichael et al, 2007) and climate change (Pollan, 2006), and a broad sustainability agenda (Granvik, 2012).

Also, interest in LFP appears to have been prompted by shifts in grass roots public opinion, especially in Australia, Europe, and North America (Mason and Knowd, 2010; Qazi and Selfa, 2005; Granvik, 2012; Marezki and Tuckermanty, 2007), rather than a movement imposed by government or the private sector. Policy responses in Europe have focused on reforming rural economies and assisting challenged agricultural economies (Fonte, 2008). Marezki and Tuckermanty (2007) note that food system planning has not been on the North American urban planning agenda nor on local government agendas, but that it has the interest of a broad swath of citizens who have initiated many distinctive efforts to relocalize food systems. Renting et al (2003) see the emergence of alternative (local) food production in globalized agricultural economies as a result of public concerns over ecology, health, and

animal welfare, but mostly as a result of increasing distrust in food safety. Attributing the emergence of urban agriculture (LFP) to grass roots initiatives and public support and demand for local food, Mason and Knowd (2010) cite Babcock's (2006) Canadian research, which indicates a "bottom up social values-based trend in food choices rather than one imposed by Government or the corporate sector" (p. 69).

Public health issues are identified as a significant reason for interest in LFP. Wegener (2009) sees rising health care costs as being a key driver for policy and action in this area, and that local governments have a role in ensuring neighbourhoods have access to healthy food. In British Columbia (BC), the 2010 report *Food for Thought* identifies climate change-induced public health issues like food security. Ostry et al (2010) tie health issues such as diabetes and heart disease to a lack of access to fresh fruit and vegetables which have a heavier dependence on imports, principally from regions where negative climate change impacts are more certain than in temperate climates (such as BC). Population growth is a significant exacerbating factor. Even if climate change was not an issue, a growing and increasingly wealthy population is rapidly accelerating the demand for food (ibid.). This concern is repeated in *The Foresight Report* (The Government Office for Science, 2011). Given the climate change risks for food availability, combined with the dependence of BC on California, which is likely to be negatively impacted by climate change, Ostry et al (2010) recommend diversification away from California as a priority for BC food security policy. One of their recommendations is to promote local agriculture to reduce BC's dependence on imports. Also, it is recommended that policies be developed to cushion the impact of reduced food availability and access for those with low incomes (Ostry et al, 2010).

The potential benefits of LFS/P for local government planning are related to the Province of BC's 'municipal purpose' to foster community social, economic, and

environmental well-being. These three areas comprise the pillars of sustainable development. It is, therefore, not surprising to find some literature that relates LFP to the local government interest in sustainability (Feenstra, 1997; Martin and Marsden, 1999; Roehr and Kunigk, 2009). Martin and Marsden (1999) see LFP as an important element in local community sustainable development initiatives. Feenstra (1997) suggests that the long-term health of a community's food system is an important indication of its sustainability. In addressing a current sustainability issue, climate change, Roehr and Kunigk (2009) identify LFP as an essential part of an overall climate change mitigation strategy. They suggest four specific roles for local government planners:

1. "Creating food systems that are self-sufficient, and take climate change into consideration to help reduce the carbon footprint of cities;
2. Creating food systems that connect the urban core to its periphery, including greenways, and green transportation corridors;
3. Creating urban agriculture spaces that offer supported environments for learning, research, social interaction, and integrate public space to raise awareness through design;
4. Taking on the role of mediator and/or facilitator between multidisciplinary groups, and stakeholders such as governments, residents, farmers, developers" (p. 68).

Relating to the practical functions of local government planning and local food systems, Hammer (2004) notes that planners are involved in the siting of retail stores, farmer markets, processing facilities, composting facilities, community gardens, and farm-related businesses.

The literature identifies numerous social goals that local governments can pursue using LFP initiatives. The most obvious is community food security. Having a strong local food system is seen as a key strategy in fostering local food security (Lyson, 2004). Cohen and Garret (2010) identify urban agriculture as an important part of a food security safety net, and argue that local government should develop an enabling framework for it. Similarly, Lyson (2004) identifies a strong local food system as an essential measure for buffering

communities from the global food system. Several authors give evidence to support the efficacy of local food initiatives. For example, Astyk and Newton (2009) report that Victory Gardens produced 44% of all the vegetables consumed in the United States in 1943. During “World War II, the total quantity of vegetables produced in Victory Gardens was equal to the total output of produce from all US farms combined” (p. 58). They note that in the global context, “when nations fail their people, small-scale home agriculture, led by the people, arises to fill the gaps” (p. 61). Further, in comparison to production agriculture methods, small-scale polyculture that mixes multiple plant crops together is vastly more productive – up to 100 times more productive than industrial farms (Astyk and Newton, 2009).

In terms of the domestic garden scale:

“John Jeavons and Ecology Action have documented that a human being can feed himself [or herself] for an entire year on as little as 700 square feet of land. Most of us would rather use a little more land and eat a more diverse diet, but we should be aware that the average half-acre suburban lot could fairly easily provide much of what a family eats for a whole year” (Astyk and Newton, 2009, p. 69).

In terms of the potential of large, dense cities to produce food, Hong Kong produces two-thirds of its poultry, about one-sixth of its pork, and half of its vegetables (Astyk and Newton, 2009). Also speaking to the productive capacity of domestic gardening, Markham (2010) advises that where production/commercial agriculture uses row gardens, more intensive forms can grow the same amount of food using only 10 percent of the land, fertilizer, and water.

Another interest to community planning is public health (Corburn, 2007). Brown and Jameton (2000) observe that there are “multiple ways that plants and gardening contribute to an improved quality of life and overall health. For example, recreational gardening has been observed to be a way to relax and release stress” (p. 28). Brown and Jameton (2000) suggest public health benefits from urban gardens are derived from stress reduction, physical activity,

food security, and urban greening. The Provincial Health Services 2008 report, *A Seat at the Table: resource guide for local governments to promote food secure communities*, also identifies improved public health and community well-being as potential LFS benefits. Finally, low-income urban residents can be provided with a supply of fresh and healthy food that can combat a variety of health problems associated with poor nutrition (Peters, 2010).

Delind (2006) sees local food system initiatives as potential instruments for initiating change. For example, in North America, urban agriculture (UA) is used for transforming underused spaces within the city (Thibert, 2012). Thibert (2012) also suggests that the transformative aspects of UA may have the potential to change the relationship of people to food, and to place, and to engage them in growing food. Similarly, Brown and Jameton (2000) note that UA “has also created opportunities for leadership development and community organizing and thus has contributed to communities’ ‘social capital’ [and] has become a forceful empowerment strategy for community participation and social change” (p. 29).

The potential benefit of LFS/P in achieving sustainable and resilient communities is one reason why planners are becoming interested in food system planning. The notions of *Food System Planning* and *Resiliency* are recent additions to sustainability discourse. Kaufman (2009) suggests that while early sustainability models initially overlooked LFP, they are now including it as part of the solution. He also suggests that the local food movement will become important in legitimizing community food system planning as a planning sub-field.

There is broad support in the literature and some limited evidence that LFS/P has an important role in developing sustainable communities (Roseland, 2012; Lyson, 2004; Feenstra, 1997; Astyk and Newton, 2009; Smith, 2008). However, support for keeping, reforming, and overhauling the dominant productionist model with strong sustainability measures and controls remains (The Government Office for Science, 2011; Smith, 2007). Pollan’s letter

(2008) to the American President-Elect identifies food production as a key issue the President will have to deal with because the era of cheap and abundant food seems to be drawing to a close, and the consequences of the production agriculture system are becoming apparent, including its intensive energy consumption, greenhouse gas emissions, health impacts, and lack of security (noting that recently there were food riots in more than 30 countries).

The literature speaks strongly to the multiple sustainability benefits that more localized and urban farming would bring to communities. These include: a reduction in the consumption of land for farming (thus conserving open space for natural systems) (Peters, 2010); less environmental impact (Haruvy and Shalhevet, 2009); greater yields from urban agriculture methods (up to 13 times more than rural farms) (Brown and Jameton, 2000); increased local biodiversity (Brown and Jameton, 2000); urban waste reduction by using urban waste water and urban solid waste inputs (Brown and Jameton, 2000); more efficient use of underutilized urban lands such as vacant land, road boulevards, private yards, parks, etc. (Brown and Jameton, 2000); a reduction in food packaging waste (Smit and Nasr, 1992); a strengthening of local economies (Smit and Nasr, 1992); a healthier population resulting from greater consumption of local fresh fruit and vegetables and associated reduction in high fat and sugar content foods (Hawkes, Friel, Lobstein, and Lang, 2012); the opportunity to increase carbon sequestration with private lot gardening and on public lands (Asty and Newton, 2009); a reduction in the cost of market externalities (Pretty, Ball, Lang, and Morison, 2005); a reduction in the use of fossil fuels and their associated GHG emissions (Pollan, 2008); and greater biodiversity (Goland and Bauer, 2004).

Smit and Nasr (1992) conclude that UA is a “vast ‘opportunity missed’ and that without it ecologically sustainable urbanization is inconceivable” (p. 152). Similarly, de la Salle (2011) identifies the role of food and agriculture as one of the most significant opportunities for

working towards sustainability as we struggle with our challenges to break our bad habits and become more sustainable.

The interest in food and agriculture by the planning profession is seen in the many recent publications dedicated to the subject, such as Plan Canada's summer 2010 issue, which was dedicated to the matter covering urban agriculture and farmland protection - two of the many dimensions of food planning (de la Salle, 2011, p. 34).

Looking at local food systems as an indicator of community sustainability, Feenstra (1997) notes that there is a growing network of local food systems projects in the United States. Her work, however, only indirectly identifies the local government planning role in local food. To address local food effectively, there is a need to address the problem on many levels, including at the local land use planning level. It is at this level that regulatory land use regimes (zoning bylaws), established by local governments, can either enable, hinder, or obstruct the system of LFP. For example, retail sale of vegetables produced on a residential lot may be prohibited by the local zoning bylaws. Community Gardens, Farmer Markets, or processing infrastructure like abattoirs may not be permitted. These are just some examples of how municipal bylaws may interfere with or prohibit aspects of LFP, and the system it relies on to be viable. With the need for and value of local food systems clearly in mind, local jurisdictions can not only ensure that food production and its systems are enabled locally, but they can also undertake proactive measures to encourage and build the local food system. This is explored further later in this chapter in the review of LFP tools.

Roseland (2012) speaks to the need for creative and innovative approaches “to recalibrate values based on sustainability ... with policy levers that balance regulation and market-oriented approaches to renovating existing and creating new forms of sustainable development” (p. 33). He sees a leadership role for local communities (including local government) to be laboratories for policy invention.

This discussion has reviewed the potential role and benefits LFP holds for local government. However, whether or not a local government pursues LFP is a decision made by every Council. Martin and Marsden (1999) argue that two of the key dimensions required for the successful re-establishment of LFP are the development of the enabling role of local authorities and the recognition that LFP is a key element in sustainable and community development. Nichol (2003) reports that planners could do more to support and develop the local food system by focusing on installing the infrastructure and services necessary to support local food. Specific actions include: locating abattoirs, cutting plants, livestock markets, storage facilities, and feed mills; planning for farmer market sites and using them for regeneration schemes in urban centres; and supporting policies for processing and retailing facilities run by farmer co-ops. However, local initiatives require the support of the governing bodies. Astyk and Newton (2009) note that most political leaders have not called for the radical change needed to respond to the challenge.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Notwithstanding the potential benefits and effectiveness of LFP that are identified in the literature, it is important to resist over-generalizing or overreaching potential benefits and conduct empirical research to test the validity of the benefits. Three critical themes in the literature include the conflation of 'local' with potential benefits, challenges to the food mile concept, and the inability of local food to scale up to significant levels of food production. Several scholars question the uncritical, normative approach to the issue of LFP, arguing that there is nothing intrinsic in scale, nothing intrinsic in LFP (Mount, 2012). Specific charges include that there is nothing in LFP that is intrinsically more socially just than production agriculture (Hinrichs, 2003; Winter, 2003; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Edward-Jones et al,

2008), or lower in carbon emissions (Coley, Howard, and Winter, 2009), or necessarily 'alternative' (Naylor, 2012), or necessarily fresher (Edward-Jones et al, 2008). These criticisms charge that the discourse on LFP has conflated the local food scale with potential benefits. Born and Purcell (2006) describe local food as "the local trap," which refers to the tendency of food activists and researchers to assume something inherently good about the local scale. The local is assumed to be desirable; it is preferred a priori to larger scales (p. 195). They do not argue that local is bad, but that there is nothing inherent about any scale. "Local-scale food systems are equally likely to be just or unjust, sustainable or unsustainable, secure or insecure" (Born and Purcell, 2006, p. 195). They argue that scale is socially constructed rather than ontologically given, and cannot therefore be an end in itself, but simply a strategy that leads to wherever "those it empowers want it to lead" (Born and Purcell, 2006, p.195). They argue that it is the content of the agenda, not the scales themselves, that produces outcomes such as sustainability or justice (Born and Purcell, 2006). While agenda content is important, there are differences in scale potentialities, and in some cases some intrinsic differences. However, in support of Born and Purcell, it is easy to imagine unsustainable local food practices. For example, a person could drive long distances in a gas consuming sports utility vehicle to buy a few vegetables from a farmer practicing environmentally harmful agriculture. This would seem to be far more unsustainable than simply going to the local grocery store. Of course, we cannot know that for certain, because the store products may have been produced in a place where we cannot see or assess the farm practices. This illustrates that local may be unsustainable; however, just as there are criticisms that arguments in favour of LFP may be insufficiently nuanced (Morris and Kirwan, 2010, cited in Mount, 2012), so, too, is the argument that there is nothing inherently superior in LFP. There are two points to illustrate this. First, local may offer opportunities or potential not available to non-

local, such as the ability to walk to a private or public garden. Second, there is a range of what might constitute ‘local’ as shown in Figure 2.1. I developed this figure based on the types of local agriculture mentioned in the literature, and have also grouped all other forms of ‘non-local’ agriculture as occurring beyond the local but within country (national) or out of country (international). At the zero-mile (Herriot, 2010) end of the scale there is the physical reality that participants merely need to walk into their backyard to farm. Using hand tools and using compost, they expend no fossil fuels, emit no CO², and acquire the freshest possible produce during season. As for the potentialities of sustainable practices, one might also see the possibility of greater opportunities closer to the zero-mile, and conversely increasingly fewer opportunities further away from the zero-mile (e.g., globally sourced food). The difference in potential makes for inherent differences between local and global. Therefore, there is value in identifying the subscales of LFP when discussing potential benefits. However, it is equally important to be aware of the agenda as suggested by Born and Purcell (2006). The goal in food policy would be to address both.

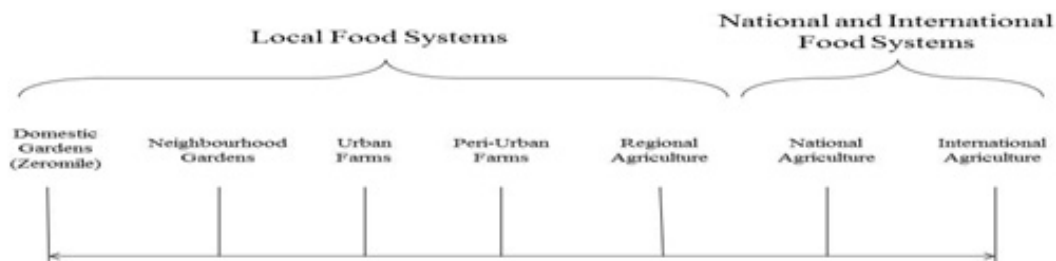


Figure 2.1 The Food System Sub-Scales

Tregear (2011) suggests that, given the questions about the positive claims of alternative [local] food systems, it is appropriate to take a critical look at the research and empirical evidence to determine appropriate future research. Some of the problems suggested in the literature are: 1) they maintain social inequalities; 2) they exhibit defensiveness and insularity

rather than openness; and 3) they may not have positive environmental benefits. The purpose of critical reflection is to advance research, rather than simply maintaining theoretically entrenched positions. Tregear (2011) also observes a conflation of structural characteristics of alternative food networks with desired outcomes and behaviours, as well as insufficient attention to marketplace problems and the omission of a consumer perspective.

DuPuis and Goodman (2005) critique the notion that local foods are intrinsically more socially just, but still see their potential, advising that we ‘have to move away from the idea that food systems become just by virtue of making them local and toward a conversation about how to make local food systems more just’ (p. 364). Roberts (2009) also challenges the local food movement, noting that it is proving difficult in practice, and may not work well for some areas without farms or in a country with centralized, dense populations where land prices are too high for some food production. Roberts (2009) also argues that competing with agribusiness operations would be a significant economic challenge, and criticizes the food mile concept as an overly simplistic solution to an extraordinarily complex problem. Distance, he argues, is not always the most important determinant in food production sustainability. This is an interesting turn for him, given his robust and full attack on the productionist system with all of its impacts. However, like DuPuis and Goodman (2005), he sees some value and concedes that the local food movement “would seem to offer an important counterweight to a food system characterized by increasing uniformity and separation. As well, a robust local-food movement might help revitalize an environmental movement that has become almost bloodless” (Roberts, 2009, pp. 284-287).

Wallgren (2006) compared energy used to transport food to farmer markets with energy used in transportation to conventional food markets and found no significant differences in overall energy use, except for air freight, which is higher for imported foods; however, the

study did find transport-related energy to be significantly lower for local fresh fruits and vegetables, and found there was considerable potential to increase energy efficiency in local food systems. This study demonstrates that food miles are not an accurate indicator of energy use. Similarly, Coley. (2009) critically assessed the concept of food miles and conducted a comparison of carbon emissions between two forms of food distribution systems, one local (small farm shop) and the other from a larger scale (longer chain) food system with home delivery. The findings demonstrate that a consumer would have to drive less than 6.7 kilometres to have carbon emissions less than those produced in the large scale food system with home delivery. They conclude that carbon emissions per food unit is a more accurate way to measure the carbon footprint and energy consumption associated with different food systems, and highlight the need for evidence-based case studies. Wallgren (2006), however, notes that the argument against the food mile concept does not account for environmental externalities like the infrastructure expansion, irrigation water, and fertilizer that production agriculture requires. Further, local food and farmer markets fulfill broader social needs in ways production agriculture cannot. Ostry et al (2011) conclude that most research shows that food miles are only a relatively minor contributor to GHG emissions.

The third critique relates to the capacity of local food to scale up in production levels (Parrott, Wilson, and Murdoch, 2002; Mount, 2012). Stagl (2002), for example, observes that Consumer Supported Agriculture (CSA) operations have limited reach due to their limited size as they currently only serve 0.01% of American consumers and are limited by growing season. It is notable, however, that this only measures the current scope of CSAs, rather than their potential, and it ignores the other forms of LFP, all of which can be significant in terms of production and benefit to the community. Parrott et al (2002) note that the issue of scaling up is about the ability of LFP to create a sufficient critical mass to be able to access

mainstream food supply chains. However, it is worth noting that this problem may be a result of wanting to serve more than just the region with the food product, and this attracts some of the same criticisms of production agriculture with longer supply chains. Mount (2012) identifies the problem of access to processing, distribution, and retail infrastructure as a barrier for scaling up LFP. Without a local food system infrastructure, mid-scale producers are not able to participate in LFP. Mount (2012) sees the scale of LFP limited to producers that can take advantage of geographical proximity, conduct direct sales to consumers, and have minimal processing requirements. However, he does see some opportunity to scale up local food systems, and the food hub concept may be a good option for bringing in family farming operations that tend to not have the same linkage opportunities with community (Mount, 2012). This is a good example of the need to be more nuanced in understanding the diversity of LFP modalities and scales. The critics may well be right that there is limited ability to scale up within each LFP modality. However, perhaps the more important questions are: 1) What are the collective capacities of all LFP modalities? 2) Would it be desirable to scale up LFP such that production agriculture is substantially replaced? (i.e., perhaps it is better to have a strong local food sector to provide a significant portion of supply as a buffer to food shocks and to take advantage of the other LFP benefits), and 3) Would it be better to have diversity in LFP modalities and actors as evidence of community resilience rather than trying to scale up any particular LFP model? If it is seen as important to be able to scale up, we have historical evidence of the domestic garden (Victory Garden) functioning to provide about 44% of fruit and vegetable consumption, and half its production in the US during WWII. That, combined with other modalities, suggests that there is the capacity to scale up, but the need for appropriate local food system infrastructure would need to be addressed, and there is a local government role for that.

TOOLS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR LFS/P PLANNING

While the previous section reviewed the emerging interest in local food system planning, this section lists the tools that municipalities can use to foster LFS/P (see Table 2.1). It is useful to provide a framework to understand the range of tools that has been used or discussed, though they may be constrained in any given local government jurisdiction by existing senior government (provincial or state) legislation. For example, in the absence of legislation that allows a local government to use revitalization tax schemes, that local government will not be able to use that tool legally. However, provincial government legislation changes in response to the needs and priorities of the communities and the governments. An example is the Local Food Act adopted in 2013 by the Province of Ontario. Local governments can and do lobby and advocate for enabling legislation to allow new tools that could be used for local objectives. In this context, while the tools and roles identified may not be currently enabled throughout North America, there is opportunity for senior governments to bring in legislation to enable local governments to use a wider range of tools. Awareness of the range of tools and roles for local governments in supporting local food systems can help bring about enabling legislation.

Working from a broad policy framework may aid in understanding the range of tools that have been used or considered to facilitate local food policy initiatives, and may also help planners develop and structure a specific local food plan or strategy by prompting planners and their community participants to specifically address local opportunities from a broad and comprehensive view. The District of North Saanich Whole Community Agricultural Strategy (2010) establishes four categories that may be a useful model for other local governments:

1) *provide resources* [information, in-kind, land, and financial resources to facilitate others to act]; 2) *undertake projects and programs* [such as community gardens, demonstration gardens, local procurement, and partnerships with others]; 3) *advocate (encourage) and*

facilitate; and 4) *regulate and establish policy* [this includes preparing the plans, strategies, and studies that inform policy and regulations and support local food initiatives].

Table 2.1 Local Food Production Tools

<i>Tool Category</i>	<i>Local Government Tools for Supporting Local Food Production</i>
Provide Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food Policy Council (Roseland, 2012) • Rent subsidies [for land or facilities] (Wegener, 2009) • Provide land for community gardens and other urban agriculture (Thibert, 2012) • Food hubs (de la Salle, 2011; Connelly, Markey, and Roseland, 2011) • Farmer markets (Roseland, 2012; Morales, 2009) • Food access initiatives (Roseland, 2012)
Undertake Projects and Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Gardens (Roseland, 2012; Hammer, 2004) • Agricultural Development Commissions (Katz, 1986) • Food waste recovery and composting (Kaufman, 2009; Metrovancouver, 2010) • Demonstration Gardens (Pollan, 2008)
Advocate and Facilitate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roof top gardens (Kaufman, 2009) • Education and promotion (District of North Saanich, 2011) • Municipal agricultural website (District of North Saanich, 2010) • Development of a local food market (Hammer, 2004) • Agri-tourism development (Hammer, 2004) • Food access considerations [grocery stores, food hubs, community gardens, farmer markets] in neighbourhood and community plans (Hammer, 2004) • Good Food Box programs (Connelly et al, 2011) • Community supported agriculture (Roseland, 2012) • Edible School Gardens (Roseland, 2012) • Vertical gardening [enabled by zoning bylaw but encouraged as a voluntary use or secured through a density bonus bylaw] (Friedman, 2007; Roseland, 2012) • Backyard aquaculture (Roseland, 2012) • Food stores in urban food deserts (Roseland, 2012) • Farmer markets [in this case encouraged and facilitated but not funded] (Pollan, 2008; Morales, 2009)
Regulate and Establish Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zoning/land use bylaws [enables LFP by permitting uses] (District of North Saanich, 2011) • Density bonus bylaws [a form of zoning bylaw that gives density for an amenity defined by the community] (Oswald, 2009) • Development Permit Areas and Guidelines [to integrate edible landscaping in multifamily residential, commercial, and industrial land developments] (District of North Saanich, 2011) • Food Security Bylaw (Roseland, 2012) • Right to farm legislation (Katz, 1986) • Food Security Assessments/Strategies (City of Vancouver, 2013; MetroVancouver, 2010) • Food and Agriculture Strategies (Metrovancouver, 2010) • Agricultural Economic Development Strategies (District of North Saanich, 2012) • Food Procurement Policies (Lyson, 2004; Public Health Services Authority, 2008) • Business Licence Bylaws [for selling produce] (District of North Saanich, 2011) • Farm friendly sign bylaws (District of North Saanich, 2011) • Consult with knowledgeable people during plan and policy research (Thibert, 2012) • Farmland Preservation (Lyson, 2004; Hammer 2004; Hall, 2009; Turvey and Konyi, 2009) • Comprehensive Plans [Official Plans, Agricultural Area Plans] (Hammer, 2004) • Food System mapping/community food assessments (Hammer, 2004; Pothukuchi, 2004) • Tax Break/Incentive bylaws [this could be used for food system infrastructure such as abattoirs or other food system elements missing from the community] (Oswald, 2009; Wegener, 2009; Roseland, 2012)

Some tools or roles are simple, while others may be more complex and require a set of preceding actions or collection of other tools or instruments in a strategic policy. In some cases, the specific tool is mentioned (or could be mentioned) in more than one of the categories because it lends itself to more than one type of action. For example, a local government may wish to advocate for a community group to develop a food hub. Food hubs can generally be described as places that integrate a spectrum of land uses, strategies, and food programs in order to increase access, visibility, and the experience of growing food in urban areas (de la Salle, 2011). The local government may also decide to support this effort by providing land or even providing a tax break through a revitalization bylaw and partnering agreement (available under BC legislation). Recognizing that food systems involve and are influenced by other groups and stakeholders, this policy framework explicitly includes actors other than local government in the policy process. For example, in BC, agriculture is regulated in part by the Ministry of Agriculture. In both North America and Europe, community groups and advocates have been pioneers in advancing and supporting local food systems as a critical community development need (Mason and Knowd, 2010; Granvik, 2012).

For the remainder of this section, I briefly discuss each of the tools and roles contained in each of the four categories.

Provide Resources

In general, the resource category enables local governments to support other bodies or groups to undertake programs and initiatives it deems to be important without having to directly undertake the initiative. To do this, local governments utilize the capacity, skills, and knowledge of non-local government people working in a limited partnership with the local government. Resources can be in the form of funds, land, staff support, or facilities.

Examples of food initiatives that can be supported by local government resources follow. Food policy councils are advisory and advocacy bodies comprised of volunteers and stakeholders that focus on policies, goals, and actions to support and enhance food-related issues (Roseland, 2012). They may or may not have status or support from the local government(s) in which they operate.

A local government can provide rent subsidies for land or facilities to community groups wanting to undertake not-for-profit food-related initiatives (Wegener, 2009). The resource contribution would be multiplied by the value of the knowledge, skills, and time each group would bring to the initiative. Further, this approach limits future resource liability. Should the initiative be terminated, a local government would not necessarily be compelled to contribute to future costs or closure costs.

Land for community gardens or other urban agriculture can be provided by a local government. This may be an attractive option when land is available that is not currently in any other productive or valued use, but providing funds for other actions like rent subsidies is not a priority for the local government.

A local government can provide resources (land, staff, funds, facilities) for specific initiatives like food hubs. Some elements of food hubs can include: aggregation, distribution, and storage; processing and commercial kitchens; teaching and learning spaces; community gathering spaces; direct marketing; community outreach services; food retail; green design and providing a quality public realm; office space; focus on local food business; community food access; pedestrian access to neighbourhood food hubs; support of agribusiness; and food warehousing.

Farmer markets can be supported with funds, land, or facilities. They have been associated with a number of benefits (Gillespie et al, 2007) including: 1) making local

food more visible; 2) encouraging local economic diversification by providing niche market opportunities and more profitable alternatives to specialized commodity farming; 3) supporting business incubation because entry into business has comparatively fewer barriers and less competition; and 4) facilitating social and economic interaction in the civic space they operate, bringing together the broad spectrum of community members for a fundamental need – food. Lapping (2004) suggests that the rebirth of farmer markets is reflective of the interest in alternative food systems. Farmer markets benefit communities by assisting needy families, providing a major source of income for many farm families, providing a multiplier effect to the local economy, becoming economic engines for local communities, and contributing to food access programs.

A local government can support community dialogue and learning about farming. For example, Farmer to Farmer forums have been financed by the District of North Saanich since 2010. These forums are open to conventional and urban farmers and local food advocates, and provide an opportunity for participants to discuss and learn about farming challenges and opportunities from each other.

Undertake Projects and Programs

Local governments can also undertake projects and programs directly. In such cases, the local government is either the principal operator or an active partner. This could include the initiatives identified in the “Provide Resources” category (community gardens, food hubs, farmer markets), and other initiatives such as establishing an agricultural development commission (Katz, 1986) or an agricultural advisory commission, and running a food waste recovery and composting service (Kaufman, 2009; Metrovancouver, 2010). Local governments can use demonstration gardens (Pollan, 2008) to highlight growing opportunities and techniques.

A local government could facilitate the creation of a local food map. This was done by the City of Campbell River in 2014 in partnership with the local Chamber of Commerce. The interactive map includes a wide range of local retailers, restaurants, cafes, and farms, and lists hundreds of locally grown and processed products that users can search for based on location, seasonal availability, organic certification, and pesticide use (Campbell River, 2014).

Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1998) suggested the establishment of a municipal food department as a local government approach for undertaking comprehensive food system actions. The cities of Victoria and Vancouver currently have planning staff whose roles are exclusively assigned to food system planning.

A local government can establish a Farmland Trust or participate in regional farmland trusts. These trusts would hold and make land available for farming purposes and remove them from the possibility of land development. This can be financed with contributions to the local government provided by developers, as well as tax funds, or supported with municipal lands. The District of North Saanich negotiated receipt of about 83 acres of agricultural land as part of a rezoning of lands formerly part of a horse racing track. These 83 acres are intended to be held as a land trust for agriculture.

Wildlife can cause significant damage to crops, and has been identified as an area in which local government can help in the viability of LFS/P (District of North Saanich, 2011). The Capital Region District in BC, for example, has completed a Deer Management Strategy (2012).

Advocate and Facilitate

Local governments face many competing demands for their attention and resources. Undertaking and resourcing food initiatives may have a hard time competing with demands for infrastructure improvements, recreation services, and other municipal services, especially

under constrained fiscal conditions and/or with unsupportive Councils. Ideally, local governments would undertake comprehensive food system actions, including providing resources, undertaking projects and programs, regulating and establishing food policy, and undertaking effective advocacy and facilitation initiatives. However, when the local context would prevent such a comprehensive approach, advocacy and facilitation would be a less resource intensive approach until priorities and conditions permit greater investment in food system planning initiatives. While this still requires staff time to undertake, it may result in community and private actions supporting local food systems. Such involvement may also support future direct initiatives by keeping the interest in LFS/P alive at the local government level, and by developing relationships within the community. Encouraging roof top gardens (Kaufman, 2009) is an example of advocacy and facilitation. If these are built and maintained by private interests, there is no cost to the local government. A local government can provide educational and promotional material on its website, as well as agricultural information and resource links (District of North Saanich, 2011). It can encourage the development of a local food market (Hammer, 2004). Good Food Box programs (Connelly et al, 2011), farmer markets (Pollan, 2008; Morales, 2009), and backyard aquaculture can be encouraged by indicating local government support, providing resource links and information.

If local regulations permit, agri-tourism (Hammer, 2004) can be encouraged, and if the regulations are not permissive, they can be changed. Similarly, with appropriate regulations in place, local government staff can encourage vertical gardening as a voluntary use, and facilitate it with a density bonus bylaw (Friedman, 2007; Roseland, 2012). A density bonus bylaw allows a local government to provide increased density in land development in exchange for stipulated amenities.

A local government can provide information about Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and encourage community participation in a local CSA. The CSA concept originated in the 1960s “when Japanese women, concerned with the increase in imported food and the loss of farmers and farmland, asked local farmers to grow vegetables and fruits for them. The farmers agreed, on the condition that a number of families commit to supporting the farmers” (Wells, Gradwell, and Yoder, 1999, p. 39). CSA is essentially a subscription service, with consumers prepaying for shares in the produce, and in doing so, consumers take on a portion of the harvest risk. As of 2012, there were more than 4,000 CSAs listed in the United States (Local Harvest, 2012).

Planners can encourage better food access by incorporating food access considerations into community plans (Hammer, 2004). This could identify the need and suitable locations for food stores (Roseland, 2012), food hubs, community gardens, and farmer markets. Edible gardens on school lands could be encouraged by local governments (Roseland, 2012). This would introduce students to the process of growing food, and would be a healthy outdoor activity.

Senior governments in Canada fund the Investment Agriculture Foundation in BC in support of innovative projects benefiting the agri-food industry. Local governments can lobby their respective senior governments for programs like the Investment Agriculture Foundation for local funding, both for conventional and urban agricultural initiatives.

Regulate and Establish Policy

The fourth and final category, regulating and establishing policy, includes the largest number of potential tools and roles a local government can consider. It is also a component of the other categories. For example, a local government that wants to advocate and facilitate backyard aquaculture, farm gate sales, roof top gardens, food stores in underserved areas, and

farmer markets needs to ensure that its zoning and business regulation bylaws and policies allow those activities (District of North Saanich, 2011). The City of Kelowna adopted an ‘urban agriculture’ bylaw that was written specifically to permit greenhouses as a primary (stand-alone) use on urban residential lots in the City. Prior to that bylaw, such urban agricultural uses were not permitted, and therefore could not be encouraged by city staff. The City of Vancouver provides another example of an urban agriculture bylaw (Roseland, 2012) that permits residents to keep beehives and chickens in backyards. Essentially, an urban agriculture bylaw is an amendment to a local government zoning bylaw, and is intended to permit agriculture activities in urban areas.

In addition to enabling urban agriculture through zoning bylaws, local governments can include provisions in the bylaws for value-added farm operations. This would enable farms to process their raw products on-site into other, more valuable products like, for example, yarn from sheep, ice cream from milk, pies from berries, and, of course, wine from grapes.

Oswald (2009) identifies density bonus bylaws as a tool to encourage a local food service in exchange for additional density in a development. The additional density provides the funds for a developer to include a food system support as part of the development approval. Development Permit Areas and Guidelines are an additional type of regulation over the land use regulation in zoning bylaws. They address the design elements of a development, including form, character, siting, and landscaping. With this regulatory tool, a local government can establish the requirement for edible landscaping in development proposals (District of North Saanich, 2011).

Roseland (2012) uses Belo Horizonte in Brazil as an example of a local government using a bylaw to address local food security. The bylaw enables citizens to define their own food and agricultural policies. One percent of the budget is dedicated to innovated food

programs. In his relatively early work on sustainable cities, Katz (1986) suggested right to farm legislation as a local government tool, but this is not limited to local government legislation. In 1996, the Province of British Columbia established right to farm legislation for specific areas of the Agricultural Land Reserve in BC.

In addition to zoning bylaws, some local governments may also use business license bylaws to regulate certain business activities. Local governments need to ensure that business bylaws and zoning bylaws are aligned (HB Lanarc – Golder, 2013). For example, if selling domestically produced vegetables on a residential lot is not allowed by the business bylaw, but growing the vegetables for commercial sale is permitted, the urban farmer will be constrained in marketing activities. Tax break/incentive bylaws to specifically encourage the provision of critical food system infrastructure (e.g., abattoirs, food storage and processing facilities, food hubs, etc.) can also be used (Oswald, 2009; Wegener, 2009; Roseland, 2012). This type of bylaw would enable a local government to reduce property taxes for a desired food system infrastructure for a specific period of time. Such support may make a food enterprise economically viable during its early years of operation.

In addition to bylaws, local governments can employ a variety of policy documents, such as food security assessments and strategies (City of Vancouver, 2013; Metrovancouver, 2010), food and agricultural strategies (Metrovancouver, 2010), and other comprehensive plans like official plans, neighbourhood plans (Hammer, 2004), and agriculture area plans (Province of British Columbia, 2016). These documents are more comprehensive, often identifying a collection of several actions and initiatives as a road map to improving local food systems. They may have incorporated specific instruments such as food system mapping (Campbell River, 2014) and community food assessments (Hammer, 2004; Pothukuchi, 2004).

Other more focused policy instruments can include food procurement policies (Lyson, 2004; Public Health Services Authority, 2008). These are policies focused on specific aspects or weaknesses of the local food system, as opposed to more foundational policy documents like food charters (District of North Saanich, 2011) that establish a more general policy platform from which to develop more specific and targeted programs and policies.

From a review of the academic and grey literatures, I have identified several regulatory tools that a local government can use to improve local food systems, and these are listed in Table 2.1. Underlying those efforts is the need to look after the existing stock of farmable land. Farmland preservation bylaws and policies (Lyson, 2004; Hammer, 2004; Hall, 2009; Turvey and Konyi, 2009) should perhaps be considered a fundamental tool to employ in order to prevent the erosion of the capacity of communities to supply at least some of their own food, and achieve a measure of resilience to food supply shocks.

Finally, consulting with knowledgeable people during planning and policy research is an important role for local governments (Thibert, 2012) to enable plans, policies, and bylaws to incorporate informal knowledge from the community, stakeholders, and experts, and make the documents more effective.

SUMMARY

The literature on LFS is still in a nascent state, and continues to attract interest. Research on local food system planning tools is incomplete, and with regard to how food system change actually occurs, there is a gaping void. Horst (2015) has noted that while planning research and practice has engaged in food system planning, there is now a need to examine whether planning is actually leading to transformation. Such a turn would seem to be served by a theoretical understanding of the social processes involved in food system transformation.

Although I have identified several tools for local governments to address LFS/P, they must first see it as a legitimate local government function. Saha and Paterson (2008) found in a survey of local government representatives that the biggest barriers to promoting sustainability initiatives, including LFP, were lack of adequate funding, apathy of elected officials, and lack of knowledgeable staff. Illustrating this epistemic divide between current regulatory practice/culture and the local food movement is the report of a Michigan woman living in Oak Park facing up to 93 days of jail time for refusing to remove a vegetable crop from her front yard. The planner involved is reported as advising that the City does not want to see vegetable gardens, only lawn, shrubs, and flowers (Naylor, 2012). The values expressed by that planner are distant from those which would recognize and embrace the historical role of LFP/S in communities and its important role in sustainable and resilient communities.

Even though there is some material on planning tools, there is a void in the literature on how to actually use the tools, let alone how to achieve transformative change in food systems (or in any other systems for that matter). Further, although the literature documents the reasons for interest in local food systems and achieving change in those systems, there is little attention given to how that change occurs, aside from recognizing the important role of grass roots public movements involved in promoting and implementing local changes. Knowing when and how to use the tools is an important consideration for planners, and requires attention. Further, in this examination of when and how to use the tools, consideration of policy contexts, power relations, and the process by which change occurs are also important issues that are not currently addressed in the literature. This lack of material may in part be simply attributed to the fact that local food system planning is still a new realm for local governments, and the opportunity to actually study local food planning initiatives can only occur when such initiatives are undertaken. This research project begins to address this void.

Finally, it is important to emphasize the cautionary note that there is nothing inherently better in LFP compared to non-local food production (Borne and Purcell, 2006). Levkoe (2011) suggests a perspective of ‘reflexive localism’ to encourage local food discourse and action to “...encompass social justice, ecological sustainability and community health considerations” (p. 699).

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodology, Glaser's classic grounded theory (CGT), I chose for this study. It includes an overview of grounded theory (GT), including different approaches to conducting GT, the guiding principles of CGT, the process of CGT, the criteria for assessing the quality of a CGT, and the role of data and form of writing in CGT. In addition, I review the process for selecting specific food system planning initiatives, the research ethics review, the participant selection process, and the interview process.

The purpose of my research is to generate and advance theoretical understanding and to gain new insight into food system planning processes in British Columbia, Canada based on what is actually happening on the ground from the perspective of participants engaged in local food system planning. The approach is to use a methodology that would generate a theory that "fits, works, and is relevant" (Glaser, 1978, p. 13), explaining the social process involved in achieving change in food systems. GT is regarded as an appropriate and effective methodology for discovering new perspectives about what is actually going on in a field of interest (Christiansen, 2012). The research goal is to develop a theory based on what is actually happening in local food system planning, calling for an inductive process for theory generation. Somekh and Lewin (2005) describe the inductive development of theory as constructing "theories from empirical data by searching for themes and seeking to make meaning from the evidence" (p. 346). While the research and theory development process are inductive, I have chosen to present my findings in a deductive appearance. For example, the results chapter begins with a description of the emergent theory and the category by category

discussion begins with the relevant theoretical statements and hypotheses that were developed inductively from the data principally through the memoing process.

GT is regarded as a challenging, yet effective means of developing theory, especially for areas where there is limited scholarship (Griffin, 2011), such as the academic literature in local food systems. It is an area of scholarship that has been emerging only since the mid-1990s, and in terms of research on how significant change in the food systems can be planned there is very little published work. Only recently have there been efforts to comprehensively identify the range of planning tools that can be used in food system planning, let alone the development of theoretical frameworks for how those tools can be used to achieve such change (Buchan et al, 2015).

GROUNDING THEORY METHODOLOGY

This section defines GT, identifies the main approaches to GT, and describes the specific approach, CGT, used in this project. Subsequently, I review CGT methodology principles, the memoing process, and CGT writing.

The Grounded Theory Landscape

Along with ethnography, case study, phenomenology, action research, and narrative, grounded theory is regarded as one of the main research approaches developed in the 21st century for the analysis of qualitative data (Griffin, 2011), and it is considered to be one of the most influential methodologies (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). The application of GT, though, is not confined only to qualitative data, but can also be used for quantitative data (Glaser, 1978). A further distinction is that CGT is focused on theory development and decreased emphasis on description of data (Griffin, 2011). CGT in particular provides researchers with strategies

to discover what is occurring in the data (Griffin, 2011). There is disagreement in the literature about what constitutes grounded theory. Hay (2010) describes it as:

...[a] systematic inductive (data-led) approach to building theory from empirical work in a recursive and reflexive fashion. That is, using a method of identifying themes or trends from the data, then checking through the data (or collecting more), then refining the themes using repeated checks with the data to build theory that is thoroughly ‘grounded’ in the real world. Initiated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and reinterpreted and refined greatly since then by them and other authors (p. 377).

Hay (2010) includes within his definition a variety of methodologies reporting to be GT methods, such as Glaser and Strauss’s original formulation of GT (classic grounded theory), and also Strauss and Corbin’s “evolved” GT (EGT) and Charmaz’s social constructivist (SCGT) versions of GT. Claxton (2014) advises that CGT, EGT, and SCGT are the three most well known approaches to GT. She also notes that some authors use an amalgamation of all the approaches, but warns that each approach has a different theoretical perspective. The literature has characterized the new GT methodologies in both positive and critical ways:

...the recent changes to the method have been described either as evolutions (Kelle, 2005; Kendall, 1999; Melia, 1996; Robrecht, 1995; Schreiber & Stern, 2001) or erosions (Greckhamer & Koro-Ljungberg, 2005; Glaser & Holton, 2004) (Griffin, 2011).

A major difference between CGT and EGT is that, in CGT concepts and theory emerge from data, where in EGT theory is actively obtained (forced) from the data (Claxton, 2014). Other differences include how interviews are recorded. In CGT, there is no recording and no transcription. Only field notes are taken and subsequently coded, and consequently there is no need to use verbatim data (Claxton, 2014). SCGT sees both CGT and EGT as taking a positivist and objectivist stance through the assumption of an objective external reality, and it

does not agree with the CGT that theory emerges, but rather that it is constructed in an interpretive process involving both the researcher and researched (Claxton, 2014).

Charmaz (2006) describes the GT landscape as characterized by a divergence from the original formulation in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss and subsequent versions. She acknowledges that Glaser has remained consistent with the original work, whereas Strauss has moved towards verification using new procedures, rather than emphasizing comparative methods. Interestingly, Charmaz (2006) notes that while Glaser and Strauss' original work was counter to the dominance of positivistic quantitative research, she suggests that the methodology has positivistic assumptions. Her constructivist GT is an attempt to move GT away from the perceived positivistic assumptions to one that is more relativistic and formulated on the construction of reality based on a social construction involving multiple perspectives.

The conceptualization of GT by Glaser and Strauss was that the researcher would suspend any preconceptions or theories while undertaking the research, analysis, and writing. Theory was to emerge from the data (grounded in empirical data), rather than being developed through other sources and then tested by empirical data. It was to be a theory generation versus theory testing methodology. Strauss changed GT in the direction of a theory testing methodology, whereas Glaser maintained the original theory generation approach (Hernandez, 2008). Explaining the theory generation focus, Glaser says that grounded theory does not report facts based on empirical data; it generates probability statements about relationships between concepts (Glaser, 1998).

One of the debates in the literature pertains to the philosophical roots or underpinnings of GT. Glaser claims that GT is neutral, and as “issues free as research can get” (Glaser, 2003, p. 115). The “classic GT methodology has no attachment to any particular theoretical-disciplinary

or theoretical-descriptive research program” (Lakatos, 1970 cited in Christiansen, 2012, p. 66). Christiansen (2012) argues that CGT methodology is “almost free of logically derived assumptions regarding ontology and epistemology. Its basic assumptions are limited to this: ‘Because man is a meaning-making creature, social life is patterned and empirically integrated. It is only a question of applying a rigorous and systematic method discovering and explaining these patterns. Thus, just do it’” (Glaser, 2004, cited in Christiansen, 2012, p. 66). Charmaz (2006) also suggests that GT is a relatively neutral methodology.

Like any container into which different content can be poured, researchers can use basic grounded theory guidelines such as coding, memo-writing, and sampling for theory development, and comparative methods are, in many ways, neutral (Charmaz 2006, p. 9).

Charmaz (2006) argues that GT methods can be used flexibly and incorporating different assumptions, and that the neutrality of the method is challenged by how researchers use the methods.

Holton (2012) advises that GT “is not about the accuracy of descriptive units. It transcends descriptive methods and their associated problems of accuracy, interpretation and constructionism” (p. 22). CGT is a methodology that is concerned with conceptualization and ideation rather than interpretation and description (Glaser, 2012). Cutcliffe (2000) argues that theoretical coding places the most demand upon the grounded theorist’s creativity. Theoretical “coding facilitates the researcher in asking the questions, ‘What is happening here?’, ‘How do substantive codes relate to each other as hypotheses?’” (Cutcliffe, 2000, p. 1482).

Glaser advises that conceptualization is an act of abstraction and not one of interpretation, and the abstraction of data to a conceptual level explains rather than describes behaviour of

groups of people with a same concern (2003, cited in Holton, 2012). Because it is the abstract concepts underlying data rather than descriptive detail, the form of data, interpretive or objectivist, is not material in CGT (Holton, 2012). To emphasize the critical step in GT, which is to leave the data behind and to transcend into conceptualization, Holton and Glaser (2012) differentiate between ‘grounded analysis’ and ‘grounded theory’ – the former is analysis grounded empirically in the data but fails to transcend the data to form theory. To this end, the skill of the grounded theorist is to abstract concepts by leaving the detail of the data behind, lifting the concepts about the data and integrating them into a theory that explains the latent social pattern underlying the behaviour in a substantive area (Locke, 2001, cited in Holton, 2012). The focus here is clearly on conceptualization rather than interpretation and description. This emphasis is important not only in terms of the analytical steps in GT, but also drives and shapes the theory write up.

The work in CGT is in coding and conceptualization through coding, memoing, theoretical sampling, theoretical sensitivity, and the conceptual write up that is not bound to, or reliant on, description. The CGT researcher is simply tasked with following the methodology’s principles (below), and is judged by the internal logic of the “methodology itself and not from the inappropriate application of external criteria from other research paradigms and methodologies (Charmaz, 1994, cited in Holton, 2012). The appropriate criteria for judging the quality of a GT have been defined by Glaser and “remain the standards by which the quality of a grounded theory should be assessed” (Holton, 2012, p. 24). While there has been considerable work in the literature expounding on the methodology, it has remained virtually unchanged over the past 40 years (Hernandez, 2012).

Finally, it is important to note that GT as originally conceived and then developed by Glaser is not considered to be superior to either quantitative or qualitative methods, but rather it is seen as different to these paradigms (Hernandez, 2012; Glaser, 1992, cited in Christiansen, 2012; Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott, and Nichol, 2012), and also complementary (Holton, 2012). Attempts to remodel GT to the canons of qualitative research are seen by Glaser and his followers as eroding its power as a distinct and general methodology (Holton, 2012), as well as antithetical to the original intent of the methodology (Holton, 2012).

There are similarities and differences between the various formulations of GT, and it is important for a researcher to decide which approach to use and to follow (Griffin, 2011). Because my research goal is focused on developing a theory on planning processes aimed at changing food systems rather than on conceptual description or on representing multiple realities of my participants in description, Glaser's classic GT is well suited to the task. This approach is focused on the emergence of theory based on what people say rather than focusing on descriptions of what they say (Claxton, 2014).

This research is an inquiry into process, that is, how food system planning occurs. Claxton (2014) advises that CGT is good at answering the 'how' question. The research goal is to develop a theory explaining the change process in planning for change in local food systems. Being able to understand and develop a theory that explicates this social process will enable not only the development of geographical knowledge around the emergence of new food system landscapes (e.g., community gardens, urban agriculture, and peri-urban agriculture), but also enable urban planners to be more effective in planning efforts targeted at bringing about significant change and improvements in the resiliency and sustainability of local food systems. To achieve this task, Glaser's classic GT is selected because of its focus

on theory generation based on what is going on in the subject area from the perspectives of the participants.

Classic Grounded Theory Principles and Quality Measures

Holton (2012) lists the essential methodological principles of CGT, and these are:

1. Theoretical sensitivity
2. Getting started without preconceived theories
3. Being open
4. Delaying literature review
5. Theoretical sampling
6. Beginning with open coding
7. Constant comparison
8. Selective coding
9. Delimiting
10. Memoing
11. Theoretical coding
12. Sorting and writing up

Each of these principles is discussed below, along with how I followed the principles during the research process.

Theoretical sensitivity refers to the ability to generate concepts from data and relate them to normal models of theory (Glaser, 2012). I engaged in conceptualization through memoing, diagramming, and coding. In the latter part of the process, I reviewed and related the literature relevant to the emergent theory to further assist in refining and delimiting the emergent theory.

Getting started without preconceived theories is the second principle, and being open to discovering what is really going on is the third principle. Getting started without preconceived theories discourages research problem formulation prior to conducting the research (Holton, 2012). To remain open to the data, I practiced reflexivity and followed the themes that emerged from the data. Attesting to the effectiveness of my attempts to begin and remain open, I was surprised by the emergent theory in a number of ways, and the theory appears to deliver

a fresh perspective in the food system literature. Glaser's *All is Data* dictum requires being open to using all types and sources of data.

The fourth principle is delaying the literature review until after the emergence of a core category (Holton, 2012). This principle is related to the second principle of being open. By delaying the literature review, there is less chance of the researcher pre-framing the theory. Although I undertook a literature review before gathering and analysing my data, that literature was more general in terms of local food system planning issues rather than on planning theories and processes. There was very little in the literature regarding food system planning tools, let alone the food system planning process. Therefore, the dictum to not do a literature review prior to undertaking a GT study was respected, and the problem of pre-framing the theory avoided.

The fifth principle, theoretical sampling, involves jointly collecting, coding, and analyzing data and then collecting new data based on the emerging codes in the data (Holton, 2012). I theoretically sampled by asking focused questions relating to emerging codes, returning to participants (member checking) to ask more focused questions, looking to the literature, being open to serendipitous exposure to other data, and by adding in additional interviews with participants in the food system planning initiatives with the Capital Regional District (CRD) and the City of Victoria.

Beginning with open coding is the sixth principle, and is also the first step in analysis (Holton, 2012). Data are only coded enough (using in vivo codes where appropriate) to generate or suggest theory rather than to test theory (Glaser, 2012). Theoretical codes are flexible, not mutually exclusive, and overlap with other theoretical codes (Glaser, 2012). Glaser (2015) is clear that the researcher must have autonomy over his or her own coding. Soliciting the advice of a supervisor runs the risk of derailing the research "to another version

of GT or [Qualitative Data Analysis] QDA and codes with preconceived concepts. Thus he [or she] loses his autonomy over discovery of new concepts...Procedures of analysis from other qualitative methods are ... rescue efforts that prevent GT procedures” (p. 6).

Constant comparison of data, incidents, and codes, and of codes to an emerging theory is the seventh principle (Glaser, 2012).

“As the researcher proceeds to compare incident to incident in the data, then incidents to categories, a core category begins to emerge. This core variable, which appears to account for most of the variation around the concern or problem that is the focus of the study, becomes the focus of further selective data collection and coding efforts...[It] can be any kind of theoretical code – a process, a condition, two dimensions, a consequence, a range and so forth” (Glaser, 1978).

I was systematic and rigorous in undertaking constant comparison by using matrices to identify open and code categories for each of the planning initiatives I researched. Figure 3.1 presents one of these matrices. It includes open codes in the Staff, Stakeholder, and Politician columns and the code families (emergent conceptual codes and subcodes). This table enabled a comparison of the open codes derived from the first three food systems initiatives I researched. By listing all of the codes related to interview discussions about policy context, I started grouping the open codes into code families. For example, the staff open code “environment at the time of the strategy was a convergence of support from public, council and management,” the stakeholder open code “policy environment seen as an evolution,” and the politician code “the food policy environment has had a long evolution” informed the development of the Code Family “Evolving and converging support for policy.” In other words, the matrices were used to display data (open codes) that could then be grouped into code families.

Policy Context, Vancouver			
Code Family	Staff	Stakeholder	Politician
Policy Context: 1. Having an advisory Committee 2. Having relevant past plans and policies 3. Having interested public groups 4. Lacking policy support or profile 5. Establishing policy mandate 6. Embedding policy 7. Lacking strategic coordinated approach 8. Evolving and converging support for policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many different initiatives over the last 10 years. • No coordinated approach • Plan level policies mean clear Council Priorities and a clear mandate to staff. • Environment at the time of the strategy was a convergence of support from public, council and management. • Food Policy is a clear Council Priority • based on years of practice and community involvement • Several different programs and initiatives. • Had to work to establish a place for food policy in the bureaucracy. • Long and slow process to get the idea, find right people and then the right time. • Key events include the Food Charter in 2007 and Greenest City Action plan in 2010. • It was a long time coming. We needed to get all of our policies in one place and reach towards some of those goals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An evolution of Policies • Food policy not embedded or institutionalized • Many stand-alone policies and programs over 10 years. • Municipal departments not talking together on food initiatives enough • Policy environment seen as an evolution • Broad political support for food policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The food policy environment has had a long evolution: • 2003 food policy task force • 2004 food policy Council • 2005 Bee Keeping Bylaw • 2007 Food Charter • 2010 Urban Hens • 2010 Greener City Action Plan • No one group was looking at the food issue until the food policy Council and a few other groups. • Grass roots pushed for food policy • Food Charter had no commitments to actions and was hard to say no to which helped it survive • Greener City Action plan seen as the key impetus along with a bunch of other strands

Figure 3.1 Example of a Coding Matrix

The eighth principle, selective coding, starts once a pattern emerges and a core variable is discovered. Selective coding is done to only those variables that relate to the core variable (Holton, 2012). The ninth principle, delimiting, begins once a core variable is identified and a conceptual framework is emerging. Data collection and analysis is then delimited to that which is relevant to the framework (Holton, 2012). This involves reducing the number of variables by eliminating those that are not relevant to the emergent theory.

Memoing is the tenth and core stage of generating theory (Glaser, 2012). Memos are theoretical notes about the data and present conceptual connections between categories. The goal of memoing is to develop ideas that relate the codes and categories and that can be sorted,

rather than to provide detailed description. I did this as I undertook my interviews, and extensively as I reviewed and compared my data and also during my literature review. I used diagramming to help with sorting and establishing relationships. The process of memoing is described in more detail below.

The eleventh principle is theoretical coding. This is the conceptualization of data through coding, and enables GT development (Holton, 2012). Coding is initially substantive, and later is theoretical. Coding gets “the researcher off the empirical level by fracturing the data then conceptually grouping it into codes that then become the theory that explains what is happening in the data” (Holton, 2012). Substantive codes conceptualize empirical substance, while theoretical codes conceptualize/hypothesize relationships between substantive codes. These codes are groupings of open codes (Charmaz, 2007). This coding is recorded by memoing. Theoretical codes explain how substantive codes relate to each other (Holton, 2012; Charmaz, 2007). I used memoing and diagramming to theoretically code.

The twelfth and final principle is sorting memos and writing up the emergent theory. Once there are no new codes emerging from the data (saturation), the researcher reviews, sorts, and integrates the memos. With “sorting, data and ideas are theoretically ordered. This sorting is conceptual sorting, not data sorting” (Holton, 2012). After coding is done, the memos are conceptually sorted. This requires placement of the codes within a theory (Holton, 2008). Glaser (2012) identifies the development of a model as one way to theoretically code by showing the theory pictorially (showing codes on paper with circles and squares) and indicating relationships between them with lines. Such relationships must be relevant though (Glaser, 2012). I used diagramming to sort and integrate the memos, and then returned to the literature to further memo, delimit, and refine (see Figure 3.2).

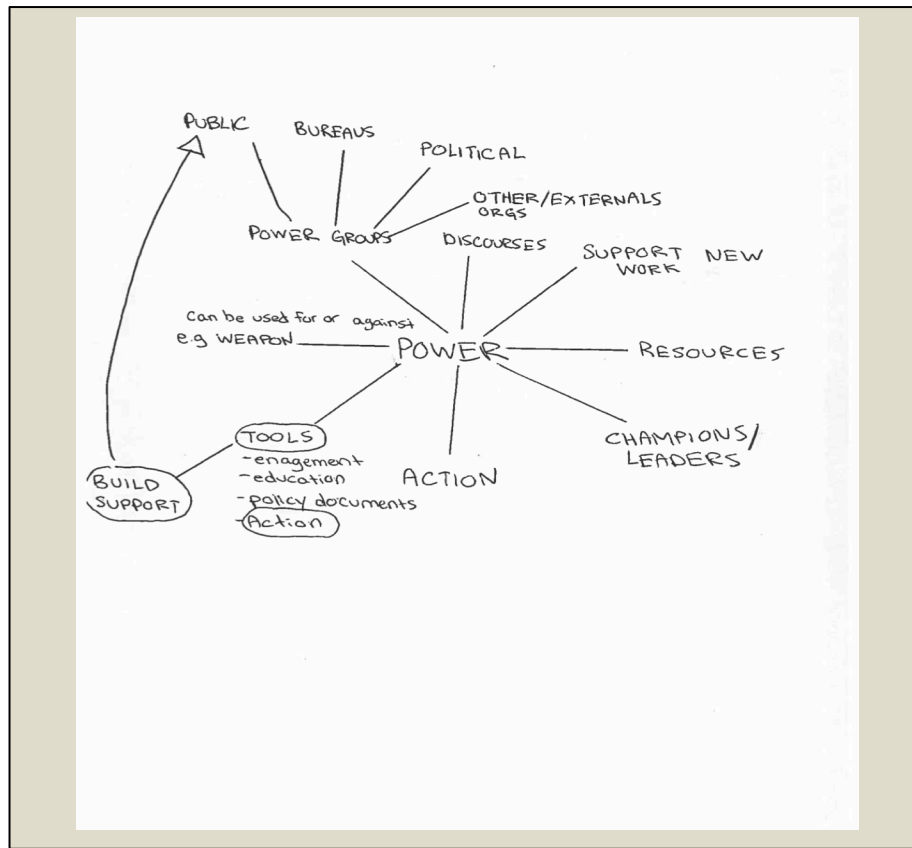


Figure 3.2 Example of Diagramming

The CGT process is not comprised of linear and isolated, discrete steps, but is a cyclical process where the researcher cycles between data collection, analysis, conceptualization, and then returns to additional data collection (Griffin, 2011). This is done repeatedly using constant comparison until a “small number of categories emerge that appear to articulate and explain the central aspects of the phenomenon being examined” (Anglin, 2002, p. 43).

In addition to the list of principles, Glaser has provided the following focused advice in regards to the challenges and processes faced by this specific CGT project: do not try to achieve full coverage, stay away from qualitative data analysis concerns, and just do a conceptual theory of a main concern (Glaser, personal communication, January 1, 2016). The primary effort is to develop theory unconstrained and uninhibited by QDA judgements. This

list of principles, and Glaser's direct advice, defines GT and serves to guide its application. In addition to the list of principles, there are criteria for assessing a GT, established by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 and reaffirmed by Glaser in 1978. These criteria remain the standards by which the quality of a GT should be assessed, and they include: fit of the emerging codes and categories to the data, rather than to preconceived codes or extant theory; work (ability of the GT to explain and interpret behaviour); relevance of the theory to the core concern or process; and modifiability of the theory to new data (Holton, 2012). Christiansen addresses these standards as follows:

The key issue comes down to the methodology's as well as the researcher's capability to reveal a credible theory from the data that explains with parsimony and scope. This means the capability to make allowance for and to trigger the emergence of concepts that (1) fit to the data, (2) work to explain, and are (3) relevant for those being studied. Yet there is also a 4th criteria for assessment. This criterion probably applies to all research, which literally means 'search again'. A generated orthodox GT is 'asymptotic' in the meaning that it approaches what goes on, but most likely, it will never reach any ultimate or final 'truth line'... Therefore, a generated classic GT is modifiable (Glaser, 1992, cited in Christiansen, 2012).

On the question of validity, Baker, Wuest, and Stern (1992) reference Lincoln and Guba (1985): "The issue in any qualitative research is not whether another investigator would discover the same concepts to describe and interpret the data but whether the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to" (p. 1358). This measure of quality is shared between qualitative research and GT. Glaser has criticized and opposed the imposition of any other criteria (especially from qualitative research) for assessing the quality of a GT work, and in particular those quality standards commonly found in qualitative research. Glaser argues that CGT is not qualitative research, but is its own research paradigm and needs to be judged from the principles of the methodology alone.

Memoing

Memoing is a tool for the analyst to use to develop and record ideas and concepts about the data, the codes, and conceptual relationships between codes. The following advice demonstrates that there is great flexibility in how memos are developed, and that these are a key but non-prescriptive tool. Glaser (1978) advises that:

1. Memos are the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding.
2. Memos can be a sentence, a paragraph, or a few pages.
3. Theoretical memos are that stage of generating theory which serves to concretize that data and final analysis explicitly by conceptually raising the analytic formulation of the codes.
4. The point of memos is to record ideas, get them out.
5. Small studies (e.g., PhD studies) selectively code as soon as possible to achieve one monograph and a few articles. (pp. 83-86)

Glaser (1978) advises that the analyst can bring on a memo by purposely writing about a code. This was an effective approach for me as I developed 53 pages of memos (see example in Figure 3.3) by a focused memo writing exercise that occurred over several days. Glaser further advises that when writing memos, one should talk conceptually about substantive codes as they are theoretically coded (1978). He also recommends that the analyst should be flexible with memoing techniques, and such techniques should serve the analyst, and not be a hindrance (1978). Glaser (1978) contrasts the process of GT memoing with qualitative research writing, where writing in qualitative research is focused on understanding through 'thick description' and thus description is highlighted. In contrast, CGT is focused on conceptual analysis through a conceptual rendering of the data into codes and then concepts.

Several of the reasons given for undertaking the initiatives in North Saanich and in Vancouver allude to achieve or exert power in different ways. The North Saanich politician's comments address public support but also focus on achieving influence with other politicians. They want to be able to convince other politicians and future politicians to support agriculture and the strategy is perceived as a tool to have this effect.

The incidents in the Vancouver case build on this notion of power in explicit terms: staff want to have a lever to work with other departments, they want food policy to be equal in status [power] with other plan documents, they want their work to be given legitimacy and authority and to build support for 'making it happen'. They specifically see adoption of a food strategy by Council as a tool to achieve buy-in from other municipal departments. Also, in terms of reasons for undertaking the strategy, the Vancouver stakeholder group comments are consistent with staff views regarding achieving equal status for food policy through an adopted plan document and establishing a mandate for the organization (other departments). The stakeholder views expand the role of power further than that. They also see adoption of a strategy by Council as a way of embedding and integrating food policy in the bureaucracy so it can survive changes in staff or in politicians. This would give it "tenure and staying power". Having a strategy is also seen as a way to engage with other municipal departments to coordinate (effect) their efforts on the food agenda and making food policy their jobs.

In contrast, Kelowna respondents did not offer any aspects of power as reasons for undertaking their initiative. There are different possibilities for this silence including: the infancy of discourse on local food systems in Kelowna, the relative narrow focus of the initiative, the questions did not elicit comments about power (a failure of the question or a lack of awareness of the respondents) and the reactive nature of the initiative to one urban farming practitioner. This will need to be explained.

Figure 3.3 Example of Memoing

Christiansen (2012) describes memos as the "theoretical write-up of ideas about substantive codes and their relationships... While coding gives conceptual familiarity with the data, emergence happens while memo-writing" (p. 72).

Writing Grounded Theory

This section describes the process, format, and purpose of writing in CGT, and the role and place of data in CGT writing. Glaser (1978) and others (Holton, 2012; Charmaz, 2007) advise that data collection and analysis occurs simultaneously and progressively. Data coding begins with open coding, moves to substantive coding, and then theoretical coding. In Figure 3.4, the interview text is in the left column, the open coding is in the right column, and substantive coding is in the right margin.

<p>CS1 - 10</p> <p>What was the purpose of the WCAs</p> <p>This is making me roll back my cranium a few years. 2011. The purpose was a whole community strategy to figure out what projects could happen or initiatives or policies could happen to make a plan to making both the rural and the more urban parts of the community to increase local food production and how to protect farmland. And I think how to engage the community and educate the community about all facets of the food system.</p> <p>It was the rural and urban aspect.</p> <p>Why do you think the strategy was undertaken?</p> <p>I guess if you are going to move something forward, if you talk about this transformative change then there needs to be buy-in and there needs to be a community that understands the complexity and issues and then sees value in changing that and improving on that and moving it forward.</p> <p>Can you elaborate on seeing value?</p> <p>If people do not see value purpose in how it is going to improve their community and lives, the economy the social well being, aspects that we live for there is not going to be buy-in, there is not going to be value in it and they will not want to do it.</p> <p>What would be the purpose of informing the public?</p> <p>Why would we need to inform about the process and goals. Is there a benefit in informing the public?</p> <p>Yes for buy-in and also to vote for the leaders who are going to facilitate these kind of changes.</p> <p>You mentioned this was for the urban and rural. Do you know why both were included?</p>	<p>to make a plan to making both the rural and the more urban parts of the community to increase local food production and how to protect farmland.</p> <p>to engage the community and educate the community about all facets of the food system.</p> <p>there needs to be buy-in and there needs to be a community that understands the complexity and issues</p> <p>sees value in changing that and improving on that and moving it forward</p> <p>Informing the public is to achieve buy-in.</p> <p>Informed public votes for leadership for change</p>	<p><i>purpose</i> <i>LFPS</i></p> <p><i>awareness</i></p> <p><i>advertising</i> <i>change</i></p> <p><i>engage</i></p> <p><i>power</i></p>
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Figure 3.4 Example of Open coding (right column) and Substantive coding (right margin)

Substantive and theoretical coding often occur at the same time (Glaser, 1978). Coding gets “the analyst off the empirical level by fracturing the data, then conceptually grouping it into codes that then become the theory which explains what is happening in the data” (Glaser, 1978, p. 55). It is at this point that the original data are left behind and the analyst works with codes and writes conceptualizations about the codes. Writing is a key part of the analysis process and begins with memoing (Glaser, 2012). Memo “writing forces the analyst to theoretically code” (Glaser, 1978). Core and near core categories “explicitly contribute to the construction of theory in memos rather than to fullness of description” (Glaser, 1978, p. 84). Memos are sorted and more memos are created to identify an emerging theory until the researcher is ready to write up a grounded theory (Glaser, 2012).

Glaser (2012) advises that writing in GT is a part of the method, and that there is a significant difference between CGT and QDA approaches to writing. For example, qualitative methods focus on rich description and consequently the description itself is highlighted rather than conceptual analysis of it” (Glaser, 1978, p. 84). Glaser (2009) advises that writing in GT should be at the conceptual level “making theoretical statements about a relationship between concepts, rather than writing descriptive statements about people” (p. 7). Glaser (2009) further advises that descriptive statements are used to illustrate the concepts with imagery, but they are not the story itself and should therefore be minimized “so that the analyst can maximize use of concepts within the allotted space of the paper or chapter. The power of the theory resides in concepts, not in description” (p. 8). Glaser (2012) notes that QDA writing requires significant descriptive coverage, but this is not advised or a problem for GT.

Glaser (2012) notes that QDA can negatively impact a researcher’s readiness to write by being too focused on description of the data, not focusing on conceptualization (versus conceptual description), being worried about accuracy, having preconceived research

problems, and other QDA considerations. In contrast to the validity, accuracy, description, and other QDA research dictates, Glaser (2009) advises that the credibility of a GT is achieved through its integration, relevance, and workability. Grounded theories are only suggestions and do not make claim to being proven, therefore illustrations in writing are not used to validate or prove the theory:

The theory is an integrated set of hypotheses, not of findings. Proofs are not the point. Illustrations are only to establish imagery and understanding as vividly as possible when needed. It is not incumbent upon the analyst to provide the reader with description or information as to how each hypothesis was reached. Stating the method in the beginning or appendix is sufficient, perhaps with an example of how one went about grounding a code and an [sic] hypothesis (Glaser, 2009, p. 8).

While there may be little published on how to write CGT, Glaser (2009) recommends starting paragraphs with theoretical statements. The data are only used in a support role and for illustration purposes, not as proof, evidence, or for telling the story. Similarly, Holton (2012) advises that a “concept is illustrated only when it is first introduced so as to develop the imagery of its meaning. Thereafter, only the concept is used, not the illustration” (p.33).

REFLEXIVITY

Avoiding preconceptions is identified as an issue in conducting CGT (Hernandez, 2012; Holton, 2012). Glaser and Holton (2012) suggest that pre-existing knowledge can be suspended, but not abandoned, and that GT results in a researcher adding to their existing theoretical codes.

As a “generative and emergent methodology, grounded theory requires the researcher to enter the research field with no preconceived problem statement, interview protocols, or extensive review of literature. Instead, the researcher remains open to exploring a substantive area and allowing the concerns of those

actively engaged therein to guide the emergence of a core issue” (Holton, 2012, p.221).

This thought is supported by Roderick (2012), who says that all “that is needed to do classic grounded theory, however, is an awareness of how you see the world and the willingness to challenge it as you compare your beliefs with incoming data” (p. 325). This speaks to researcher reflexivity, which Hay (2010) defines as researchers applying to themselves self-critical introspection and a self-conscious scrutiny. Reflexivity is an important approach in conducting CGT.

The final hurdle for many grounded theory researchers is that they must have the ability to be aware of their own personal bias throughout the research process through reflexivity. [...] Glaser (2011) never questioned the ability of the researcher to have knowledge, but rather to stay open and ensure the inductive process is allowed to work effectively (Evans, 2013).

From a qualitative research perspective, my position as a local government staff person within one of the communities being studied could be viewed as a potential challenge and source of bias for undertaking GT research. Given the requirement of GT for suspending preconceptions (Holton, 2012), the question was could I ‘undertake this research as an embedded researcher?’ This question is answered by Glaser (2012) in his *All is Data* dictum. He advises that personal experience is just another interview to be incorporated into the analysis, and through the constant comparison method, potential bias is neutralized (Glaser, 2012). Further, Evans (2013) reports that the interviewer must be knowledgeable in the field of interest.

The interviewer must also know when it is necessary to probe deeper, get the interviewee to elaborate, or broaden the topic of discussion. Having knowledge in a topic does not mean having preconceived ideas. To do research in nursing it

helps to understand the issues related to nursing, just as in business it helps to have a business background when dealing with business research (Evans, 2013).

Following a plan for reflexivity throughout the collection and analysis of data, and the subsequent writing of theory, will encourage and facilitate the openness and self-critical thinking suggested by Roderick (2012). The practice of reflexivity would seem to help with the task of suspending researcher preconceptions. Suggestions for reflexive approaches include writing yourself into the research, and keeping a research diary (versus field notes) to show how analysis is undertaken (Dwyer and Limb, 2001, pp. 10-11). In addition, Dowling (2010) provides a list of prompts on how to be critically reflexive:

Before beginning:

1. What are some of power dynamics of the general social situation I am exploring, and what sort of power dynamics do I expect between myself and my informants?
2. In what ways am I an insider and/or outsider in respect to this research topic? What problems might my position cause? Will any of them be insurmountable?
3. What ethical issues might impinge upon my research (for example, privacy, informed consent, harm, coercion, deception)

After data collection [and during]:

1. Did my perspective and opinions change during the research?
2. How, if at all, were my interactions with participants informed/constrained by gender or other social relations?
3. How was I perceived by my informants?

Remember to take notes throughout data collection and keep them in a research diary.

During writing and interpretation:

1. Am I reproducing ... stereotypes? Why and how?
2. What social and conceptual assumptions underlie my interpretations? (Dowling, 2010)

With the advice on how to be reflexive along with the principle to suspend preconceptions in mind, I undertook the following actions before and during my research:

I wrote myself into the research by using the first person; I recorded my preconceptions to facilitate their suspension; I kept a research diary; I explicitly identified my relationship to the research topic and research environment; and, I continually reflected critically on my preconceptions and behaviour and on my participants' behaviours during the research.

I recorded my preconceptions, prior experiences, and assumptions before starting and during my research as I became aware of them. I did not presume that I could operate totally free of preconceptions, but could aim to suspend them by acknowledging what they were, and deliberately and critically reviewing them during the research. This moderated their influence and allows others to be aware of the possible influence they may have in my work. They included the following:

1. Food system planning is important.
2. We need to integrate all forms of food production into planning.
3. I have professional experience in writing food system policy and implementing it.
4. I have professional experience in local government planning, preparing policies, plans, and strategies.
5. Commercial agribusiness farming needs to be reformed, but we may not be able to replace it.
6. Commercial, traditional farmers generally do not value urban agriculture
7. Urban and alternative farming practices need to increase in practice and be supported by public policy.
8. The importance of LFP has been brought to the fore in large part due to grass roots movements and people.
9. Local food system planning is generally considered by politicians as a fringe, non-core municipal matter but is increasing in its profile and importance.
10. Local governments have an important role to play in supporting LFP.
11. Local food systems require support from many levels of government – local, provincial, and federal – as well as the public.
12. Many, not all, politicians are influenced by what they think people want to hear. They tell the best story to advance their interests rather than more transparently

discussing their core agendas. Sometimes their goal is even more about winning over other political interests than dealing with and advancing substantive agendas.

13. Successful initiatives generally require champions in the public, administrative, and political realms to move forward, and are usually dependent on identifying public support.
14. My research proposal and problem statement constitute preconceptions in regards to the need for a theory on local food system planning.
15. My professional background, interests, and experience constitute preconceptions.
16. I presume that a model can be crafted based on the experience of the participants in the research.

POSITIONALITY WITHIN THE RESEARCH AREA AND ENVIRONMENT

As previously noted in the section on reflexivity, it is important to disclose my professional background in local government and previous work in supporting local food systems. I have worked as a community planner and local government administrator for approximately 30 years. This experience provides me with considerable insight into the local government world, and as a result of that experience, I have developed an understanding about how local government works and about how community planning works within local governments. Further, for the past 8 years I have increasingly researched and undertaken planning initiatives intended to support LFP and local food systems. Along with this focus on food production and food systems, I have developed a view that LFP and the systems that support it are critical elements for community sustainability. My work has been most developed in this area at the District of North Saanich, where I started employment in May 2010 as the Director of Planning and subsequently became the Chief Administrative Officer later that year. During this time, I initiated, completed, and implemented a “Whole Community Agricultural Strategy” which was premised on the view that food systems should

be planned by local government in a comprehensive and integrated way. This disclosure identifies my embeddedness in the research environment of local government. I am embedded in two important ways: 1) I work in local government and know many other local government practitioners in BC; and 2) I work in the District of North Saanich and was the principal staff person responsible for the Whole Community Agricultural Strategy, which is one of the food system planning cases selected for this research.

My embeddedness could be argued to be both a challenge and an opportunity for the research. CGT aims to render this issue as moot by embracing a view of *All is Data* (Glaser 2012). Glaser (2012) explicitly invites the researcher to interview himself or herself, and to simply incorporate the data into the analysis. Glaser (2002) provides the following assurance:

“All is Data” is a GT statement, NOT applicable to Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) and its worrisome accuracy abiding concern. Data is discovered for conceptualization to be what it is—theory. The data is what it is and the researcher collects, codes and analyzes exactly what he has whether baseline data, proper line data, interpreted data or vague data. There is no such thing for GT as bias data or subjective or objective data or misinterpreted data. It is what the researcher is receiving, as a pattern, and as a human being (which is inescapable) (p. 1).

In this view, my embeddedness is not an issue as long as the methodology is followed.

FOOD SYSTEM INITIATIVE CASE SELECTION

Based on the suggestions from experts in the local food system planning field, I initially selected three municipalities to research for their local food initiative planning processes. These cases were the City of Kelowna Urban Farming Bylaw, the District of North Saanich Whole Community Agricultural Strategy, and the City of Vancouver Food System Strategy. After gathering and analysing these three cases, I added a fourth and fifth case, the City of

Victoria Food System Policy initiative and the Capital Regional District Food Systems Planning initiative. Rather than researching a single example, choosing multiple cases to study would allow the research to explore the food system planning process in a variety of geographical contexts within BC, including smaller and larger municipalities, and different types of initiatives.

Rationale for Food System Initiative Selection

To assist in the selection of the initial three food planning initiatives to be studied, I developed selection criteria/considerations to find examples of initiatives that: address issues of diversity in geographic context and community type (large to small, urban to suburban and rural); involve innovative food system planning initiatives that were preferably comprehensive and integrated; focus on initiatives that are reasonably recent so participants can be found with good information recall; have some measure of implementation of policy or project; and, have been suggested by at least two informants.

Fourteen local government initiatives were identified as good food system planning initiatives by the five food system experts I interviewed. These were located in the lower mainland (4), in the lower interior of BC (2), and on Vancouver Island (8). Interestingly, despite selecting eight initiatives on Vancouver Island, only one of the informants resided there. Six of the initiatives were identified by only one of the five informants. Five were identified by two of the informants, and two were identified by four or five of the informants. While the numbers are not statistically significant, there is some comfort in at least having agreement by more than one informant on a prospective case to be studied.

Three geographic regions (southern Vancouver Island, the lower mainland, and the BC southern interior) are represented by the initiatives that were considered, and having one from each region was desirable. The potential cases were grouped into small (less than 20,000

population), medium (20,000 to 100,000), and large sizes (over 100,000). Using the degree of agreement selection criteria, seven of the fourteen candidates were eliminated because they were identified by only one informant. When considering the recency of the initiative, the Kamloops example was eliminated since it occurred in the 1990s and it may have been difficult to find enough participants with sufficient information recall.

Given then that there was only one large community candidate remaining, the City of Vancouver, and given that it was identified by all of the informants, it was a clear choice to include in the study. Given also that there was only one candidate left for the interior region of BC, the City of Kelowna, it was also an obvious preferred choice as a medium-sized community candidate, and its policy initiative was recent (adopted in 2011). This choice, then, removed the City of Victoria and Nanaimo from further consideration from the medium-sized community candidates for the initial three initiatives to study.

With Victoria initially eliminated, and with the need for a Vancouver Island candidate, the remaining candidates under consideration were North Saanich and Parksville. Both candidates have relatively recent initiatives that have been implemented to some degree. Both represent smaller communities in size and both are suburban, though North Saanich has more rural and agricultural lands. This latter point made North Saanich more attractive as a candidate given it is the most rural in character among the preferred candidates. The inclusion of this case to study had the consequence of making me an embedded researcher since I was employed by the District of North Saanich during the course of this research.

A further consideration was the nature of the initiative. Parksville was a more focused, urban agriculture policy initiative, while North Saanich was a more comprehensive (urban agriculture and commercial farming) initiative that specifically focused on the entire food system.

Based on the range of possible communities for sampling, and guided by the selection considerations described earlier, the initial three proposed food system planning processes selected were the City of Vancouver, the City of Kelowna, and the District of North Saanich (see Table 3.1).

Subsequent to the selection of these communities, and after interviewing the available and willing participants and identifying an emergent theory, additional interviews were recommended by my committee to increase the number of interviewees (increase the size, diversity, and robustness of the data). Also, the additional interviews would have the benefit of providing further theoretical sampling. To achieve this, the City of Victoria food system planning process was added as the fourth initiative to study because it was identified by the food system experts as a good example of food system planning. To add further diversity, a fifth and recent food planning initiative in the Capital Regional District was selected because it represented a process that experienced challenges and changed its focus and direction, and in fact was still ongoing. The addition of this initiative allowed comparisons between a process with challenges and those that were regarded as exemplars.

Table 3.1 Range of Possible Cases Chart

Place	#	Narrowly focused initiative	Broadly focused initiative	Has been implemented	Innovation Aspects	Key people/comments
Kelowna*	2	Urban Agriculture land use bylaw		Yes		accessing private lots
Parksville	2	Urban Agriculture policy		Yes	Institutionalization of the practice	
North Saanich*	2		Integrated policy	Yes	Integrated, proactive, Council leadership, knowledgeable staff, subsequent actions like economic development.	Need for a critical path for implementation
North Vancouver	1	Urban Farm		Yes		
Vancouver*	5	1) Community gardens 2) Food Hub 3) Rezoning for sustainable projects policy 4) Food Policy Initiative 2003)	Food Hub is comprehensive	Yes	1) Food hub bypasses conventional distribution system and solves access issue 2) policy requires large projects to have a food strategy 3) Dedicated Staff	Very advanced policy. Linked with food policy council. Mayor Robertson's wife is head of food market. Councillors in power came from the food movement. Part of Greenest City Plan.
Lantzville	1	Food policy (in progress)		No	Addresses integration of food production in suburbia	
Nanaimo	2	Urban farming bylaw in zoning bylaw (6.1.3)				
Victoria*	4		Food System Policy in Official Community Plan	Not fully	Very applied. No specific mandate like Vancouver Reflective process.	Sets stage for other initiatives, large public support, no dedicated staff,
Langford OCP policy	1			Not known		
Comox Valley RD Strategy	1				External partners (schools, realtors, economic development) Good for small farming	[2002 completion]
Kamloops	2		Yes	Yes	Health Authority initiated it Started with food charter	An early 1990s food system initiative focused on food security and health
MetroVan	1		Food Strategy broad focused			
City of Richmond	1	Terra Nova farm park		Yes	Very strong advocacy and leadership in public and staff	

* denotes case selected for study

Food Policy Initiative Overviews

This section describes the five initiatives in the selected communities for this research and their LFP policy initiatives. The initial communities were chosen because they are recognized by five local food planning authorities who I interviewed as having fairly advanced local food system planning initiatives. The changes contemplated by these initiatives were transformative, with intent to increase the amount of local food produced, implement more sustainable production agriculture practices, and introduce greater integration of food production into urban and suburban areas.

North Saanich is located on the Saanich Peninsula in the Capital Regional District (CRD), approximately 25 kilometres north of Victoria, British Columbia on southern Vancouver Island. It is a rural residential, suburban, and agricultural community of approximately 11,000 people. Its “role in the region is to support agricultural and rural land uses. The cornerstone policy in the Official Community Plan is to retain the present rural, agricultural and marine character of the community” (District of North Saanich, 2011). Approximately 30% of the District’s land lies within the provincial Agricultural Land Reserve.

Within the context of the CRD, North Saanich was located entirely outside of the urban containment boundary, and therefore was not an area that allowed urban development. This designation was amended on July 18, 2014 when the Council amended its Official Community Plan to allow for two areas of urban development. The District is surrounded on three sides by 40 kilometres of ocean shoreline, and is comprised of rural/residential areas, a large agricultural base, and is home to the Victoria International Airport and the Swartz Bay Ferry Terminal (District of North Saanich, 2014).

The City of Kelowna is situated in the Central Okanagan Regional District in the interior of BC. Kelowna was incorporated in May, 1905 with a population of 600 people, and farming

was the economic mainstay of the region. It now has a population of about 118,000, and is the largest city in the Okanagan Valley. Kelowna serves as the region's main marketing and distribution centre. In addition to having a growing light industrial sector and high technology sector, it still retains some of its historic agricultural sector. This includes fruit tree orchards and vineyards within a 10 minute drive of its downtown core (City of Kelowna, 2014).

The City of Vancouver is situated in the Greater Vancouver Regional District on the southern coast of BC. It has a diverse population of approximately 603,000, and is BC's largest city and Canada's third most populous metropolitan area (Statistics Canada, 2016). It is located on the western part of the Burrard Peninsula and is bounded by English Bay, the Burrard Inlet, and the Fraser River. To the east lies the City of Burnaby, to the south is the City of Richmond, to the north is North Vancouver (city and district), and to the west, across the Strait of Georgia, is Vancouver Island (City of Vancouver, 2014).

The food system policy undertaken by these three municipalities presents some diversity in the types of initiatives. Both the North Saanich and Vancouver initiatives are processes to produce comprehensive strategy documents, but with differences in focus. The Kelowna initiative is not a comprehensive food system strategy, but is a bylaw amendment designed to allow for urban agricultural uses as principal uses in the urban residential areas of Kelowna. Therefore, the Kelowna initiative only addresses one small part of the local food system, that is, urban agriculture.

During the research and analysis process, two additional communities and local food planning initiatives were selected to incorporate into the research in order to increase the number and diversity of participants. These were the Capital Regional District (CRD) and the City of Victoria, which is located, along with the District of North Saanich, in the CRD. The CRD is a Regional District that is comprised of municipalities and electoral areas, and

includes urban, agricultural, rural, and wilderness areas. It is located on the southern end of Vancouver Island and includes part of the Islands Trust area. The population of the CRD was reported to be 359,991 in the 2011 census (CRD, 2012). The City of Victoria is in the Urban Core in the most southerly part of the CRD, and had a 2011 population of 80,017 (CRD, 2012).

North Saanich Whole Community Agricultural Strategy

The North Saanich Whole Community Agricultural Strategy (WCAS) is a comprehensive strategy document adopted by North Saanich Council in 2011. As previously identified, I was an embedded researcher as I was the planner and the Chief Administrative Officer during this research, and I was the project leader for preparing the Whole Community Agricultural Strategy. This strategy document addresses the local food system throughout the community, and in particular it addresses both conventional and urban agriculture. The goal of addressing both forms of agriculture in a single, integrated strategy document was to “ensure that all of the agricultural potential and potential synergies between the two forms of agriculture are achieved for the best functioning local food system possible – one that is community-centred, relational, place-based, seasonal, participatory and supportive of the local economy” (District of North Saanich, 2011, p. 8).

The WCAS was a staff-proposed initiative and was undertaken by the District Staff with the participation of community stakeholders, local food and sustainability advisors, and the North Saanich Agricultural Advisory Commission. It involved a research stage (scanning of food system models), a public workshop where participants suggested and prioritized potential actions for the strategy, and a validation process where participants could review and comment on the draft strategy elements. The WCAS includes 89 recommended municipal actions and 45 community actions to support the local food system.

Kelowna Urban Agriculture Bylaw

The Kelowna Urban Agriculture bylaw is a single action municipal food initiative intended to change a land use regulation regarding urban agriculture, which is only part of the local food system. It was a zoning bylaw amendment proposal made by the city's planning staff in response to an inquiry from a prospective urban farmer regarding the legality of building a greenhouse as the only (principal) use on an urban residential lot. It was determined that the zoning bylaw at the time did not permit such uses. The staff initiated a process to make several amendments to the text of the zoning bylaw that would result in such stand-alone agricultural uses being legal. This initiative did not involve any public consultation processes and was not on the work plan of the planning department at the time it was proposed. This case study is therefore much narrower in scope than either the North Saanich or the Vancouver initiatives, but it is useful as a comparison since it represents a community in the earlier stage of addressing urban focused LFP.

Vancouver Food System Strategy

The Vancouver Food Strategy, adopted in 2013, is a comprehensive food system document. However, unlike the North Saanich WCAS focus on both conventional and urban agriculture, it only addresses the urban agriculture component of the local food system. This is a logical focus because there are no conventional farming areas or operations in the City of Vancouver. The initiative was preceded by many food policy-related initiatives that began in the summer of 2011, and included a significant community consultation process, with about 2,200 people engaged in the consultation through roundtable discussions, storytelling, public events, education fairs, and other targeted ethno-cultural outreach.

The Vancouver Food Strategy includes the following goals: support food-friendly neighbourhoods; empower residents to take action; improve access to healthy, affordable,

culturally diverse food for all residents; make food a centrepiece of Vancouver's green economy; and, advocate for a just and sustainable food system with partners and at all levels of government. The Vancouver Food Strategy includes actions targeted at enabling and supporting urban agriculture, empowering residents to participate in food programs, improving access to food, addressing gaps in food processing, and reducing food waste to the land fill (City of Vancouver, 2013).

Victoria Official Food System Policy

The City of Victoria food policy initiative was not a stand-alone food system policy document, but reflects the development of a number of food system policies that were prepared and incorporated into the city's Official Community Plan (OCP). The decision to develop and include these policies in the OCP was made during the city's last update of its OCP, and was encouraged by significant public input during the early consultation stages of the plan (Victoria staff person).

Capital Regional District Food Systems Planning Initiative

The Capital Regional District's food system planning initiative was initiated in a similar fashion to that of the City of Victoria's food system planning initiative. It was in response to strong public encouragement during the early consultation stages of its efforts to develop a replacement document for its Regional Growth Strategy (RGS), which is the equivalent Regional District document to a municipality's OCP. The intent of this effort was to develop a stand-alone food system strategy that would then be used to include specific food system/food security policy into the RGS. This initiative started after my research began.

ETHICS REVIEW

Prior to undertaking the selection and interviewing of research participants, I prepared an application for Ethics Approval for Human Research and submitted this to the Human Research Ethics Board. Once approval was given to my application, I proceeded with the research in accordance with the approval. This section summarizes the salient parts of the research protocol pertaining to ensuring that the research was ethical and would cause no harm to any of the participants.

The participants were categorized in three groups: Group One were local food authorities in BC and knowledgeable of leading and innovative food system planning; Group Two were political and administrative participants with knowledge and experience in local government food system planning; and Group Three were public/stakeholder participants in local food system initiatives. This is a broad group of actors and is defined as people who are not elected officials or planning staff who work for the local government in which the food system initiative occurred. These are interested citizens who participated in the initiatives representing themselves, groups or the farming community. In terms of assessing power over concerns with participants, I ensured that none of the participants had any close personal or direct employment relationship with me as the employer. I had distant professional relationships with some Group One participants, as some were members of the Planning Institute of British Columbia to which I also belong. I knew some local government staff and politicians from the selected case study jurisdictions on a professional basis. None of the participants were in a relationship in which I had power over them (e.g., worked as employee for me), though three politicians in North Saanich were in a current or past relationship as my employer.

Each potential participant was sent, by email or fax, a letter of invitation to participate (see appended invitations), and I followed up by telephone or email with those agreeing to participate. Then they were sent a consent form, or I brought one with me for them to read and sign prior to beginning each interview. In cases where the participant wished to have the interview conducted by telephone, I ensured that the written consent form was emailed to the potential participant or, at the choice of the participant, used the verbal consent script as shown in the appendix. The main inconvenience for participants was the time taken for the interviews. However, this was mitigated by scheduling interviews at times that were convenient for the interviewees.

Individual interviews were anonymized, and data within each case study aggregated so that answers would not be attributable to any one individual. This process of data aggregation within each case study was outlined in the consent to participation letter so that any individual uncomfortable with this arrangement could opt out during the consent process, or subsequently during the interview process.

All participants were given a unique data code. Once data had been collected, participants' names did not appear on any written data and were only identifiable by this unique code, or by a pseudonym used for quotes. Data were stored in a locked filing cabinet in my home, and the files were stored on a password protected computer.

SAMPLING

In GT, the sampling procedure is purposive (Berthelsen, Lindhardt, and Frederiksen, 2014; Claxton, 2014) through the theoretical sampling process (Glaser, 1978; Cutcliffe, Stevenson, Jackson, and Smith, 2006). Initially, individuals from the same substantive group of a general problem area (e.g., local government staff, elected officials, and stakeholders

involved in food system planning) are purposely selected (as opposed to randomly selected), and subsequently additional participants are selected and interviewed following the emerging concepts from constant comparison of the data. Through discussions with an initial contact within the local government (the Director of Planning or, if known, the staff person responsible for the initiative), I determined who the principal members of staff, council, and the public were in each of the case study local food initiatives. Once potential interviewees were identified by the initial contact, I sent them an invitation (see Appendix B), and if I received a positive response, I followed up by sending them an interview consent form (see Appendix B) and made arrangements for either a face-to-face interview or telephone interview at a time convenient for them. In the case of North Saanich, as an embedded researcher, I was already aware of who the political and stakeholder participants were. Therefore, I did not have to rely on referrals to potential participants from the Director of Planning. Further, because of my role in North Saanich, no staff participants were included from this case. Interviews were conducted with North Saanich elected officials and with public stakeholders.

The Interview Process

The interviews were conducted with local government staff and elected officials, and members of the public/stakeholders that were involved in the food system planning initiative. These interviewees participated in the local food system planning initiative as members of the public, or of a group such as farmers, market gardeners, or food security advocates. Interviews were conducted to determine what the food system planning initiative was about. Each interview started with overview questions intended to invite the participant to explain what the initiative was generally about. Initially, the questions started with “tell me what the purpose of the initiative was” and “why was it undertaken” (see Appendix B for interview guide). These general questions were replaced in the fourth and fifth cases included in the study with a grand

tour question: “Tell me what this initiative is all about.” After the initial questions, interview questions attempted to see if there were any barriers and challenges or support and opposition throughout the process, the role of public participants and other stakeholders, participant views as to innovative qualities of the initiative, and the outcomes of the initiative. Interviews ended with a general question: “Is there anything else you want me to know or that I should know about the initiative?” As interviews and analysis proceeded, coding and recoding was undertaken to note patterns, and additional questions (theoretical sampling) were asked to see if participants could expand on or speak to patterns emerging in the analysis. For example, following up on themes that suggested that champions were important for the initiative, I would ask the question, “some participants have suggested that there is an important role for champions or leaders in the initiative. What has been your experience with this?”

Glaser (1978) recommends that interviews not be recorded or transcribed, partly to avoid transcribing irrelevant data. However, my personal hand writing is poor, and by extension my note taking is equally weak. Therefore, I elected to digitally record and transcribe all interviews. I note that researchers using CGT have also elected to record and transcribe interviews (Berthelsen et al, 2014; Cutcliffe et al, 2006).

Data were collected primarily from five groups of interviews comprising a total of 44 interviews. This included five expert informant interviews to guide the selection of the case studies, 29 interviews from participants in the case studied, and 10 (member checking) interviews to assess the ‘fit’ and relevance of the analysis and theory. Five of the member checking interviews were with case study participants and five were with expert informants – food system planners, and food system and sustainability advocates. These latter two groups were selected to assess the ‘fit’ and relevance of the research from the point of view of people

involved in the cases studied, and of ‘food system experts’ who were not involved in the cases studied.

Of the five cases studied, finding political and stakeholder/public participants in Kelowna proved to be the most difficult. Only one stakeholder and one politician agreed to participate regarding this study in Kelowna. This is to some extent explained by the nature of the initiative, which was a staff-driven response to interest expressed by a single member of the public for undertaking urban agricultural activities in the City. It was driven neither by the Council, nor by a public movement. Ultimately, a total of 29 food system planning participant interviews (not including member checking interviews) were conducted as follows:

Vancouver:	three politicians, two staff, and two stakeholders
North Saanich:	four politicians and four stakeholders
Kelowna:	one politician, three staff, and one stakeholder
Capital Region:	two politicians, three staff, and two stakeholders
Victoria:	two staff

The determination of an adequate sample size for interviews is dependent on a number of considerations. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that the sample size question is answered by the concept of ‘theoretical saturation,’ which occurs when there is no new or relevant data emerging for a category, it is well developed, and relationships among categories are well established and validated (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Saturation occurs when the information coming from the interviews becomes repetitive (Thomson, 2011). Where there is no set number for when saturation occurs (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), the number of interviews required is affected by the ability, experience, or knowledge of the researcher, and by the skill of the interviewer (Morse, 2000, cited in Thomson, 2011). The literature suggests that saturation normally occurs between 10 and 30 interviews with an average sample size of 25 interviews (Thomson, 2011). Consistent with the upward part of this range, Stern (2007) suggests that saturation occurs between 20 and 30 interviews. With a total of 39 interviews

(29 primary interviews and 10 member checking interviews), my sample size is at the higher end of the spectrum for sample size.

In January, 2014, I finalized my general interview guide and located the initial contacts in each of the case study communities. I made use of a research journal to record decisions, challenges, and thoughts that seemed important as they occurred.

Once the interview started, I would ask the interviewee to elaborate on ideas until they had nothing more to say about it. As the codes and theory emerged, follow-up questions were asked of participants to provide their views on aspects of the emerging theory. I recorded each interview, and took notes during and after the process; however, I relied on the recordings and transcriptions as the primary data sources. My initial note taking resulted in early memos, some of which were incorporated into the formulation of codes and served to help explain relationships between codes. I conducted most of the transcriptions myself, with the exception of 13 interviews for which I hired a transcriber.

DATA ANALYSIS AND MEMBER CHECKING

I began my analysis of the interviews with open coding in the margins of my transcriptions, as previously shown in Figure 3.4. I chose to code by segment or data incident instead of line-by-line or word-by-word. The latter two approaches did not lend themselves to pulling out the key or main incidents in the data as efficiently as reading through each paragraph and determining the key messages (incidents). These incidents could be described in a single sentence, or in a cluster of sentences focused on the same idea. Initial codes were often *in vivo*. Using the language of the interviewees kept the interpretation process in line with their perspectives. After the initial open coding process, I started grouping codes into incidents that had similar features or aspects into conceptual categories (conceptual codes).

While I was conducting the open coding and code family identification work, I was attempting to undertake the constant comparison of data that GT requires. However, at first this seemed to be a difficult and random process. I would consider a code and think about other codes, move onto the next code and repeat the comparison, which was an unwieldy and inefficient process. To be more systematic, I prepared matrices (tables) that organized the codes and data in a way that facilitated comparison. The tables were constructed for each main discussion area in the interviews (e.g., reasons for the initiative, support and opposition, lessons learned, etc.). A total of 18 tables (see Appendix A) were constructed to enable comparison of code families between the staff, stakeholders, and elected officials in each of the case studies. This also enabled comparison of data between case study communities and with other interview categories. Once all of the tables were constructed, I was able to proceed with a more rigorous and systematic process of comparing data to understand their interrelationships.

I initially spent time simply looking at each table, comparing them within each group with the other case studies, and taking notes and writing memos. However, this was not generating analysis in a sufficiently organized manner. My next approach to analysis was to continue writing memos as I systematically compared the matrices/tables between each case study community. For example, I began by comparing Tables 1, 2, and 3 (see Appendix A). I would compare these tables, ensure consistency in coding, think about relationships, and then document my thoughts in writing. I would then move onto the next three tables, repeat that process of analysis, including comparison with the earlier tables, write my analysis (memoing), and move on to the next three tables. I repeated this process until I had completed my comparative analysis of all 18 tables.

This process produced 53 pages of memos. In each set of comparisons, I developed a theoretical statement about the data. These statements identified relationships between the data and made theoretical propositions about them. I used the theoretical statements to help formulate the emerging GT. After completing the analyses and identifying the theoretical statements, I needed to identify the overall relationships between the core concepts (core variables). To help with this, as shown earlier in Figure 3.2, I initially prepared rough bubble diagrams and other sketches to identify relationships between data categories and sub-categories.

With this written analysis of all the tables, I still needed to distil the data further to an overall theoretical framework. I did this by listing all of the code families that emerged from the data and grouping them into three master codes: values, praxis, and outcomes. This was done by finding broader (master) categories into which to fit each of the concepts (see Table 3.2). These master categories (codes), and their interrelationships, provided the explanatory and theoretical structure for the GT and were derived from the data. This conceptualization was further assisted by preparing additional diagrams to identify and illustrate relationships between theoretical codes.

Table 3.2 Code and Sub-code Categories

<i>Master Code</i>	<p>Power</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Convincing the public, council and staff about importance of food policy 2. Building support 3. Establishing authority for food policy work 4. Seeing a barrier 5. Competing with other mandates 6. Surviving changes by embedding policy 		
<i>Principal Codes</i>	<i>Values/Beliefs</i>	<i>Praxis (Practice)</i>	<i>Outcomes</i>
Main-Codes and Their Sub-codes	<p>Stakeholder Values</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seeing land differently 2. Valuing agriculture 3. Risk of land development 4. Having development plans <p>Council Values:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Changing council values 2. Challenging previous council values 3. Supporting agriculture 4. Disvaluing agriculture 5. Worrying about conflicts from agriculture <p>Public Values:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Being an involved and supportive public 2. Challenging/minimizing others values 3. Disagreeing with importance of local food system <p>Bureaucracy values</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Complying with political direction 2. Recognizing value of staff support 3. Differing values between staff 4. Staff values were supportive 5. Planning goals and values 6. Doing the right thing 7. Responding to community values 8. Recognizing the need to work across municipal departments 	<p>Raising awareness and Education:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Improving connection of food production to people 2. Recognizing role of food in communities 3. Increasing awareness 4. Needing more information 5. Branding opportunity 6. Becoming more sustainable and resilient <p>Engagement:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Taking action (integrating agriculture into the community, improving food production) 2. Being effective 3. Engaging and consulting 4. Building relationships 5. Recognizing food system risks 6. Recognizing food system barriers <p>Responding (to Public Knowledge and Values):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responding to the public 2. Responding to public values <p>Leadership:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Responding to a leader 2. Collaborating champions 3. Stepping forward as a leader <p>Political Weapon:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attacking others 2. Unsuccessfully attacking <p>Resource allocation:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Being resourced 2. Limiting resources 3. Working with limited resources 4. Competing for resources 5. Being reactive 	<p>Convergence:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Support is aligning 2. Converging support for policy <p>Policy Context:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Having an advisory committee 2. Having relevant past plans and policies 3. Having interested public groups 4. Lacking policy support or profile 5. Establishing policy mandate 6. Embedding policy 7. Lacking strategic coordinated approach <p>Policy evolution:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Taking the next step in policy 2. Building on past efforts 3. Responding to public wishes 4. Evolving support for policy <p>Policy Opportunity:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Seeing alignment 2. Responding to an opportunity

After analysis of the first three sets of food system initiative interviews and the preparation of a draft theory, I undertook additional interviews. The analyses of these were done using open and selective coding. The open codes fit well into the selective codes and categories developed in the earlier analysis, though refinement did occur. Concurrent with the data analysis work, and principally towards the end of that work, I undertook a review of the urban planning literature to see how it related to the themes that were emerging from my data analysis. This not only served as a way to support theoretical sampling to assist with my analysis, but it also provided a theoretical context with which I could further compare my data and analysis.

The initial timeline suggested for my research was 9 months. My actual timeline for writing was 9 months for the first draft, 11 months to the second draft, and 15 months to the third draft. Following the third draft, I undertook extensive discussions with my committee on the principles of GT, including the nature of analysis, writing, role of data, and methodological issues. This process was perhaps extended as a result of a change in membership in my committee. At the end of this process I undertook additional interviews, adding two new food system initiatives and nine additional participants to provide additional depth to my results. This process also afforded the opportunity to demonstrate fit of the emergent theory to the data. For example, the memos and illustrations from the additional nine interviews fit the code and sub-codes that previously emerged from the earlier 20 interviews. After analysing the results of the additional participant interviews, I completed the fourth draft and a fifth draft.

During the research process, I periodically reviewed and added to my list of preconceptions. As the data were more focused on process dynamics rather than what I anticipated would be the details of LFS/P, I became increasingly confident that my

preconceptions were not leading the data. In fact, because the results were not focused on food system plan details, it was clear that the data were leading the analysis and the resulting theory was grounded in the views and values of the interviewees.

Ten member checking interviews were conducted with some of the participants and with other food system experts to assess the fit and relevance of the analysis and emerging theory (Glaser, 1978), and to provide additional data on the main variable (category) families. The purpose of these interviews was not for validation, but for assessing fit and relevance. Given this similarity, guidance for conducting these interviews was taken in part from qualitative research literature. While member checking interviews are regarded as a key tool in qualitative research practice for establishing credibility (but not typically for CGT), there is little written about how to conduct member checking processes (Pyett, 2003). Creswell and Miller (2000) suggest a variety of approaches, including convening a focus group of participants to review the findings, giving raw data to participants to review, providing themes and categories for participant review, commenting on and assessing how realistic or accurate the themes and categories are, and incorporating participant comments.

Turner and Coen (2008) used a brief, high level description of their key results. Charmaz (2006) notes that some researchers explain and discuss their key categories [Glaser refers to categories as variables] of data in GT with their participants. Pyett (2003) described unplanned encounters with people involved in the subject matter but external to the group being studied.

Although we could conceivably have included the sexual health clinicians in the process of validating our interpretation and analysis prior to publishing our findings, the journalist's efforts to challenge our findings could not have been planned. These real-world checks not only helped confirm that our findings and interpretation of the data were valid, they also provided a test of the quality of the

most important research instruments that we used in the study: the researchers. The time and effort expended on rigor and reflexivity in this study were rewarded by these real world endorsements (p. 1177).

This account, then, suggests two broad groups for consideration in member checking efforts – direct participants who can assess the ‘fit’ and relevance of the emerging theory in their experience, and related but external informants who can relate the results to the broader research context, or as Pyett (2003) calls it, ‘the real world.’ The latter group speaks to the potential generalizability of the data and analysis.

The member checking interviews were analysed in terms of assessment of variables and relationship between variables, assessment of theory overview, providing examples to illustrate variables and relationships, and disagreement or questions to the theory summary elements. The member checking interview processes evolved from initially providing full results and conclusion text for the first two interviewees to review and discuss, to then giving an overview of variables categories and the theory summary to discuss for the following eight interviewees. This discussion was aided by an interview guide and a short overview of the theory. I used the interview guide to describe the variables and how they related to each other and how this fit together in a GT. Throughout this process, I checked with each respondent to see if the element or relationship being described made sense to them, and if they experienced this in their practice or involvement. The analysis was based on listening for agreement, disagreement, observations regarding missing components, and agreement with personal examples. I took notes and recorded most interviews, but not all.

For the interviews I recorded, I listened to them again to confirm my initial analyses and to extract comments, suggestions, and examples that would help illustrate aspects of the theory and enhance/complete the theory.

Member checking comments that serve to inform, enhance, or illustrate the variables and theory can be considered to be a further step in theoretical sampling. Charmaz (2006) advises that adopting a process of checking with members can serve to enable research participants to assess the fit and relevance of the results, but also to elaborate the categories through this additional theoretical sampling process. This process can include explaining the major categories to participants and asking them the extent to which they fit their experience.

SUMMARY

The methodology for undertaking this research is Glaser's classic grounded theory. I conducted my data collection principally through participant interviews. I wrote memos early and ongoing throughout the process, and I conducted open coding (often *in vivo* codes) and conceptual coding, comparing data as coding occurred. To facilitate constant comparison, I constructed matrices of codes and conducted systematic comparisons using a focused period of writing as the means to facilitate and record comparisons. This was an extensive memo writing process as I worked through comparing the matrices. This process enabled identification of relationships between concepts and the articulation of theoretical statements. Concurrent with, and an integral part of analysis, I conducted further grouping of codes into core categories and identified relationships between them. I used the identified relationships and theoretical statements to construct the GT. I conducted theoretical sampling by asking questions during the interviews to explore the participants' views regarding emerging codes and concepts, reviewing relevant literature, and conducting follow-up member checking interviews (Charmaz, 2006) to further explore theoretical codes and the emerging GT. Towards the latter part of the process, I identified relationships of the GT to the theories found in the literature. This helped define and delimit the GT.

Glaser's (2015) advice for the GT novice is to 'just do it.' Using this methodology for the first time and sorting through the differences between CGT and remodeled forms of GT influenced by the qualitative data research paradigm was a significant challenge and learning experience. The key challenge for me was to establish clarity on the type of 'GT' I was to use and to follow its specific principles for analysis and writing. My most significant departure from the CGT model was in the use of a digital recorder and transcriptions for my interviews.

Chapter Four

Results

One of Glaser's (2009) first principles in CGT is that writing is about concepts and conceptualized relationships rather than descriptions of the data. To do this, Glaser (2009) recommends starting paragraphs with theoretical statements, thereby presenting the results of an inductive process in a deductive form. The statements are developed inductively as a function of memoing and analysis, but are presented first in the write-up. However, the risk of starting with an output of the process (theoretical statements) may inaccurately suggest a deductive process.

In CGT, data are used in a supportive role and for illustration purposes, rather than as proof, or for telling the story. Holton (2012) advises that concepts are illustrated only when first introduced, and subsequently only the concept is used. Following Glaser's and Holton's advice on the structure of writing, this chapter is primarily structured around the main categories and sub-categories of codes, using data to illustrate them only and, as noted, by beginning with theoretical statements. However, to help guide readers and in order to demonstrate the grounding and fit of the emergent theory in the data, as well as to highlight important nuances in expressions of the codes in the data, I will use data illustrations in this chapter more generously than Holton and Glaser would advise.

This chapter begins with a brief outline of the emergent GT, Transformative Incrementalism (TI). Having an overview of the theory will help the reader understand the data as they are unpacked by category.

Transformative Incrementalism is a theory about how efforts to achieve significant and transformative change in the food system occur during times when change is not responding to a current crisis. TI reveals and describes the principal role and modalities of power in the recursive and multi-directional paths of transformative change initiatives. It explains the interconnected roles of values, praxis, and the outcomes/results of praxis in the process of change. The transformative change process is driven by power in long-term, incremental efforts to respond to and influence values towards states of convergence within the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres of actors through praxis and outcomes. Convergence refers to the point where there is sufficient alignment of values between all three spheres of actors such that there is agreement to undertake action towards transformative change. Once there are convergences, windows of opportunity open for effective, incremental change initiatives that contribute to achieving a transformative change in the food system.

TI describes a long change process characterized by incremental actions that each purposefully work towards a desired change in the food system. Power, values, praxis (practice), and outcomes are the main categories involved in incremental transformative change. This change dynamic involves the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres of actors, and is characterized by a process of actions and discourse that attempts to move the actors in each sphere from a condition of divergence in values to one of convergence. Actors are not conceived as passive playthings of regimes of power (Bevir, 1999), but are active agents pushing change through actions such as raising awareness and education, and building relationships. These actions are intended to change how people value local food systems and to promote an alignment (convergence) of values and support for food planning initiatives.

UNPACKING THE DATA

In my analysis of the interview data, three principal categories of codes emerged (values, praxis, and outcomes) under one core or master category called power, as shown in Figure 4.1.

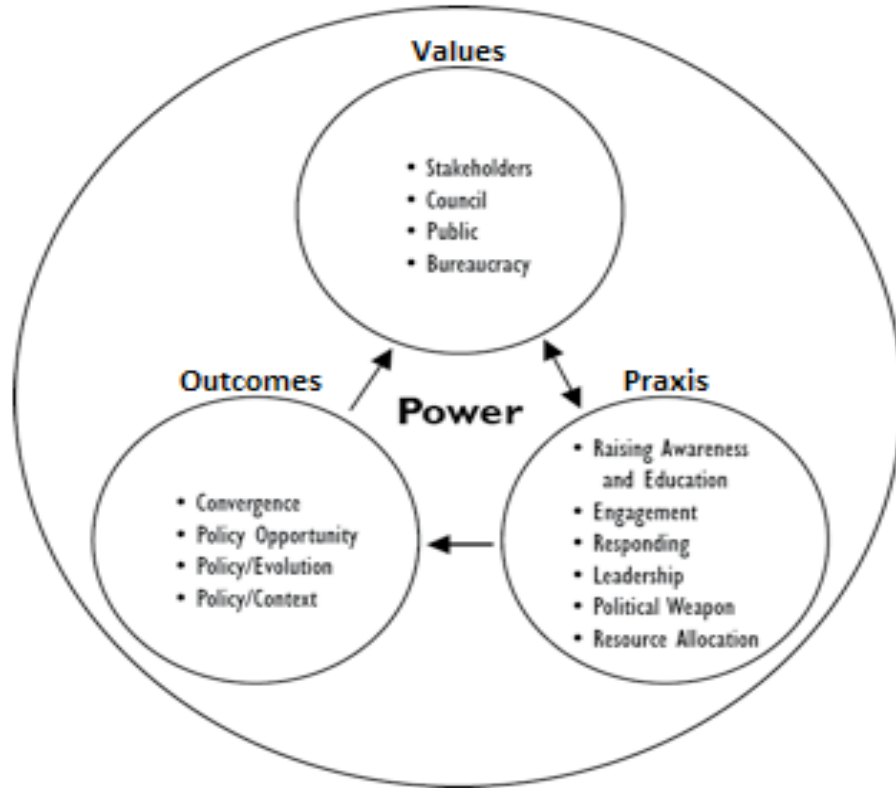


Figure 4.1 The Code Category Relationships

I use the terms categories and variables interchangeably. Power is about the mechanisms and tools with which people influence others and are influenced. This includes influence by authority (e.g., power over others through position or through official mandate) and influence by leadership, compelling arguments or other softer (non-authoritative) forms of influence.

In this study then, power can be seen as the ability, through authority or non-authoritative influence, to have an effect on a person, process, action, or outcome. Values guide and motivate peoples' behaviour, praxis includes the activities involved in local food system planning processes, and outcomes are the results of those activities. In this research, power

emerged as the overarching master code as it manifests in and affects each of the three principal code categories. These codes include the key food system planning processes, elements, and factors identified by the participants during the interview discussions. While Figure 4.1 shows these three principal codes as separate, there are significant relationships between them. These relationships between the codes describe an incremental, power-laden process intended to lead to transformative change (meaning a significant change in structure or function) in LFP systems. Within an environment of power, values are seen as motivating praxis and praxis is used to affect values. Praxis also produces outcomes which in turn affect values. These relationships are recursive, and are driven by power.

This chapter will describe and discuss the results of the analyses of the interviews. Theoretical statements are provided at the beginning of each section discussing one of the sub-codes. As a product of the interviews and the extensive memoing process around the data, these statements can be viewed as elements of the GT. Through the identification of their interrelationships, the resultant GT emerges.

POWER

Glaser (1998) advises that the core category of any GT is the one category that is “consistently related to many other categories and their properties over and over” (p. 26). In this GT analysis, *Power* is the central or master code category emerging from these data. This section illustrates the concept of power and its central role and relationship to the other categories (values, praxis, and outcomes). The central role of power is consistent with a Foucauldian view that power is found in all levels of society (Allmendinger, 2009). Power will also be identified throughout the other sub-code discussions to demonstrate its core relationship to them.

As noted, power figures prominently in each of the food system planning initiatives, and is the key category/variable explaining the process dynamics in each of the principal categories. Based on data from the interviews, the ways that power manifests are described in the following theoretical statements: 1) Participants in food system planning initiatives employ many practices (praxis) aimed at seeking the agreement or consent of others and influencing their values; 2) These practices include non-authoritative approaches to influence and change the values of others through building relationships, through leadership, engagement, and dialogue, and through raising awareness and education; 3) Practices also include authority-based approaches which attempt to promote initiatives that are in conflict with the values of others; 4) Authority-based approaches include the use of policy documents like Official Community Plans (which are outcomes of previous processes) to influence politicians and municipal staff who might not be in agreement with the food system planning initiatives; 5) Process outcomes can eventually result in broad changes in values which also have an effective influence; and, 6) Power is seen in the use of practices, the praxis of power, designed to influence values and overcome the opposition of others whose values are not aligned with the food system planning initiatives. By praxis of power, I mean the process by which power (policies on LFP in this context) is used to influence actors within local government and the public.

The remainder of this section will describe and illustrate how power is used in non-authoritative and authoritative practices intended to influence other participants as well as achieving outcomes that establish authority through policy documents. The desired outcome of both forms of power is a change or shift in participant values that in turn also becomes a source of power for achieving change.

Non-Authoritative Power

Illustrating the importance of power, several of the reasons given by the respondents for undertaking the initiatives allude to achieving or exerting power with different groups of actors. To illustrate, respondents spoke about the role of values in public, political, bureaucratic, and external organization groups. They also described their desire to influence, build relationships with, and use those groups for support, and to work through perceived barriers. The following passage highlights the importance of building relationships with stakeholders to influence the Victoria food policy initiative. The community support created by building relationships is seen as important to success. This is also about achieving change, a praxis sub-code. Building effective relationships supports the policy stage, and also implementation where change occurs on the ground. Effective cultivation and use of power enables this to occur.

I don't think the relationships were what put it on the agenda in the first place but I think the relationships were what helped create the community support. Like I think that's what helped make it really positive, right? When the draft came out and CRFAIR [Capital Region Food and Agriculture Initiatives Roundtable] wrote a letter to mayor and council saying, "Like we're so excited this is happening." I mean that letter was a result of some of their food people talking to our staff and saying, would it be a good idea to send a letter? And us saying, you know, "We can't tell you what to do but it won't hurt, right?" Like that is really important because getting any policy forward there's kind of the official stuff and then there's a lot of the human stuff that happens that our community partners can go right to council in a way that staff can't, right? I think if we didn't have the community groups well a lot of those policies wouldn't have been written without knowing that those groups or those relationships were there...And so I think our food policy chapter is a direct response to knowing that there were people out there. (Victoria Staff Person 1)

Another staff person highlights the role external leaders and champions can have in moving a process forward, pushing boundaries and influencing budget allocations. It is seen as a use of power that staff do not have access to for themselves.

I think you need external champions out there in the community to kind of keep the issue 'cause they can say things that staff can't say. They can be much more militant and proactive about things. They can get in the media and rabble-rouse and what not. They can push the boundaries more. That gets the attention of your elected officials but at the end you also need sympathetic allies within the organization who are listening to that conversation, perhaps, feeding that conversation one way or another through information that gets put out, questions that get put in front of council, how issues get structured for discussion in staff reports, all the rest of it. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

Comments about the effect of engagement and dialogue and the focus on ways of being effective and organized are also expressions about the praxis of power. The value of engagement of the public and other parts of the municipal bureaucracy in building support for food policy initiatives is a comment about creating power through engagement and dialogue, that is, the power to influence or effect a change or process. This power is achieved and effected when others act in the desired manner. Hence, the Vancouver stakeholder's comment that they wanted to "make food other people's jobs" (Vancouver Stakeholder 2).

Power is also seen as resulting from a process of raising awareness and education.

Because developing policies and practises is all very well but there is a need for people to understand why they're there, how they serve the community, and what purposes they serve, and a buy-in as sort of a one term but, you know, buy-in is a term I'm wary of because it means we have the power. (CRD Stakeholder 1)

Authoritative Power: Using Policy Documents

Process outcomes like policy documents, including Official Community Plans (OCPs), food strategies, and position documents (letters expressing policy) from health authorities,

were identified as having the ability to have significant influence because of the authority that is provided by the document. The next excerpt speaks to the power the OCP has in enabling further work.

[Victoria Staff Person 1] *I have been amazed at the number of times that the Official Community Plan is referred to not just by councillors or by our Community Association Land Use Committees but by citizens or students who are looking for this like wow like it's sort of that argument of why do you need policy at all? I mean, it's just about repackaging it and giving people a different way of looking at what we're working towards.*

[Interviewer] *Does it help?*

[Victoria Staff Person 1] *I think it's helped raise the awareness of food systems planning as a field and I think that's paved the way for a number of the implementation initiatives that have happened since then.*

This excerpt shows that the OCP, as a policy document, enabled other initiatives to proceed based on the authority of its mandate.

The following participant described other ways a document can have influence, like helping in grant applications and encouraging others to be involved in the food system work.

It's helpful to have that support in applying for grants, cooperative initiatives, having it documented that the municipality should recognize it as direction in terms of doing cooperative initiatives like the deer and the geese and all the rest of it. There it is in bold print that we have voted on this. We have signed it off. It's in the book and gives the people who desire to have more sustainability and more -- more farming help a little bit more leverage to have them address things and look at things and be helpful. (CRD Stakeholder 2)

This stakeholder sees policy documents as having significant authority and leverage. The written policy gives direction to staff, identifies their responsibilities, and enables consistent resources to move the initiative forward. Being 'in the book' is seen as creating power.

Policy documents are also seen as having the potential to influence future politicians. North Saanich Politician 1 saw the Whole Community Agricultural Strategy (WCAS) as a way to embed the initiative so it could survive administrative and political changes. A North Saanich politician spoke about the purpose of the WCAS (policy document) to educate and convince people of the value of farming, as well as to “*convince future Councils about the importance of protecting agriculture*” (North Saanich Politician 3). This politician wants to be able to convince current and future politicians to support agriculture, and the strategy is perceived as an authoritative influence that may have this effect. By developing support among the public and with other politicians, the politician’s power to further food policy work is increased.

The data from the Vancouver interviews build on this notion of power in explicit terms:

[By having a Food Strategy adopted by Council,] we are able to say that this is Council adopted policy when we go to our internal departments or other departments and we try to move the agenda forward we say this is backed by Council and this is important and this is a major priority for Council. It is a lever and a tool we can use to advance our work. (Vancouver Staff Person 1)

Staff want to have a lever to work with other departments, they want food policy to be equal in authority (power) with other plan documents, they want their work to be given legitimacy and authority, and they want to build support for ‘making it happen.’ They specifically see adoption of a food strategy by Council as a tool to achieve buy-in from other municipal departments. Also, in terms of reasons for undertaking the strategy, the Vancouver stakeholder group comments are consistent with staff views regarding achieving equal status for food policy through adopting a planning document and establishing a mandate for other departments in the organization (e.g., engineering department). A Vancouver stakeholder also describes the authoritative power role of policy documents.

[Unless it is] embedded in and people are aware of what it is and there is a clear mandate that outlines, you know, how their departments can relate to it, it can be hard for things to move. (Vancouver Stakeholder 1)

The adoption of a strategy by Council is seen as a way of embedding (institutionalizing) and integrating food policy in the bureaucracy so it can survive changes in staff or in politicians. This would give it “tenure and staying power” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1), that is, the maintenance of power. It is also seen as a way to engage with other municipal departments to coordinate (effect) their efforts on the food agenda and make food policy their jobs.

In Vancouver, considerable attention was given to the power of other city departments – those outside of the social policy group that was responsible for developing the Vancouver Food Strategy. Adoption of a comprehensive policy document by the Council is perceived to be an authoritative source of power. It gives status and the capacity to compete for resources with other municipal departments. It “is hard to compete for resources unless council makes it a clear priority and identifies a mandate” (Vancouver Staff 2). The adopted policy document provides authoritative power to the planning staff to engage in discussions with other city departments, and to effect coordination of their efforts on the food agenda. A Vancouver staff person described the reason for undertaking the Vancouver Food Strategy as an opportunity to “work with partners to push the dialogue further” (Vancouver Staff 1). The resulting strategy was seen as a powerful “lever or tool to work with other city staff and departments” and to “get buy-in from other municipal departments” (Vancouver Staff 1).

A Kelowna staff person commented on the need to lean on the Local Health Authority to support and give credibility to urban agriculture. This reveals an awareness of power relationships. If “there is a Local Health Authority, lean on [its] support to give credibility to the effort” (Kelowna Staff 1). When staff in Kelowna used a letter from the Local Health

Authority to establish support and credibility for their urban agriculture initiative, they were attempting to convince the Council, and perhaps senior management as well, to support the bylaw. Securing that letter from the Health Authority was an act intended to produce and use power. It was an explicit attempt to counter negative views within the Kelowna bureaucracy by using the authority of another group, that is, to develop a counteracting power. The staff perceived a potential senior management barrier to proceeding with the urban agriculture bylaw and expended energy trying to convince the Kelowna senior management to allow it to proceed. Convincing “others in the organization to improve on regulations or remove them is sometimes the toughest part of the game we play” (Kelowna Staff 2). Management have authority to approve or disapprove an initiative. Dialogue and advocacy are required to successfully work with that power.

Process Outcomes: Changes in Values

While policy documents are one form of process outcome, having a broad change in values could also be considered as an outcome. In Vancouver the effect of 20 years of history in food system discourse in the community is that supporting local food now seems to be ‘common sense’ (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). The power of “broadly supportive public and political cultures is to silence those that might otherwise object” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). There is a significant difference between the public and political cultures of Vancouver and North Saanich. What constitutes ‘common sense’ in North Saanich is still contested. The fact that it has taken 20 years of community and local government effort in Vancouver to get to the point of being able to adopt and implement a food strategy underscores the length of time needed for food system change.

The above analysis highlights the non-authoritative and authoritative ways in which power is created and used in food system planning initiatives. It relates the core category of

power to values, praxis, and outcomes. In particular, it shows how praxis and outcomes are used to influence changes in values and to overcome opposing values.

VALUES

The principal code category known as values explains motivations of the different actors involved in the three initial food system initiatives used as data sources. Values motivate actions and structure perceptions, and are seen as foundational to the acceptance and support of, or resistance and opposition to, new and ongoing policy and change initiatives. This section describes the importance and role of values within different groups of actors involved in the food system planning initiatives, and of the efforts to resolve or overcome conflicts within and between groups in order to move initiatives forward and achieve change.

Stakeholder Values

A diversity of values is represented within the *Stakeholder Values* sub-code by the following theoretical statement: The farming community has diverse values and some conventional farmers may not value urban farming and may see it as a risk to their interests.

Stakeholders have been identified as having values that can motivate their behaviour. In describing the CRD food planning process, a stakeholder described different stakeholder values, and in particular the different and perceived divergent values between a food security stakeholder and a conventional farming stakeholder.

I guess it ran kind of into a brick wall or it ran into probably some of the underlying deeper issues that were being experienced or that have been experienced in that system and as a result it came to a halt. So there was a different of opinions, you know. Very simply put, I mean I it's a lot more complex than this, but very simply put is a difference between sort of the large producers on the Peninsula, those that are involved in agricultural -- you know, kind of

conventional agricultural activities and then the food security sector. And I think a number of these politically connected producers made an argument -- or were able to successfully catch the attention of the CRD and say, you know, we're not happy with this process. We don't feel like we're being heard. We don't think that our issues or trust are being presented as effectively and we want you to attend to this.
(CRD Stakeholder 2)

The interview data include a number of incidents where land and its activities are seen from different and opposing perspectives. Conventional farmers do not see value in urban farming, and therefore are dismissive of it. Additionally, it was reported that a former provincial government employee held the same opinion of urban farming.

I presented to the Institute of Agrologists. One of the older agrologists in the Institute asked 'in a City like Kelowna with all its agriculture, why bother with this?' It did not make sense to him. (Kelowna Staff Person 3)

Conventional farmers may see urban farming as a risk to their business, and possibly as a risk to their future real estate development aspirations.

Maybe they felt threatened that this whole new kind of farming thing would threaten their old business...These big old farms. I mean I have heard some of them say that you know they will retire on the money they make from subdividing. And I think this is the old farm attitude you know that this is what land is for eventually.
(North Saanich Politician 3)

The risk of land development to rural and agricultural lands and the role of agricultural policy illustrate a specific example of conflicting values: land preservationism versus land development. The interviews indicate that preservationism is associated with agricultural policy for some people.

I think that there were probably a lot of people that supported it for pro-farming and pro-agriculture and a preservationist stance to...also wanting the landscape to

remain or be enhanced as it is instead of being developed. (North Saanich Politician 3)

This may be due to the ongoing risk and long history of the conversion of agricultural and rural lands into residential, commercial, and industrial lands. In North Saanich, protecting farmland is a direct response to the risk of land development. Keeping “North Saanich rural is assisted by this kind of thinking” (North Saanich Stakeholder 3).

The CRD initiative is occurring in a relatively underdeveloped food policy context where there are significantly divergent values. While there are some in the North Saanich community with preservationist values towards farming, there are others, also within the community of farmers, who have different views. While the Agricultural Advisory Commission (AAC) in North Saanich is reported to have been involved and supportive of the WCAS, it was also noted that there was limited support by conventional farmers and there was concern from store owners. Ultimately, conventional farmers and store owners may have seen the WCAS as a potential risk to their businesses, or even as a risk to the prospect of the future real estate development of farmland.

Council Values

The *Council Values* sub-code describes the body of values stemming from the elected and governing group of politicians. The theoretical statements of this sub-code are: 1) public values in support of food system planning initiatives can influence a Council’s support of the initiatives and conversely a lack of public supporting values can result in a lack of political support; and, 2) ongoing political support for food policy can be impacted by a change in Council to members with opposing values.

Politicians have their own values related to the role of local food systems. They also tend to place value on the views of the public and stakeholders. In this way they value, and are

influenced by, public *values*. The following passage suggests that the CRD politicians place value on sustainability goals.

(Interviewer) *Why did they undertake that [the food and agriculture policy] project?*

(CRD Staff Person 1) *I think two reasons. One there was a very keen interest on the part of the citizens with whom they spoke to address this issue which I don't believe previously was addressed in almost any significant way whatsoever. Again, now I'm going by memory but I think up until that point the Capital Regional District had virtually no policy at all on food systems. And secondly I think they wanted to embrace sustainability in its most holistic manner.*

In the CRD, there were pro-food security values on the CRD Board, but these values were not broadly held.

Okay. So originally what happened was when we were putting forward stuff about updating the Regional Growth Strategy there were a number of us on the planning committee that said, "We want another policy added and it's about food security." And then there were others that said, "Well, I don't know what food security is and I don't know if we should add that." But then we went out to survey and the number one issue raised from all the public engagement online stuff was food security.

(CRD Politician 2)

The following passage illustrates a conflict in values between those who want to have land preserved for farming and those who might want to develop land in a way that would impact farming or remove land from farming. This respondent attributes reluctance on the CRD Board of Directors because of this conflict.

(CRD Stakeholder 2) *Basically that the CRD [Capital Regional District] board likely wouldn't buy it. Politically it just wasn't going to fly because there was enough back up in all their documentation to look after the natural environment and farmland already and to start pushing sustainability. It was worrisome because it was probably going to really conflict with developers' dreams of doing a*

lot of things here and there and they would -- they would be worried about what constraints they might have when you start really pushing down on sustainability.

(Interviewer) On sustainability in general or how does that relate to the Agricultural Strategy -- the Food Policy?

(CRD Stakeholder 2) It could relate a bit if they showed through ground water and other studies that continual dumping on agricultural land was going to end up not being a good thing -- encroachment on the farmland, ALR releases --

(Interviewer) By encroachments on the farmland what do you mean?

(CRD Stakeholder 2) If municipalities saw it in their best interest that some of these parcels have to be released for other uses the public and others could make the case that if you want to have sustainable agriculture you better stop the agriculture releases or the inappropriate uses on agricultural land, continual storage and dumping and those types of things.

As a governing body, a Council has explicit power to make bylaws and policies, run programs, provide services, and generally to represent and act on behalf of their citizens. Because they are elected into office by the citizens, their relationship to their citizens is important, especially if they want to get re-elected. This means that the public have an ability to influence politicians and this enables a power relationship. It is not surprising, therefore, for one of the Vancouver politicians to attribute support for their food policy to local public values. Food *“policy has been supported by the left, centre and right political parties because it is part of the Vancouver culture”* (Vancouver Politician 3).

Because it was so well entrenched in the culture, and so well recognized, food policy became “a political no-brainer” (Vancouver Politician 1). The North Saanich and Kelowna initiatives, however, are different. In Kelowna, urban food policy is not a Council priority, and support for that initiative was dependent on there being no perceived impacts on residents (Kelowna Staff 1). The importance of Council values is clearly demonstrated in the North Saanich case, where it was repeatedly acknowledged that the values of the majority of the

2011 to 2014 Council resulted in “agriculture taking a back seat to development issues” (North Saanich Stakeholder 1). The 2011 to 2014 Council shifted the municipality’s focus to housing development, and the WCAS profile went from high to low. With “the Council shifting more to development issues and increased density, agriculture has taken a back seat to those issues” (North Saanich Stakeholder 2). The WCAS is perceived to potentially undermine land development aspirations, and to be in direct conflict with the values of the majority of Council. Given that the community is also reported to be divided in their values, the resulting agenda was not clear for the politicians and the public in North Saanich. As a consequence of the differing and conflicting values on the North Saanich Council, the food system initiative was set back.

Public Values

The theoretical statement for the public values sub-code is: Public values regarding LFP vary among communities, and public support is important for undertaking LFP initiatives.

In Kelowna, a staff person said that the public was not opposed to their urban agriculture bylaw: “farming, agriculture and food production are generally supported by the community” (Kelowna Staff 2). While having a supportive public is promising for further food policy work in Kelowna, there was no mention of the matter being driven by the public or pushed by grass roots organizations, as was the case in Vancouver and Victoria. In comparison, it was noted that the Vancouver Food Policy Council was the only public committee to have a large, relatively continuous public audience at its meetings (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). In contrast, North Saanich was characterized as having mixed and differing values towards agriculture. While some felt that the WCAS is consistent with the community vision for agriculture expressed in the Official Community Plan, opposition was also observed. There were a “few concerns from people who perhaps did not think that farming was that important”

(North Saanich Politician 1). It was also suggested that those who do not value agriculture may “see agricultural land as [merely] waiting for other [development] uses” (North Saanich Politician 3). Notwithstanding the negative attitudes towards agriculture, it was suggested that the majority of people value agriculture, and that this interest is growing (North Saanich Politician 1). The attention given to public values in each of the communities speaks to the importance that politicians place on those values.

Bureaucracy Values

As with the potential differences in values that can exist between the public, stakeholders, and on a council, so too are there potential differences within a bureaucracy as a result of the different values held by bureaucrats (planners, engineers, front line administrative staff, and managers). It was observed in the data that having an alignment of values within bureaucracies is an important condition for enabling the success of LFP policy. The theoretical statements relevant to *Bureaucracy Values* sub-code include: 1) Because staff are motivated by their values, having aligned values between staff is important and it is a challenge when values are not shared by all departments; 2) Depending on their values, senior management can move initiatives forward or be barriers to them; and, 3) Alignment of values within bureaucracies is an important condition for enabling the success of LFP policy.

Values held by staff were seen as giving them direction and motivation.

I think it just came back to the philosophy of our team which was really looking at pushing the envelope of what sustainable cities can be and what that meant for Canada. And what that meant for our regional context and I think there's just a really strong commitment to trying to push the envelope. Maybe a bit too much idealism but that remains to be seen. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

The next excerpt includes reference to conflicting values within the bureaucracy in which staff had to respond to their director who did not embrace the food policy work, but

valued development policy more. This is similar to the case in Kelowna where staff did not see all of senior management as being supportive, but it does not seem to express the same level of conflict.

Our planning director at the time was not a big supporter of urban agriculture and saw it as quite frivolous and just sort of extraneous to the affairs of the city but gave the Community Planning Group a lot of autonomy to kind of run with it and partly because our manager was quite a strong supporter of it. There were certain policies in there that were re-written at some point to make it clear that urban agriculture objectives shouldn't -- I'm trying to think what the verb was -- like sort of fetter the density objectives of the city. (Victoria Staff Person 1)

Having aligned values among staff can be effective in moving forward with policy initiatives, just as having a Council or Public with aligned values facilitates progress. Senior staff who do not value LFP, as reported in Kelowna, are considered to be barriers to those policies. One Kelowna staff participant did not see the senior management as having values considered supportive of local food systems (Kelowna Staff 1).

By the above accounts, bureaucracies are not necessarily characterized by homogenous values. Like other types of communities, the values held by bureaucratic members can either be aligned or unaligned with each other. Bureaucracies have different bureaus (or departments), as well as people with different values. Alignment within a department may be important, but not sufficient for moving an initiative forward. In addition to the issue of potential differences between staff and management, there may be differences between departments. Kelowna planning staff reported that they found that the Development Engineering staff presented concerns about their urban agriculture bylaw and its implication for water consumption. This was a barrier they had to overcome.

In Vancouver, some staff were early supporters of food policy while others supported it only when there was a clear political mandate, and a third group said it should not be done.

There's staff that is fully on board because they feel it is the right thing to do, there's staff that are you know they'll do a great job but they want a clear mandate to do it, ... but there's always you know one or two sticks in the mud that say you shouldn't do it. (Vancouver Stakeholder 1)

Food policy work does not happen in isolation from other departments. Therefore, the planning staff worked to build understanding about how food policy would add value and resources to the work undertaken in other departments. This active focus on building alignment, capacity, and support within the Vancouver bureaucracy underscores the importance of internal alignment, and that it can be achieved with focused efforts.

PRAXIS

Praxis is the second of the three main categories in the TI theory developed here, and it includes a broad range of actions or practices employed by actors involved in food system planning. These practices are aimed at influencing the values and behaviour of other actors, and also toward achieving the agreement of others to support a food system planning initiative.

Raising Awareness and Education

The data suggest that the more aligned and embedded values are in a culture, the more power they have to affect political agendas. To be effective in advancing transformative change, practices must be designed to encourage the values that support local food systems within the public. The sub-code *Raising Awareness and Education* emphasizes the development of supportive values for food system planning. The theoretical statements under this sub-code are: 1) The practice of raising awareness and education for the purpose of influencing local cultural and values is a necessary part of the change process; 2) While this

practice is focused on influencing values, it is also driven by values; and, 3) Using demonstrations of LFP can be an effective approach to raising awareness and education.

Improving awareness of LFP/S was a consistent social behaviour in each of the food system planning initiatives. The following passage suggests that raising awareness is a precursor to change.

(CRD Politician 1) Well, I came to Central Saanich rather interestingly to get closer to farming and all that I could afford which was five acres at a million dollars. \$200,000 an acre. And got involved in politics but I think, you know, awareness is part of it. I don't think it's a solution but I think it is something that we absolutely have to do on our journey.

(Interviewer) Okay. So if awareness is a part but not the solution, what is that part?

(CRD Politician 1) It's sort of like preparation. You know? If any condition were to change, if land prices were to fall making farming more accessible there'd have to be people out there who are ready and prepared thinking about getting educated about farming cause it's the complexity of farming now we understand. It's totally science based as opposed to inherent knowledge. Farmers didn't understand necessarily the complexity of germination but they understood the process. They understood inherent cycles. There was a lot of intuition. We've exchanged that intuition, in a lot of cases, for science but that science essentially has to be shared and that's partially through education which goes beyond, perhaps, the initiative but it's -- again they all link together. The initiative and the awareness creation leads to, probably, people getting more interested [in food production].

Raising awareness and education connect Values with Praxis in a way that is not unidirectional. While values influence praxis, praxis also influences values. Because of the importance of values in the potential success of transformative change planning, the data shows that planners, politicians, and members of the public/stakeholders groups focus on values. The North Saanich respondents spoke about the effect of the WCAS process on values, noting that it helped with the process of becoming self-sustaining and with recognizing the

value of LFP. It “was the first time in North Saanich that the future of agriculture was so clearly articulated” (North Saanich Politician 1). North Saanich Politician 2 suggested that the WCAS be used to help orient new councillors to the job. In this way, the document would continue to help raise awareness and educate not only the public, but also future council members.

Beyond the use of the WCAS for influencing public and political actors, one participant suggested that practice would also involve demonstrations to build support.

I think you need to demonstrate it somehow. You do not need 10 acres. Maybe a small demonstration farm where all the initiatives in the strategy are put to use, apart from the abattoir. You need a site like Sandown. A little sample, tied in with the market, right beside it or close enough to it so you can see the whole process. You see this apple, it was grown in that orchard there 10 feet away. (North Saanich Politician 3)

Demonstrations can be effective in building awareness and support. In Kelowna, the stakeholder advised that support for his urban farm “really poured in when people saw production” (Kelowna Stakeholder 1).

Engagement

The *Engagement* sub-code is related to the raising awareness sub-code as raising awareness is a goal of engaging with others, and both are seen as practices used for achieving change. The theoretical statements in this sub-code are: 1) Change efforts not only require a foundation of supportive public values, but also effective staff engagement in other departments to build support and implementation capacity; 2) Public engagement builds support through trust and relationships as well as implementation capacity; 3) This support and capacity enables actions to occur, but those actions need to be effective; 4) Building relationships is seen as an important step towards achieving trust and alignment, and

ultimately to being effective; 5) Quick, easy win actions are important to get interest and momentum started and maintained; and, 6) While quick and effective actions are important, change requires persistence, reinforcement, and resources, and it is incremental.

The *Engagement* sub-code is a critical element of Praxis, and recognizes that change must be built on a foundation of supportive public values. Where those do not exist in sufficient numbers, efforts at building that support are essential. The interview data revealed a proposition: to achieve change, the community needs to be engaged, there needs to be action, and actions need to be effective. Working with a community builds trust and relationships that enable initiatives to move forward. As one participant summarized, that “work was positive because I was able to build some relationships with people who do different forms of agriculture and I had increased credibility in the community” (Kelowna Staff Person 3). The importance of developing a foundation of public values was expressed by participants. For example, in the preparation of the Vancouver Food Strategy there was extensive consultation, engagement, and input with approximately 2,200 participants, including the Food Policy Council. This process was seen as working with partners to push the conversation forward (Vancouver Stakeholder 1).

The engagement in Vancouver was also seen as necessary in order for food policy work to be effective. Broad “reach and engagement makes for a strong strategy with invested people who want to make it happen” (Vancouver Staff Person 2). The ability to undertake the Vancouver Food Strategy was, in part, credited to the long history of preceding work and engagement. There “were decades of work to build trust and policies before doing a strategy” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1).

The interviews suggest that achieving change is reliant on the engagement of many people (a ‘cast of thousands’) persisting over time.

It's like making a movie or something. I mean, it's a cast of thousands and to get a public policy initiative launched, and going, and persisting -- I mean there's innumerable people that ultimately get involved in that and have the capacity to either further it or hinder it. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

This excerpt suggests a relationship between engaged people and power – engaged people have capacity to further or hinder food system work.

Engagement in Vancouver was not only directed externally to the public, but also internally to staff. It was used to build ongoing support, and invested people with implementation capacity in civil society as well as in other city departments. Engagement “and dialogue builds support and relationships with other groups who will work on the actions” (Vancouver Staff Person 1).

One respondent described the importance of engaging people by pulling them together into a bigger group as opposed to working in isolation.

(CRD Stakeholder 2) [A local food champion] is one of those people who pull people together, right? In all sorts of ways she'll link with the urban, she'll link with the 'Rurals,' people within governments, people outside, different farmers, members that aggregate or initiate, join our models, and pulling energy to -- not just to her but to a group of people.

(Interviewer) So she's aggregated. Why is she looking for voices?

(CRD Stakeholder 2) You certainly want small groups to coordinate but small groups operating in isolation [are] not going to be as effective. You need people on the ground. You need people who will talk to their neighbours. You need people who will talk to government. You need people who will write letters. You need people. It's the sort of thing you find in all sorts of engaged parties. And engage change.

In addition to engagement, undertaking a number of actions is credited with achieving change. For example, in Vancouver, a stakeholder noted the value of time invested in

advocacy work as a precedent to being able to look for quick wins to help build trust and undertake actions.

I think it can be challenging for communities that are not as far along in their own work to look at something like the strategy...without realizing the decade of work that was in the city and the decades of advocacy... that actually got us there so having things that are...quick wins and more tangible [things] can happen.

Vancouver Stakeholder 1

The importance of quick wins was also identified in Kelowna. Identify “the easy wins and the right things to do and just get it done [and the] simple and supportable ones that can be done should get done” (Kelowna Staff Person 2).

A North Saanich politician underscored the role of the WCAS in identifying practical steps and actions. It was noted, however, that even if council priorities change, some progress on LFP can still be made. As suggested by Vancouver Stakeholder 1, over time, actions build support, trust, relationships, and momentum, and establish an environment that can undertake and implement more comprehensive strategies. Being effective in undertakings is an important outcome of actions. The positive public response to the Kelowna stakeholder’s food production was a result of his effectiveness. Without successful actions, it would be hard to establish any momentum. Successful demonstrations are identified as a way to move from ideology and talk to practice. How “do you slowly convince people?...I think you just do not let it die and demonstrate and show it to people” (North Saanich Politician 3).

Buy-in and community support are important in building effective relationships. These relationships gave power for the staff through the support that was given by the community, and eventually also by other City departments.

(Victoria Staff Person 2) *I think we built a lot of buy-in and community support for that.*

(Interviewer) *How did you build it?*

(Victoria Staff Person 2) *I think again just working with those stakeholders and have them sort of reinforcing council. I think that we worked with our colleagues internally. Like there was the core group that kind of got the food issues but you know I can remember a number of meetings that we had with the Parks Department because a lot of those policies related to the production of food on public land. I think I would have described their atmosphere at the beginning as fairly sceptical. I think towards the end there was much more understanding and acceptance maybe of the role that food can play and the evidence of that would be that we didn't put anything in the OCP that the front line departments didn't agree with. Like this wasn't the planners writing the plans and so there was some pretty sophisticated policies I think related to our park system or food system.*

Starting points for achieving alignment and a collective approach (convergence) are also linked to building relationships.

I find myself doing now is trying to rebuild the sort of social infrastructure necessary to support both the consideration of what we do and then how are we going to do this moving forward? And rather than telling people what to do, allow for that kind of direction and desire to emerge from the group. You know, from the various actors that are responsible or connected to that system. So a lot of its system. You know, we're trying to rebuild those relationships. (CRD Staff Person 2)

Working with the community is seen as building trust and enabling initiatives to move forward. The data suggests the importance of engagement with the public and staff, the value of action, and the need for action to be effective. It also suggests that although food policy initiatives may aim for a transformation, change is brought about slowly and incrementally, as evidenced by the 20 years of activity before the Vancouver Food Strategy was prepared.

[It] takes a lot of time to get to something like this...that work just needs time to evolve...it really takes time to build the relationships and build the community of practice around it. (Vancouver Stakeholder 1)

In this sense, a specific, incremental initiative may eventually lead to transformative change, but achieving that change requires ongoing persistence, reinforcement, and resources. This is an important aspect of how transformative change occurs and is addressed in the discussion on policy evolution.

The data suggest relationships between factors as follows: Alignment with the public requires relationships with the public. Those relationships give the public voice. Having voice enables understanding. Having that understanding enables the building of a richer strategy. A richer strategy that is aligned with the public will have buy-in from the public, and public buy-in will help with implementation through acceptance, partnership, and participation.

Responding

Responding to the public is seen as an important practice in the food system planning initiatives included in this research project. The theoretical statement related to the *Responding* sub-code is: The public wants local food policy, and politicians and staff should respond to the public's wishes.

The following passage illustrates the public's role and influence in advancing food system policy work.

It really is about responding to a demand that seems to have arisen over the past few years. I would say since the 2010, 2009. What really drew the attention of the CRD to this is the Regional Growth Strategy policy review and a response from the agricultural community, elected officials and I guess the CRD community at large who responded to calls for input into the Regional Growth Strategy and what topics and policies were either missing or weak -- so sort of a pseudo gap analysis. Food and agriculture and food security were really top in terms of the amount of feedback we had and on one specific topic both online and in person at the workshops or whatever you want to call them. (CRD Staff Person 2)

By including food and agriculture in the Regional Growth Strategy work, the CRD elected officials demonstrate that public knowledge and values are not treated passively. Public values influence bureaucratic and political action. In Kelowna, the entire initiative was a response to a public inquiry, and an expression of the alternative pro-local food values of the planner that undertook and pushed the initiative through the bureaucracy. The Vancouver politicians recognized that food has become a part of the City's culture, "Vancouver is a city of foodies" (Vancouver Politician 3).

In addition to recognizing food as being a part of the cultural values of the City, the role of the public in effecting the political agenda was recognized. The "grass roots were a driving force pushing this forward for action [and it] is driven by people's desire to see this as a priority" (Vancouver Politician 1). The bureaucrats and the politicians were compelled to respond to the public. This demonstrates the importance and power of public values and their influence on policy initiatives.

Leadership

The *Leadership* sub-category is implicitly related to the core category of *power*, but is included as a practice given the importance the respondents assigned to it. The theoretical statements relevant to the *Leadership* sub-code are: 1) Individual leaders are an instrumental and powerful force in policy processes and are needed in bureaucracy, stakeholder, and political groups in order for successful policy work to occur and bring about change; and, 2) Although staff, politicians, and stakeholders all perform leadership roles, there are differences in how they perform them.

The interview participants identified leaders and champions in the public/stakeholder, political, and bureaucracy spheres of actors. The following passage identifies political leaders

and a public/stakeholder leader group, CR-Fair. This account sees leaders as individuals and as collectives.

We do have, you know, an example of strong leadership. You know, I think of someone like [Councillor X] at the City of Victoria. I think he's been at the table longer and he's not the leader but he's a leader, you know? We have groups like CR-FAIR -- small group of people that have been leaders. We have local champions. Like [Councillor Y], right? He's a leader in the sense of sort of helping farmers in a particular way but there's a form of collectivism [of leaders].
(CRD Politician 1)

The next passage also identifies a public/stakeholder champion, and asserts that without such champions, initiatives do not go forward. This suggests that leadership and champions are an essential part of change efforts.

You need a champion. Not only at the local level but at the political level as well because you can have the greatest policies coming forward but if you don't have champions at the regional board table or at the municipal tables those policies will just be policies and die on the vine, right? I mean they won't go forward with some initiative. (CRD Politician 2)

Some suggested that staff do not operate as leaders, at least not visibly. According to one elected official, it is important that staff understand and perhaps act as internal champions, but they would not lead an initiative.

There were champions of us at the Regional Planning Committee and then staff were a bit, "Oh, well what will we do with food security?" You know? Like, they weren't quite sure but when we went out for consultation and food security came back as the number one issue from the residents it was, "This is an issue." Right? I think within staff you need a champion as well. You need the planners that understand, right? But as we know, staff won't lead a challenge. It has to come from the political environment. (CRD Politician 2)

While the previous passage sees staff in a more passive role, the next one, from a staff perspective and experience, paints a different picture. In this description, the planners are seen as pushing change when an opportunity emerged.

I don't think when we started the OCP project [that] there was an idea that food system issues were probably something that were worth including into the OCP but the decision wasn't taken until well into that project to have a dedicated chapter of food systems. That wasn't something we started out. That just emerged from the community interest but also the planners pushing the envelope a bit. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

The next passage expands the idea of staff as simply being leaders to being critical in bureaucracies in order to manage and enable change.

(CRD Staff Person 2) I think actually having key people in positions of influence is a very critical piece, actually.

(Interviewer) Can you elaborate on that for me?

(CRD Staff Person 2) Well, I mean having somebody in the organization like I would call it institutional entrepreneur or intra-entrepreneur I guess they call it now. Somebody who understands the system, understands how to make decisions or be able to read the political situation, be able to stick handle it through all the kind of hoops that it goes through is really powerful.

A Victoria staff person sees the leadership role as a personal responsibility. He illustrates active leadership, building relationships and power, and places this critical activity within a long-term process extending decades.

And I felt it was my responsibility. There are people in planning that think that all you have to do is do the plan and then it's done and I've never believed that. My sense is that the plan is merely a tool to achieve the goals over a long period of time that you've set for yourself as a community and so -- yeah. That's great. We've done the plan and I remember telling council this. That was the easy part. Now, we've got 20 to 30 years of work ahead of us and we've got a whole lot of

things we've got to do. It's not over and there was a sense amongst Victoria councillors and I think this is still their mindset that once the project was done it was done. We've done that. Here's our plan and now we're on to whatever else our thing is. And my sense was as an organization we had move away from that sense that once you finish the document the work was finished, but actually okay now we really start to work, and we're going to actually start to work on these things and that requires all hands on deck and all the departments working towards a common purpose. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

This staff person identifies relationships between the long-term nature of change and the ongoing need to achieve and keep convergence through leadership and relationship building and through strategic communications. The same staff person explains the consequence to a change process when key leaders leave.

(Victoria Staff Person 2) Well, actually it was later than that but after we got the implementation documents more or less in the first -- sort of final draft stage. That's when I retired from the city. So I think the learning up to that point was -- and this is where there was high levels of enthusiasm at the staff level was that, you know, hey we actually can work pretty well together across departments. We know how to do this and there was a fair bit of enthusiasm both from the Community Planning Division team which was about seven or eight people and amongst our colleagues in the other departments. Now, we're going to move into the fun stuff which is like really making these things come to life and there were some specific initiatives.

(Interviewer) So what were the consequences of those changes?

(Victoria Staff Person 2) Well, okay. One specific consequence of the change, I left the organization and within two months the Integrated Planning Committee was no longer meeting. And that kind of surprised me but I thought that there might have been one or two other assistant directors that would have seen the value in carrying on. And so to me, that was the only cross departmental body that regularly met at the project and program delivery level where you could actually work together and strategize things and so now that link has been broken. There's

no conversation and now as a consequence of some other administrative changes it's a highly suspicious organization. Nobody opens their mouth about anything because they figure the guy next to them is going to stab them in the back. And so everything is ground to a halt... There's really a culture of fear operating there. When you see the entire management team plus 90 percent of the assistant director level position staff taken out, people aren't sticking their heads above the parapet, and I've had people say that in no uncertain terms. I'm doing something. I'm going to stay here. I'm at my desk. I'm looking here. I'm not going to raise my voice in any of these forums. I'm not going to get shot for no reason.

(Interviewer) *What does that do to the organization?*

(Victoria Staff Person 2) *I think it grinds to a halt apart from whatever stuff, you know, may be the city manager is interested in moving forward and can kind of keep on the agenda but I think a lot of the creativity goes out of it. People aren't putting anything in anymore. They're not taking risks. They're not putting ideas out there. They're just sitting back and waiting to see what happens. And it's unfortunate because you can see how quickly an organization -- I mean for people that think that who's at the top has any bearing on how things operate they're sadly mistaken because that one person can make all the difference in the world.*

Without that particular leader in the bureaucracy, and with the arrival of a different person in a position of authority, not only did the change process stop, but the internal environment was disabling change and creativity.

In Kelowna a single planner moved the initiative forward.

[I] was lucky to meet a guy like [the planner] who was just such an asset and has now become a good friend of mine... He really loved the idea and I think he wanted to make change and do something positive. (Kelowna Stakeholder 1)

In Vancouver, there were comments from the elected officials and stakeholders identifying staff champions. However, they also advise that there were champions and leaders on Council and in the community. It is interesting to observe that there were champions for the food policy work in all political parties. Political “supporters worked with each other and

kept each other involved as champions even when not in office – a triad of champions” (Vancouver Politician 1). This speaks to an alignment of values across the political spectrum attributed to the broadly supportive culture of food in Vancouver. As one politician said, it “is a political no-brainer” (Vancouver Politician 3).

Political Weapon

Consistent with the Foucauldian view that power relations in governance are war-like (Deacon, 1998), politicians can use policy initiatives as a weapon to gain advantage over an opponent. While this is not a robust sub-code, it is an important code for explaining one of the reasons why change is not necessarily linear. Initiatives can be targeted and dismantled for purely political reasons. The theoretical statements related to the *Political Weapon* sub-code are: 1) Political hostility towards a policy initiative may be based in a desire to discredit a political opponent rather than actual disagreement with the initiative; and 2) If there is no public support for the hostility directed at the initiative, the aggression may end.

The level of alignment of political values regarding food policy achieved in Vancouver is perhaps not very common. Politicians compete to attain political office, and such competition can lead to deliberate attempts to discredit their opponents. One politician’s “sense was that they [the opposition] would like to find something to say no to...In 2011, it was an election year, and our main opponent in the election chose to really ridicule some of the food stuff” (Vancouver Politician 1). The actions and policies associated with opponents, therefore, may offer an opportunity to be used as political weapons to discredit the opposition. In the North Saanich case, the new Council majority elected in 2011 used the demonstration gardens on the municipal hall lands as a weapon to attack the minority of Council that supported the WCAS and its implementation actions. It was suggested by a North Saanich politician that the land

development aspirations of the 2011-2014 Council were a reason for their hostility towards the WCAS (North Saanich Politician 1).

Even though there was broad support across political parties in Vancouver for their food policy work, there “was a political desire to say no to something” (Vancouver Politician 1) during the 2011 election, and there were attempts to ridicule and marginalize food policy work. However, those attempts did not resonate with the public. Further, the leader of the losing party in 2008 attributes his party’s loss to the food policy issue. Even though there was some support for food policy within his party, it was still seen as being on the wrong side of the debate (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). This outcome demonstrates that effective use of political weapons is dependent on public support.

Resource Allocation

The *Resource Allocation* sub-code theoretical statements are: 1) Undertaking significant policy development, and the subsequent implementation requires resources, and these are assigned by Council in accordance with their priorities (values); 2) When initiatives do not align well with Council priorities, resources to support them are restricted, resulting in a reliance on community groups to advance the initiatives using their own resources; 3) Even with restricted resources, some staff work may occur in support of the initiatives; and, 4) The political assignment of resources is encouraged by public opinion.

Resources are required to undertake actions. For example, a CRD staff person simply said that without funding, there would likely be no food strategy. Some initiatives that are not resource intensive, like the Kelowna urban agricultural bylaw, would be approved by management if no additional resources are required. As a North Saanich politician put it:

It comes to how you value those resources and money is a good way to measure how much we believe in something. It is a good way to say this is how much we

want it to happen and we are going to put money towards it and it means there is something else we are not doing. Everything works that way. (North Saanich Politician 4)

When there are not sufficient resources for the bureaucracy to undertake an initiative, and there is no likelihood of a Council approving the additional resources, advancing a policy interest may have to rely largely on community groups. In the Vancouver case study, it was reported that there was about 10 years of public activity in food policy before Vancouver city staff started to become involved (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). The ongoing interest and involvement in Vancouver is credited to the very strong support from the public and the political recognition of that support (Vancouver Politician 1). In comparison to Vancouver, while there was support from the North Saanich public, there was also some opposition, and that was reflective in the Council elected in November 2011 (North Saanich Politician 1). The 2011-2014 Council priorities did not include LFS/P policy. In fact, as previously noted, it has been suggested that policy might interfere with their pro-development values and aspirations. During 2011 to 2014, there were ongoing debates and power struggles on the North Saanich Council over agriculture and land development policy. A good example demonstrating this debate is the response of the new Council to an Agricultural Economic Development Strategy (AEDS) that was commissioned in 2011 by the previous Council. The completed AEDS was referred to the District's Agricultural Advisory Commission for their recommendations regarding implementation. A staff report dated April 17, 2014 recommended adoption of the AEDS, and recommended the inclusion of two action items into the staff work plan and two items into Council's Strategic Plan as a short term priority. These items were as follows:

1. Refresh the existing agriculture brochure and consider adding the local farm directory and other pertinent information to the next phase of the Quick Response (QR) Code program;

2. Develop an inventory of commercial kitchens available for small-scale food processing in the District;
3. Actively participate in the ongoing efforts to secure an agriculture investment fund for a regional agriculture plan and implementation program; and,
4. Actively participate in the ongoing efforts to secure a regional office for agricultural extension and business development.

None of the four action items required any financial contribution by the District of North Saanich. Each item would have been undertaken using existing staff resources, and two of the four were only advocacy efforts. In a four to three vote, the Council did not approve any of the four recommended actions. The chair of the Committee of the Whole meeting, Councillor McBride, in opposition to the proposed actions, stated:

I appreciate that food security is on everybody's mind and I don't honestly believe we are going to starve here; we could eat the deer and the geese and everything else that motors around. I really think these requested items to be added into the planning is, I think, expensive and the staff time is expensive. (District of North Saanich Web Cast, May 26, 2014)

In this example, it is clear that the Council majority did not want to see any staff time, or Council priority, assigned to the economic development of the agriculture industry. It was not valued and there was no belief in it being a real concern. Without that belief and without the values, even limited resources from the existing staff capacity were not going to be approved.

In Kelowna, the lack of a public movement to promote urban food production explains the lack of profile and priority in the staff work plan. The initiative in Kelowna was advanced and approved largely due to the 'passion' and leadership of a single staff person, who has since moved to a new community, and to the fact that significant resources were not required to undertake the policy work. These "kinds of projects are done on the side of our plates and are generally not a priority" (Kelowna Staff Person 2).

In Vancouver, the staff are well resourced and do not have to do food policy work on the side of their plates. The strong political mandate for food policy meant that the initiative was resourced and that mandate also allows those staff to compete for resources. Until “Council tells me to do it, this feels...like I’m doing extra or we’re doing extra and we do not have the resources to do it” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). Notwithstanding the resourcing, Vancouver staff still relied on community support and partners to enable the bureaucratic resource to be leveraged with community resources. A Vancouver politician said “we simply can’t do that kind of leg work and the staff do not have that kind of time either. We find people within the community with a passion [and bring] them into the room” (Vancouver Politician 2). Perhaps more importantly, ongoing work with the community would continue to build trust and relationships and ongoing public pressure/reinforcement for food policy being a political priority. These relationships constitute a positive feedback loop: a supportive public leads to a supportive council and bureaucracy, which leads to resource allocation, which leads to actions that create momentum and further support from and relationships with other participants. When the actions include community partnership, the resulting support and relationships would be even stronger.

OUTCOMES

Outcomes include broader system and social changes resulting from local food system planning processes and activities. They also include new policy documents. The existing policy context can be seen as an outcome of previous activities. The outcome of previous practices are a preceding condition for a further cycle of activities intended to effect shifts in values, build further support for change, and initiate new programs. *Policy evolution* is an outcome of activities that is characterized by a change in policy, and *convergence* is an

outcome characterized by a shift in values that results in agreement about a policy matter, in this case food system policy. When convergence occurs, opportunities for new policy initiatives and implementation occur – policy windows open. The types of outcomes that are the focus of this research are changes in systems, values, and beliefs, or changes in policy environments. These are a broader kind of outcome than that which would be generated by specific programs or projects like, for example, a quantity of vegetables produced in a garden or a quantity of gardens resulting from a community education initiative. These are process outcomes compared to project outcomes.

Convergence

‘Convergence’ refers to a time and situation where the values of a majority of actors become significantly aligned. The theoretical statements relevant to the *Convergence* sub-code are: 1) There needs to be a history of actions and initiatives to build trust, relationships, and support to enable convergence; and, 2) When there is a convergence of values between staff, councils, and the public, significant progress can be made.

Significant progress can be made when convergence occurs. This was explicitly described by respondents from Victoria and Vancouver.

I think for any policy initiative to be successful and to have any capacity to endure there has to be a meeting of the right time, the rising sense of interest in the community, and the right people inside the organization that recognize what's happening and jump on it, and take advantage of it, and run with it. You could call those people champions, you could call them facilitators, instigators, shit disturbers, you know, impresarios, string pullers behind the scenes -- whatever you want to call them. Some of them are visible, some of them are invisible but there has to be that sort of convergence otherwise things just fall flat, and I've seen that time and time again where good ideas come up but in the absence in some of those other conditions they just don't go anywhere. And I think there's, you know, one that we worked on

together I think was the Regional Economic Strategy piece. The timing on that wasn't right. The players weren't in the right mindset. The conditions now sound like they may have shifted after, what? 15 years? You know? So I think we found just a right little window of opportunity there that -- where things aligned, and we saw that and ran with it. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

The data show a strong relationship between leadership (as well as other categories) and achieving convergence. Leadership is shown to impact the policy context, policy opportunities, and engagement, relationships, and to develop convergence within a bureaucracy. The exercise of leadership combines with the other praxis categories to produce an outcome of convergence.

And so [the City Manager] kind of came into this situation and recognized that this is a completely foreign environment from her experience and she wanted to bring some of that rigor, that structure -- bring it into alignment with what legislation was saying and we as a planning department saw this as an opportunity to rehabilitate the reputation and the status of the OCP within the organization and also try and get a process where we were working cross departmentally on things we were all working on together and none of us could deliver an adequate solution on our own. And so that was part of the approach that we took in the development of the OCP where we had the various key people from all of the other departments on the actual policy drafting teams, and the research exercises, and the development of the implementation components so that those departments would then begin to see that chapter of the OCP, that's ours. And that led us over the period of about two years of working that to develop the relationships, to develop a level of trust. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

This notion of convergence was described by a Vancouver staff person as “the stars aligning with support from the public, council and management” (Vancouver Staff Person 1). When values converge, progress in achieving change is possible.

It seemed like the right moment, the window was open, there was an interest in food quite broadly and good alignment of political, community and staff level support and [we] really wanted to see it institutionalized in some way. (Vancouver Stakeholder 1)

Convergence was not identified by any Kelowna staff, perhaps because there was not convergence in their situation, or perhaps because it is very early in the evolution of their food policy work. If the suggestions from the Vancouver respondents are true, Kelowna will need to go through considerable community discussions, build awareness, work with community groups to build trust, relationships, and support, and undertake a number of discrete initiatives, like their successful Urban Farming bylaw.

Policy Opportunities

As discussed in the previous section, policy opportunities arise in part when there is a convergence of support from the public, politicians, and staff in bureaucracies. In this way, policy opportunities can be seen as outcomes of convergences. The theoretical statements associated with the *Policy Opportunities* sub-code are: 1) Windows of opportunity to advance policy initiatives or to address specific issues are important; 2) Acting on opportunities in a principled way is seen as important; 3) A window of opportunity for policy occurs when there is a convergence of staff, public, and politicians, all of whom have aligned values and are supportive; and, 4) With diminished convergence, policy windows can shut. The data suggest that some staff are aware of policy opportunities and regard acting on them as opportunistic.

I think there was a realization that there was an initiative that was bubbling up out of the community that was good from a sustainability perspective. It made sense if, you know, if you were thinking in terms of climate change and food security and all that kind of stuff. It was good politically because the politicians quickly realized that, “Hey. This is like the number one priority for people.” Even to the chagrin of some of the more conservative members of council who just thought this was, you

know, a little too hippy dippy for them, but they recognized that this is what people were interested in so there was some political buy in to that. So there was some -- a bit of an opportunistic component to it but it was recognition of where the community was at and where it wanted to go and that converged. It wasn't, sort of, at cross purposes with what the larger sustainability agenda was, in fact, it plugged in quite nicely and kind of gave a tangible human face piece to the sustainability agenda. I mean, everybody can think in terms of growing food, and needing to eat food, and shortage supply lines for food and all of that kind of good stuff and this is a foody town. This is a town that's loves it's markets and, you know, there's not very many cities of regions of 300,000 people that have, you know, dedicated food magazines, that are not just about restaurants but about sustainable agriculture and everything else. (Victoria Staff Person 1)

This staff person saw and took advantage of an opportunity, and considered this as being opportunistic. The opportunity was presented due to public values and support, the need to update an existing policy (the OCP), and the connection to other planning objectives relating to sustainability. This could be seen as principled opportunism.

In Vancouver, the alignment of political values, public values, and bureaucratic values was seen as a policy window or opportunity. Staff and stakeholder comments indicated that there was an open window or alignment of stars (convergence) where interest was broad, politicians were aligned, and there was support from the community and staff. This speaks to a convergence of values and support that was perceived to invite a comprehensive food strategy initiative. In comparison, in North Saanich there has been a significant divergence on Council, and the document and related initiatives have lost political priority and interest. This demonstrates that policy windows can also be shut, at least temporarily.

(Victoria Staff Person 2) So I think we found just a right little window of opportunity where things aligned and we saw that and ran with it.

(Interviewer) That's an interesting image, the window of opportunity

(Victoria Staff Person 2) Yeah. And it may close at some point.

Policy Evolution: Leading from and to other policy

There are strong suggestions in the data that there is a sequence or evolution of policy work in local government. The two theoretical statements related to the *Policy Evolution* sub-code are: 1) Policies emerge and evolve in response to perceived opportunities, as a result of power or conflict, and in response to public values; and, 2) Policy initiatives are seen to naturally evolve incrementally over time, building from past initiatives and addressing shortcomings.

The data highlight a number of ways policies can evolve. In the case of the CRD, the food policy initiative initially started out as a focus on food security in response to that issue being defined as the most important issue by the public. However, as a result of subsequent dialogue, the focus shifted.

Well, initially it was about food security. That's what drove that planning process into the distance. I can elaborate on that if that's helpful.

That was the initial emphasis with food security that -- the notion that here we are on Vancouver Island. Our food supply will only last, you know, so many hours. And that evolved over time to become less [food] security but more [on food] systems. So a more or less -- how shall we say -- not necessarily politically charged. I guess it's a safer term for people. And it morphed into a systemic strategy for the whole region and I think during the process there was an ongoing search for what this strategy really was all about. (CRD Staff Person 2)

It was suggested that the reaction to the initial focus in the CRD initiative was mostly from one farmer who has housing development aspirations (CRD Staff Person 2). However, the CRD's initial attempt in food policy came about because of public input. Consequently, there was a shift in policy focus with the change from a Regional Growth Strategy to a Sustainability Strategy (CRD Staff Person 2). That shift presented an opportunity to undertake this new work.

In comparison, the City of Victoria's food policy work also started in response to public values, and because an opportunity presented itself with the arrival of a new City Manager that wanted to pursue a program of sustainability.

We started off with a corporate sustainability initiative and this was an initiative that our division, Community Planning Division, essentially kicked off for two reasons. One, we had a new CAO who had arrived recently and she was very keen on the notion of corporate sustainability and was looking for some kind of an organizing concept to help the city structure corporate planning; its budgeting, its annual work planning process because there had been historic challenges getting council to focus on what it was they wanted to do within their term but also on an annual basis. And so we did a little discussion paper and did some research on corporate sustainability initiatives and this led into an initiative to put together a corporate sustainability framework. And I can't even remember the name of it now but, in any case, we worked for about a year on that and all of the sort of standard kinds of issues with respect to, you know, economic, social, environmental, and cultural sustainability all started to come to the floor and at the very same time there was some of the historic things that had been going on in agriculture in Victoria like the Mason Street farm, and, you know, backyard chickens and things like that were in the news. And so the notion of food security came up in the conversations. ... And so that kind of developed some broad goals and general strategic statements that ended up in the sustainability framework and then from there that kind of process.

Initially the Corporate Sustainability Initiative is going to be just something that the departments worked on co-operatively but council at the time decided no we're going to have a free standing Sustainability Department that hired a director. ... So where it ended up carrying on with me was shortly thereafter or almost in tandem with that we started up the review of the city's Official Community Plan which had never really been done as a comprehensive process. We had an OCP [Official Community Plan] but it was essentially whipped together when the legislation, you know, made it mandatory that municipalities had to have one -- essentially in-house, no research, no analysis, no data collection, just pulling it out

of existing planning documents and a very high level vision statement with some quite, to my mind, fairly woolly and unstructured strategic type statements in there. And so we were going to do it properly from scratch and my own personal goal in having been involved in the corporate sustainability framework was -- having seen a lot of initiatives at the City of Victoria rise and fall, rise and fall, there was a lot of launching of initiatives that never tended to follow through. I felt that even if the Corporate Sustainability Initiative never went anywhere -- if we could use the broad mission statement and goal statements and load them into the OCP as essentially the front end of the OCP, we would be able to salvage all of that and have had that done through a broad community engagement process which we did and effectively pulled all that information out of the sustainability framework, which to my knowledge, is not being used now but the goals persist as the goal structure within the OCP. And so that led us into a whole policy discussion in the OCP around urban food security. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

This participant described the initiative as evolving out of a certain policy context, and in response to a perceived opportunity presented by the interest of the City Manager in corporate sustainability.

In Kelowna, staff referenced an out-dated Zoning Bylaw and an out-dated Agricultural Plan. Neither of those documents addressed urban agriculture, which Kelowna planning staff saw as an emerging and current issue that needed to be addressed.

Globally we cannot keep moving in the direction we are going in, we have to secure and protect existing agricultural land...because as time ticks away with climate change, it may create problems with the current system. (Kelowna Staff 3)

Evolution in this sense is changing policy to stay current with community values and needs. There “were people out there trying to grow food on these small tracks of land” (Kelowna Staff 1).

The Vancouver case supports the notion of policy events building on each other. Specific reference to policy evolution was made by the stakeholders and by the politicians. It “is the

next step in a long evolution” (Vancouver Stakeholder 2); it “was an evolution in the food policy work” (Vancouver Stakeholder 2); and, it was a “natural progression from other work” (Vancouver Politician 2).

In addition to the respondents identifying the preceding work and action that created the policy context from which each initiative was developed, there is also discussion about events that would flow from the initiative. The Vancouver stakeholder and politicians group also identify other initiatives that are now being looked at that were not contemplated in the strategy. This suggests that while strategies may be comprehensive, they are not necessarily exhaustive in terms of future actions, and that policy work may still evolve. One respondent suggested that evolutions in future policy work in Vancouver could include: addressing a gap in the strategy by looking at cultural relevance in food conversations; implementing a commercial street Food Cart program; reorientation of the Vancouver brand; integration of food initiatives into a City grant program; and embedding food policy into the new Healthy City Policy work (Vancouver Politician 3).

The data suggest significant relationships between the codes. Change processes work from an existing policy context, require empowered engagement, and are evolving processes. The notion of recursive, non-linear evolutionary paths are also connected to policy context, engagement, and power through empowerment.

I think everything happens within a context and context is crucial to what happens. So whether the context is a local context, or a regional context, or a larger context. ... An engaged process is crucial. An empowering process is crucial. All sorts of things are experimental and they may fall apart and then something rises up in their place built on the actions of the past in some way. And that's true that some things fall apart and some things go down, right? There's no guarantees of evolution -- evolution's not linear, right? (CRD Stakeholder 2)

Policy Context

Policy context is a separate sub-code, but relates to several other codes, such as *policy evolution*, *council values*, *bureaucracy values*, and *convergence*. Policy context is a separate code because it helps explain the particular policy environment in each of the case study communities. It reflects the outcomes of previous practices and the interplay of the other codes, and it is the basis from which future discourse occurs.

The interview data suggest that policy context is a significant variable, influencing options that may be feasible in communities. The theoretical statements included in the *Policy Context* sub-code are: 1) Local Food System Policy environments range on a continuum from not well developed to well developed; 2) In less developed policy environments, there is a lack of awareness and a lack of priority given to food system policy initiatives, especially given other resource demands; 3) In such environments, public dialogue and opinion is important for garnering and maintaining the attention of bureaucrats and politicians for food system policy work; and, 4) In strong or well developed policy environments, food system initiatives may become institutionalized in policy.

A CRD staff person describes the role of the public in policy contexts where food system policy has had no previous recognition or attention: “It wasn’t something that the CRD were inclined to do, but because there was so much interest around it and public support, it was added as an element to the plan” (CRD Staff Person 2).

The data from Kelowna illustrates an urban food policy environment that is not well developed. An Agricultural Advisory Committee (AAC) was in place, but their Agricultural Area plan, like their zoning bylaw in relation to urban agriculture, was regarded by staff as outdated. The staff suggest that on agriculture issues the city was mostly reacting (Kelowna Staff Person 1). There was a lack of policy to guide staff and Council. They looked at bylaw

provisions for urban chickens, but this initiative failed. There were a few community gardens and a food charter, but it had no status with the City. Urban agriculture was viewed as a luxury item, as opposed to a core municipal function. The urban agriculture bylaw initiative was an ad hoc and a very specific initiative, rather than a comprehensive strategy.

A stakeholder suggestion that Kelowna is a free enterprise town implies a culture that is not proactive or advanced in terms of policy and regulation (Kelowna Stakeholder 1).

In contrast, the District of North Saanich identified the importance of agriculture in its community as its cornerstone Official Community Plan policy. They had a grass roots community group called “Food for the Future.” They had recently completed three initiatives: an Agricultural Area Plan, a recent and Council-endorsed Food Charter, and a recent and Council-endorsed Sustainability Guide that includes agriculture as a key consideration. They had an Agricultural Task Force that evolved into an Agricultural Advisory Committee (AAC). The WCAS was a comprehensive strategy with several objectives, including addressing missing linkages between existing policies. The politician’s comments suggest a public sentiment supportive of policies to address threats to farms.

I think the public and AAC and all those interested were hoping that they could sway and convince Council of the day and future Council’s for sure of the importance of the protection of agriculture. (North Saanich Politician 3)

In contrast to the CRD and Kelowna, respondents in Vancouver describe a richer policy context with considerable history. The elected officials and stakeholders describe a 20-year history, with the first 10 years being informal and unorganized community dialogue and grass roots efforts to establish a platform from which to work on food policy at the City. In the last 10 years, the formal key policy events include:

1. 2003 food policy task force
2. 2004 food policy Council

3. 2005 Bee Keeping Bylaw
4. 2007 Food Charter
5. 2010 Urban Hens
6. 2010 Greener City Action Plan
7. 2013 Vancouver Food Strategy

The Vancouver stakeholder group describes the many stand-alone policies and programs as a long and slow policy evolution, resulting in the current policy context.

Look at the current evolution of different food policy land marks; the creation of a mandate with the original action plan, the creation of a food policy Council, the food charter adopted in 2007, and the green city action plan. (Vancouver Stakeholder 1)

[And]

It takes a lot of time to get something like this...it was over a decade between the first declaration for drafting sustainable food systems towards having a 150 page strategy. (Vancouver Stakeholder 2)

Until the Vancouver Food Strategy was developed, food policy was not embedded or institutionalized in the City, and though there was broad political support, municipal departments were not working together. Staff describe their efforts as having to work to establish a place for food policy in the bureaucracy, and a lack of a clear and coordinated approach to the many different initiatives over 10 years. They describe the environment when preparing the Food Strategy as a time of convergence of support from the public, Council, and management, with food being a clear Council priority. They reached a point where they responded to public values by finding the right staff and the right opportunity to put all their ad hoc policies and programs into one place to focus on reaching their goals. This created a stronger policy context, which also enabled greater status and power for the food system work in the Vancouver bureaucracy.

MEMBER CHECKING RESULTS

Member checking interviews were undertaken to assess the fit and relevance of the results with two groups of participants: the respondent members (the food system initiative participants involved in the initial interviews) and external informants (food system planners and advocates not involved in the initiatives included in this research). These interviews not only provided internal fit and relevance for the data analysis and interpretation, but also suggest the possibility of a broader applicability of the GT.

Participants from three food initiatives were represented in the member checking interviews, and each group (staff, politician, and stakeholder) was represented. Respondent members enabled ‘fit’ to be assessed from the participants in the case studies. The external informants enabled ‘fit’ assessment from food system planners and advocates from outside of the case study interviewee population. This served to provide a measure of broader fit, that is, the applicability of the variables and theory to transformative change planning efforts in communities outside of the case study communities. As described in Chapter 3, the member checking process evolved from initially providing a draft of the results to two members, to presenting a four page summary of the theory and asking each member if it fit with and was relevant to their experience. When they indicated fit and relevance, they were asked for examples to illustrate.

The results of the member checking interviews are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Member Checking Interview Results

<i>Type of Member</i>	<i>Agree with variables</i>	<i>Agree with theory summary</i>	<i>Disagree with variables and theory</i>	<i>Agree with elements but wanted more information</i>	<i>Provision of examples on variables and theory by the members</i>
Respondent Members N=5	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	0	1 (17%)	4 (80%)
Non-respondent Members N=5	5 (100%)	4 (80%)	0	1 (20%)	5 (80%)

As the table shows, there was no disagreement with the data categories or the theory summary, and very strong agreement on theory and variables, and therefore a good ‘fit’ with the members interviewed. Only one member from each group expressed a desire to have more information before being able to give full agreement. The next sections use illustrations to demonstrate the fit and relevance of the emergent theory to the members interviewed.

Power

With respect to the master code *Power*, a Kelowna staff respondent provided the following personal account:

Senior management is a barrier. [It is] an issue of power. In my work experience, to me it has been a struggle of power. The incrementalism comes from a lack of key players. The transformative opportunities that exist do exist because of leaders and visionaries. In too many cases, bureaucracies are mired by tunnel vision and do not necessarily reflect the public values that well. (Respondent Member 3)

Reflecting on the challenge involved in change efforts and a decision to step away from the process, the same member said “I do not want to keep rolling rocks up the hill right now.”

External Informant 1 gave an example of an advocacy group creating power. The compost education centre in Victoria was organized to write letters to the Capital Regional District Board. They created power by expressing themselves. Speaking to the powerful role of community groups, another external informant described the process of self-organization in the public and grass roots in influencing policy. She sees that process as driving food system planning.

Values

A North Saanich Politician (Respondent) Member underscored the importance of values: It “is important for the [supporting] value to remain in place over time to enable implementation. It is the underlying driving force” (Respondent Member 1). The changeability of values is noted by the following External Informant’s comment:

People can become more self-oriented in their values if they discover they can sell farm land for lots of money. This may change how they view farm land. They may have valued their family time on the farm but the economics may influence how they regard the land. Global issues can also change values in the other direction, towards food production and awareness of things like climate change. The California drought helped with that. (External Informant 1)

An external informant confirms the divergence of values between and within bureaucracies: “There are different values in the provincial government and divergence in local government bureaucracies” (External Informant 1). Further, speaking not only to the importance and divergence of values, a Vancouver stakeholder member provides the following views on his efforts to create convergence:

I think values is a critical one. Because there are so many values within a system. I try to connect to whatever values people bring to this and inherently people already have some connection and value on food and they are competing. For example, the productionist value and the kind of economic development that can bring to the municipality. I find often that it is through broad dialogue across stakeholders and different parts of government to actually connect those different values that finds ways food can be planned for that meets multiple values...To me, I place a value on how we do food systems in that it should meet multiple goals and there are always trade-offs in how we do that and you cannot please everyone all the time but it is meeting people where they are at and bringing them along to help them to see. (Respondent Member 2)

Praxis

Confirming the importance of raising awareness and education, one member said, “Stakeholders need to know what local government can actually do and local government needs to learn about food systems. This enables good results” (Respondent Member 2).

One Vancouver stakeholder identified the sub-code ‘political weapon’ as important and that it can backfire:

Ironically in Vancouver, we actually saw that it is not coming up as much because all the parties are being supportive of food. In the last election though it backfired on the party that tried it, regarding chickens and wheat growing, specifically the opposition tried to go after the Mayor on that. It backfired on them. It was one of their political weapons. It showed their lack of knowledge around the food system issue and their lack of understanding about the public support for it and their lack of understanding of their own party members’ positions. (Respondent Member 2)

The notion of principled opportunism and policy windows strongly resonated with the members. For example, Respondent Member 1 noted the importance of taking advantage of opportunities, but not at the expense of compromising values. It was that member’s comment that suggested the term ‘principled opportunism.’ This notion was then elaborated on by a Vancouver stakeholder member:

I am hugely an opportunist and I think that so much of this work is opportunistic and it has to be. This speaks to Kingdon’s policy windows, agenda setting theory. This contributes to understanding the problem and the dynamic of the problem. I like the idea of principled opportunism because at the end of the day I like to think that I am not a used car salesman but am principled. When speaking about economic development and climate change and I am a principled opportunist because I believe food system change addresses those issues. I am an opportunist and will speak to the windows that are open...It is principled it is valued and at the same time it is pragmatic. You have to be opportunistic and read those windows and

see them opening but also [to consider] how you can contribute to them[policy windows] opening. (Respondent Member 2)

Further, the same respondent suggested that Kingdon's theory is "useful up to a point, but the question is how to move that agenda forward. That is the internal alignment which is critical which his theory does not speak to in the same way" (Respondent Member 2). This comment suggests that Kingdon's theory is complemented by the notion of internal alignment within the bureaucratic sphere, and is an important condition for action.

In response to the sub-code of *leadership*, there was very strong validation and additional ideas suggested during the validation interviews. An External Informant stated that "change does not happen without champions. In my observation there has not been a single initiative that has happened without them" (External Informant 1). He then went on to identify the different characteristics and types of leaders as follows:

1. Communicator
2. Listener
3. Empowerer of other people
4. Getting to the same level as other people
5. Enabler
6. Doer

A Vancouver stakeholder spoke to the relationship between leadership and having policy windows open:

It is one of the key elements to a window opening. Having a champion that is willing to act on it and help navigate it through council is critical. There needs to be champions in each sphere. I remember answering the question from a councillor, what was unique during the food strategy process, I said there was an opportunity because of an alignment between the food policy council, the staff and a general alignment within the council. It was those three coming together that created a unique window. It gave me hope at that moment for the implementation to move

forward that much faster because the three were together. When you only have two together, you are only going to get so far. The partnership is so much more significant. When there is leadership and buy-in across the different pieces was critical. (Respondent Member 2)

Another External Informant observed that staff and elected official champions are few and far between, and that in some cases, without the leader, the work would not occur. “It takes those rare people to do something off the side of their desk or to push Council. Champions go the extra mile to make something happen and have a passion. They are few and far between and are hugely valuable” (External Informant 4).

While speaking to the importance of leadership, a North Saanich politician member warns that “leadership is an important but fleeting role because pretty soon it cannot be just an individual. The first job is to get other people to support the idea. Then it becomes about a group, not just one person” (Respondent Member 1).

External Informant 4 emphasized the importance of relationships and partnerships. She stressed the need to have a community partnership plan, and confirmed that relationships and partnerships are a key variable in transformative change, and also relate to the durability of change.

Outcomes

The importance of policy context (which includes community) was addressed by a Respondent Member.

I think community context moderates what planning initiatives are undertaken and it often is used to determine what to not support. Within bureaucracy the experiences of the past affect current decisions. If there was a bad experience, if Council was not viewed as being supportive, it was taken as a reason to be taken against doing an initiative. (Respondent Member 3)

Regarding the sub-code *convergence*, an External Informant noted that “alignment takes out blocks and things can start moving [and] it reduces the barriers and resistance” (External Informant 1). A Vancouver stakeholder member related the importance of good engagement and the necessity of good results:

The emphasis on good engagement is super important but as a stakeholder if you do not begin to see actions and implementation, we can have the best plan but if the plan does not hit the ground you can get engagement burn out. Processes cannot just be seen as bureaucratic exercises. This is where it connects back to results. As a stakeholder, you are going to want to see change. You are giving your time and energy. You want to see that there is time and ability to move forward.
(Respondent Member 2)

Speaking about ‘convergence’ in strategic terms, an External Informant advised that:

Convergence is an important time to put your big ask on the table but there is much pre-work required to get to that time. There is a lot of pre-work that leads to convergence and alignment. (External Informant 4)

That external member then suggested the important role of public values in convergence:

“Part of the convergence is the public has driven it and is ready for it.”

Finally, in terms of the notion of incremental policy evolution and the necessary work required to get to a point where food policy is strongly integrated into a local government mandate, a Vancouver stakeholder identifies this important relationship:

I have been asked by other places should I go straight to a comprehensive food strategy and I say no. Unless you have a history of results and trust and relationships, and this is back and forth with changes in government, it is not always a straight line, or rarely a straight line, I would say Vancouver that kind of relationship, organizational learning and government understanding or even accepting food as a municipal issue, and what that means, that took nine years with a mandate before the food system strategy could be adopted but also for that to be something that for results to be delivered and actions put into place. Even now the

strategy contemplates short medium and long term actions implying that some things need to be in place before some long term actions can be done. They are also moving targets. (Respondent Member 2)

SUMMARY

The results of this data analysis chapter identify many codes/variables and sub-codes related to the food system planning initiatives. These results are intended to demonstrate the codes, their relationships to each other, and also their groundedness in the data. The data provided in the primary interviews, and assessed for fit and relevance by the member checking interviews, describe a process for transformative change that occurs slowly, incrementally, and recursively. Power is seen as the core category occupying a central and broad role driving the process of transformative change. It determines the direction of change, and is seen in active terms in the principal codes of values, praxis, and outcomes. Power privileges dominant values and is actively pursued by actors, including bureaucrats. The latter seek to create power through engagement and education practices, use power to influence others to support their change goals, and maintain power through effective actions and the establishment of strong and enduring relationships and partnerships.

The emergent theory, Transformative Incrementalism (TI), is grounded in the words and viewpoints of the participants. The theory emerged as a product of the grounded theory method of constant comparison and conceptualization of relationships between codes and categories. The results in this chapter illustrate the grounding of the theory and its main codes and sub-codes in the data.

Values are seen as the key motivation behind actions and, therefore, attempts to influence and change values through raising awareness and different engagement practices are an important dynamic in the change process. Praxis includes all those actions involved in the

change process. While action moves the change agenda forward, it must be associated with effective results. The latter is necessary for the ongoing maintenance of power.

The relationship between values, praxis, and convergence was described by a participant who said “I think values is a critical one...It is when we see the alignment of multiple values... It is meeting people where they are and bringing them along to help them see” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). These comments speak to achieving alignment or convergence of values by working with them to ‘help them see.’ It alludes to the sub-codes (within praxis) of raising awareness and education, and also of engagement to achieve convergence in outcomes.

The relationship between values, praxis, and the sub-code of policy windows was articulated in the section on praxis. The Victoria staff person described seeing a window of opportunity where things aligned. A Vancouver stakeholder saw an active leadership role in policy opportunities, referring to them as principled opportunism. You “have to be opportunistic and read those windows and see them opening but also [be aware of] how to contribute to them opening” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). This stakeholder sees a role for leaders to actively help open windows of opportunity.

The theory of TI emerging from the data speaks to how the process of transforming the food system is an incremental one. TI reveals and describes the principal role and modalities of power in the recursive and multi-directional paths of transformative change initiatives in food systems. The change process is driven by power in long-term efforts by actors to respond to and influence values towards states of convergence within the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres through praxis and outcomes. Effective leadership is highlighted as being strongly related to achieving the outcome of convergences and policy opportunities. Once there are convergences, windows of opportunity open for effective, incremental change initiatives that contribute to achieving a transformative change in the food system.

The data highlight the connections between a number of categories, including developing power through building relationships and engagement to achieve convergence. Several participants identified the long-term and incremental nature of transformative change. To illustrate, Vancouver participants described the long-term efforts (decades of work) required to eventually arrive at a point where there was support and agreement to undertake their comprehensive food system strategy. One Vancouver Stakeholder said: “Unless you have a history of results and trust and relationships, and this is back and forth with changes in government, it is not always a straight line, or rarely a straight line” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). This participant ties the categories of effective engagement (relationship building) raising awareness and education to outcomes of convergence where further action can be undertaken. In addition, it is noted that this is a non-linear effort, especially where there is a lack of trust and relationships.

The change process is facilitated by achieving alignment within and between the actors in the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres. Finally, the efforts to achieve alignment and produce change are entrenched in multiple and power-laden relationships within and between groups/actors.

Chapter Five

The Grounded Theory of Transformative Incrementalism in Local Food Systems

This chapter begins by more fully describing the emergent theory, Transformative Incrementalism (TI), and then situating it within the relevant literature as indicated in the introductory chapter. My original research goal was to develop a grounded theory (GT) that would help to explain the key drivers and processes involved in community planning initiatives intended to effect transformative change in local food systems (LFS). The purpose of this project was to understand the dynamics and characteristics of social and political processes in food system planning initiatives intended to effect transformative change. In other words, understanding how transformative change occurs would be important knowledge for planners while they consider and develop LFS planning strategies.

Resiliency is the ability of a system to maintain its function when impacted by a disturbance (Walker and Salt, 2006). Gunderson and Holling (2002) suggest that the challenge in being resilient is to conserve the ability to adapt to change by maintaining options. Arguably, a food system that is entirely dependent on either global or local food has less ability to adapt to supply disturbances than one that uses both sources. The ability to develop and maintain resilient and sustainable local food systems could be viewed as a subset of the challenge of increasing global growth and the eventual collision with limited global resources. Gallopin (2002) argues that this challenge will certainly be resolved, but asks: Will “it be through enlightened management? Or will it involve economic and environmental catastrophe?” (p. 364).

My aim in this research was to develop a theory about the social processes involved in planning initiatives intended to achieve change in LFS. This theory was intended to be grounded in the lessons emerging from multiple unique jurisdictions, each employing innovative initiatives. In developing this GT for application to LFS planning, new insights emerged. As indicated by the research, the reality of planning for transformative change suggests a long and incremental process that recognizes power within the political, bureaucratic, and public spheres of actors. The analysis suggests that any singular local food system plan to achieve transformative change may not be possible because the process of change is seen to be long and incremental.

TI is a GT about planning for transformative change that developed from this research to explain the interconnected roles of values, praxis, and the outcomes of praxis in the process of change. TI highlights the production and use of power in values, praxis, and outcomes, and it has linkages to several other planning theories described in the literature. In particular, Friedman's Transactive Planning (also referred to as transformational development or radical planning) and Communication Action theory (initially developed by Habermas and extended by Forester and others) appear to be the most related theories to TI. However, the data and analysis emerging from this thesis provide insights into an element of Transactive Planning that Friedman acknowledged as a missing piece – the role of power. It also significantly expands on how transformative planning occurs by revealing the power-driven and incremental social processes involved. Further, it provides a different perspective on the relationship between the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres grounded in the experiences of five local government initiatives.

TRANSFORMATIVE INCREMENTALISM

The theory of TI that emerged in this thesis highlights how transformative (significant) change initiatives occur in the local food system. It is important to note that none of the food system initiatives that were included in this research project occurred at a time of, or in response to a food supply crisis, but were generally described as initiatives that intended to build resilience and sustainability in their communities. Transformative change was noted to be the result of incremental actions and events that are each purposefully working through time towards a desired change in an existing system – in this case, the food system. The main categories involved in incremental transformative change that emerged in this analysis were Power, Values, Praxis (practice), and Outcomes. This change process involves the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres of actors, and is characterized by a process of actions and discourse that attempts to move the actors in each sphere from a condition of divergence in values to one of convergence (see Figure 5.1). Convergence refers to the point where there is sufficient alignment between all three spheres of actors, and agreement to undertake action towards transformative change.

Actors are not conceived as passive playthings of regimes of power (Bevir, 1999), but are active agents pushing change by such actions as raising awareness and education, building relationships, and engagement. These actions are intended to change how people see (value) local food system planning, and serve to develop an alignment of values and support for food planning initiatives. As Saha and Paterson (2008) found, local government staff can be the biggest barriers to sustainability initiatives due to a lack of knowledge. Raising awareness and education is therefore a critical measure for staff as well.

Figure 5.1 illustrates that divergence and convergence exist on a continuum, and shows the potential movement of values and alignment between the political, bureaucratic,

and stakeholder/public spheres along a continuum. The collective values of each population group (sphere) is shown as a circle occupying a notional position on the continuum. This figure indicates that projects located at the divergent end of the continuum, are more likely to be disjointed and ad hoc, with policy being relatively undeveloped (e.g., the cases in Kelowna and the CRD). At the convergent end of the continuum, strategies are more likely to be comprehensive, resources are dedicated to the policy area, and policies and programs are well developed (e.g., the case in Vancouver, and to a lesser extent also in North Saanich). In this notional display of each sphere of actors, the public are seen as the group with the greatest amount of value convergence (i.e., there are strong, broadly held values in support of local food systems) and the political group is shown as the most divergent. This diagram demonstrates that there may be differences between each group in their degree of value alignment related to local food systems. TI would support the need to recognize where each group is located and seek to move them towards convergence. As noted, in TI, in the absence of a major crisis or food system crisis, transformative change occurs slowly. In contrast, during a major event (crisis) there may be an imperative for immediate fundamental change where the public and government bodies must rapidly respond to challenges created by the external event or crisis. For example, historical events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis or the World Wars have heavily influenced LFS (Altieri et al, 1999).

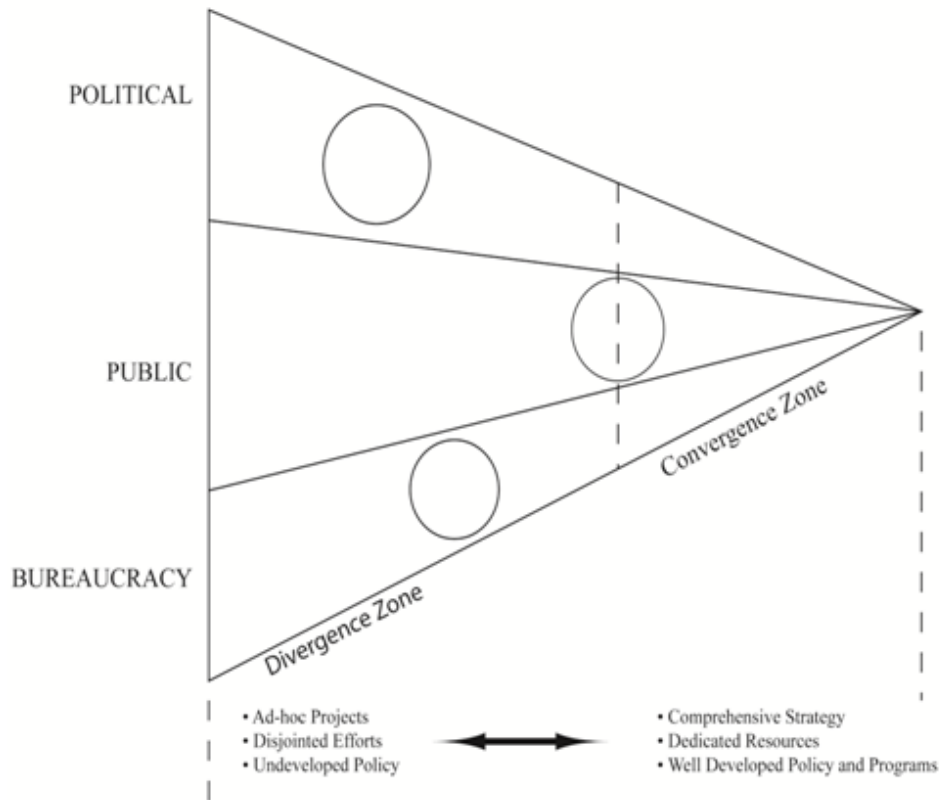


Figure 5.1 The Divergence/Convergence Continuum

Like Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2 includes the notion of a zone of divergence and a zone of convergence, but instead of emphasizing the continuum and the differences between the triad of spheres of actors, it illustrates the existence of subgroups within each sphere, and the fact that there may be differences between these groups in degrees of alignment or agreement. Within each sphere, some will be in a convergent state (inner circle), while others will exist in a divergent state (outer circle). Change efforts, therefore, would need to address each sphere, including subgroups within a bureaucracy.

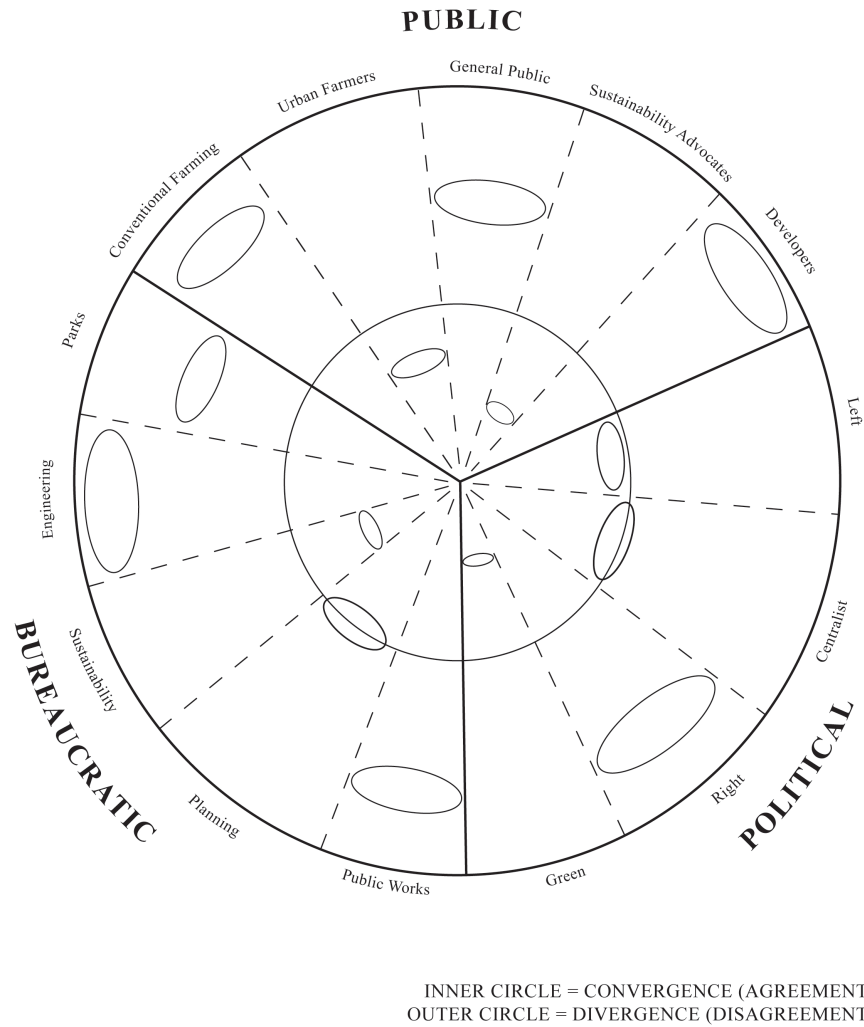


Figure 5.2 Divergence and Convergence Between and Within Spheres of Actors

The Main Categories

The main categories identified in TI theory were: Power, Values, Praxis, and Outcomes. Power is expressed in each of the principal categories of Values, Praxis, and Outcomes. Values are a source of power to the extent that they motivate and drive the actions of individuals and groups. This conceptualization of power as the core variable is consistent with the Foucauldian view of power being omnipresent and ubiquitous (Deacon, 1998). Praxis includes activities designed to create, use, and maintain power, such as building relationships

with other people that will give ongoing support for food planning initiatives. Results can build and reinforce support if the actions are seen to be positive, and conversely can erode support if the activities are seen to be negative. The variability of outcomes and the disposition of actors to compete for power also underscore the unstable nature of power as seen by Foucault (Deacon, 1998).

Power

The production, maintenance, and exercise of power is a fundamental dynamic in TI. In this sense, power is viewed as the ‘ability to influence’ outcomes, not as dictatorial power, or as based exclusively on authority (Siegel, 2015). It is created and used by the public, bureaucracy, and politicians in different ways. Power determines “which [whose] values get privileged” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). The bureaucracy has actors that may seek to develop support from the public or external agencies (e.g., Kelowna staff and the CRD politicians use of their Local Health Authorities) to influence actors within the bureaucracy or those outside of it, like politicians. It is produced through documents, and by building supportive relationships, and having engaged partners. Further, power is facilitated through knowledge of, and skills in, processes such as decision making in government, knowledge of food system commercial processes, and the ability to empower and motivate people. Leaders are people that are effective in both creating and using power. Motivated by their own values, they seek to influence others within and outside of their own groups to move forward on their policy initiatives. Siegel (2015) identified two roles for leaders – leaders by authority and leaders by influence – and he suggests that local government administrators exercise both types of leadership and power, but this is typically done in the ‘shadows.’ This positioning of local government staff leaders is consistent with the CRD politicians view that staff are not seen to be leading, whereas others see staff leading and exercising considerable influence in certain,

less visible ways. For example, one Victoria staff person suggested that members of the public and stakeholders can influence in public ways whereas staff cannot be so public.

I think you need external champions out there in the community to kind of keep the issue 'cause they can say things that staff can't say. They can be much more militant and proactive about things. They can get in the media and rabble-rouse and what not. They can push the boundaries more. That gets the attention of your elected officials but at the end of the -- you also need sympathetic allies within the organization who are listening to that conversation, perhaps, feeding that conversation one way or another through information that gets put out, questions that get put in front of council, how issues get structured for discussion in staff reports, all the rest of it. What gets proposed at budget time? So those people are critical, I think, within the organization. (Victoria Staff 2)

Modalities of power were identified by the interview participants in several ways:

1. In staff attempts to advance initiatives that are in conflict with senior management values, i.e., to oppose power;
2. In the purpose of and efforts to build relationships;
3. In the use of public and stakeholder engagement and dialogue;
4. In the efforts of raising awareness and education;
5. In the importance of champions/role of individual agents;
6. In the use of policy documents to achieve and express status and power in a bureaucracy and achieve interdepartmental coordination;
7. In the use of policy documents to institutionalize policy initiatives and thus achieve the ability to remain as an influence for an extended time period, “staying power”;
8. In the use of policy documents to influence future politicians;
9. In the use of policy documents to obstruct or enable farming practices;
10. In staff use of other agencies to give credibility to new food system initiatives which senior authorities may not at first support;
11. In supportive public and political cultures silencing alternative views; and,
12. In ongoing discourse eventually placing food policy in a dominant position of power.

Values

Values can be seen as guiding principles, and as the first link in a causal chain that leads to behaviour and action (Howell, 2013). Transformative change actions are influenced by values that are often highly variable between and within communities (as demonstrated by reported political struggles in North Saanich, and the lack of agreement on the CRD board about the importance of local food system planning), as well as between and within community groups and organizations like political bodies, bureaucracies, and civic society/the public. Values may be in conflict, they influence other groups, they motivate actors, and when they are aligned within and between groups, they can enable significant change because potential opposition is replaced with support and agreement. Because values are seen as key motivations and have a significant ability to influence the behaviours of actors belonging to other groups (e.g., public values influence politicians), participants engaged in transformative change processes are often focused on influencing shifts in those values to be more supportive of the transformative change goals (e.g., the importance of education and raising awareness in “value-changing” discourse) (Forester, 2012). One Vancouver stakeholder, for example, was strategically focused on values and his goal of bringing others along through engagement.

Praxis

TI sees praxis as a way to influence the public and stakeholders in order to build support (e.g., when planners in a bureaucracy use education practices to raise awareness). In addition to raising awareness and increasing education, the role of community engagement, action (especially quick wins, as suggested by a Kelowna staff person), and effectiveness are not only practices focused on achieving change on the ground, they also influence and reinforce values and the ability to further policy initiatives through building relationships, trust, and momentum. Responding to public values is one of the praxis sub-codes, and it implies a power relationship in that, if the public strongly express certain values, politicians and staff respond. In fact, local government interest in LFS has been associated to shifts in grass roots public opinion, especially in Australia, Europe, and North America (Mason and Knowd, 2010; Qazi and Selfa, 2005; Granvic, 2012; Marezki and Tuckermanty, 2007).

Raising awareness and education, building relationships, and engagement builds support and the power and capacity to influence and undertake policy initiatives. However, this process of working towards transformative change is slow and incremental, and is consistent in this regard with Friedman's Transactive Planning (Healy, 2012). Reasons for the slow speed of change are related to the time it takes to undertake dialogue, to build trust through initial actions and relationships through positive engagement with results that are motivating. It is also related to changes in staff leadership in the Victoria initiative, and in political leadership in the North Saanich initiative.

In addition, it is noteworthy that it takes time for values to change, to build support to implement initial and subsequent initiatives, and (as values begin to support, align, and converge) to undertake additional and increasingly more comprehensive and ambitious policy initiatives and programs. This process is slow because change is not unidirectional, as

evidenced in the effect of changes in Council in North Saanich and described by a Vancouver Stakeholder. Initiatives can be delayed, or can even retreat, under changes in political or bureaucratic leadership. Initiatives can also suffer when political contests use food policy as a weapon. This was the case in Vancouver when an election loss was attributed to the failed attempt at using food policy as a weapon to discredit a political opponent (Vancouver Politician 1). In this context, *Incrementalism* is more about slow steps to build relationships, trust, and power, rather than choosing between the incremental differences in policy choices characteristic of Lindblom's 'branch method' (2012). Further, action that occurs within bureaucratic, public, and political spheres puts planners in the position of measuring, assessing, and developing power with other actors to advance transformative change. While building understanding through genuine and meaningful communications (Friedman, 2011) is a critical part of the transformative change process, that process is also about building power through effective dialogue and engagement within the bureaucracy in order to drive change within public and political spheres. This focus on dialogue and engagement within the bureaucracy was explicitly described by Vancouver and Victoria staff. Friedman's (2011) authentic communication was seen as a necessary component of that process.

A key element in praxis is the capacity to identify opportunities where certain actions might find support. Being able to both facilitate the emergence of an opportunity, and to initiate an action within a window of opportunity, is an important quality and skill of leadership. Effective leaders are seen as essential to the success of a transformative change process, and are found in the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres. Such leaders are people that excel at communicating, listening, empowering other people, enabling, and doing. This is consistent with Bevir's (1999) reformulated Foucauldian approach. Having the necessary resources to undertake initiatives is also essential. Without adequate resources, the

initiative may fail or may fall well short of its potential. The assignment of resources by elected bodies or senior bureaucrats is an expression of their support for the initiative, as well as an exercise of power.

Outcomes

The outcomes or results of a specific local food system initiative can advance or impede the viability and health of the local food system. Outcomes can be program specific, such as the number of community gardens established by an initiative or the quantity of food produced by a program. Outcomes can also be broader in nature, relating to the policy environment in which food system policy initiatives are determined. For example, one CRD stakeholder asserted that the policy context where an initiative is undertaken is a central and critical consideration, and an evolving state. One Kelowna stakeholder stated that a successful initiative provides evidence for future initiatives, whereas a failed initiative may reduce that support. The current policy context in any organization can be seen as the outcome of preceding dialogues, policy works, and values of the politicians, bureaucracy, and public. Another CRD stakeholder argued that it is the basis from which further work must begin, and moderates the policies and actions that may be the most viable under the existing environment. A policy environment for any particular policy topic may range from being underdeveloped to well developed.

Moving from an underdeveloped to a well developed policy environment is a slow and incremental evolutionary process mediated by champions, values, resources, and efforts to build support, as well as opponents with differing values and agendas. Policy initiatives are seen to evolve, and they are vulnerable to changes in power (e.g., Foucault's view that power is unstable) (Deacon, 1998), such as a new Council, a new city manager, and the loss of important leaders within each of the groups. Well-developed policy environments have

effectively institutionalized policy programs, and have developed power to continue with the programs; for example, Vancouver's food policy initiative arguably occurred within the most well-developed policy context, and that was the result of two decades of preceding work (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). The stated goal of the initiative for some participants was to institutionalize food system values within key municipal policies in order to enable it to persist through future challenges that might occur.

The outcome of successful policy work among the bureaucracy, public, and politicians over time leads to significant policy opportunities where there is a convergence or alignment of values between and within these groups sufficient to enable a major policy initiative to be undertaken and implemented. This process was described by the Vancouver politicians, staff, and stakeholders: 20 years of discourse and activity eventually led to a broad base of support, and the ability to undertake a comprehensive food system planning initiative. The greater the degree of alignment between values, the greater the chance of successfully undertaking an initiative. Such agreement also results in the ability to compete for and receive necessary resources to do the work. Without that agreement and the resources, progress is in part dependent on the existence of effective leaders and champions to work with limited resources, influence other potential partners, and develop awareness and support within their and other groups. Victoria staff, for example, gave accounts of relying on the public and key stakeholders to support and maintain their food policy initiative. Convergence would be unlikely or more difficult to achieve in an underdeveloped policy environment.

ALIGNMENT WITH THE LITERATURE

There are a number of themes evident in the data that are also found in the literature. These include: values, the production and use of power (bureaus, politics, and the public), leadership and agency, incrementalism/evolution, transformative action, and convergence/

policy windows. The next step in the GT process was to determine how the categories and concepts emerging from this study related to the existing research literature.

Fainstein and Campbell (2012) report that there is a significant divide between planning theory and practice. This is supported by Friedman's (2011) reflections on his planning experience. Academic skeptics "had little influence in development planning where I worked" (2011, p. 3). For Friedman, planning theoreticians had little to say that helped him in his work on development. Developing a theory grounded in the perceptions and experience of practicing planners, local government politicians, and public groups may help narrow this divide since theory would be grounded in practice.

Friedman (2011) has commented that there is no overall categorization of planning theories; however, there are several recognized planning theories that are relevant to this research, notably Friedman's Transactive Planning, Forester's Communication Theory, Davidoff's Advocacy Theory, and Lindblom's Incrementalism. Yiftachel and Huxley (2000) suggest that most planning theories are normative and prescriptive, and incomplete to the extent that they "cover only one part of the theorization endeavor...rather than explain why things are as they are" (p. 909). They also suggest that more critical approaches to understanding planning, cities, and urbanization have been developed in other fields, mainly human geography, sociology, politics, architecture, and law. This research project began with an intent to address the question, 'why are things as they are' in planning processes for LFS.

Transactive (Transformational/Radical) Planning

Friedman's (2011) *Transactive Planning* focused, in part, on authentic communication between the planner and the client, notably having open-ended conversations about a problem to develop understanding between the client and the planner. That communicative effort is intended to bridge and blend the planner's formal, processed knowledge with the client's

informal or experiential knowledge. Friedman (1987) describes Transactive Planning as a process of social learning in which there is mutual learning between the planner and the actor (similar to the mutual understanding goal of Habermas' (1979) speech acts. This process of Transactive Planning is dedicated to changing existing relations of power held by the state or global corporations (Friedman, 1973). Because of the focus on changing relations of power, this is seen as radical and transformative planning. Friedman (2011) identifies elements of radical planning as including "social learning, self-empowerment, networking and coalition-building, strategic action and face-to-face dialogue and the ability to hold two opposing concepts without dismissing either" (p. 61). He sees transformative planning as suggesting the "choice of a 'best' strategy for overcoming the resistance of the established powers in the realization of desired outcomes" (2011, p. 62). Integral to the process of transformation is the role of small action groups working together for change (2011). My data further develops this view of Transactive Planning by applying it to processes within bureaucracies, and by claiming a greater role for the local state in the process through its planners. This work builds on Transactive Planning by incorporating concepts related to the production of power, its use, and maintenance as core activities for the planner, as well as the public and political actors. Staff members in Vancouver and Victoria, for example, spoke about their strategies for building relationships with stakeholders and the public to work together on initiatives that promoted a change effort in LFS.

For Friedman (2011), radical/transformative planning is always based on the self-organized actions of people standing in opposition to the established powers and, in particular, the state. For "the state to engage in radical planning poses a contradiction in terms" (Friedman, 2011, p. 77). This suggests that a state-employed planner might not be able to be a radical planner since they are an agent of the state. However, Friedman also identifies local

government as the ‘local state.’ While he does not address it specifically, it could be argued that the local state and the provincial or federal states may have different agendas. In other words, it would be possible for the local state to work towards transformative change at the senior government level. Further, because Friedman (1973) also identifies global corporate interests as a power structure where the relations of power need to be changed, it would seem possible for the state to engage in radical planning efforts focused on global corporate interests. Changing the global agribusiness model to support and develop LFS would be a potential radical focus for the state.

Healy (2012) describes Friedman’s *transformative development* as a planning endeavour focused on system change, with such change coming about “through the accumulation of small changes. Incremental changes and small-scale initiatives can build up over time into transformative momentum” (p. xiii). This notion of change occurring as a result of an accumulation of small, incremental changes was expressed by several of the research participants as well. While Friedman sees change actions as occurring incrementally with cumulative effects, the theory focuses on authentic communication between client and planner. The focus of TI is on building the ability and capacity (power) to develop and implement food policy initiatives over time in slower increments until there is sufficient alignment of values and a convergence of support within the political, bureaucratic, and public spheres. When that type of convergence is in place, additional opportunities emerge that allow more comprehensive and ambitious actions to be undertaken, and the process of transformative change may then be hastened.

With Friedman’s focus on authentic communication and learning between planner and client (and the blending of formal and experiential knowledge), and the social action of civic society in bringing about change, the incremental nature of change was not a significant focus.

Further, as Friedman acknowledges, neither was the role of power a focus (Flyvbjerg, 2012).

He suggests that perhaps:

[The] biggest problem we face in theorizing planning is our ambivalence about power. The rational planning paradigm studiously avoided talking about any form of power other than the power of the mind...The main literatures on power...have all been imported from outside our field (Flyvbjerg, 2012, p. 137).

Friedman (2011) urges theoreticians to build theory upon strong considerations of the relations of power, especially enabling power.

[This] will be done more readily once we ground our theorizing in the actual politics of city-building, acknowledging that the production of urban space involves the interaction of conflicting interests and forces, not least the growing force of organized civil society itself (Friedman, 2011, p. 141).

Sandercock (2005) references Friedman's notion that planning cultures are situated in local areas, and identifies Vancouver as a city where power relations are based on a consensual model. The co-director of planning for Vancouver's central city has said "What we finally determine to do is the result of thousands of conversations" (Friedman, 2011, p. 193). The 20 years of food policy dialogue in Vancouver underscores the depth and extent of those conversations.

Incrementalism

Incrementalism is a theory that is focused on the process of choosing policy alternatives based on small incremental differences between options. In his classic article, *The Science of 'Muddling Through'*, Lindblom (2012) describes two approaches to formulating policy: 1) the root method (the rational comprehensive method); and, 2) the branch method (incremental policy analysis). The root method is the rational policy, making formula in which policy making is rigorous, thoroughly examining all the relevant variables, values, alternatives,

and outcomes to make a policy choice that maximizes outcomes. It requires enormous knowledge, time, and resources.

The branch method is less comprehensive and more incremental, and uses a limited number of variables and values, limited analysis, and limited policy alternatives. This approach relies heavily on looking at past experience with small policy steps. Lindblom notes that it is the branch method that is usually employed in public agencies, even though it is the root method that is formalized in public policy literature.

He describes the branch method as the method of successive limited comparisons since it continuously builds “out from the current situation step by step and by small degrees.” In comparison, the rational-comprehensive or “root” method always starts with looking at the fundamentals, and is prepared to start completely from the ground up. He says that the latter is not well suited to highly complex policy issues (Lindblom, 2012).

In the branch method, the analyst assesses the incremental differences between policy options in delivering on a value. Here “the administrator need not try to analyze any values except the values by which alternative policies differ and need not be concerned with them except as they differ marginally” (Lindblom, 2012, p. 181). Therefore, the analyst’s need for information is far less than in the root method and analytical capacity is more manageable.

Incrementalism is focused on the process of choosing policy alternatives (based on small incremental differences between options), rather than choosing small incremental steps (Lindblom, 2012). The latter is more a function of the choice, and not the choice itself. Therefore, it may not be an accurate fit for incremental movements towards a transformative goal in civil society. In fact, the reference to public engagement and dialogue, the role of civil society, nor the role of power is addressed by Lindblom.

Given that Lindblom's *Incrementalism* was not intended as a policy approach to bring about transformative change, incremental actions intended to enable transformative change action are not explained. My research suggests that incremental actions are essential in the process of transformative change since values, support, and relationships need to be built into the spheres of civil society, bureaucracy, and politics, and this takes time and experience. Incremental progress resulting from initially discrete, ad hoc initiatives which are steps towards a future transformative change appear to be less about choosing between policy choices and more about building relationships, trust, and support for further initiatives to occur until conditions allow more ambitious policy efforts.

On the face of it, 'Transformative Incrementalism' may seem like an oxymoron. It describes small, branch-like growth through incremental actions and steps towards a major change. The process is slow, incremental, and characterized by ad hoc, disjointed efforts that each contribute to the condition required for more synoptic measures and transformative change. The involvement of the public and civil society in policy has changed since Lindblom wrote his paper in 1959. It seems appropriate to now to reconsider the policy process with civil society, transformative change, and power in mind.

Communication Action Theory

Forester is acknowledged as one of the main developers of communication action theory (Friedman, 2011); however, it is also acknowledged that he was strongly influenced by Habermas, and that his work presents Friedman's Transactive Planning in a new way (Friedman, 2011). Forester sees planning practice as communicative and argumentative (Friedman, 2011). His approach is to have the planner communicate in a way that empowers citizen and community action alike. He sees information as a complex source of power in the planning process, and notes that misinformation can be anticipated and counteracted to create

more democratic processes. This view of planning fits the ‘radical planning’ category. These planners help social groups search for practical solutions to problems, and provide them with useful information to devise strategies (Friedman, 1987).

Healey (2012) suggests that Friedman is “an often unacknowledged forerunner of communicative planning theory” (p. xii). Healey (2012) argues that communicative planning theory offers a phenomenological interpretation of the relationship of knowledge to action.

In her estimation, this process builds:

“on the realization that knowledge and value do not merely have objective existence in the external world... They are, rather, actively constituted through social, interactive processes (Berger and Luckman, 1967; Latour, 1987; Shotter, 1993). Public policy, and hence planning, are thus social processes through which ways of thinking, ways of valuing and ways of acting are actively constructed by participants” (p. 230).

Forester (1980) sees organizational processes as potentially and profoundly affecting citizens because they are not involved in those processes. Citizens are affected by “how these organizations reproduce social and political relations of knowledge and ignorance, consent and deference, trust and dependency, and attention and confusion” (p. 77). Forester (2012) advocates a role for planners to understand how organizations can render citizens powerless, and respond by playing an educative and organizing role, informing citizens about forthcoming projects, and ensuring citizens access to relevant information.

Planners can respond to decision-making power by anticipating political pressures and mobilizing countervailing support. Anticipating the agenda-setting attempts of established interests, planners can respond through a variety of informal, information-brokering roles, keenly attuned to the timing of the planning process... In addition, planners may work to include or seek ties to those traditionally excluded, encouraging attention to alternatives that dominant interests might otherwise suppress. As presented here, then, progressive planning practice

represents a refinement of traditional advocacy planning, a refinement based on the practical recognition of systematic sources of misinformation (Forester, 2012, p. 46).

For Forester (1980), communicative action is concerned with planners communicating in a way that counteracts misinformation and empowers the public with good information. Yiftachel and Huxley (2000), however, suggest that while communicative action has contributed to understanding planning, it is problematic because it draws attention away from the political processes that shape cities and regions. Because GT can be used to identify social processes (including political processes), it offers an ability to address the shortcomings of communicative action theory in this regard.

Habermas saw that communicative action and power was a critical part of democracy, and noted that communicative power is the expression of citizens' political autonomy (O'Mahony, 2012). For Habermas, communicative action is possible because of human rationality, and such rationality is inherent in language and expressed in argumentation (Habermas, 1984). Habermas sees the citizen as an active participant in democratic systems (Habermas, 1996), engaging in rational discourse and argument. While Habermas (1979) recognizes other forms of communication, he specifically singles out speech actions as a medium of understanding:

...anyone acting communicatively must, in performing any speech action, raise universal validity claims and suppose that they can be vindicated. Insofar as he wants to participate in a process of reaching understanding, he cannot avoid raising the following – and indeed precisely the following—validity claims.

He claims to be:

- a. *Uttering* something understandably;
- b. Giving [the hearer] *something* to understand;
- c. Making *himself* thereby understandable; and
- d. Coming to an understanding *with another person*. (p. 2)

It is easy to see how Forester's Communicative Action theory is seen as an extension of Friedman's Transactive Planning theory. Both have communication as the core process, and they are also influenced by Habermas. For Friedman, communication is having an authentic dialogue between actor and client to build understanding and enable civil society to push for transformative change. For Forester (1980; 2012), communication is about the planner ensuring misinformation is anticipated, and counteracted with good information in order to enable an informed democracy, and to oppose powers that would misinform for their own interests, within or outside of the bureaucracy. My analysis, however, takes a third path in its focus on communication based on building, using, and maintaining power through a slow process of engagement and dialogue where relationships, trust, and support are built incrementally. This view of incrementalism provides insight into how urban space is produced, and why processes occur as they do within the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres.

Advocacy Planning

Davidoff (1973) presented the concept of the *advocate planner*, whose role was to advocate for his/her clients' views. Forester saw communicative action as a refinement of Davidoff's advocate planner. Instead of just advocating for their client, the communicative action planner would combat misinformation in order to facilitate better informed democratic processes. This advocate planner was seen as enabling an effective urban democracy by ensuring the plurality of choices that arise when citizens are involved in "the process of deciding public policy. Appropriate policy in a democracy is determined through a process of political debate. The right course of action is always a matter of choice, never of fact" (Davidoff, 1973, p. 279). Davidoff (1973) was not focused on communicative action as a power consideration or to combat misinformation or centres of power within organizations or other interests. It was to achieve an urban democracy by facilitating a plurality of views.

In this research, the grounded theory of TI not only seeks to facilitate urban democracy, it seeks to use it as a means of influencing political values and choices in order to use them to influence other parts of the bureaucracy. Raising awareness and education combined with ongoing engagement about the value of food systems is intended to develop public support which, in turn, facilitates political support and then bureaucratic support.

Power in Planning

The emergence of the concept of power in contemporary philosophical discourse is often, and largely, credited to Michel Foucault (Kelly, 1994). Kelly argues that Habermas was critical of Foucault's approach to power, which Habermas asserted needed to be "tempered by a critical theory able to make normative distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate uses of power" (1994, page 1). Habermas introduced his theory of communicative action as that critical theory (Kelly, 1994). Assche, Duineveld, and Beunen (2014) see power as an important concept in planning, as it speaks to the possibility of planners being able to make a difference in society. Their view that power is produced and reproduced recursively from one event to the next is consistent with the notion of a recursive and incremental change process in my emergent theory, where the direction of change depends on who has the most power, and highlights the fact that this direction changes with changes in power. Aarts and Leeuwis (2010) see power in planning as the instrumental ability to secure outcomes that are dependent on the agency of other participants.

Friedman (2011) argues that the implementation of visions "requires an acknowledgement of power as a central issue" (p. 137). Deacon (1998) advises that Foucault sees power relations as omnipresent and ubiquitous, with every human relationship being a power relation, and highlighting how these power relations are unstable and in constant struggle. This account of power is consistent with my research finding of power

being the central variable in the process of local food system planning. Accounts from research participants describe actions to influence values, change how people understand local food systems, and develop a base of power to support change efforts in food systems. These accounts point out the instability of power with changes in political and bureaucratic leadership.

(Victoria Staff Participant 2) *We probably would have a whole bunch of cool initiatives happening but there were senior leadership change[s].*

(Interviewer) *So what were the consequences of those changes?*

(Victoria Staff participant) *There's no conversation and now as a consequence of some other administrative changes it's a highly suspicious organization. Nobody opens their mouth about anything because they figure the guy next to them is going to stab them in the back. And so everything is ground to a halt. There's really a culture of fear operating there. When you see the entire management team plus 90 percent of the assistant director level position staff taken out, people aren't sticking their heads above the parapet, and I've had people say that in no uncertain terms. I'm doing something. I'm going to stay here. I'm at my desk. I'm looking here. I'm not going to raise my voice in any of these forums. I'm not going to get shot for no reason.*

(Interviewer) *What does that do to the organization?*

(Victoria Staff Participant) *I think it grinds to a halt apart from whatever stuff, you know, may be the city manager's interested in moving forward and can kind of keep on the agenda but I think a lot of the creativity goes out of it. People aren't putting anything in anymore. They're not taking risks. They're not putting ideas out there. They're just sitting back and waiting to see what happens. And it's unfortunate because you can see how quickly an organization -- I mean for people that think that who's at the top has any bearing on how things operate they're sadly mistaken **because that one person can make all the difference in the world (emphasis added).***

Flyvbjerg (2012) described professional experience where knowledge was marginalized by power, and the holders of power only enabled knowledge that served their purpose.

Flyvbjerg (1998) argued that power “determines what counts as knowledge ... [and] power ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does not serve it” (p. 319). The case in point was where a report he prepared had information selectively removed by the senior administrators, but other information, which supported a particular idea, was retained. He says that in reality, “power often ignores or designs knowledge at its convenience” (p. 294). The power of management staff to control information was illustrated by the comment of Kelowna Staff Member 2 that “convincing others in the organization to improve on regulations is sometimes the toughest part of the game we play.” That game is about getting power to recognize an argument (knowledge) to make change.

Allmendinger (2009) suggests that power is hidden and surreptitious in modern societies. He references Michel Foucault’s view that power is “found at all levels of society and social existence. It is invisible and flows throughout the complex web of networks that make up modern life” (p.16). In this view, power is found not only in the dominant social class and economic power, it is found in civil society, and in the bureaucratic and political spheres. Rather than being unidirectional, power is multidirectional and relational. Those, for example, “inside the state who are trying to make cities more liveable depend on the existence of mobilized communities just as much as communities and social movements depend on allies within the state” (Evans, 2012). There is acknowledgement of the public’s power in policy matters. Sabatier (1991) notes that:

...there is a fairly strong correlation between important shifts in public opinion and changes in the general direction of governmental policy (Pake and Hapiro, 1983). Popular influence is further enhanced if one includes citizen complaints to agency and legislative officials (Verba and Nie, 1972; Johannes, 1984) and grass roots response to interest group lobbying campaigns (Loomis, 1983) (p. 148).

Leadership is a concept closely related to power. Siegel (2015) identifies two types of leaders: 1) organizational managers who have legitimate authority over subordinates; and, 2) charismatic individuals who lead by influence (power) even though they have no formal authority. Through influence, these staff lead upward to their Council, lead outward to the public, stakeholders, and other agencies outside of the local government, and lead downward to staff through influence, rather than the blunt use of authority (Siegel, 2015). The use of influence rather than authority is what differentiates a leader from a manager.

A leader differs from a manager by achieving the compliance of followers through influence rather than raw power. Thus a manager can be a leader in the sense that subordinates follow not only because he or she has legitimate authority, but also because of the respect that followers have for that person (Siegel, 2015, p. 29).

The importance of leadership (and agency) is central to Siegel's research, and it is also a key aspect in my research findings. It implies agency and the capacity to work to change systems and relations. In contrast, Bevir (1999) reports that Foucault "vehemently rejected the idea of an autonomous subject, that is the subject as its own foundation, or the subject as capable of having meaningful experiences, reasoning, forming beliefs, and acting outside of a particular social context" (p. 354). This view of the subject as an object and vessel for power (Foucault, 1994) and incapable of reflection and reasoning is in opposition to Mannheim's view of a free floating intelligentsia and Habermas' conviction of the ability of humans to engage in reasoned argumentation in democratic discourse. Habermas described Foucault's conceptualization of the individual as a vessel and consenting object of power as placing individuals into a "vortex of objectivism, that is, the objectification of man" (Habermas, 1994). Bevir (1999) further reports that Foucault paid little attention "to the ways in which subjects act as agents to create social practices and institutions" (p. 355). Foucault's critics challenge his view on the subject being a product of a regime of power in

that, if individuals cannot act innovatively, we cannot then explain changes in regimes of power (Bevir, 1999). Bevir (1999) argues that a reformulated Foucauldian approach could incorporate a humanistic perspective which would maintain Foucault's approach of analyzing how social influences operate on individuals, but would include allowance for agency and local reasoning in social systems. This reformulated approach would raise individuals to being more than "mere playthings of regimes of power" (p. 359), and would be consistent with my research. Participants expressed strong views that leaders and champions are critical and effective agents of change that, while challenged by regimes of power, work with success in changing regimes of power.

(CRD Staff Participant 2) I think actually having key people in positions of influence [power] is a very critical piece, actually.

(Interviewer) Can you elaborate on that for me?

(CRD Staff Participant 2) Well, I mean having somebody in the organization like I would call it institutional entrepreneur or intra-entrepreneur I guess they call it now. Somebody who understands the system, understands how to make decisions, be able to read the political situation, and be able to stick handle it through all the kind of hoops that it goes through is really powerful.

My analysis encompasses these views of power concerned with the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres, and their relational nature and recursive processes. The emergent GT of TI explains how actions in each of these spheres interact to produce and use power incrementally towards transformative change. These actions are often driven by leaders and champions who work hard to develop and maintain relationships through engagement and education. If effectively carried out, this work develops a regime of power that supports food system change initiatives, but as noted, such regimes are vulnerable and unstable. The changes in direction of the initiatives described in Victoria and North Saanich illustrate the instability of these regimes.

Transformative Change

Planning literature addressing transformative change is scant. This is curious given the implied focus of planning, that is, that plans intend on achieving a different future state than that which exists at the time the plan is made. One of the earliest thinkers and contributors addressing planning was Karl Mannheim. Mannheim saw planning as the means to guide social change (Freidman, 1973). He also was of the view that, while how a person thinks and perceives were derived from the position a person occupies in the social structure, one group of people were seen as “sufficiently detached from the existing social order [and] beholden to no one” (Freidman, 1973, p. 28). This body of people, the intelligentsia, were considered able to invent new futures based on a radical critique of the present (Freidman, 1973). Mannheim saw the path to such new futures characterized by facing resistance to constructive change through a lengthy process of re-education (Friedman, 1973). The characterization is evident in the process of change outlined in TI as being slow, recursive, power laden, and requiring, among other practices, education. The capacity of the intelligentsia to reason correlated with Habermas’ view of people having the capacity to reason and reflect (Allen, 2007), and having the capacity to be active agents.

Every single citizen would, in this way, have the possibility to participate actively in the construction of democracy. The political discourse would be supported by a broad, inclusive spectrum of reasons...bringing within the public arena citizens’ actual interests and values. The outcome is a ‘communicative power’ that ‘has a real impact on formal decision making and action that represents the final institutional expression of political ‘will’ (Habermas, 1996, p. xxviii).

Not all planning is oriented to transformative change. Friedman (1987) identifies three types of planning (planners) – allocative planning, innovative planning, and radical planning. Allocative planning is concerned with the allocation of scarce resources among competing

users. Planners engaged in allocative planning are guided by the values and goals of political decision makers (Friedman, 1973; Friedman, 1987), which serves existing power structures and adopts a view of the public interest that would be acceptable to those in power (Friedman, 1973).

In contrast, the focus of innovative planning is on institutional changes in systems of societal guidance (Friedman, 1987). Radical planning takes the change goals of the innovative planner to greater lengths and draws “on organized citizen power to promote projects pointing towards social transformation” (Friedman, 1987, p. 34). Friedman (1987) says that in practice, these types of planning can overlap, but rarely do allocative planning and radical planning come together.

While communicative action was addressed earlier, it is important to acknowledge that it is a theory that is about change, and in particular about the role of citizens engaged in communicative action through speech acts in effecting policy. The focus on change is articulated by Friedman (1987) in his *transformative* theory, which he describes as:

A set of complexly related statements about the world that:

1. Focuses on the structural problems of capitalist society viewed in a global context – problems such as racism, patriarchy, class domination, resource degradation, impoverishment, exploitation, and alienation;
2. Provides a critical interpretation of existing reality, emphasizing those relations that, from period to period, reproduce the dark underside of the system;
3. Charts, in a historical, forward-looking perspective, the probable future course of the problem, assuming the absence of countervailing, transformative struggles;
4. Elaborates images of a preferred outcome based on an emancipatory practice; and
5. Suggests the choice of a ‘best’ strategy for overcoming the resistance of the established powers in the realization of desired outcomes. (p. 389)

Forester took Habermas' and Friedman's work a step further by carving out a specific role for planners in assisting disadvantaged groups with information to use in democratic discourse.

While the work of Mannheim, Habermas, Friedman, and Forester speak to transformative change, one has to look to other disciplines for transformative change theory for change that occurs outside of crisis events. Looking to other disciplines produced three works – one in the field of higher education, one in institutional change, and one coming out of public administration. Each has strong parallels with TI. The first body of work by Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen (2005) identifies a process of gradual institutional transformation in advanced capitalist economies characterized by incremental changes that lead to transformative results (Campbell, 2004). Streeck and Thelen (2005) advise that while contemporary theories of institutional development see change as a result of a crisis, transformative change also occurs “from an accumulation of gradual and incremental change” (p. 18). They also attribute agency as a key driver in change, as individuals have ongoing skirmishes trying to push their own goals and interests, taking advantage of opportunities, and working around constraints.

Streeck and Thelen (2005) see five forms of transformative change processes: displacement (of extant models with emerging models), layering (of new practices over other existing practices), drift (when change occurs because existing systems are not maintained), conversion (when there is an active redirection to new goals, functions, and purposes), and exhaustion (this is change resulting from gradual institutional breakdown). They note that in conversion changes, redirection can occur for two reasons:

...as a result of new environmental challenges, to which policy makers respond by deploying existing institutional resources to new ends. Or it can come about through changes in power relations, such that actors who were not involved in the original

design of an institution, and whose participation in it may not have been reckoned with, take it over and turn it to new ends (p. 26).

The second body of work on transformative change is from Tyack and Cuban (1995). In their book, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of public school reform*, Tyack and Cuban (1995) argue that actual transformative change in the US public education system has been gradual and incremental. They proposed a process model called long-term strategic incrementalism for achieving change incrementally over time. In their model, the first step is to identify the problem, the key stakeholders, and a long-term vision of the desired goal. The next step is to determine how to achieve the change. This involves determining the type and level of change needed, identifying specific change increments, determining forces that hinder or facilitate change, deciding on a strategy for each change increment, and allowing for sufficient time. The third step is to implement, incrementally, tinker (evaluate and adjust actions), and then stabilize and institutionalize change as it occurs. This third steps calls for the change agents to take advantage of opportunities as they arise.

The third body of literature, radical incrementalism, originates with the work of Wildavsky (2001), who saw a tendency in public budgeting to be an ongoing practice of considering incremental changes (Dennard, 2008). Wildavsky (2001) attempted to apply the incremental tendencies in public budgeting to the broader public policy process as a strategy to continually adapt to emergent problems (Dennard, 2008). Halpen and Mason (2015) describe radical incrementalism as taking “small, incremental changes, supported by small-scale and tightly focused evaluations” (p. 143).

The emergent theory of TI has strong parallels with Tyack and Cuban’s (1995) Long-Term Strategic Incrementalism, Streeck and Thelen’s (2005) description of gradual institutional change, and Wildavsky’s Radical Incrementalism, , even though they contemplate

transformative change from different content and topic areas. Outside of a crisis or historic rupture, they all see transformative change as occurring gradually, slowly, and incrementally. TI is more explicit on the centrality of power and the need to effect societal guidance through long-term relationship building, education, and raising awareness. The result of effective societal guidance would be increased support for the desired changes. While the term *transformative incrementalism* may seem somewhat oxymoronic, it is not. It simply explains that, outside of internal system crises or major system changing external shocks, the path to transformative change is long, incremental, and laden with power relations and struggles. This describes the social process evident in my data, as well as being evident in the work of Streeck and Thelen (2005) and Tyack and Cuban (1995), and alluded to by Mannheim, who was convinced that opposition to change could only be overcome through a long re-education process (Friedman, 1973).

Policy Windows (Convergence and Alignment)

Taking advantage of opportunities was an important theme in the data, and was also identified in the literature (Tyack and Cuban, 1995). John Kingdon (2001) developed an approach to policy formulation that speaks to the importance of policy windows and the way they emerge. In his view, “policy making can be conceptualized as three largely unrelated ‘streams’: 1) a problem stream, consisting of information about real world problems and the effects of past governmental interventions; 2) a policy stream/community composed of researchers who analyze problems and formulate possible alternatives; and 3) a political stream, consisting of elections, legislative contests, etc. (Sabatier, 1991). Sabatier (1991) references Kingdon’s (2001) view that major policy reforms result when “a window of opportunity joins the three streams: in response to a recognized problem, the policy community develops a proposal that is financially and technically feasible, and politicians find

it advantageous to approve it” (p. 151). In other words, a policy window opens when there is a recognized problem matched with a viable solution and a political will to approve it. This view of an open policy window is different from the policy opportunities suggested in my analysis. Recall the City of Vancouver and Victoria staff descriptions of windows of opportunity opening.

So I think we found just a right little window of opportunity there that -- where things aligned, and we saw that and ran with it. (Victoria Staff Person 2)

Kingdon’s (2001) view of policy windows does not identify the role of values and the importance of convergence when bureaucratic, public, and political values align, and of internal alignment within the spheres. For a problem to be identified and matched with a solution implies that the policy analyst has values that make this worthy of concern in the first place. Kingdon’s (2001) view of an open policy window also ignores the role of power and of leaders within the public and bureaucracy, and does not address how to move the agenda forward. My research, therefore, also builds on the concept of policy windows by explicitly describing the role of power, values, praxis, and outcomes in contributing to the opening of policy windows. Further, in TI the planner works towards opening policy windows before a serious problem occurs. In TI, policy windows open when convergence occurs.

SUMMARY

The outcome of successful policy work among the bureaucracy, public, and politicians over time leads to significant policy opportunities where there is a convergence or alignment of values between and within these groups sufficient to enable a major policy initiative to be undertaken and implemented. This process was described by the Vancouver politicians, staff, and stakeholders. There were 20 years of discourse and activity that eventually led to a broad

base of support, and the ability to undertake a comprehensive food system planning initiative. The greater the degree of alignment between values, the greater the chance a policy window opens for successfully undertaking an initiative. Such agreement also results in the ability to compete for and receive necessary resources to do the work. Without that agreement and the deployment of resources, progress is in part dependent on the existence of effective leaders and champions to work with limited resources, and to influence other potential partners, and develop awareness and support within groups. Recall the Victoria staff accounts of relying on the public and key stakeholders to support and maintain their food policy initiative.

Transformative change processes are not necessarily unidirectional (as described in the North Saanich, Vancouver, and Victoria participant interviews), and there may be setbacks due to changes in political bodies or key staff or to the efforts of powerful public stakeholders. Therefore, it is important to have effective feedback mechanisms to measure and demonstrate the support for the change initiative. Further, consideration for specific initiatives that have durability or resistance to changing political views could be helpful in increasing the durability of the change initiative. Policies and bylaws are not as durable as physical infrastructure like community gardens and farmer markets. For example, where it is simply a resolution of Council to rescind a policy supporting community gardens or a food hub, the existence of a community garden or a food hub would be more resistant to changing views. One North Saanich politician suggested that the new Council may find it difficult to have the gardens or food hub removed. If there are legal agreements in place, or control of the infrastructure lies with other parties, it would clearly be harder to change direction or remove that type of infrastructure.

Relationships and partnerships are central to practice in advancing a transformative change initiative, and this was identified in all five of the food system initiatives studied in

this research. It is through building relationships and partnerships that power is increased, activities are supported and implemented, and momentum is achieved, increased, and maintained. Planning policy initiatives depend on this for their success, as does achieving change on the ground.

TI is a grounded theory based on the views and experiences of political, staff, and stakeholder participants in five local food system initiatives. The data and resultant theory developed here highlight the central role of power in explaining the relationship between values, praxis, and outcomes in transformative planning initiatives for LFS. Because power is unstable, because power regimes are dependent on key leaders, and because it takes time and effort to create and maintain convergence in values, the change process may not be linear, but rather is slow and incremental with advances and retreats in progress. The importance of key leaders was expressed by the Victoria staff, and the result of a change in staff illustrated the vulnerability of power regimes. Vancouver participants described a long and incremental process, where values were actively targeted for change through engagement, relationship building, and raising awareness. Participants were focused on building support in the public, within staff, and within the political sphere.

The literature supports the importance and centrality of power (Deacon, 1999; Bevir, 1999; Friedman, 2011; Assche et al, 2014; Aarts and Leeuwis, 2010). Transformative Incrementalism builds on the premises of a number of existing planning theories, and addresses the lack of attention to the role of power. Where Lindblom (2012) has identified the notion of incrementalism in the branch method of choosing between policy options based on their perceived differences in quality, TI presents incrementalism as a journey towards change through slow and cumulative actions. This view of incrementalism is closer to Friedman's view of incremental and cumulative actions. However, in Friedman's characterization of the

change process, he did not incorporate power beyond that achieved through the ‘authentic’ communication between client and planner. Similarly, Forester’s (2012) attempt to address the role of power was also limited to communication. He saw a role for the planner to challenge power with information. TI would incorporate Forester’s use of power, but it is more comprehensive in its treatment. For example, as demonstrated by the Vancouver and Victoria staff, power can be created and maintained by staff somewhat in the shadows through engagement, building relationships, and partnerships. They noted that working with others who have the ability to be more public in their advocacy efforts can be more effective than working alone. Friedman, however, is clear and strong in his assertion that planning theorists need to more explicitly and thoroughly address the question of power in planning theory. TI responds positively to this call, and highlights its ubiquitous and central role in the change process.

TI positions leaders as active agents in the change process. It is consistent with Bevir’s (1999) reformulated Foucauldian approach, which provides for agency in changing power regimes; it is rooted in Mannheim’s view of the role of planners as providing guidance for social change (Friedman, 1973); and it is consistent with Habermas’ theory of communicative action. The participants in this research suggest that not only are leaders active agents, they are indispensable, with changes in leadership having the ability to significantly affect the trajectory of change. Staff leaders, however, tend to operate in less visible ways, consistent with Siegel’s (2015) view of local government leadership. They can, though, be adept at working with others who operate more publicly. The theory of TI developed here is based on the central category of power, and it works through a consideration of the relationships between values, praxis, and outcomes.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This research used a classic grounded theory approach to explore how transformative change in LFS occurs, and the role of local government planners, elected officials, and community stakeholders in that process. The theory, TI, was grounded in the experiences of these actors and it sought to explain how change-oriented local food system planning processes occur. The result is a theory that highlights the central role of power and the important roles of values, praxis, and outcomes in incrementally bringing about change in local food systems.

Local food systems are critical to the development of sustainable and resilient communities. However, strong LFS can only be realized with transformative change in the way that food systems currently operate. As indicated by the food system planning initiatives that formed the backbone of this dissertation, transformative change is a long, incremental, and recursive process that involves values/beliefs, praxis, and outcomes, and that recognizes the role and importance of power within the political, bureaucratic, and public spheres. Power has been under-studied and under-theorized when it comes to local government policy making contexts in relation to food supply initiatives, and also within the broader field of planning itself (Flyvbjerg, 2012).

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

My research found that power permeates everything, and needs to be gathered, used, and theorized more directly and openly by academics and planning practitioners. As discussed at the outset, planners need to shift away from the Westminster model where they remain neutral,

and move into a more overt, non-neutral advocacy and entrepreneurial role. In this way, power can be used more self-consciously to take advantage of opportunities in enhancing food production systems in a principled fashion. By taking on larger roles as advocates, educators, and change agents, planners must also take a stronger role in promoting an alignment between values and objectives in any planning process across the three spheres of actors (public, bureaucratic, political) in order to move local food policy initiatives forward. To make these processes effective, it is essential to retain and maintain key staff, and to maintain the ongoing relationships necessary to move the planning process forward. Local government planners involved in local food initiatives must make power dynamics a central consideration in their approach to planning across bureaucratic, public, and political spheres.

Accepting Glaser's (2012) proposition that grounded theory can be employed using any epistemological standing (Holton, 2012; Hernandez, 2012), this research was conducted using a classic grounded theory methodology. A grounded theory approach was selected because it is an effective methodology for discovering new perspectives about what is actually going on in a field of interest (Christiansen, 2012). Understanding local food system planning initiatives through the comparative analysis of participant interviews is characteristically grounded theory in approach. My analysis has identified process dynamics, including power, underlying the process for changing LFS. It identifies the key variables and produces a grounded theory based on the practices and perceptions of participants involved in the local food system initiatives. Power is actively pursued, it constrains, it enables, and it is challenged by the participants.

In this research, I developed TI as a theory to explain the process of radical change efforts (changes in systems, structures, and power relations) in food systems outside of, or before the onset of an external crisis or event that demands major changes. Transformative change is

achieved through a long history of incremental evolution in efforts (programs, policies, and actions) by actors within the public, political, and bureaucratic groups whose values and beliefs converge and align over time. The incremental efforts are intended to support a transformative change goal in local food systems. In this process, values, praxis, and outcomes are interrelated. Actors work to bring about change in the values of members of the public, elected officials, and bureaucrats. These values support actions (praxis) that have outcomes which in turn can impact values. TI sees the social process of changing values, action through praxis, and outcomes as a recurring, non-linear, and long-term effort that incrementally achieves transformative change. The direction of change depends on who develops and maintains the most power.

This TI grounded theory has implications for planners and local government organizations, planning educators, politicians, and the public. These implications are addressed below.

IMPLICATIONS

There are many implications in this research, including implications for how planners might more effectively undertake actions to achieve significant change in LFS, and how they should explicitly consider the use of and response to power. These results have pedagogical implications for community planning educators, especially in terms of the awareness and skills students need to have to operate effectively and ethically as active agents of change. There are also implications for politicians and the public.

Planners and Local Government Organizations

One of the most significant implications of this work for the planning profession is that it aims to understand transformative change strategies within a broader context that explicitly

addresses the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres of actors. Perhaps one of the most interesting findings is the need to address alignment efforts within the various staff and departments in a bureaucracy.

Understanding that individual actors and separate departments can hold different, even conflicting values, while still recognizing the need for internal alignment between actors and departments suggests that senior leaders in the bureaucracy should be aware of where values are and are not aligned. With internal alignment, there is a greater likelihood that the objectives of the organization can be achieved more efficiently and effectively, with members working together rather than holding conflicting positions about the value of workplan items. Where there is a lack of alignment, senior leaders need to have strategies that are effective in achieving that alignment. In the case of Vancouver, the planning staff demonstrated effective engagement strategies to build awareness, capacity, and support.

TI contemplates a different role for civil servants, especially urban and regional planners, from that traditionally associated with the public service. Traditional perspectives, generally informed by the United Kingdom's Westminster model, see appropriate civil servant (this would include planners) behaviour as being politically neutral, loyal, anonymous, and impartial (Vakil, 2009). To be effective change agents, staff champions and leaders may find themselves advocating for policies and initiatives contrary to some local political views. Loyalty in the dominant traditional view of the civil service sees staff as being loyal to the system as a whole (Vakil, 2009). Perhaps this is why Friedman (2011) suggests that the state cannot be a supportive party in the context of radical change. In TI, a civil servant may explicitly have the goal of changing the current system. In TI, a civil servant is engaged with the public, forming relationships and partnerships, advocating for change and programs, and, consequently, is highly visible and vocal, and is not anonymous. Finally, the TI civil servant is

clear about desired changes and therefore partial to those values, and engages in praxis to encourage others to support those values. As suggested by participants in Victoria and Vancouver, the TI civil servant is also a ‘principled opportunist,’ undertaking projects when conditions are supportive and favourable, and focused on the need for those projects to be successful in order to maintain support and power.

Retaining key staff in bureaucracies is also important. The development and ongoing maintenance of relationships required for moving initiatives forward over time is dependent on interpersonal relationships. If, after developing relationships and establishing trust with key groups and people, the leadership pushing a change agenda were to leave, it would follow that this could significantly set back the particular change initiative. Recall the Victoria staff person’s account of the change in the city’s bureaucracy after key staff leaders left. This raises the importance of maintaining supportive and engaging work environments for those key staff.

It would serve the bureaucracy to better understand the need for alignment of values with the public and politicians. Plans for change that do not align with the public and have only marginal alignment with politicians may have limited chances for success and, if undertaken, may be vulnerable to public and political backlash resulting in failure. Similarly, the bureaucracy should be aware of the need to create external partnerships that build support and capacity for change initiatives. As a result of successful incremental actions with developing partnerships, relationships, and trust, more ambitious future initiatives are sustained and built.

Applying TI in planning practice should be guided by processes that incorporate activities and steps that work towards achieving alignment (agreement) within the three spheres of actors. The data and analysis underscore the need to understand and build from the policy

context, and to understand where there are values that support or conflict with the desired policy goals, and where work is needed to achieve a convergence of values. The data also indicate the importance of understanding the power regimes that are currently in place, and where there are opportunities for developing and using power through advocacy and engagement, and understanding that change occurs slowly, incrementally, and not in linear ways, because power regimes are inherently unstable and non-linear (Deacon, 1998).

Community Planning Educators

The data in this research study emphasize engagement, relationship building, and working with others to develop understanding and support, all with a view to creating, using, and maintaining power. This emphasis should be of interest to community planning educators if they want to facilitate success by providing the training and education to develop appropriate skills that are required for effectively undertaking change-oriented planning. Based on the results from the interviews, these skills would include: engagement strategies, interpersonal communication, relationship building, network management, policy formulation, facilitation, education, advocacy, negotiation, diplomacy, and monitoring.

Educators would highlight the importance of interdependent relationships with public, politicians, and other parts of the bureaucracy. The success of planning initiatives depends on those relationships. Curriculums would demonstrate processes, identify common challenges, and discuss ethical issues, like the degree to which arguments in support of initiatives can be pushed, and the degree to which radical initiatives can be pursued within the bureaucracy and with the political decision makers.

Finally, the similarity and dissimilarity of TI with extant community development theories such as Transactive Planning, Communication Action Theory, and Incrementalism might also find a place in planning education curriculums. As suggested in Chapter 5,

TI builds on the premises of a number of existing planning theories, and addresses the lack of attention to the role of power, and also positions the planner as a key agent in working towards change. TI expands on Lindblom's (2012) view of incrementalism by describing it as a journey towards change through slow and cumulative actions, rather than simply as a method of choosing between policy options based on their perceived differences in quality. The process of slow change through cumulative actions is closer to Friedman's (1987) view of the change process, though Friedman did not incorporate power beyond that achieved through 'authentic' communication between client and planner. Similarly, Forester's (2012) attempt to address the role of power was also limited to using communication to counteract other power. TI incorporates Forester's (1980; 2012) use of power, but aims to be more comprehensive in its treatment.

Politicians

The lessons that politicians can learn from this research are similar to those for the bureaucracy. If politicians want to be effective, they must be aware of the need to have a supportive, aligned, and well-resourced bureaucracy. An even more difficult lesson is to acknowledge the need for time to achieve transformative change. This means having a long-term agenda that requires ongoing public and other political support, such as was achieved in Vancouver. Further, a focus on building support, effective advocating (education and awareness building) in the public, political, and bureaucratic spheres is necessary for sustained progress towards transformative change. Awareness of the need for staff champions, leaders, and other supportive staff, the need for long-term thinking, the need for engagement, the value of explicit mandates provided by documents, and the emergence of policy windows, are additional elements that are necessary to enable more effective political intervention in the change process to promote LFS.

The Public

The general public have a critical role to play in the process of transformative change. It is because of the ability of the public to influence others to support change efforts (power) that staff in the case study communities are so focused on engagement, education, and capacity building within the public realm. It is important for public actors to be aware of their own power, of the value in connecting with staff champions and partnerships, and of the value in expressing support.

Relevance to the Literature

The literature on LFS addresses its benefits, critically assesses its potential contribution, identifies reasons for its emergence, describes consequences of the dominant production agriculture model, identifies different expressions and models of LFS/P, and begins to examine local government tools and roles for supporting LFS/P. It has been argued by many authors that LFS is an important part of sustainable and resilient communities (Roseland, 2012; de la Salle, 2011; Kaufman, 2009). The literature also identifies the important role that grassroots public movements have played in advancing the LFS/P agenda. Despite this, there is a lack of information on how local governments contribute to transformative change in LFS. Earlier in this dissertation (Chapter 2), a conceptual framework was presented for organizing and categorizing the various roles and tools identified in the literature and used in local government food system planning practice. As a theory, TI speaks to how these roles and tools are used, and identifies the importance of the interrelationships between actors in the bureaucratic, political, and public spheres in advancing local food system initiatives, and ultimately in producing transformative change.

The urban planning literature has developed a number of theories that have parallels with the theory of TI. However, a focus on the production, maintenance, and use of power is

unique to TI, as is the importance given to achieving alignment between and within the bureaucratic, political, and public spheres. A further contribution of TI is the focus on change over time as a result of relationship building, purposeful actions to develop trust and support incrementally, and the importance of capitalizing on windows of opportunity that arise from a convergence of the “right staff, right politicians and a supportive public” (Vancouver Stakeholder 1). The analysis also suggests a refinement or addition to Kingdon’s policy windows notion (Sabatier, 1991). For Kingdon, a policy window opens when there is a recognized problem matched with a viable solution and a political will to approve it (Sabatier, 1991). This view of an open policy window does not identify the role of values and the importance of convergence when bureaucratic, public, and political values align, and of internal alignment within the spheres. It also ignores the role of power within the public and bureaucracy, and does not address how to move the agenda forward.

As supported by this research, the four categories of 1) advocacy, 2) regulation, 3) undertaking programs, and 4) providing resources, are all necessary parts of building support and effecting change incrementally, and these remain critical and relevant for TI planning. However, TI considers roles and provides a sense of how these tools are used. In TI, advocacy has a key role with its emphasis on education, engagement, and relationship building. Providing resources for others to undertake initiatives supporting transformative change and undertaking programs and projects are also critical components, and are enabled by the support created by relationship and trust building.

The regulation and policy category also denotes an important group of tools. Given the large number of policy and regulatory examples identified in Chapter 2, this is the area where local government seems to have focused its energies. However, if the regulatory and policy making roles and tools are to have the greatest effect and endurance, they are subject to the

effectiveness of efforts in the other three categories (providing resources, undertaking projects and programs and advocate and facilitate).

Research Implications

The purpose of Grounded Theory is to develop theory based on empirical observations (Glaser, 1978). Several directions for subsequent research are evident from this research in relation to the theory of Transformative Incrementalism. Testing the theory of TI developed here on food systems in different provinces, countries, and cultures would address the generalizability and relevance of the theory in other settings. Testing the theory in other communities in British Columbia might give further insight into process dynamics to assist with refining the theory so that change efforts might be more effective. The results of the member checking interviews in my research, especially for the external members, provided a promising indication of broader applicability to other geographies and other transformative planning agendas.

As suggested by Friedman (2011) and Flyvbjerg (2012), power has not been sufficiently addressed in the planning literature. Transformative Incrementalism begins to address this need. While TI describes the role and place of power in transformative change processes in food system planning, there would seem to be many other areas of planning in which the role of power should be explored, including development planning (the development approval process), master planning (preparing plans for neighbourhoods and entire communities), transportation planning, resource planning, social planning, and parks planning. Each of these planning niches could have a specific focus and unique collection of stakeholders. Also, each of these areas would have significant impacts on land and resources, and opportunities for capital investment. Further, how power is created, used, and maintained in each of these niches would make for revealing research endeavours.

Researchers interested in longitudinal studies might consider establishing a relationship with a community that is interested in applying the change model. As noted in Vancouver, the history of LFS now extends over two decades. Specific research foci could include exploring the values and perceptions of politicians to determine the type and number of politicians who are sufficiently open to the long-term agendas required for implementing a transformative incremental change initiative. Research could include the assessment of strategies that enable these politicians to remain electable, or strategies that build support across political groups. Similar studies could be made of planners with a particular focus on skills and strategies for being effective over time.

Researchers could also follow public groups or individuals to record their attempts to engage with bureaucracies and politicians. All of these potential research projects would develop a further, more fine-grained understanding of how the public, bureaucratic, and political spheres interact, and how change in food systems is achieved over time. The knowledge developed by these inquiries may facilitate more effective transformative change efforts for other communities and other transformative change areas.

Finally, this research sought to understand one type of transformative change process – the type that occurs outside of, or before external system shocks or crises occur. Research into the extent to which such efforts mitigate or prevent future crises would be helpful. Even if such change efforts made existing systems more resilient to future system shocks, crises, and systems collapse, the efforts would seem to be justified. More optimistically, for change efforts to make sufficient progress and to have sufficient effect, system collapse could be avoided and change would occur as a result of solutions to the perceived problem that consequently “evolve from basically the current situation through a drastic institutional reorganization” rather than as an adaptation to a system collapse (Gallopín, 2002).

Katz (1986) suggests that the task “before us becomes more feasible if we use more reasonable degrees of self-reliance as our standard in working to redesign our cities for future sustainability. Cities can become more self-sustaining in food and energy, but it is very unlikely that anything close to total local self-reliance will be achievable, especially in food” (p. 149). Ultimately, however, the first and major obstacle to long-term sustainable development is the lack of political will (Gallopín, 2002). Placing and keeping LFP on the local government agenda is an essential step in affecting this will. In addition to political will, Forester (2012) asserts that “the future of sustainability is tied to our ability to manage interconnectedness and interdependence, *and thus to our ability to engage in cooperative, value-creating public deliberations and negotiations, essentially consensus building [convergence] in the face of deep difference of interests and values*” (emphasis added) (p. 206). Recognizing that transformative change is a long, incremental process impacted by changing political, public, and bureaucratic values suggests the need for long-term strategies. In other words, key issues must not just get on the agenda, they must remain there.

LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to the research findings that should be acknowledged. These include: limitations on the generalizability of the emergent theory resulting from data gathered from only five food system planning initiatives; potential influence from the researcher on the participants; limitations from being a novice GT researcher; and limitations to grounded theory in general.

First, the results are not generalizable to other food system planning initiatives, or to other planning efforts aimed at achieving a significant, transformative change in a system. The inability to arrive at a conclusion with results that are generalizable in CGT is not unique to

CGT. Qualitative methodologies in general do not seek generalizable findings (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). The number of participants was limited to 29 primary interviews and an additional 10 member checking interviews. Also, the number of food system planning initiatives was limited to five communities all within BC. While attempts were made to consider a range of unique initiatives from a diverse range of communities, it cannot be said that these participants, communities, or food system planning initiatives are representative of the entire spectrum of possible initiatives in BC or Canada. To arrive at a conclusion that research results are generalizable, the emergent theory would need to be tested in a much larger number of communities with sufficient numbers of participants. This remains a goal for future research efforts.

Second, while I made efforts to suspend my preconceptions throughout the research, I am a city planner by profession and therefore I cannot say that I engaged in the research without any preconceptions, especially given my embeddedness as a staff member in North Saanich, and as a planning practitioner with 30 years of planning experience. To address some of these concerns and to disclose and minimize my biases, I engaged in critical reflexivity, as described more fully in Chapter 3, throughout the research process. Glaser (2012) provides a degree of comfort on this issue as well by regarding personal experience as a form of data that are incorporated into the theory building like any other form of data, through the constant comparison method. While on the one hand, some may view my embeddedness and personal experience as a limitation, it is also arguable that such embeddedness can constitute a possible advantage for theory development. Barniskis (2013) identified benefits provided by an embedded researcher, including: incorporation of the researcher's tacit knowledge into the research, both methodologically and for actionable responses; the development of more relevant research for practitioners; and a greater awareness of the subtleties of the research

environment. In addition to critical reflexivity, I attempted to limit the risk of my embeddedness causing significant distortions or bias in the data and the data interpretation process by incorporating a member checking process into the research design. In this, I interviewed additional case study respondents (internal) members as well as a sample of (external) members of the food planning and food policy advocacy community.

Third, as this was my first GT research project, my novice status may have posed a limitation. Undertaking this research required learning about the multiple forms of GT that are possible, including the history and debates around this methodology. It also required that I learn how to do CGT in all of its complexity. Glaser's (2012) advice is to just do it and learn in the process. In hindsight, I believe that I would have gained an advantage from more research on GT methodology and from having the benefit of some training prior to actually undertaking the project; however, in the end I was able to produce a GT that members of my supervisory committee advised had grab, fit, and relevance to them (Holton, 2012). The addition of two more food initiatives and nine more participants to the initial three initiatives and 20 participants also provided some measure of confidence for the emergent theory given that the new data fit very well with the additional data and provided further illustrations to demonstrate the groundedness and relevance of the emergent theory.

Another limitation in this research relates to the nature of GT methodology itself. CGT considers and is limited to the data gathered, rather than all the issues that may be important to the subject being investigated. For example, issues of social justice related to race, class, gender, colonialism, and indigeneity are important topics for consideration in local food systems but these did not emerge in discussions with the participants. Consequently, they were not addressed as a specific part of this theory at this time. A good CGT, though, is said to be modifiable. Hopefully future research will address this lack of coverage. Similarly, the

dimensions of power, values, praxis and outcomes are limited to the ways in which these were discussed by the participants and expressed in emergent codes. Further development of TI may include refinements and expansions of these core categories. For example, power may be refined or expanded to include factors such as race, gender, class, etcetera.

Finally, the product of CGT research is not proof or evidence, and is not meant to be considered as final (Glaser, 1978). Instead, CGT is aimed at producing a set of hypotheses that require further testing and are intended to be modifiable accordingly (Glaser, 1978). Its promise and aim is that the theory to be tested and developed, is better than one that is not grounded in empirical data. From this foundation, future testing is important to prove the relevance and generalizability of TI as providing an accurate explanation of the change process in local food system planning. It would seem that understanding the reality of change processes is an important precondition for efforts aimed at making change. Ultimately, the insights that this theory provides are intended to enable more effective food system planning initiatives.

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APPENDIX A
DATA COMPARISON MATRICES

Table 1
Reasons for Initiative, North Saanich

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Improving LFP/Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advancing agriculture • Improving economic viability of agriculture • Reduce regulatory barriers • To address the entire food system • Addressing issue of agricultural profitability • Improving farming viability • Addressing food security risks • Responding to food import risks • To reintegrate agriculture into community • To achieve a number of planning objectives • Climate change risks • It was a way to try to shift a paradigm of how we develop our communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making room for people to grow food • Finding ways to support agriculture and food production • Recognized farming challenges • Remove regulatory barriers • Responding to food supply risks • Improve food security • Responding to food supply risks • Improve food security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressing neglect in the agriculture industry • Assisting local agriculture • Encouraging growing in rural and urban settings • Encourage farming • To address food self sufficiency risk • Focusing on local and regional food security issues • Needed practical ideas and bylaws to encourage residents to grow food • Wanted a plan to protect farm land and encourage agriculture
Improving awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving awareness of how food is grown and where it comes from • Improving the connection between food production and people • Including edible landscaping on private and public lands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inform people of food system risks 	
Community engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using local knowledge to build policy actions • To determine community priorities • It was predominantly the input from the public and from agriculture and gardening groups 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Calling for ideas from the residents • To gain information • To call forth community interest • The WCAS process elicited great community response • It awakened interest, not always supportive • We got the community together
Bridging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To bridge traditional and urban agriculture 		
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To educate the public about sustainability, local and global food system challenges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public education • To inform and educate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educating and convincing people of the value of farming and of 'local' • To share and gain information
Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To get some things done and create momentum 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementing the AAP • Establishing practical steps and actions
Achieving change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To work towards reintegration of food production into communities • To encourage less industrial ways to grow food • Achieving community resiliency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving public health • Needed practical ideas • Increase community resilience • Convincing people to grow their own food 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The future of Sandown Racetrack played a role in the development of the strategy and the strategy helped in protecting that land 	
Preservationism: Conserving land and risk of land development		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preservationist goals Concern with threat to farms Keeping North Saanich rural is assisted by this kind of thinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To conserve agricultural land and activity To respond to risk of land development Challenging the myth that land should be developed Responding to public's concern about risks to farm land
Policy opportunity			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To address a local land development issue (Sandown lands) Had a property development issue on agricultural reserve land (Sandown)
Being effective			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To establish a strategic approach Need to place ideas into law/strategy to achieve ideas
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To secure community buy-in and find partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Convincing people to grow own food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To convince Council on pro-agricultural motions To have more clout on farmland decisions Convincing future Councils about the importance of protecting agriculture Building public support
Local economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To enhance the local economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To enhance local economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none">
Policy evolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To further policy work on local agriculture and food issues Addressing missing policy linkages Building upon existing policy (OCP, AAP, Sustainability Guide and food charter) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Next step in policy development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used a lot of the food charter points to guide the WCAS There was a need for a strategy. A lot of people wanted a strategy, the Sandown challenge It started with an interest by the community. Then we had the food charter... then when the strategy was proposed, I think it was the consensus of all that we needed a strategy
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CAO was the lead Staff are often needed to take the lead 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff champion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was political and staff leadership Council wanted a strategy We had hired a new CAO who was interested in it and actually did leading work on it. Without that we probably would not even have it Planner is recognized as the inspiration behind the WCAS. Without that planner the Council could not have done this work.
Seeing land differently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeing Community as a place to grow food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Valuing farmland 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Viewed agricultural property as significant and important
Bureaucracy values			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Without the engagement of staff it would not have moved very well

Table 2
Reasons for Initiative, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Improving LFP/Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To change the zoning bylaw to enable underused sites to be used for greenhouse food production as a primary use in residential zones To make it easier for people to grow food on small tracts of urban land Wanted to enable people to grow vegetables in the urban area to do the right thing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I wanted to be a farmer To enable me to farm and build a green house on a vacant lot I wanted to live by my values I wanted everything I do to contribute to a local economy, build topsoil, purify the air, grow healthy and clean food for people and make a good living 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create a zone for intensive agriculture and things like greenhouses in an urban zone
Improving awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To raise awareness of the importance of local food Recognizing that goals of food security and health go hand in hand with Urban Agriculture and gardening 		
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educating people on where food comes from and its connection to land Helping people understand the connection of food to land and that relationship to global issues like climate change impacts 		
Achieving change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To get kids more active 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I wanted to effect change by doing things 	
Conserving land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Protecting land and local food sources 		
Power		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I mean you hear there are silly bylaws like you can only have a lawn in your front yard. You cannot have a garden to things like that. I asked if I could put a greenhouse on a vacant lot ... they said you cannot do that 	
Risk of land development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current pressure on the Agricultural Land Reserve 		
Policy evolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Had an outdated zoning bylaw and outdated Agricultural Area Plan 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was an outgrowth of the agricultural area plan
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to get in front of the issue and be proactive Staff passion on the issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I was lucky to meet a guy like Greg Sauer who was just such an asset and has now become a good friend of mine... He really loved the idea and I think Greg he wanted to make change and do something positive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It came from staff
Seeing land differently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Want to promote use of urban land for agriculture 		
Responding to community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It was driven by the applicant Responded to an inquiry on urban agriculture 		

Table 3
Reasons for Initiative, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Improving LFP/Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To achieve the 5 food system goals To help fix the food system To reintroduce food production into city life and having healthy food choices to make lives better Figuring out how to support, were to remove barriers and finding an appropriate role for the city 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create bylaws and policies to increase the local supply of food To create bylaws and policies to increase food security The impetus is really understanding that growing food and access to healthy food are part of a healthy and socially just city and part of the local economy
Improving awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To see what departments would be involved in implementing actions A growing understanding on the role of food by planners, politicians and the public Recognition of the historical role of food in cities Recognition of the importance of food in health, economy and environment 		
Local knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To learn from the public and what the city could do to meet their food needs 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To define what food means to the community and how the city can support those meanings
Achieving Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To improve the lives of the public with having healthy food choices It was a way to push the dialogue further 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To further embed food into the Vancouver culture
Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To work with partners to push the conversation forward Extensive consultation, engagement and input with around 2200 participants Met with public stakeholders, industry representatives, and culturally diverse groups Food policy Council was very involved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food Policy Council was very involved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To use food as an avenue and tool for discussions on city building with the public?
Policy opportunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Stars aligned with the right staff, right time, supportive Council and supportive Management Taking a chance when they could 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was the right moment, an open window where interest was broad, politicians aligned and support from the community and staff 	
Being effective	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To create a coordinated response to move forward and build a more sustainable food system To achieve a better alignment of and integration with other food system work To find partners to help with implementation Better alignment of stakeholder activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To have a coordinating strategy Previously municipal departments were not talking together To avoid ‘shooting from the hip’ and make best uses of resources and find strategic leverages To develop a road map forward 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Having an overarching strategy to deal with the different food policy initiatives and multiplicity of agencies Dealing with the volume of different food initiatives

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To put several different programs and initiatives in one strategy as a way to move forward and make sure goals are met Broad reach and engagement makes for strong strategy with invested people who want to make it happen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To prioritize the different food policies and programs 	
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To have a lever or tool to work with other city staff and departments To give it status equal to other municipal planning documents like the transportation plan To legitimize and give authority to the work To facilitate investment in the product in order to build support for making it happen To get buy-in from other municipal departments due to adoption of strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To embed, enshrine and integrate the movement so it can survive elections and changes in staff The strategy was a way to institutionalize the food ideas and momentum. To 'put in a bevel' To have the same status as other municipal plans To establish a mandate for the organization in order to get movement To get discussion at the same table with each municipal department and coordinate their efforts on the food agenda To make food other peoples' jobs To give it tenure and staying power regardless of political and staff changes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was no overarching food authority in Canada
Policy evolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responding to the political directive in the greenest city action plan The history of preceding policy work Coming from a place of many different initiatives over the past 10 years Based on years of practice and years in the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To integrate many stand alone food policies and programs after 10 years of ad hoc actions To evolve to a more robust and concrete policy Was an evolution in the food policy work A natural progression from other work Use of preceding work to create a coordinating strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To achieve the goals of the food charter Prompted by the Greener City Action plan and involved several other food policy threads The next step in a long evolution Food Charter gave food a broad social, ecological and economic perspective The reason the food policy council exists is because of the grass roots action in food It was an inevitable and logical and welcome next step
Leadership		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mayor gave direction to do it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were a few notable champions during Council transitions that worked together across political parties
Responding to the public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Catching up with what is going on out there A growing momentum in civil society 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The grass roots were a driving force pushing forward for action Vancouver is a City of Foodies Because it is big on the public's agenda and part of the local culture It is driven by people's desire to see this as a priority Vancouver's love of food is the impetus

Table 4
Support and Opposition, North Saanich

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CAO/Planner was the lead 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strong staff champion • When I was first elected I was the only one who owned a farm and I was very keen on agriculture. It did not take long for others to relate to that and it snowballed
Seeing land differently			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • opponents see land use in a very different way—as waiting for other land uses if it is not actively farmed. Housing development is more important than local food security
Conflicting ideologies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land use planning has been an approach of separation of land uses and removing growing food from cities • The conflicts for the most part seem to be political and ideological 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those opposed do not believe in the value of agriculture or the importance of local food security • There is a philosophical ideological difference between those that support and those that oppose- an ongoing tension
Seeing agriculture differently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we were challenged by conventional agriculturalists who doubted the value of including urban agriculture • Recognizing agriculture as a key part of sustainable community development • Valuing the effort of growing food 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the old farmers had closed minds, felt threatened and viewed the initiative as silly • Large farms have preconceptions about agriculture • Old farmers fear regulations • Old farmers want to develop and subdivide • Tried unsuccessfully to engage large [conventional] farmers • Some large farmers opposed the strategy • Old farmers were critical, not supportive • Farmers felt threatened. • Supporters believe in new farming values, seeing new farms as smaller, greener, kinder and more environmentally friendly
Council values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Council supported it • Staff decided to not pursue some implementation initiatives due to lack of support from new Council • Maintaining momentum is a challenge and is vulnerable to political change • The new Council's views were not as supportive • The strategy's profile went from high to low due to the new Council • Council determines staff work priorities • Momentum slowed drastically after the 2011 election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shifting focus on Council resulted in the strategy having less support • Agriculture was taking a back seat to development issues • Current Council lacks will for this • Current Council does not want to put taxpayer money into agriculture • No opposition with the first Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of Council gave support • Active animosity of new Council towards encouragement of the farm industry • New council changed priorities, did not support or even feared the strategy's success • I think the level of disparagement by some of the current Council is attributed to how effective it could be and how well it has been received • New Council sees housing development as more important than local food security • Sometimes it is about preserving our land and sometimes it is about containing urban growth

Stakeholder values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited support by conventional farmers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Agricultural Advisory Committee was involved and supportive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There was concern from store owners
Public values		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People saw the need for it and wanted to be involved in making it happen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The strategy is a continuation of the focus of the community vision which is supporting agriculture New Council is going against the community Process was speaking/preaching to the converted A few concerns from people that perhaps did not think that farming was that important Some opposition but mostly support Ideas were embraced and I see more people interested in growing food. A few concerns from people that perhaps did not think that farming was that important That contingent of the community which does not understand the importance of preserving agricultural land see agricultural land as waiting for other uses
Political weapon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New council criticized the demonstration orchard and threatened to remove it Demonstration gardens became a political issue 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The orchard was controversial
Bureaucracy values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When there is no Council support, fundamentally the resource document sits. It can be resurrected Needed community partners and buy-in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I do not see a lack of will with staff Staff have to do Council's bidding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Without the engagement of staff it would not have moved very well Hired staff with interest in growing food locally Without the new CAO/Planner, we probably would not have done it Initiated due to the Planner's vision on the future of Agriculture and for Sandown The staff had an enormous role in the strategy
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There needs to be a convergence of the right staff, right Council and right public and stakeholder views 		
External organization values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Strategy was acknowledged by the FCM and UBCM 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The FCM has identified it as a good resource for small communities

Table 5
Support and Opposition, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Action		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support really poured in when people saw production 	
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sees a need for provincial direction in order to minimize local political interference 		
Seeing agriculture differently	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A former MOA agrologist challenged the value of it, did not understand it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers challenged it • Farmers did not understand the intensive farming approach • Was told this was impossible 	
Council values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Council concerns about potential residential impacts 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Agriculture was a priority of the previous Council • Current Council is more focused on getting economic value out of agricultural land but may be sympathetic to Urban Agriculture
Stakeholder values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supported by the Agricultural Advisory Commission 		
Public values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No public opposition • We are an agricultural community. Things that assist with farming, agriculture and food production are generally supported by the community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sees general public acceptance • The community has embraced it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community was ready for it
Bureaucracy values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The bureaucracy is the more difficult part. Convincing others in the organization to improve on regulations is sometimes the toughest part of the game we play. • Sees the senior management team as not having the values supportive of local food systems • Urban agriculture not valued by management • The Development Engineering department had concerns regarding water consumption • Supported by planning staff • 		
External organization values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not much interest from the Ministry of Agriculture • Supported by the Ministry of Health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provincial Community Futures program would not support urban farming proposal • They only know a certain kind of agriculture • These guys are old school and do not understand the innovations 	

Table 6
Support and Opposition, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Internal barrier with other municipal staff and departments requires ongoing education and discussion and developing working relationships 		
Action		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quick wins help build trust and policies before doing a strategy 	
Engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The use of engagement to build ongoing support, invested people who buy-in and implementation capacity. This is done with the public and with staff Engagement and dialogue builds support and relationships with other groups who will work on the actions We listen and learn from what they say and change and modify as needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There were decades of work to build trust and policies before doing a strategy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thousands of people gave input into the strategy Food events would sell out Sees food as a common denominator for community engagement
Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff competes for their department's work with other staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is hard to compete for resources unless Council makes it a clear priority and identifies a mandate The effect of broadly supportive public and political cultures is to silence those that might otherwise object The effect of 20 years (10 formal and 10 informal) of history in food system discourse in the community is that this now seems to be 'common sense' 	
Policy evolution		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The strategy was supported by previous policy work It is a natural progression 	
Seeing land differently			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Had to challenge conventional wisdom in early times regarding community gardens 'privatizing' public lands Need to change how land is valued, i.e., not as space for development but as space for growing food To change in perspective on value have to recognize that this is what the people want for their quality of life
Leadership		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Champions and leaders in staff and the community The mayor was supportive and gave directive Would not have happened without the staff team 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong staff champion Supporters worked with each other and kept each other involved as champions even when not in office – a triad of champions

Council values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broad political support across party lines • Strong support 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No opposition, just some challenging conversations with good outcomes • There were supporters in each party • Food policy has been supported by the left, centre and right political parties because it is part of the Vancouver culture • A political no-brainer • Issue is not deeply political
Public values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong public support • Anticipating some public push back with future policy actions “people may not be totally into it” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broad support but maybe only 1% of the public know about it – support is a function of the positive role of the strategy in affected communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is hard for people to see a negative impact on their lives, unlike (land) development • The leader of the losing party in 2011 attributes his loss to the food issue. His party was on the wrong side of the issue • There is no opposition to the strategy but have been issues, small with some of the implementation actions • The Food Policy Council is the only committee to have a large audience show up
Political weapon		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local food and urban agriculture has been used to criticize the current mayor and council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A political attack on the back yard chicken issue was not successful because people did not care, it did not resonate with the public • Early in the food policy work there was opposition and attempts to ridicule and marginalize • There was a political desire to say no to something but because the Food Charter had no commitment to action and because of its content, it was very hard to say no to. “You would have to look like a real jerk to do that” • The attempt to ridicule in the 2011 election was not successful as it ‘just did not ring true with people’
Bureaucracy values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historically there was opposition from some staff. Food policy was the butt of jokes by some staff but is no longer. • Staff worked actively to build legitimacy and support within the City for this work. This does not have to occur for other municipal functions • Sees an internal barrier with other municipal staff and departments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was broad staff support with only a few negative staff • There were staff that supported it only when there was a clear Council mandate and those that said it should not be done “sticks in the mud” • There was staff that supported it because it was the right thing to do 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff are tremendously enabling
Convergence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The stars aligned with support from the public, council, and management • Strong and broad support 		

Table 7
Resources, North Saanich

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Resource priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Council determines staff work priorities • Need to pour in energy to keep momentum • Implementation depends on resources • Limited resources means limited actions • Competing demands for staff time limits time spent on advocacy • May have to rely on others to advance the initiative when there is not sufficient resources committed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The initiative required resources for rentals, staff time and consultants • Council does not want to put money into agriculture • Staff want to move this forward and do what they can when there is no Council will 	

Table 8
Resources, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Resource priorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally resources need to be in the work plan • There is a challenge in allocating time for this type of project • These kinds of projects are done on the side of our plates and are generally not a priority • Staff have to be everything to everybody • Staff react to issues • Very few things are initiated by staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could not get funding from the Community Futures program which provides funding for developing business plans, due to some board members not believing in viability of urban farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were no resource issues, we have a large planning department

Table 9
Resources, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Resource allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was well resourced • Previous policy work had paved the way for the sufficient level of resourcing • Reliance on partners • Work cannot be done on side of the desk. It needs dedicated staff to make it happen • Without dedicated staff resources, policy is not seen as important as other initiatives • This work does not happen in isolation of other departments and needs others to advance the work across departments • Some people might see it as just one more thing they have to add to their plate of work they are already doing • Had lots of community support • Was not a huge cost in terms of resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were sufficient resources • Not a lot of resources required compared to other municipal departments and initiatives • Competing for resources is assisted by Council mandate • Careful to not overstep in resource allocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This type of project is a good candidate for grant funding • There was no resource issue though 'there's always the challenge of too few resources and too much work • Not as many resources as I would like to see • Staff resourced assisted by community volunteers and pro-bono work. • Food policy Council provided resources and knowledge • Relatively little money spent on it • Interested public are more likely to get involved in implementation • Not huge staff resources but are huge volunteer resources • We have buy-in, we have champions... and as a result [are] far more likely to get engaged in implementation

Table 10
Policy Environment, North Saanich

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Policy context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • OCP holds agriculture as the cornerstone community policy • Recently completed a Sustainability guide • Had a food charter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had an Agricultural Advisory Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We had an Agricultural Area Plan • We had an Agricultural Task Force comprised mostly of farmers • Had a current planning issue in Sandown • Public concern about threats to farm land • We had a food charter • Had an Advisory Agricultural Commission • There was the <i>food for the future</i> group

Table 11
Policy Context, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Policy context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had an Agricultural Advisory Committee • Had an outdated Agricultural Area Plan • Had an outdated Zoning Bylaw • Only Urban Agricultural work prior was Community Gardens • Not leading but mostly reacting on agricultural issues • Urban Agriculture viewed as a luxury item as opposed to a core municipal function • Had an unsuccessful look at Urban Chickens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kelowna is kind of a free enterprise town and it always has been. If you are not pissing anyone off and not causing harm, no one really cares 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had an Agricultural Area plan • Had an unsuccessful look at Urban Chickens

Table 12
Policy Context, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Policy context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many different initiatives over the last 10 years • No coordinated approach • Plan level policies mean clear Council Priorities and a clear mandate to staff • Environment at the time of the strategy was a convergence of support from public, council and management • Food Policy is a clear Council Priority • based on years of practice and community involvement • Several different programs and initiatives • Had to work to establish a place for food policy in the bureaucracy • Long and slow process to get the idea, find right people and then the right time • Key events include the Food Charter in 2007 and Greenest City Action plan in 2010 • It was a long time coming. We needed to get all of our policies in one place and reach towards some of those goals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An evolution of policies • Food policy not embedded or institutionalized • Many stand alone policies and programs over 10 years • Municipal departments not talking together on food initiatives enough • Policy environment seen as an evolution • Broad political support for food policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The food policy environment has had a long evolution: • 2003 food policy task force • 2004 food policy Council • 2005 Bee Keeping Bylaw • 2007 Food Charter • 2010 Urban Hens • 2010 Greener City Action Plan • No one group was looking at the food issue until the food policy Council and a few other groups • Grassroots pushed for food policy • Food Charter had no commitments to actions and was hard to say no to which helped it survive • Greener City Action plan seen as the key impetus along with a bunch of other strands

Table 13
Leading to Other Work, North Saanich

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Education		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greater awareness of food systems and food security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sharing the document with others
Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Several actions have been implemented (zoning bylaw amendments, sign bylaw amendment, business bylaw amendment, agricultural economic development strategy, information page on website, Sandown initiative, Flavour Trail support, Farmer to Farmer forums) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I am selling more starter plants Farmer market is getting busier More fallow land being farmed The Flavour Trail is getting busier Farming activity seems to be increasing More people growing More land being used There has been the agricultural economic development strategy, signage, conversations around deer and geese and Flavour Trail support Lack of follow up to determine success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sandown development proposal which maintains the agricultural values More small agricultural plots and farm gates It was done by doing a tradeoff with the owner by zoning a part of the land so the owner could retain his economic investment but the community could enjoy the rest of the land
Seeing land differently			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> repurposing Sandown racetrack for agriculture
Public values			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> more people interested in growing food New Council is going against the grain of the community
External organization values			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> other local governments influenced by the strategy

Table 14
Leading to Other Work, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not on the current work plan A few more community gardens going in Will be working on conventional agricultural issues with the Ministry of Agriculture and not on any Urban Agricultural issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> At least three others have started Urban Farming in Kelowna but internationally there has to be hundreds The way we farm now you can make \$50,000 on a quarter acre 	

Table 15
Leading to other work, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Of 71 actions, 11 complete, 19 ongoing, 26 in progress and 15 not started Integrating food assets into development approvals by requiring a plan for food assets for projects larger than 500,000 square feet Focus on low hanging fruit Focused on implementing the strategy Using Food Policy Council as a public sounding board Early implementation leads to more work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The strategy identifies the initiatives to be worked on. We have given the City plenty to work on for the next 10 years. A gap in addressing cultural relevance in food conversations is now being addressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The new Food Cart program meshes with the strategy Active implementation of the strategy is occurring e.g., healthier food bank It has been instrumental has reorienting our brand Food is now a grant category in the Greener City grants program Legalized farmer markets Work on embedding food policy into new healthy city policy work is an evolution of the food policy

Table 16
Lessons Learned, North Saanich

Code Family	Staff	Stakeholder	Politician
Improving awareness		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of information available to assess impact of the strategy • Better understanding of the potential and abilities to grow own food. • Increasing awareness helps. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognizing the value of LFP • Process helped focus on local use of land and local production rather than being stuck looking at the agribusiness model • The process helps with becoming self-sustaining. • It provided a focus on the way farming was. • It was the first time in North Saanich that the future of agriculture was so clearly articulated. • It received provincial recognition for innovation. • It is not just about big farming it is also about small farming activities as well. This is why it is a whole community scale.
Planning principles and goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture and food production is a key part of sustainable development. • Conventional planning and bylaws seek to separate and remove food production from communities. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Process advanced the goal of becoming a food self sustaining community • The process enables agriculture to be anchored in land use planning
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can learn from examples and demonstrations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is the least thing that Local Government can do. • Municipalities can learn from talking with their constituents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The strategy should be used for orienting new Councillors to the job • It is a good example to share • May be preaching to the converted • Gives some incentives to look at different ways to farm
Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competing demands on staff time limits what staff can do especially with advocacy 		
Achieving change: Action, being effective and public engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing recent community development patterns regarding agriculture is about education and methods not agriculture itself • There are challenges with trying to achieve change. • There needs to be a convergence of the right staff, right Council and a supportive public and stakeholder community to make the most progress • Change needs persistence and reinforcement and resources • May have to rely on other (community) groups to advance it when the Council is not supportive • Progress is slow and incremental • Even with changing Council priorities some progress can be made 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is value in talking with the public and getting their ideas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to look beyond conventional practices to what could be • Need to learn how to keep the initiative active • Convince people by demonstrating ideas • Change is slow • Need to move from ideology and talk to policy and practice • Strategy gives a framework for moving forward • It puts legs on something we believe in and lays out a practical approach • Participants need to be engaged to be active and supported with new participants

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining momentum is a challenge and is vulnerable to changing Council priorities. • Limited resources mean limited action • Discussion has to move to action. Even limited action is positive • Implementation depends on resources 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to reach smaller farms in the future • There needs to be follow up to assess the success and effect of the strategy • Provided the push for the Sandown Solution • In order to make it real for everyone, you have to have a policy in place
Power			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • it needs to be embedded as a long term vision to survive administrative and political changes
Leadership			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process highlights the impact staff can make
Conflicting ideologies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are conflicting political and ideological views 		
Council values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the value and need for ongoing political support • Councils priorities drive staff priorities • Actions taken under the strategy can cause controversy with future Councils • New Council criticized the demonstration gardens 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of changing Council priorities from growing food to affordable housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing Councils resulted in reduced interest in supporting agriculture

Table 17
Lessons Learned, Kelowna

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Improving awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The initiative signals to those types of operators interested in urban agriculture business opportunities and others that it will be supported • Local food security and production is part of greater community health 		
Achieving change: Action, being effective and community engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to go from motherhood statements to implementation • Change is easy were there is a will and approached properly - well researched and analyzed from a planning perspective • It comes down to people who want to get their hands dirty and do farming • Identify the easy wins and the right things to do and just get it done • There are so many things we do that are complex and unsupportable. The simple and supportable ones that can be done should get done • If we have the right policies in place it makes things easier for our citizens and for our time and resources so we do not have to spin our wheels on bureaucracy when we get a project that does not fit but should fit • Doing that work was positive because I was able to build some relationships with people who do different forms of agriculture and I had increased credibility in the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Success is due to my techniques and market access • I made money at it right away. That was the main thing. Holy shit, I could make a living at this 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At the end of the day, not a lot of what is permitted in the bylaw has really happened

Power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staff should not be intimidated to make such a modest change to the zoning bylaw. Do not anticipate that there will be a high level of resistance • Lean on the local health authority to support it and give credibility to the effort • It comes down to reviewing our regulatory bylaws for their intent. They have a tendency to be overly prescriptive. The key takeaway is what you are trying to achieve through zoning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The best thing [government] can do is to remove as many of the road blocks as possible for farmers 	
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The initiative was seen positively that planning could do something positive and not just react to development 		
Ethical imperatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If it is the right thing to do we should do it quickly 		
Conflicting ideologies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A key question is what are you trying to achieve with your bylaw and to get out of the way when there is community benefit. Community values may have changed 		
Bureaucracy values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was a good reminder that these types of policy discussions really should be better prioritized in our work plans • Development engineering group raised a challenge regarding water consumption in Urban Agriculture 		

Table 18
Lessons Learned, Vancouver

<i>Code Family</i>	<i>Staff</i>	<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Politician</i>
Improving awareness			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food is going to be a great way to brand ourselves
Achieving change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you position food policy in a way that shows how it brings value and resources to other departments, it becomes less difficult to get it done. • The value of using neighbourhood food networks in consultation processes. They have their fingers on the community pulse. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change takes a lot of time. There as a decade of advocacy followed by a decade of policy work to get to the strategy. • There is value in doing quick win projects to build trust and other policies before going to a comprehensive strategy. • The strategy needed to be preceded by decades of work and buy-in first • The strategy is build on a foundation of work on the ground, learnings from grass roots and sub-movements • A top-down strategy without that foundation can be top heavy and lacking the interest of people to do the work • It takes time to build relationships and a community of practice to implement it • Change is facilitated through integrating work within the Cities functions • There needs to be a bridge between departments, sectors, politicians and the community. The Food Policy Council functioned as a bridge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first step in changing how we perceive the value of land is to recognize that it comes from the people and their quality of life values • The process has built knowledge around how to engage • Engagement enables alignment with public values and an ability to make the product more complete and buy-in and help with implementation • Food will give context to the conversations on how to develop our city • The initiative was a lot about relationships, hearing from everybody and figuring out how to move forward • Because of the long, broad engagement, there were no surprises in the strategy and there was buy-in

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You have to have broader conversation around priorities and opportunities and incrementally take steps towards that Building capacity and relationships enables you to move forward on opportunities much more quickly Relationships and trust are built up over time through working together There could have been a benefit to have more resources to have community leads to reach out to their communities Neighbourhoods should be resourced to have their own conversations to create a richer strategy People who have relationships in the process have a voice The lack of voice means we do not know how well aligned the strategy is with the broad public See a role for paid community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using an “action while planning” agenda to ensure interest is kept in the process Strategy sets tangible targets and keeps you on track, keeps you focused to actually achieve
Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Previously municipal departments were not talking together 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The importance of food champions Significance of key political champions
Conflicting ideologies			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We have to change the way we perceive the value of land and it should not be perceived as space for its highest value for development
Bureaucracy values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This work does not happen in isolation of other departments Food policy can add value and resources to the work in other departments It is cross cutting 		
Public values			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeing a cultural embeddedness of food policy with need and demand for secure and permanent public gardens
External organization values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a need to advocate to and work with other levels of government as we often depend on them in some of this work 		

Written Consent to Participate for Public and Stakeholder Participants



**University
of Victoria**

Robert Buchan
PO Box 3060 STN CSC
Victoria British Columbia V8W 3R4 Canada
Tel XXX XXXX
E-mail XXXXXX

DATE:

Thank you for responding to my email and agreeing to meet with me so I can explain more about my study entitled “Local Government Role in Supporting Local Food Systems”

You are invited to participate in a Province of British Columbia funded study entitled “**Local Government Role in Supporting Local Food Systems**” that is being conducted by Robert Buchan who is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Victoria. If you would like to participate as an interviewee in this study please contact him directly at any time by email at XXXXXXXX or telephone at XXXXXXXX.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to examine innovative local government initiatives in supporting local food systems with a view to developing a model for innovative local government food system policy.

Importance of this Research

Global risks to our food supply include: climate change induced impacts like rising temperatures, desertification; severe weather, flooding and wildfire; increasing global population; diminishing water supplies; and, increasing energy costs. Collectively, these trends present serious risks for food security. To sustainably meet our domestic demand for food in the future, effort will be needed to ensure that local food systems are supported and effective. There is a key role that local governments can play given that food systems occur within municipal and regional government jurisdictions. Their associated regulations, actions, and policies can impede or assist local food systems. Research in this area is needed to identify the beneficial roles local governments can undertake in supporting sustainable land management for the food systems in B.C.

Participants Selection

I have contacted you because of your experience and participation in a local food system planning initiative. Based on the advice of several local food planning experts, your community was identified as a leading and innovative example of local food system planning. The research approach is to collect your views and comments on various aspects of your initiative with a view to develop a policy model for communities interested in local food system planning. I will be interviewing about 10 other public/stakeholder participants in your initiative. Your views will assist in understanding the process aspects of your food system project. To complement these views, I will also be interviewing about 5 members of the local government that was involved in the initiative.

What is Involved

If you agree to participate in this research by contacting me directly by phone or email, I would like to interview you. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes of your time. I would schedule an interview at your convenience and the interview would be by telephone. I would take written notes during the interview and use an audio recording to ensure the accuracy of my notes.

Inconvenience

As noted above, we will set up this interview at a time and in a place convenient for you in order to minimize any potential inconvenience to you.

Risks

As far as I know, there are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research

Benefits

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include the development of policy models for innovative food system planning. The policy models, based on successful initiatives and academic knowledge, may assist local food authorities, local government staff and politicians and community participants/stakeholders in undertaking further initiatives, and may also be of benefit to other communities and local governments in Canada. In addition to the benefit to communities and local governments, this knowledge could be of benefit to the state of knowledge in a relatively new academic field.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation to the research team. If you do withdraw from the study any notes or transcripts will be shredded and will not be used in any reports.

Anonymity

In order to protect your anonymity, I will conduct my interview with you at a time of your choosing and I will present results in summary form such that they represent the broad views of interviewees in order to minimize the extent to which you and your views can be identified from these reports. I can't guarantee your anonymity in the process of this research but will do everything possible to protect it.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected as noted above by using a numeric code instead of your name in all written documents, by keeping the code and all notes and transcripts in a secure locked cabinet in my office and by shredding or erasing the written interview data within 2 years of the end of the project.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be published in my Doctoral Thesis within a year of finishing all interviews. The thesis dissertation and be available through the University of Victoria library on completion. As well, some of the results of the study may be presented at scholarly and professional meetings and publications.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will be disposed of by shredding all written notes and transcripts within 2 years of the end of the project. Any taped data will be erased.

Contacts

If you have any questions at any time about this study please contact me by email at XXXXXXXX or my supervisor, XXXXXXXX, by email at XXXXXXXX or by phone at XXXXXXXX. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria XXXXXXXX or ethics@XXXXXXX. Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by me.

This is a written consent form. If you sign this you are agreeing to be a participant in this study under the terms outlined above.

Do you have any questions?

_____ (Participant to provide initials)

<i>Name of Participant</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
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A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher

Verbal Consent and Telephone Script

DATE:

Thank-you for agreeing to participate in my study entitled “Local Government Role in Supporting Local Food Systems”

As noted in my invitation to participate, I am the researcher undertaking this project and am a Ph.D. candidate in the department of Geography at the University of Victoria. If you have any questions at any time about this study please contact my supervisor directly at any time by email at XXXXXXXX or telephone at XXXXXXXX.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to examine innovative local government initiatives in supporting local food systems with a view to developing a model for innovative local government food system policy.

Importance of this Research

Global risks to our food supply include: climate change induced impacts like rising temperatures, desertification; severe weather, flooding and wildfire; increasing global population; diminishing water supplies; and, increasing energy costs. Collectively, these trends present serious risks for food security. To sustainably meet our domestic demand for food in the future, effort will be needed to ensure that local food systems are supported and effective. There is a key role that local governments can play given that food systems occur within municipal and regional government jurisdictions. Their associated regulations, actions, and policies can impede or assist local food systems. Research in this area is needed to identify the beneficial roles local governments can undertake in supporting sustainable land management for the food systems in B.C.

Participants Selection

- A) Group 1: I have contacted you because of your reputation and experience in the field of local food system planning. In particular, because of the knowledge you have regarding the local food system planning initiatives within the province of British Columbia, your knowledge would help me in identifying potential case studies of innovative and leading examples of local government involvement in food system planning. **OR**
- B) Group 2: I have contacted you because of your knowledge and experience in a local food system planning initiative. In particular, based on the advise of several local food planning experts, your community was identified as a leading and innovative example of local food system planning. The research approach is to collect your views and comments on various aspects of your initiative with a view to develop a policy model for local governments interested in local food system planning. Your views will assist in understanding the administrative and political aspects of the policy process. To complement these views, I will also be interviewing up to 10 members of the public or other non-government stakeholders that have been involved in the initiative. **OR**
- C) Group 3: I have contacted you because of your experience and participation in a local food system planning initiative. Based on the advise of several local food planning experts, your community was identified as a leading and innovative example of local

food system planning. The research approach is to collect your views and comments on various aspects of your initiative with a view to develop a policy model for communities interested in local food system planning. I will be interviewing about 10 other public/stakeholder participants in your initiative. Your views will assist in understanding the process aspects of your food system project. To complement these views, I will also be interviewing about 5 members of the local government that was involved in the initiative.

What is Involved

If you agree to participate in this research by contacting me directly by phone or email, we would like to interview you. This interview should take no more than 45 minutes of your time. I would schedule an interview at your convenience and the interview would be by telephone. I would take written notes during the interview.

Risks

As far as I know, there are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research.

Benefits

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include the development of policy models for innovative food system planning. The policy models, based on successful initiatives and academic knowledge, will not only assist local food authorities, local government staff and politicians and community participants/stakeholders in undertaking further initiatives, they will also be of benefit to other communities and local governments in Canada. In addition to the benefit to communities and local governments, this knowledge should be of considerable benefit to the state of knowledge in a relatively new academic field.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without any consequences or any explanation to the research team. If you do withdraw from the study any notes or transcripts will be shredded and will not be used in any reports.

Anonymity

In order to protect your anonymity, I will conduct our interview with you at a time of your choosing and I will present results in summary form such that they represent the broad views of interviewees in order to minimize the extent to which you and your views can be identified from these reports. However, there may occasionally be a quote that serves to illustrate an important point. If I would like to use a quote from you, I would first secure your approval and only use a pseudonym to protect your anonymity. I can't guarantee your anonymity in the process of this research but will do everything possible to protect it.

Confidentiality

Your confidentiality and the confidentiality of the data will be protected as noted above by using a numeric code instead of your name in all written documents, by keeping the code and all notes and transcripts in a secure locked cabinet in my office and by shredding or erasing the written interview data within 2 years of the end of the project.

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Contacts

If you have any questions at any time about this study please contact me by email at rbuchan@XXXXXX or my supervisor, Dr. XXXXXX, by email at XXXXXX or by phone at XXXXXX. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria at XXXXXX or ethics@XXXXXX). Your consent indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered.

Do you agree to conduct this interview? A yes response provides verbal consent to your participation in this study. Do you have any questions before we begin the interview?

_____ (Participants name- printed)

_____ (Date)

Validation Interview Guide

Thank you for agreeing to discuss my research results with me. It is an important step in the process which is intended to see if the results make sense and are relevant. The product of my research is the development of a theory about how significant or transformative change occurs. It is based on the views and experiences of municipal staff, politicians and community stakeholders.

Overview of the research goal and process.

My research looked at the process and variables involved in planning for significant changes in how food systems operate. It produced a theory about the process and dynamics of working towards transformative change in the food system.

I will provide you with a four page overview of the theory for you to review and comment on either at the end of the interview or at a later time if you would like more time to consider it. First, I will identify the main variables or components of the theory and see if you have any thoughts about each component and if you can think of any experiences involving them.

The main variables identified in the theory are: values, practice, results and power. *Values* are the beliefs of people that guide and motivate their behavior. *Practice* includes a number of activities involved in planning processes. *Results* are the outcomes of those activities and *power* is about how people influence or are influenced.

As I identify different aspects of each of these components, I would be interested to hear from you:

- a) If this is or has been relevant in your experience,
- b) if you have any examples you can share, and
- c) if you think I have missed an important aspect.

Values

The interviews identified several different groups of people and discussed their values, beliefs and motivations. This often involved different and competing beliefs and values within each group. These groups are:

Public values:

Council values:

Staff values:

Stakeholder values:

Other agency values:

Professional values (goals and principles):

Perceptions about the value and use of land:

Do these categories of groups make sense to you?

Can you think of times when you have thought about some of these groups as being active in planning processes?

Are there any missing groups relevant to food system planning processes?

Practice

During the interviews several aspects of planning processes were identified as being part of achieving the goals of the planning initiative.

These include:

- a) raising awareness and education
- b) engagement practices
- c) undertaking implementation actions
- d) being effective in action

Are these important in your experience?

Is the ability to see and take advantage of an opportunity to undertake a project a skill or practice you have seen in successful planning initiatives?

What is the role of individual leadership and is it necessary in the public?, politicians? Staff?, stakeholders? Do you have any examples?

Have you ever seen a project used or portrayed in a negative way for political reasons?

Has the availability of resources been a factor in a planning process you are aware of?

Results

During the interviews it was suggested that the current community context is relevant to what policy initiatives might or might not be undertaken. By community context I mean public values, economy, past planning initiatives, staff capacities, current policies, and dominant political views in the community.

Examples:

In your experience, is the history of policy initiatives in food system planning in a location relevant in terms of what you might consider doing as a new initiative. How would your initiative impact future policy initiatives?

Examples:

Have you ever seen an initiative where the public, political and staff values/beliefs are well aligned? How does this impact the prospects of an initiative?

Examples:

Do results influence the public, politicians, staff, stakeholders attitudes towards subsequent planning projects?

Examples?

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Thank you for agreeing to discuss the _____ Food system planning initiative.

1. Can you tell me what this is about?
2. What was your role in it?
3. Who else was involved (Groups, people)?
4. Can you please give me a general description of the purpose and process involved in developing the strategy?

First tell me about the purpose.

Now please tell me about the process.

5. Why was the Strategy undertaken (i.e., why was this deemed important)?
6. Did you have any challenges with having resources to undertake this initiative?
7. Was there support and or opposition (staff, council, stakeholders, Public)?
(If there was opposition, how did you respond to that?)
8. Has it led to other initiatives?
9. Reflecting back on the process and outcome, do you think anything was learned from it?
10. Is there anything other local governments could learn from it?
11. Is there anything else that you want to share with me about it?

Supplemental Questions

There are a number of things I have heard during my other interviews. I would like to hear your thoughts about these suggestions:

- 1) Some people have said that one of the big reasons for doing this work was to include a mandate for food and agriculture policy in the RSS document and this would help
a) encourage staff to work together on food and agriculture policy, b) keep a political focus on the initiative and c) keep food and agriculture policy on the CRD work table. Do you agree or disagree with these thoughts or have any experience or examples to share on this?

- 2) Some people have suggested that the Food and Agriculture policy work could present barriers to developers with interests in using farm land for non-farm uses.
- 3) I have heard that there were two broad groups of interests in the Food and Agriculture initiative- large farming/food producers and those interested in food security. Some say this is almost a rural and urban division. Do you have any thoughts about this?
- 4) I have heard about the importance of having a strong leader or champion in the process. What is your experience and perspective on this?
- 5) I have been told that sometime our planning processes are not effective because we do not provide the time and resources to undertake the discussions and build relationships and trust that help develop common understandings and commitments required to move forward with policy work and achieve the outcomes and changes desired. What is your experience and view on this thought?
- 6) I have been told that it is difficult to support initiatives like this that require additional/new funding and additional staff to undertake and eventually implement. Is this true in your experience and if so what does it take to overcome that difficulty.

Post Interview Thoughts:

- 1) Were there issues of power: Was the participant at ease and comfortable sharing information?
- 2) Did I conduct the interview in an open, non-leading way?
- 3) Did I allow and encourage the participant to fully express and tell their story?
- 4) Were there new categories of information?
- 5) Are any new relationships indicated between categories?
- 6) Are there any new information pieces I need to find as a result of the interview?

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Examples:

Do results influence the public, politicians, staff, stakeholders attitudes towards subsequent planning projects?

Examples?



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 Administration Services Building
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 Victoria, British Columbia V8W 2Y2 - Canada
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Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:	Robert Buchan	ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER	13-366
UVIC STATUS:	Ph.D. Student	Minimal Risk - Delegated	
UVIC DEPARTMENT:	SECG	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:	23-Oct-13
SUPERVISOR:	Dr. [REDACTED]	APPROVED ON:	23-Oct-13
		APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	23-Oct-14
PROJECT TITLE: Local Government Role In Supporting Local Food Systems			
RESEARCH TEAM MEMBER: None			
DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: Province of British Columbia			
CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL			
<p>This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.</p> <p>Modifications To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.</p> <p>Renewals Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.</p> <p>Project Closures When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.</p>			
Certification			
<p>This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria Research Regulations involving Human Participants.</p>			
 Dr. [REDACTED] Associate Vice-President, Research			

Certificate issued On: 23-Oct-13

13-366 Buchan, Robert