Pay Attention to the Process:
A Case Study of Food System Planning in Davis, California

By

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Acronyms

FPG	Food Policy Group
FED	Food and Economic Development
APA	American Planning Association
LAFPC	LA Food Policy Council
ABCD	Asset based community development

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Abstract

In recent years, food planning has entered mainstream community development practice and resulted in a new form of food governance—multi-sectoral efforts between communities, local governments and the private sector (Gupta et al., 2018; Clark et al., 2017; Raja et al., 2014). While food planning has the power to alter globalized food systems and redistribute power to communities, scholars contest the extent to which local food planning achieves these goals (Moragues-Faus, 2019; Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Pothukuchi, 2015; Vitiello and Brinkley, 2014; Campbell, 2004; Wekerle, 2004). At the same time, research indicates that dynamics between actors in the food system can impact the outcomes of food planning; however, few studies investigate how interactions between actors influence the process through which food planning occurs as well as associated outcomes. This case-based research seeks to expose opportunities and challenges of food planning processes using the case study of the Food and Economic Development (FED) Plan in Davis, California—a collaborative effort between food system stakeholders and local government to bolster a college-town's economic future through food planning. Drawing upon one and half years of participant observation and analysis of the food planning process, this in-depth case study explores how internal and external dynamics influence food planning processes and outcomes in multi-sector collaborations between community members, local governments and private businesses to reveal opportunities, tradeoffs and limitations. This case study finds that leadership intentions drove the planning process, which inevitably influenced the substance of the FED Plan. Throughout the planning process, leaders encountered obstacles related to stakeholder representation, local government involvement and lack of time and resources, and adapted based on their unique circumstances. The lack of broader action and institutionalization, an overarching goal of the FED Plan,

disappointed leaders and participants alike, and demonstrates that food still struggles for legitimacy in the eyes of local government. While both external and internal dynamics impacted the process, this case reveals important considerations for similar initiatives during the planning process and introduces a framework for such work. The seven policy-making functions applied in this case can be used as a framework for auditing food planning processes before, during or after decisions are made. Ideally, the components that enable and constrain the food planning processes highlighted in this auditing framework can steer the course to more equitable, inclusive and successful food planning initiatives.

Introduction

In recent years, food planning has entered mainstream community development practice and resulted in a new form of food governance—multi-sectoral efforts between communities, local governments and the private sector (Gupta et al., 2018; Clark et al., 2017; Raja et al., 2014). The practice offers an alternative to the global food system—place-based community food systems that respond to local needs with sustainable supply chain practices and enhance the environmental, economic, social and nutritional health of a place (Feenstra, 2002; Garrett, S. & Feenstra, G., 1999). While food planning has the power to alter globalized food systems and redistribute power to communities, scholars contest the extent to which local food planning achieves these goals (Moragues-Faus, 2019; Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Pothukuchi, 2015; Vitiello and Brinkley, 2014; Campbell, 2004; Wekerle, 2004). At the same time, research indicates that dynamics between actors in the food system can impact the outcomes of food planning. Gupta et al. (2018) demonstrate that relationships between local governments and food policy councils can support or hinder food policy activities whereas Bassarab (2019) reveal that both relationship to government and membership determine policy priorities among food policy councils. Raja et al. (2017) uncover the extent to which local government entities respond to community demand for improving the food system while Beckie et al. (2013) argue that conflicts between citizen demands and development priorities impact food planning strategies, revealing the need for holistic food system strategies. Critically, Moragues-Faus (2019) studies how urban food partnerships in the UK employ notions of equality, participation and inclusion to achieve food system change. However, few studies investigate how stakeholder interactions influence the process through which food planning occurs as well as associated outcomes. This case-based

research seeks to expose opportunities and challenges of food planning processes using the case study of the Food and Economic Development (FED) Plan in Davis, California—a collaborative effort between food system stakeholders and local government to bolster a college-town's economic future through food planning.

Drawing upon one and half years of participant observation and analysis of the food planning process, this in-depth case study is the first to detail and analyze an entire food planning process from the beginning. Specifically, it explores how internal and external dynamics influence food planning processes and outcomes in multi-sector collaborations between community members, local governments and private businesses to reveal opportunities, tradeoffs and limitations. The study utilizes Wu et al.'s (2010) seven-policy making functions as an analytical framework to identify and analyze key components of the food planning process. Previous research into multi-sector collaborations reveal diverse organizational structures, participation, ideas and relationships among actors and mechanisms and guiding values, which contributes to high variability across local contexts (Moragues-Faus, 2019; Gupta et al., 2018). This study seeks to demystify the variability by detailing how actors, ideas and institutions interact at multiple stages of the food planning process and the resulting outcomes.

With a history of food and economic development related activity, strong local food movement and community activism, Davis, California is a particularly interesting case to explore. Further, with most food planning and policy research focused on resource-rich urban areas, this case study highlights possibilities in a small city with university influence (Whittaker et al., 2017). With more food policy councils than any other state and the importance of agriculture to the state's economy, cities throughout California are experimenting with innovative ways to spur food system reform; therefore, California proves to be a timely location

to study food planning practice (Gupta et al., 2018). This case study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How did the food planning process occur in this case?

2. What conditions enabled *or* constrained the food planning process and substance in this case?

3. What specific opportunities, tradeoffs and limitations were revealed in the food planning process?

4. What does the food planning process reveal about internal and external dynamics that influence the development of food policy among food governance actors?

Literature review

Food system planning occurs amorphously throughout North America, depending upon complex interactions between people and place. As a result, one must look beyond food system planning literature that encompasses "planning" in the institutional and traditional sense—incumbent upon official planning departments housed inside local government—to community development and public policy fields. This literature review begins with an introduction to food planning practice and actors that participate in current food governance structures. Then, it dives deeper into the internal and external characteristics of food governance structures that influence food planning outcomes. The literature review concludes that the current research ignores the food planning process and argues that process matters in terms of fully understanding food planning practice and outcomes.

Food planning encompasses "a set of future-oriented, place-based, and dynamic activities that strengthen a community's food system through the creation and implementation of community plans and policies, which are often but not always recognized or led by local and regional governments" (Whittaker et al., 2017, p. 8). Planning activities seek to achieve progressive food system reform in both physical spaces and more complex systems like food supply chains and institutional arrangements. Examples of food planning activities include developing place-based programs and services that address local concerns such as the Healthy Neighborhood Market Network led by the LA Food Policy Council (LAFPC), a program that empowers neighborhood market store owners to be healthy food retailers by providing technical assistance (LAFPC, n.d.). Community food assessments—a tool used to comprehensively analyze community food issues in the context of land use, production, transportation, sustainability and community life—are popular planning practices used to assess a local food landscape and identify areas ripe for change (Pothukuchi, 2009; Campbell, 2004; Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education Program, n.d.). Food planning also involves writing new policies that impact local, state and national level food system policies (Harper et al., 2009; Schiff, 2008). For example, the Countywide Plan of Marin, California acknowledged that preservation of existing agricultural land as vital to the local economy, and instituted policies that improve the viability of local agriculture (Pothukuchi, 2009; Marin County Community Development Agency, 2007). At the city-level, food planning can involve updating comprehensive master plans or stand-alone plans on food that accompany the master plan to include food-system related policies, although food planning actions by local governments have not been fully realized (Raja et al., 2017).

Until recently, absent a strong public sector presence, big food businesses such as farming, food processing and retail establishments and institutions like the US Department of Agriculture, controlled mainstream food planning, dominating food governance configurations while community-based organizations coalesced around grassroots food planning to address the failings of public institutions (Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Vitiello and Brinkley, 2014; Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999). However, starting in the late 1990s and early 2000s, attention from scholars sparked renewed interest from local planners embedded in local government and shifted the dynamic. Individuals and organizations participating in food planning now constitute a new form of food governance whereby public, private and civic actors collaborate at the local level to deliver systematic food-system reform (Moragues-Faus, 2019; Whittaker et al., 2017). Participants include local government officials, such as electeds, planners and other staff, community-based organizations, civic actors and private sector representatives. While scholars and practitioners praise the new multi-sector collaborations for re-democratizing the food system, these configurations are complex, contingent upon a place's socio-ecological context and evolve with varied processes, responsibilities and mechanisms (Moragues-Faus, 2019; Moragues-Faus and Carroll, 2018; Horst and Gaolach, 2015; Pothukuchi, 2009; Mendes, 2006).

Without clear guidance, food governance configurations and planning activities vary highly across local contexts. In an effort to document these nascent spaces, food planning scholars research characteristics that influence food policy and programming outcomes. One popular focus area examines how the organizational structure of multisectoral groups, often referred to as food policy groups (FPGs) or food policy councils (FPCs), influence the effectiveness and outcomes of food planning (Gupta et al., 2018; Scherb et al., 2012; Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999). Irish et al. (2017) emphasize that FPGs should include membership from

across three axes: across domains (e.g., health, education, economic development), across the supply chain (e.g., production, retail, distribution), and across sectors (e.g. public, private, community) to ensure a systems-oriented approach (Bassarab et al., 2020). Other scholars reveal that government involvement has implications for successful outcomes (Gupta et al., 2018). The benefits of involvement include legitimizing FPGs among government officials, activating political buy-in, focusing on both policy initiatives and programming and strengthening the bond between strong local governments with meaningful community connection (Gupta et al., 2018; Stierand, 2012; Pothukuchi, 2009). Some FPGs also receive funding directly from their local government agencies, which is crucial to longevity (Pothukuchi, 2009; Wekerle, 2004). Housing multi-sector collaborations within government agencies can have adverse consequences—alienating community constituencies, becoming beholden to the mission of government entities and being vulnerable to political change (Gupta et al., 2018). Pothukuchi (2015) reveals that greater city and local government involvement in food planning is problematic from justice and grassroots development perspectives. Recent research advises an autonomous organizational structure whereby FPGs are organized outside of government agencies, but maintain a positive working relationship (Gupta et al., 2018). The autonomous structure allows FPGs to leverage their community-based mission with government resources (Stierand, 2012; Schiff, 2007). Additionally, an autonomous structure supports the grassroots, inclusive, community-based priorities that FPGs were founded on (Gupta et al., 2018; Harper et al., 2009).

Apart from organizational structure, internal dynamics among food system stakeholders can impact food policy and programming outcomes. For example, stakeholders frame issues differently and employ various strategies for achieving their goals. Research reveals that issue framing can impact political support of food planning, which is crucial to long-term success

(Pothukuchi, 2009). Community-based organizations employ citizen-led, grassroots and bottom-up approaches to change and seek to create an alternative food system that is more sustainable or regional than the current global industrial system (Raja et al., 2017; Campbell, 2004; Wekerle, 2004; Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999). Many of these organizations also work within the food justice movement to emphasize the needs of vulnerable and disenfranchised community members (Horst and Gaolach, 2015; Vitiello and Brinkley, 2014). Local government work can also address local food system needs holistically and generally relies on academic research to inform decision making (Pothukuchi, 2009). Large food corporations tend to value the global industrialized food system that prioritizes efficiency, profit maximization and market dominance (Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Campbell, 2004). Food planning by this group alone dominates the practice and prioritizes market-based interventions that benefit corporate stakeholders and the bottom-line instead of community interests. In contrast, small businesses such as neighborhood grocery stores, restaurants, co-ops and some agricultural operations support the alternative food system (Campbell, 2004). Pothukuchi (2015) finds that city-led food planning dedicates more resources to larger, corporate interests instead of small, local community businesses and that grassroots efforts to emphasize equity and justice in the food system struggle to gain and retain legitimacy, policy or funding support from local governments.

Scholars also employ a political economy lens, revealing that food governance structures and food planning activities and outcomes are influenced by macro-level economic processes, namely neoliberalism that favors the "free" market, corporate investment and little or no intervention from the state (Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism, which resulted in the prolonged absence of comprehensive, institutionalized food planning, influences the dynamics between food system stakeholders and governance as well as food planning

activities. For example, the community-based organizations and advocates who lead food planning in North America seek to address issues caused by rollback of social programs without state support (Alkon and Guthman, 2017; Wekerle, 2004). Harper et al. (2009) posit that FPGs inevitably serve as de-facto government agencies because no U.S. cities or states have agencies devoted to addressing food system issues. However, when local government becomes involved, power imbalances can occur and exacerbate uneven development in the local food system (Pothukuchi, 2015). Alkon and Guthman (2017) argue that market-based food planning activities, such as starting a food business or encouraging entrepreneurialism, do not actually present alternatives to the global industrialized food system and may produce and reproduce neoliberal forms and spaces of governance instead of contesting their existence (p. 11). Further, Pothukuchi (2009) reveals that arguments of economic benefits receive significant attention from local policymakers in comparison to other strategies, which further evidences the degree to which market solutions to social problems have become normalized (Alkon and Guthman, 2017).

Despite the growing literature about food governance arrangements, characteristics that influence food policy and programming outcomes and information available from food plans themselves, the process by which these new governance configurations form and initiate food planning activities are often ignored by scholarly research. Table 1 below compares five food system plans to the FED Plan by problem frame, stakeholder participation mechanism, leadership, location and time to completion. The food plans span across the United States—from Vermont to New York to Pennsylvania to Michigan to California—and demonstrate the variability across all five metrics. Compared to the FED Plan, the cases show greater instances of stakeholder participation and additional time to completion. The problem frame varies from narrow, such as economic development (the FED Plan) and equitable and sustainable food

systems (Healthy Food For All and Good Food For All) to broad, such as encompassing agriculture, economic development and public health (Greater Philadelphia Food System Plan). Leadership steadily consists of local government officials and even entire local government agencies. In some instances—the FED Plan, Good Food For All Agenda and Greater Philadelphia Food System Plan—members of the general public are part of leadership. A national research institute—PolicyLink—partnered with Michigan State University to lead the The Healthy Food For All plan.

Table 1. Comparison of food systems plans by problem frame, stakeholder participation, leadership, location and time to completion.

Plan	**Problem frame**	**Stakeholder participation**	**Leadership**	**Location**	**Time to completion**
FED Plan	Economic development	Three invitation-only community discussions, two surveys of participants and a public forum	Community members; the Mayor	Davis, California	5 months
Good Food For All Agenda	Sustainable and equitable food	Input from hundreds of stakeholders through meetings, interviews, listening sessions, roundtables and document reviews and revisions.	Los Angeles Food Policy Task Force established by the Mayor	Los Angeles, California	7 months
One Region	Food access and	Engagement with seven	Greater Buffalo-	Buffalo, New	3 years

Forward Sustainability Plan	justice	hundred local organizations, more than five thousand residents in the bi-county region, over a hundred subject matter experts and representatives from local governments, business leaders and employers. The planning process included a cross-sectional steering committee, a local government council, a private sector council, and five topical working teams composed of community stakeholders.	Niagara Regional Transportation Council; University at Buffalo Regional Institute; Buffalo Niagara; and Niagara Frontier Transportation Authority.	York	
Greater Philadelphia Food System Plan	Farming and Sustainable Agriculture, Ecological Stewardship and Conservation, Economic Development, Health,	Plan and policy analysis; stakeholder surveys, conversations with stakeholders and partners, online survey, small group discussions.	Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission and Greater Philadelphia Food System Stakeholder Committee	Greater Philadelphia area, Pennsylvania	2 years

	Fairness, and Collaboration				
Vermont Farm to Plate Strategic Plan	Local and regional agriculture development, job creation and food access	Plan and policy analysis; public feedback from interviews, focus groups, local food summits, web surveys, a statewide food summit, working sessions, and meetings. Six in-depth working sessions brought together stakeholders to comment on draft goals, objectives, strategies, and priority investment recommendations.	Vermont Sustainable Jobs Fund and Vermont Sustainable Agriculture Council	Vermont	18 months
Healthy Food For All	Equitable and sustainable food systems	Focus groups with 151 residents, interviews with 37 advocates and professionals, and environmental scans of activities and organizations in each city.	PolicyLink and Michigan State University	Detroit, Michigan and Oakland, California	Unknown

Despite the valuable information and experience from individuals involved with the above food plans, the implications of dynamics on food planning processes and outcomes are even less studied. Some scholars point to impacts of organizational structure and internal dynamics between stakeholders on the process. For example, Clark et al. (2017) reveal that local government officials and policy makers do not always create inclusive planning processes. Applying organizational development theory, DiGuilio (2017) finds that structural and organizational relationships influence agenda-setting processes and activities. Extending beyond food planning literature, community development and public policy literature acknowledge that process matters. For example, Sherry Arnstein (1969) developed a model of citizen participation to display power differentials between actors and ultimately democratized decision-making processes. Scholars who study public policy recognize process as an integral component to understanding policy development and outcomes (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). Policy analysts even study the policy process according to five stages: agenda-setting, formation, decision-making, implementation and evaluation as a general framework for analysis; however, application of these concepts to an in-depth analysis of the food planning process is missing from the literature (Vogel and Hentra, 2015; Wu et al., 2010). Building upon the current literature in food planning, community development and policy analysis, this study seeks a nuanced understanding of how food planning processes have been carried out in one local context, revealing the opportunities and challenges of food planning practice, and ultimately guide the practice in a positive or negative direction.

Researcher positionality

My position as a researcher studying food planning is entrenched in my personal experience with agriculture and food systems. Throughout my years working on small-scale diversified vegetable farms, I witnessed the positive effects of local food systems and sustainable agriculture personally and within communities, including health benefits, community building and social justice. These experiences along with my education and upbringing contribute to my systems thinking mindset. I deeply hope that regional and local food systems can mutually benefit communities and the environment but believe more needs to be done to achieve equitable and just food systems.

As a Master's student in Community Development, I am intimately involved with this case study. I began helping with the project in Fall 2018 during the first quarter of my graduate career. My advisor recruited me to help document the process by taking notes and encouraged me to consider the experience as worthy of a thesis topic. As my role evolved from note taker to a more active member of the project's steering team, I became personally and professionally connected to the project and individuals referenced in this paper. These relationships contribute to my assumptions and biases about the project's process and outcomes. Following my academic training in critical thought, this research does not congratulate the FED Plan entirely, but employs critical reflection to critique the process. I continue to practice self-reflection for my own assumptions, allow experiences to speak for themselves when they can and offer a deep reflection based on my participant observation, document analysis and literature review. Further, my position as a white, female graduate student researcher at UC Davis also affords many privileges in today's society and thus, this case study could reflect such privileges. Although my path to inquiry has been long and winding, I am very honored to explore community development theories and knowledge with this thesis.

Methods

This thesis is informed by my experiences as a participant in the FED planning process from October 2018 to March 2020 and graduate student in Community Development at the University of California, Davis studying food systems governance, policy and equity. These experiences afforded me a unique position to undertake research that aims to understand how social, political and economic dynamics impact local food planning processes. The recent food planning effort in Davis serves as a timely case of food planning and policy processes because of its geographic location in California and connections to the broader food planning movement in the United States. The planning process was studied as a qualitative case study utilizing ethnographic methods, including participant observation and document review, popular methods employed by food systems scholars (Jablonski et al., 2019; Sieveking, 2019; Moragues-Faus and Carroll, 2018; Zitcer, 2015; Beckie et al., 2013; Day Farnsworth, 2017; Mendes, 2006). The data gleaned from eighteen participant observations, countless personal communications and review of procedural and policy documents and videos allowed for a detailed, robust description and analysis of the planning and policy process. Data collection and analysis were iterative processes carefully documented through note taking in multiple stages and revised based on feedback and secondary data. Further, two analytical frameworks—Wu et al.'s (2010) seven policy-making functions and Koski et al's (2018) measure of descriptive representation—undergird the analysis to address the research questions in a way most relevant to food planning processes. The subsections below detail how methods were employed in this case study.

Participant Observation

Jorgensen (2015) defines participant observation as "a method for investigating human existence whereby the researcher more or less actively participates with people in commonplace situations and everyday life settings while observing and otherwise collecting information" (p. 1). The method allows the researcher to immerse themselves in the community, which helps develop a different level of understanding based on first-hand experience. Participant observation includes both the act of participation and the act of observation; and in this case, my role evolved from 'participant as observer' and 'observer as participant' as I built rapport with the group with which I studied (Ingold, 2014; Jackson, 1983). As a process insider, I attended a majority of the key meetings before and after the FED Plan was released to the public. I observed and recorded notes during the invitation-only meetings in November and December 2018, the public forum in February 2019 and corresponding City Council meetings in May and October 2019. I participated, observed and recorded notes during leadership meetings from November 2018-March 2019, steering committee meetings from June-September 2019 and meetings with City staff to discuss FED Plan progress in September and December 2019. I also recorded notes from my participation in and observation of virtual and in-person conversations about complications, tensions and successes related to the FED Plan from October 2018-February 2020. My notes captured descriptions of the meetings, including what occurred, who participated and the verbal and nonverbal dynamics between individuals, as well as personal reflections. My note taking strategy varied depending on the situation—sometimes I took handwritten notes during meetings and other times I typed my notes. I always revisited my notes within 24 hours of an observation to revise and expand. I used my observations and detailed notes to analyze the planning process and associated outcomes. Further, I utilized secondary data from internal and external

communication documents (i.e. emails and public records) to corroborate my observations and findings. I analyzed the first and final drafts of the FED Plan by comparing the content and organization of each section to study how the document and recommendations evolved after open public meetings. This comparison, along with review of process documents submitted by participants during the planning process, provided evidence of how participants influenced development of the FED Plan. Videos from the public forum and city council meetings also aided this analysis. I also gathered the participant quotations, represented as italicized text, from process documents and publicly available videos. I analyzed staff notes and meeting agendas from Davis City Council meetings by reading for key phrases to understand how local politicians and City staff responded to the FED Plan, and how their support evolved over time.

Analytical Frameworks

As a study concerned with policy development processes, this thesis is informed by elements of policy analysis and investigates how and why different actors engage in activities at various stages in policy development. In the food system planning literature, the use of analytical frameworks to conduct policy analysis is well documented. Mendes (2006) utilized the five-phase policy cycle framework for food policy developed by Dubbeling (2001) to describe Vancouver's circuitous food policy development. Carey et al. (2015) employed Walt and Gilson's health policy triangle and Kingdon's policy stream model to analyze how Australia's National Food Plan was developed and who was involved in its development. Ultimately, their analysis explored how actors influenced development, informed by the context, process and content of policy development (Carey et al., 2015). Sieveking (2019) uses the five key dimensions of food democracy identified by Hassenien (2008) in a case study to assess how

FPCs might serve as loci for practicing food democracy. This case study analyzes the food planning process using Wu et al.'s (2010) seven general policy-making functions, a proven framework that recognizes that policy outcomes are influenced by the context in which they are made. Wu et al.'s (2010) seven-policy making functions, applied by Vogel and Henstra (2015), disaggregate the policy process into a number of conceptual functions and provides a general framework for analysis, see Table 1 for the framework. By analyzing components of the FED planning process using this framework, I elucidate the network of actors, ideas and institutions that influence planning and policy processes. This framework is well suited for this case study as it reframes the stages of the policy process to account for the dynamic, nonsequential nature of policy development. It also accounts for complex dynamics that take place throughout the planning process and extends general knowledge about policy analysis into the food planning domain.

Table 1. Policy making functions for food planning processes. Adapted from (Vogel and Henstra, 2015).

7 Policy-making functions
1. Setting the agenda
2. Framing the problem
3. Engaging stakeholders and the public
4. Setting priorities
5. Formulating policy options

6. Generating political support
7. Policy integration

In addition, I employed Koski et al's (2018) methodology for determining representation in collaborative governance structures to analyze stakeholder representation in the FED planning process. Koski et al. (2018) introduce a multidimensional conceptualization of representation that analyzes descriptive representation (i.e. "representation in form") and substantive representation (i.e. "representation in practice") among food policy councils to understand the extent to which representation affects issue foci. Their analysis of descriptive representation reveals that group design is important for determining issues a food policy group hopes to address. Koski et al. (2016) also find differences between how the group is initially designed and who actually sits at the table. To understand and demonstrate how stakeholder representation impacted issue foci in this case, I analyzed stakeholder representation by design and attendance. Using the invitee list given to me by leadership, I coded each individual by affiliated organization and type of food system stakeholder. Then, using Koski et al.'s (2018) categories for organization type: nonprofit sectors, special interests, tribal members, universities, private businesses, three jurisdictions of government (city, county and region), I coded an organization type that aligned with the affiliated organization and type of food system stakeholder. In most instances, I applied these categories easily; however, applying the categories to leadership challenged me. I decided not to adopt Koski et al.'s (2016) special category for chairs, or "at large" members, because each leader exercised their own interests rather than operating as a neutral party or liaison to the general stakeholder group. Instead, I categorized leaders according to the organization types listed above based on their professional affiliation and personal

motivations. I tabulated stakeholder representation by design using this list as well. To determine descriptive representation, I applied Koski et al.'s (2018) measure—attendance of stakeholders—to the "by design" invitee list and aggregated the participants by attendance. Overall, this methodology allowed me to tabulate descriptive representation, determine differences between representation by design and representation by attendance and speculate how representation impacted the planning process.

Case introduction

Davis, California is a college town with a total area of 9.9 square miles situated in Yolo County, part of California's Central Valley known for vegetable farms, ranches, vineyards, fruit and nut orchards, and olive and citrus groves. It is home to the University of California, Davis, a world leader in agriculture and food research. The City of Davis[1] has a population of 67,988 and median age of 25.6 years old. 84.8 percent of the population is 18 years or older, with the highest concentration of individuals, 18,014, between 20 and 24 years old. The University of California, Davis, with an undergraduate student population of 30,982[2] likely accounts for this high number.

Davis has a unique history of community activism and support of local and sustainable food systems that dates back to the mid-twentieth century. In 1958, the City of Davis participated in food planning practice by prioritizing agriculture protection in City land use policies; farms still cover over 93 percent of non-urbanized land in Yolo County (Tamimi et al., 2019; County of Yolo, 2009, LU-2). During the alternative local food movement of the 1960s and 1970s, informal multi-sectoral partnerships between community activists, the university and local politicians

[1] Davis demographic data obtained from ACS 2018 5-Year Estimates: https://data.census.gov/cedsci/all?q=Davis,%20California&g=1600000US0618100&hidePreview=false&tid=ACSDP5Y2018.DP05&layer=VT_2018_160_00_PY_D1&cid=DP05_0001E&vintage=2018

[2] Source: https://www.ucdavis.edu/sites/default/files/upload/files/uc-davis-student-profile.pdf

helped establish The Davis Food Co-op and the Davis Farmers Market (Davis Farmers Market). Regarded as community cornerstones, both food institutions continue to connect residents with local, sustainable agriculture (Tamimi et al., 2019). Similarly, the Davis Farm to School program, started in 2000, was one of the first farm-to-school programs in the country (Tamimi et al., 2019). The program supports the local school district by providing farm and garden-based education, increasing farm fresh foods in school meals and reducing waste through recycling and composting programs (Davis Farm to School, n.d.).

Davis' historic leadership in local agriculture and sustainable food systems is widely recognized and considered to be part of the city's identity, although some would argue that Davis lags behind other regional efforts focused more on food and less on farms (Tamimi et al., 2019). In recent years, surrounding cities launched food planning activities. In 2015, the Sacramento Region Community Foundation partnered with Valley Vision to study the Sacramento regional food system and prepare an action plan with goals, priorities and recommended actions to strengthen the region's food system (Sacramento Region Community Foundation, 2015). Neighboring cities conducted food planning through food systems-based economic development. For example, Sacramento established itself as the "Farm-to-Fork-Capital" of the United States in 2012. The "Farm-to-Fork-Capital" label draws attention to local agriculture and the food culture in the Sacramento area through marketing and local events (Farm-To-Fork Festival). Most recently, The City of Woodland, launched the "Food Front"—a marketing campaign and public-private partnership designed to stimulate economic development by showcasing regional agriculture, food businesses and innovation potential in Woodland (Smith, 2017). When compared to these efforts, not much has changed since Davis' glory days.

In Davis, the community is a vibrant blend of generation, race and nationality, largely due to the university's international presence and proximity to the Bay area. Racially, 64.4 percent of the population are White, 22.2 percent are Asian, 2.3 percent are Black, 3.9 percent of people identify as some other race and 6.8 percent identify as two or more races. Less than one percent are American Indian and Alaskan Native and Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander. Financially, the median household income is $66,162, and with a 29.6 percent poverty rate, Davis ranks ten percentage points higher than Yolo County's poverty rate of 19.6 percent. The City of Davis posits that the UC Davis student population skews the City's income and poverty statistics—reducing income levels and inflating the poverty rate (City of Davis, 2018, p. 13).

Local agriculture, community and food justice-oriented values embed themselves among the population who gather regularly at the local food institutions—the Davis Farmer's Market, Davis Food Co-op and Nugget Markets. Although it appears that the community still values the alternative sustainable food movement, it is curious that food planning has not evolved much in the twenty-first century until recently. Recognizing the opportunity for Davis to continue its legacy of food system innovation, three female community leaders: one local food activist who played a prominent role in the creation of the Davis Food Co-op and Davis Farmer's Market and former Mayor of Davis, one professor and researcher of urban planning and food systems from the University of California, Davis and one local food entrepreneur and nonprofit founder, organized a plan to revitalize the local economy and food system under the auspices of Davis City Council. The Food and Economic Development (FED) Plan, a report that imagines a future of economic development in Davis centered around sustainable food, contains policy recommendations and actions that are meant to "inform, encourage and result in broader planning and entrepreneurial efforts" for the City of Davis (Tamimi et al., 2019). Ambitiously,

the FED Plan sought to encourage the City of Davis to incorporate food-based economic development policies into official municipal policies. Mirroring community food assessments, a popular food planning practice, the plan identifies the most salient needs for food system reform based on local needs and recommended actions grouped into the following categories: 1). Establish Davis as a sustainable food testing lab, leading in climate-smart food practices, 2). Ensure access to a healthy diet for all, 3). Make the City of Davis a leading center for food entrepreneurship, 4). Support the City of Davis in becoming a leader in FoodTech and AgTech and 5). Establish a cohesive food brand and narrative (Tamimi et al., 2019; Harper et al., 2009). The FED planning process evolved from November 2018 to May 2019, with some events taking place through 2020. The process included three invitation-only meetings, a public forum and online public comment period, a presentation to the City Council and ad-hoc Steering Committee, see Figure 3 on page 41 for a schematic of the FED Planning Process.

Results

The FED planning process evolved over three distinct phases—pre-planning activities occurred during the first phase, the second phase involved the most substantive planning activities and post-planning activities took place in the third and final stage. The results below describe the planning process according to the three subsections, each covering one dimension of the planning process. The results utilize the entire dataset from this case study but does not seek to analyze or draw conclusions. This section illustrates key findings relevant for the forthcoming discussion section.

FED Plan Phase I: Pre-planning process

Though brief, activities that occurred during the pre-planning process explain how food planning ended up on the City's policy agenda. The initial idea for food planning in Davis spurred from personal relationships and informal communication between the three female leaders and local politicians serving on the Davis City Council between 2017-2018. The Mayor of Davis, Brett Lee, played a pivotal role on the leadership team as he adopted the initiative as his Mayoral endeavor. Although a comprehensive plan with recommendations for food and economic development was far from compilation, the idea of food planning vis-à-vis food and economic development started as the seed whose form evolved over time. Indeed, the timing was ripe for such an initiative as the City was updating the downtown plan through a core area advisory committee (CAAC) composed of community members. Two of the three leaders were part of this CAAC and wanted to inform the forthcoming downtown plan. The newly hired Assistant City Manager was also updating economic development recommendations. Each leader had a vested interest in the cause—repurposing the 3rd and B building at Central Park currently occupied by the U.S. Bicycling Hall of Fame into a food center, legalizing mobile food vending and forging a partnership with the city to implement food planning and support their nonprofit—and believed in institutionalization of food planning at the local level, however, local politicians told project leaders that the City would never instigate food planning internally but would respond positively to a community-led effort for change. The leaders decided to pursue creation of a food policy group in Davis through the "Let's Talk About Food: Tapping the Potential for Davis" meeting series.

FED Plan Phase II: Planning process

The three Let's Talk About Food meetings with food system stakeholders occurred between November and December 2018. The initial goals among leadership were to gather local food system stakeholders who could serve on a limited-term (two-year) food policy council, determine the council's key areas of focus and discuss the assembly of community members needed to meet particular goals (personal communication, October 2018). The leaders developed the tentative outline below to achieve these immediate goals, but ultimately desired flexibility so the group could co-create desired outcomes:

> *1. The first meeting can cover assets (restaurants, festivals, leadership, places of note, policy strengths)*
>
> *2. The second meeting can identify needs (food insecurity, foodie scene, street food vending)*
>
> *3. The third meeting can explore policy options (removing barriers, creating incentives; personal communication, October 2018).*

As part of the planning process, the leaders curated a list of potential food policy council members and meeting invitees from their personal connections and advice from Diane Parro, Chief Innovation Officer at the City of Davis. The invitee list identified the contact's affiliated organization and type of food system stakeholder. Figure 1 below shows representatives from private businesses, university, cities, nonprofits, special interests and county organizations were included in group design. After finalizing the list, the leader with the strongest social tie reached out to each stakeholder with an invitation to the meeting series. Invitations were staggered to make sure the meeting space would accommodate all attendees, which caused prioritization of some invitees over others. Additionally, not all invitees responded affirmatively, which resulted

in reduced totals of individuals invited versus attended. Figure 2 shows actual attendance of stakeholders in each group. The analysis reveals that private businesses account for the largest stakeholder group in both design (39.3%) and actual attendance (35.1%) while city officials make up a greater share of attendance (21.6%) than initially designed (14.3%). Comparatively, university participation decreased from design (23.2%) to actual attendance (13.5%) whereas nonprofit participation increased from design (17.9%) to actual attendance (24.3%). The changes from design to attendance likely relate to the number of stakeholders from private businesses, namely businesses part of the Downtown Davis Business Association (DDBA), who did not attend the meetings, reducing the overall number of attendees. Additionally, turnout among nonprofit stakeholders and city officials was high in comparison to university representatives.

Figure 1. Stakeholder Representation by Design

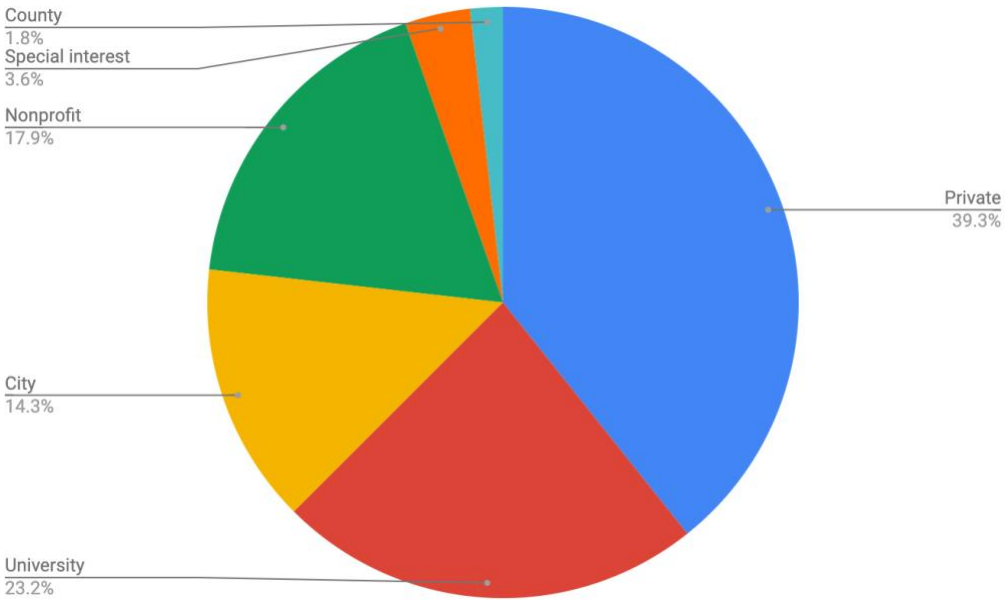
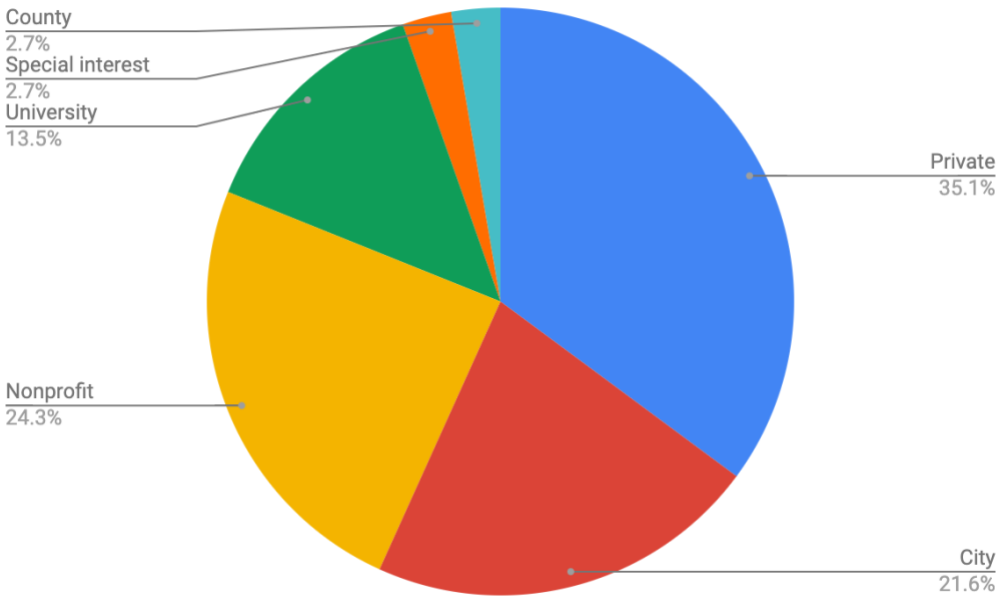


Figure 2. Stakeholder Representation by Attendance



With invitations finalized, the meeting series began on November 1, 2018 at the Fireside Room of the Davis Community Church. The Mayor of Davis, Brett Lee, initiated the meeting with an inspirational address, stating that the City of Davis and council members supported the initiative. After brief stakeholder introductions, the three leaders presented an overview of current Davis' current food assets, historic leadership and rising food trends. Questions arose after their presentations as stakeholders seemed to be confused about the initiative—including the meaning, purpose and goals. One of the leaders stated that the group was there to have a general conversation about Davis' food assets to inform city actions and food policy changes. Another leader explained the purpose as helping to define Davis' food identity. The leaders then led stakeholders through a participatory exercise to identify Davis' current assets, or strengths, and opportunities related to food and agriculture that fell into the following categories: Food Events, Food & Ag Innovation, Restaurant/Prepared Food Sales, Culture and Branding, and Policy. See Appendix B for the full list of assets and opportunities identified by stakeholders.

Stakeholders communicated their ideas for assets and opportunities by writing on individual post-it notes and posting them on the larger pieces of paper labeled by category. After allowing time for idea generation and exchange among stakeholders, the leaders validated responses by reading the post-it notes aloud. The first meeting ended with a reminder about the upcoming meeting, further idea exchange and networking among stakeholders.

In between the first and second meeting, leaders compiled notes taken at the meeting and created a survey to solicit additional feedback from stakeholders about Davis' current assets and opportunities related to food and agriculture. Leaders sent the notes and survey to all invited stakeholders before the next meeting. At the second meeting, held on November 15, 2018 at the Davis Food Co-op Teaching Kitchen, stakeholders gathered to build from the assets identified at the previous meeting and discuss salient needs and opportunities. The meeting began with the most succinct goal statement to-date: making food the centerpiece of Davis' economic development efforts by formulating a food-based economic development plan for the City of Davis and creating a food policy council to lead the effort. Leaders also explained that a document would be generated from the discussions and used to inform next steps. Afterward, a series of guest speakers exclaimed their support. Speakers included Davis' Mayor Pro Tempore, a local restaurateur and developer and a founding member of the Davis Farmers Market. Stakeholders participated in another participatory exercise during this meeting. Following instructions from leadership, stakeholders organized into breakout groups based on the asset categories identified from the last meeting: Events, Street Food, Branding/Narrative and Food and Ag Innovation/Entrepreneurship. Leaders offered an opportunity for stakeholders to add other big themes, and two stakeholders identified food security as an area of interest. In breakout groups, stakeholders completed an "Opportunities Handout", a worksheet where they identified

policy opportunities, described how each opportunity built off of existing strengths and brainstormed the feasibility of each opportunity. Each breakout group selected a notetaker to record the discussion. At the end of the meeting, breakout groups shared their ideas and leaders collected the handout to document the ideas.

Prior to the third meeting, leaders again shared a survey with stakeholders, requesting their feedback and comments on the process thus far. On November 26, 2018, the third Let's Talk About Food meeting took place at the Davis Senior Center. After a brief reminder of upcoming meetings and the initiative purpose, several guests presented to the group. A city councilmember expressed his support along with a City of Davis staff member. A local food business owner shared his personal story and support of the initiative. The last speaker was Woodland's City Manager who described Woodland's Food Front initiative and provided ideas for a similar effort in Davis. After presentations, the stakeholders participated in a design-a-billboard exercise where they brainstormed Davis' new city slogan related to food and agriculture and designed the future billboard. Leaders distributed a handout for stakeholders to complete and collected the ideas when the activity finished. At the end of the meeting, leaders described next steps of the planning process, which included another survey to gather stakeholder feedback and a public forum to gather broader community input. The meeting concluded with supportive statements from the Davis City Manager and Mayor Brett Lee, who reiterated the importance of community-led change and encouraged the group to create a plan for the City of Davis with specific recommendations for implementation.

Immediately following the three invitation-only small group discussions, leaders helped organize a presentation from Paula Daniels, founder of the Los Angeles Food Policy Council and Good Food purchasing platform and panel discussion amongst Davis food leaders. This event

was meant to stimulate the community interest in and awareness of food and agriculture assets in Davis. During this time, the three leaders also worked behind the scenes with Diane Parro to compile information gleaned from the stakeholder meetings and surveys into the FED Plan, a deliverable for the City of Davis. As part of the organizing team, I also provided content and edits. The first draft of the FED Plan was made available to the public on February 21, 2019 shortly before a public form on February 28, 2019 at Davis Council Chambers. The public forum served as the first public presentation of the food planning effort to the community. It was open to the broader Davis public, and provided an opportunity to learn about the FED Plan and hear reactions from a panel of local food system experts; experts included stakeholders involved in small-group discussions as well as people who did not attend the invitation-only meetings. Attendees were encouraged to submit comments, feedback and questions to the panel and leaders for consideration at the public forum and online for approximately 30 days following the forum. See Appendix C for a list of questions and comments submitted from the public.

After the public forum, leaders prepared for an official presentation to Davis City Council by finalizing the FED Plan, which included incorporating comments from the expert panel, public forum attendees and online forum. The leaders also solicited ideas and feedback directly from local food system stakeholders with whom they had connections and utilized research about food planning initiatives in North America. Formatting changes occurred throughout the editing process. For example, the number of priority action areas was expanded from four to five to separate entrepreneurship and innovation recommendations. Additionally, following public confusion about the prioritization of action areas, priority action areas were listed instead of numbered, weighing the recommendations equally. Critiques about the food security action area, including the lack of depth compared to other action areas and the overall suitability with

economic development, prompted more substantive changes as leaders decided food security must be included because of "various policy and political reasons" (personal communication, March 2019). As a participant observer, I realized that the leaders could not ignore calls to include food security in the plan even though they felt the topic needed a more dedicated plan and deliberate community engagement effort. To address food security, the action area recommended a public partnership between the City, existing community-based organizations and agencies as well as legalizing street food vending. The introductory language also explained the connection between food security and economic development more explicitly. Based on feedback from the public forum and stakeholders, a greater emphasis on partnerships between the university and the relationship between city, county and regional development were also added. In the final draft, calls for the creation of a food policy council changed to "an independent food and economic development focused organization" to allow university staff to participate (Tamimi et al., 2019). In our planning meetings with representatives from the University of California, Davis, we learned that some were reluctant to participate in an initiative with "policy" in the name because the university restricts some staff from prohibiting in "conflict of interest" activities. Upon further investigation, however, I could not find any formal policy prohibiting staff from participating in food policy councils. Lastly, the final version of the report incorporated a more action-oriented tone with specific recommendations and timelines for the City of Davis.

FED Plan Phase III: Post-planning process

With a final draft complete, the leadership team submitted the plan to Davis City Council members via email and was invited to present the report at a City Council meeting on May 14, 2019. Preparation for this meeting included communicating with Diane Parro and the Mayor to

prioritize what and how the content should be presented at the meeting. During the presentation at the City Council meeting, people in the audience showed support of the FED Plan by raising signs. Others gave public comment in support of the plan. In the end, City Council unanimously supported the FED Plan and approved the designation of city staff and resources to work with the newly formed FED steering committee on the implementation plan throughout summer 2019 and requested a status update in the Fall of 2019.

After the meeting, leadership changes occurred—two of the original leaders stepped back from active engagement, and the remaining original leader and I organized an ad-hoc, volunteer steering committee, which served as the FED Plan advocacy group and liaison with the City of Davis. In a way, this ad-hoc steering committee took the place of a formal food policy council. Initially, we hoped the steering committee would evolve into a food policy group. As a Co-Chair of the Steering Committee, I witnessed how leadership changes, inconsistent participation, varied motivations and volunteerism challenged the steering committee. At the beginning of steering committee activities, City staff from the Economic Development Department met with leadership to discuss their plan to enact recommendations from the FED Plan. The update provided insight into how City staff conceptualized their role. They suggested a limited number of new, collaborative projects, identified which FED recommendations aligned with current projects and asked for feedback. For example, sustainability recommendations could be included in the City's upcoming Climate Action and Adaptation Plan update's community engagement process. Additionally, supporting AgTech and FoodTech development already aligned with the City's economic development goals. The City also planned to initiate implementation of mobile food vending to comply with state law, including stakeholder outreach and an urban-agriculture project on the City's greenbelt. With this initial communication, we believed we established a

collaborative working relationship with City staff, though our relationship proved to be tenuous over the next few months as communication with staff dwindled. I think we encountered communication issues for a few reasons: city staff time is limited because of competing priorities, staff priorities differ from the council's and leadership changes meant less attention and pressure from the community group.

From May through September 2019, as the steering committee gathered to provide feedback and establish its role as an ad-hoc advisory group, we encountered challenges of maintaining long-term engagement among food system stakeholders involved in the FED Plan. We used an email list with addresses from food-system stakeholders and community members who signed up for continued communication to inform people about the committee meetings. Steering committee membership was also open to anyone, and the majority of members were stakeholders from the three invitation-only meetings. Meeting attendance and participation varied throughout the summer as we tried to establish a basic organizational structure, action agenda and respond to inquiries from the City of Davis. We discussed administrative decisions such as our non-profit eligibility or working under the umbrella of an existing nonprofit, which proved to be a perplexing endeavor because of lack of resources and information about food planning partnerships. We also debated the benefits and drawbacks of attaching ourselves solely to local government actions or operating outside of local government as a "watchdog". With varied participation and restlessness among steering committee members due to administrative activities, we established our role as both advocates to hold the City accountable and advisors to make relevant recommendations and provide expertise in the field of sustainable food systems. In order to achieve our goals and utilize the current momentum, we decided to pursue the "low hanging fruit" first, meaning City-approved FED projects and then reevaluate as time passed.

This plan changed as steering committee members met with City staff for the second time to discuss their implementation plan before the Fall 2019 City Council meeting. Similar to our previous conversation, their plan identified few new opportunities—mobile food vending ordinance outreach and an urban agriculture project—and the FED recommendations already in alignment with current projects. We learned that City staff would not recommend investing financial resources into collaborative partnerships as suggested in the FED Plan because of budget and staff constraints. Instead, they recommended the steering committee participate as a community stakeholder in applicable outreach events. We also learned that staff would not recommend pursuing food access and security recommendations, citing they related more to the school district, county and other agencies or nonprofits. Steering committee leaders expressed disappointment in the plan and desire to see an implementation plan with proposed timelines and resource allocations. Staff acknowledged the potential for disappointment as their plan did not address several key requests from the FED Plan. They believed some of the recommendations could not be driven by the City, and favored incremental change, starting with the most fruitful and then moving on to others.

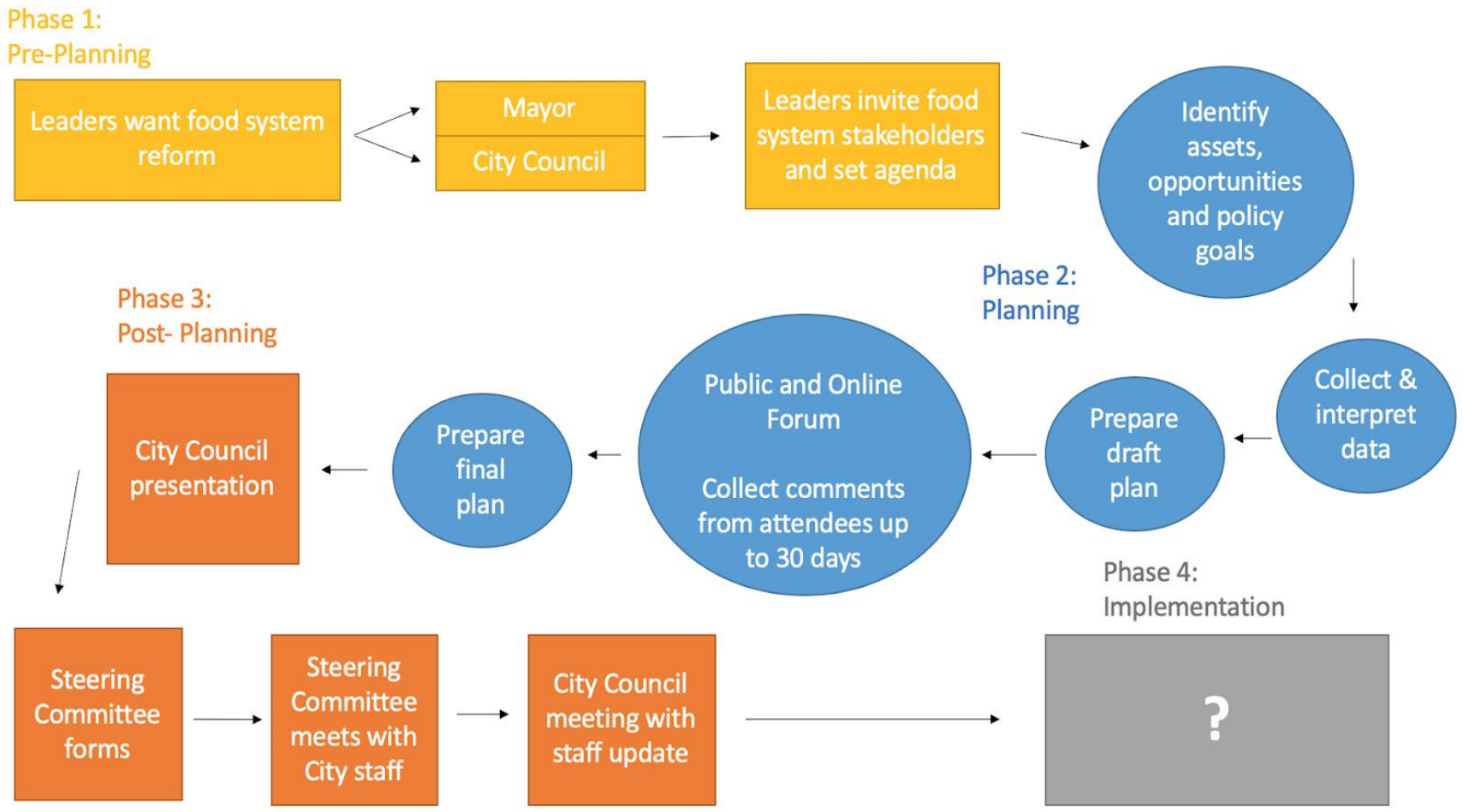
During the Fall 2019 City Council meeting, steering committee members, informed by their meeting with City staff, gathered for public comment and requested an implementation plan with timelines, milestones and resource allocations from City staff and council. As we organized for public comment, tensions arose among steering committee members because some did not want to aggravate City Council or staff through confrontational public comment. Many audience members also showed support by raising signs. The FED Plan discussion, which took place around 12:30 AM as one of the last agenda items, resulted in the City Council approving staff's proposed recommendations of mobile food vending ordinance outreach and the urban agriculture

project. Council agreed that an implementation plan with milestones would be helpful to track new and existing projects. Separate from their approval of recommendations, the Mayor suggested allocating money from the City's General Fund to pay for FED projects to be used at staff's discretion. The Mayor believed the funds would signal council's investment in the FED Plan to the City Manager's office and streamline projects by allowing staff to implement projects without obtaining council's approval. The City Manager agreed that discretionary funds would be instrumental. When asked for approval, the other city councilmembers wanted more time to think through options and develop an official proposal. Concerned about displaying an image of wealth and equitable distribution of resources, some council members suggested dedicating in-kind services instead of direct monetary exchange. In the end, council directed staff to brainstorm funding options with the FED steering committee. They have not contacted the group about funding options.

In December 2019, City staff initiated communication with the steering committee about participating in outreach for new sidewalk vending and food truck regulations during the new year. After the steering committee helped with initial stakeholder outreach, the City scheduled mobile vending public outreach meetings for the community to provide input on proposed changes to current mobile vending regulations scheduled for a City Council public hearing. Scheduled for mid-March 2020, the City cancelled the outreach meetings due to the coronavirus pandemic and has not released further information about rescheduling. The steering committee became inactive after the Fall 2019 City Council meeting without clear directives, collaboration and funding opportunities with the City, although FED Plan discussions continue among leaders and local politicians in social settings. Leaders and stakeholders also continue to email city officials and comment publicly to move forward their vision when the opportunity arises. In

early March 2020, Comstock's Magazine—a Sacramento based publication—released a story about the FED Plan, which refocused attention on the project and current status. Despite the opportunity to proactively respond to community food supply shortages and vulnerabilities due to the coronavirus pandemic, and a list of recommendations for improving community resilience, the City of Davis has yet to take meaningful action on FED Plan recommendations. In my review of other food planning initiatives, longer start-to-action timelines are often required for deeper, fundamental food system changes. In this case, however, leaders sought a more pragmatic plan that could be immediately implemented by the City, which raises questions about why action has not occurred. Gupta et al. (2018) notes that when priorities between local government and community groups overlap, change is more easily achieved in the short run. Demonstrated by the close connection between leaders, stakeholders and local government officials throughout the planning process, this case suggests misaligned priorities between parties and elucidates challenges of sustaining multi-sectoral partnership long-term.

Figure 3. The FED Food Planning process occurred in three stages: Pre-Planning, Planning and Post-Planning.



Discussion

Case Reflection: Unpacking the Process

The analysis of the FED planning process in terms of the broader policy analysis field deepens the understanding of food planning by elucidating key policy-making functions involved in the food planning processes. The analysis reveals opportunities, tradeoffs and limitations of the food planning process. As discussed in the literature review, few studies detail the food planning process from the beginning, instead focusing on content, change mechanisms and outcomes. This case study demonstrates how the process occurs and important components that influence outcomes, making a strong case for embedding reflexive process evaluation into food planning initiatives. Using Wu et al.'s (2010) seven general policy-making functions described by Vogel and Henstra (2015) as an analytical framework, the forthcoming discussion section connects the FED planning process with my participant observation experience and document and literature review.

Setting the agenda

How does food policy make its way onto the policy agenda? And how does this affect the content and process of food policy making? These questions are central to the first phase of the policy process: agenda setting. This case identifies leadership capacity, organizing strategy, timing and local context as important determinants of the agenda setting process.

Leadership capacity

Food made it onto the City of Davis' policy agenda after leadership exercised their political and social capital and secured support from the Mayor and newly elected City Council

early in the agenda-setting phase, which echoes findings from Gupta et al. (2018) and Walsh et al. (2015) that leaders who leverage extensive political and insider connections are important contributors to food policy processes. In this case, the leaders' connections were critical contributors to getting food policy on the municipal policy agenda.

Organizing strategy

The FED Plan organizing strategy blurs the dichotomous "inside-initiation" whereby a local government champion recognizes the need for food policy and seeks to attract the attention of decision-makers and "outside-initiation" pattern characterized by organized interests drawing attention to a problem and cultivating support for a proposed solution, in hopes of garnering the attention and support of public officials (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). In this case, we see that local politicians encouraged leaders to organize outside of government while the mayor and city council members served as political champions inside local government, which provides new information about collaboration between these two parties. A 2017 Johns Hopkins survey (Sussman and Bassarab, 2017) found that "outside-initiation" is a common organizing strategy among FPGs as 76 percent are organized outside of government compared to those housed inside government, however their work includes collaboration and supportive relationships with government officials. Further, in a comparative case study of California FPGs, Gupta et al. (2018) emphasize the importance of maintaining structural autonomy through "outside-initiation" because it allows FPGs to control the policy agenda and organizing process, arguing that organizing strategy affects the content and process of food policy making. Gupta et al. (2018) found that when housed within a government agency, or driven from an "insider-orientation," there was greater pressure for an FPG to align with the mission of the current administration.

In this case, leaders and local government officials utilized an "inside-outside" organizing strategy that allowed stakeholders to generate the content and process of food policy and also involved working closely with government officials to define a shared vision and garner political support. For example, as the forward by Davis Mayor Brett Lee states "My part in this was easy, to present in broad outline my Mayoral Initiative focused on Food and Economic Development to my City Council colleagues, (Lucas Frerichs, Will Arnold, Gloria Partida, and Dan Carson), to get their official "buy-in" (Tamimi et al., 2019, p. 2). While this case shows the importance of local government involvement during agenda-setting, the lack of outcomes in this case suggest sustained "buy-in" is necessary to achieve change.

Timing

Scholars refer to "policy windows" as key moments when decision-makers are particularly receptive to proposed policies (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 114). Originally introduced by Kingdon (2003), an active policy window is created when the problem, policy and politics converge (Carey et al., 2014). Similarly, this case demonstrates that timing was an important factor in getting food on the policy agenda. Internally, the City was in the process of updating their downtown plan and economic development plan, which provided an opportunity to introduce new policies. Further, two of the three leaders were part of the core area advisory committee (CAAC) composed of community members working on the downtown plan update. The initiative also aligned with the newly elected Mayor and City Council member's policy priorities. During stakeholder meetings, several participants exclaimed that the council's commitment, energy from local leaders and local context demonstrated an opportune moment to reintroduce historic food policy achievements in Davis.

Local context

Regionally, the popularization of food policy and economic development contributed to getting food on the policy agenda in this case. Stakeholder familiarity with regional endeavors such as Sacramento's Farm-to-Fork campaign and Woodland's Food Front provided successful models and examples of how nearby cities leveraged their food assets in pursuit of policy changes. Leaders and politicians referred to these campaigns throughout the FED planning process. Further, California politicians and communities are no strangers to food policy as the state boasts the largest concentration of FPGs—29 total according to Roots of Change and a highly active local food movement (Gupta et al., 2018; Roots of Change, n.d.).

Framing the problem

Which problems come to be defined as important? Who determines the problem frame? How is the problem or issue presented? How is it perceived by the public and policy-makers? Problem framing influences a multitude of factors: the sense of urgency around it, the interests that mobilize around it and the range of policy solutions proposed (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 114). Vogel and Henstra (2015) reiterate from Stone (1989) that policy framing is a political act—actors often frame problems in a way that advances their own vested interests and interpretation of the problem. Literature also suggests that problem framing has implications for the goals and means of policy, which can impact policy development (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). Moragues-Faus (2019) finds that framing affects stakeholder inclusion. Similarly, in their stakeholder analysis, Campbell (2004) finds that problem framing differs by food system stakeholder. Global industrialized food system proponents, including conventional agriculture and emergency food movement actors, operate with a short-term view and frame problems from a top-down, vertically integrated, global scale. Alternative food system advocates differ by

adopting a long-term approach and framing problems from a bottom-up, community food system approach that values environmental sustainability, social equity and economic viability at the regional or local scale (Campbell, 2004). In my review of food system plans and existing case studies, it appears that food policy is framed in terms of economic development, urban and rural development, environmental sustainability and biodiversity, agriculture, urban agriculture, food security and access, public health and nutrition, food justice and the food supply chain. In this case study, participants directly involved with the FED Plan development (i.e. leadership, stakeholders and local politicians) and local context were key determinants of the economic development problem framing.

Food and Economic Development

Global and local food systems receive significant attention as economic development sources, and one burgeoning frame attempts to address local food system challenges through economic development (Gupta et al., 2018, Dougherty et al., 2013, Harper et al., 2009, Donald, 2008). This framing gives rise to policies and regulations that leverage the food system to increase local economic activity—incentivizing developers to locate supermarkets in underserved areas, establishing food processing facilities and infrastructure or encouraging local food procurement activities (Harper et al., 2009). Further, the economic development framing seems to be popular among FPGs as DiGiulio (2017) found that 20.2 percent of surveyed FPGs identified economic development as a top priority. In this case, economic development is the central problem frame of the FED Plan. The additional priorities: sustainability, food access, entrepreneurship and food and agriculture technology are discussed in terms of economic development opportunities for the City of Davis aimed at food system challenges and building a

"thriving food culture". A salient example of this occurred after the public forum when we received clashing feedback about food security via comment cards:

> *Food insecurity is an important issue, but what does that have to do with economic development? We could spend a lot of staff effort and dollars addressing food insecurity, but doing so will distract from the efforts to develop food entrepreneurship and innovation.*
>
> *Why is food security not a priority? It should be a number one priority. What is more important?*

In leadership's response to the comment on the public forum website, we emphasized food security as an economic development issue:

> *Although there are ongoing efforts and systems in place to address food security, such as by local government, the university and non-profits such as Yolo Food Bank, we felt it was important to include the issue for a comprehensive look at the role of food in the community, both economic development and food security.*
>
> *Economic development and food insecurity are closely tied in terms of providing a livable wage, and in a way that would not detract from entrepreneurship and investment. The plan encourages business development and investment, which we hope can provide a more competitive salary to people working in the food industry. In addition, food insecurity impacts the ability for students and our workforce to thrive and contribute to the economy both in their spending habits, but also in their ability to successfully study and advance in their jobs.*

> *From a purely economic standpoint, studies have shown that the ability to support retail is closely tied to poverty. Efforts to alleviate poverty help broaden the consumer base. While this by no means is the only or most important reason to support aid to the food insecure, it is the economic development rationale. We also felt it was morally unsound to focus on economic development for some wealthier interests and not all. Supports for the food insecure are economic development for those most in need of a working and equitable food system.*

This finding demonstrates that the problem frame influences the type and range of solutions proposed in food planning (Vogel and Henstra, 2015).

Participants

This case reveals that leadership, local politicians and stakeholders influenced the problem frame. Leadership's vested interests in economic development-related changes and strategic decisions to involve local government during the agenda-setting phase steered the problem framing by prioritizing feasible, realistic change and a seemingly uncontroversial policy agenda from their perspective at an early point in the process. Pothukuchi's (2009) argument that economic benefits receive significant attention from local policymakers helps us understand more specifically how involving local government impacted problem framing in this case. Leadership's actions also suggest they operated with a shrewd understanding of local politics in the City of Davis and the extent to which change could occur, supporting Morgues-Faus' (2019) argument that food partnerships and "feasible" activities are actively shaped by a city's socio-

ecological dynamics (p. 82). Incidentally, the influence of these dynamics resulted in leaders prioritizing feasibility, "low-hanging fruit" and local government support during the problem framing phase to achieve successful policy changes, which supports Gupta et al.'s (2018) conclusion that politics of location *do* matter.

In addition to leadership, food business stakeholders, the majority group who attended the invitation-only meetings, helped define the economic development problem frame by being the most dominant voices in the room. During the invitation-only meetings, I noted that stakeholders identified concerns and opportunities differently. Food business stakeholders identified concerns about the City's slow-moving restaurant and food business permitting process, lack of food culture prohibiting tourism and tension between student and non-student residents in defining the town's identity. Opportunities identified by this group included hosting food events to attract more business and define Davis' food culture, food business recruitment and incubator projects, legalize mobile food vending and fast-track permitting for restaurants and food businesses. Comparatively, stakeholders from the university raised concerns about community participation and representation in the planning process and emphasized opportunities for greater university-City partnerships, creative community-focused funding mechanisms, educational events and elevating student participation. Local government stakeholders, along with food security and access stakeholders, communicated concerns about food insecurity, and the opportunity for local government food recovery and sustainability policies to serve Davis' food insecure population. While issues of representation will be further discussed in a subsequent section, Dubbeling (2001) warns that private enterprises can influence the policy process and requires careful management of conflicts of interest. In a case study of economic development, investment and urban agriculture in Ecuador, Dubbeling identifies that private enterprises play an important role,

but should be managed based on their interest in the common good, not only defending their economic interests (p. 20).

Further, the comparison of food plans in Table 1 on page 31 suggests a relationship between how problems are framed and who participates. Compared to the FED Plan, plans that frame problems in terms of equity and access correlate with more robust stakeholder participation and engagement. For example, the One Region Forward Sustainability Plan, a local sustainability plan facilitated by the University at Buffalo's Regional Institute, focused on food access and justice, engaged seven hundred local organizations, more than five thousand residents in the bi-county region and over a hundred subject matter experts and representatives from local governments, business leaders and employers (Raja et al., 2017). The planning process also included a cross-sectional steering committee, a local government council, a private sector council, and five topical working teams composed of community stakeholders. However, additional research is needed to determine if funding, time and leadership priorities also influenced problem framing in the One Region Forward initiative. Additionally, the food plan comparison also suggests a relationship between local government and robust stakeholder participation. This relationship could indicate a strength of food planning initiated by local government—more resources to support a broad-based planning effort.

Local context

Similar to the agenda setting phase, the presence of nearby food and economic development focused initiatives such as Sacramento's Farm-to-Fork campaign and Woodland's Food Front exemplified the benefits of food and economic development framing.

Engaging stakeholders and the public

How are stakeholders and the public involved? Under what conditions are they effective?

In the context of food policy and planning, all relevant individuals, groups and organizations who are affected by, or affect, a priority issue, possess information, resources and expertise, and control the implementation instruments should be involved to result in a more robust, effective and equitable process (Beckie et al., 2013; Dubbeling, 2001). Stakeholder engagement and public involvement are known to improve policy performance and policy processes because it educates people about issues, democratizes policy decisions and assesses the social receptiveness of policy options (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). Further, research links participation to the development of policy priorities. Fung (2006) coined the term "democracy cube" to describe how interactions of participation, participant selection, the authority and power granted to participants and decision-making influence policy priorities among FPGs. Similarly, Bassarab et al. (2019) find that membership composition among FPGs significantly influences the group's policy priorities. Although stakeholder and public involvement are no strangers to community development literature, scholars recently started critically assessing stakeholder and public involvement in food policy and planning processes and advancing conditions that create effective engagement. Carey et al. (2014) analyzed the participation of three key actors using the tripartite approach to food supply: civil society, the private sector and government while Irish et al. (2017) introduced a framework for FPG membership. Membership should span across three axes: across domains (e.g., health, education, economic development), across the supply chain (e.g., production, retail, distribution), and across sectors (e.g. public, private, community) to ensure a systems-oriented approach (Bassarab et al., 2020). The FED case shows that food system stakeholders and the public were engaged differently, which impacted the extent of public participation. Further, the descriptive representation analysis reveals an exclusive planning

process based on political and social connections and unrepresentative of Davis's population. Overall, this section identifies group design and time to completion as important determinants of stakeholder engagement effectiveness.

Formal engagement mechanisms

The FED planning process involved separate engagement mechanisms for leaders, food system stakeholders and the public, which limited the extent of open public involvement during formative planning stages. The three invitation-only meetings and follow-up surveys were the primary decision-making vehicle for the FED Plan. During that time, food system stakeholders framed the problem and developed policy and action recommendations as a group. The public forum and online comment period allowed comments and questions from a wider audience, including the public and other food system stakeholders, but occurred post-plan development and during a shorter window of time without as much in-person conversation as the invitation-only meetings. Based on the analysis of my participant observation notes at the invitation-only meetings and public forum, the invitation-only meetings allowed for greater discussion, deliberation and decision-making than the public forum. In total, approximately 34 stakeholders participated in three 2-hour long invitation-only meetings where they networked with each other and authors of the plan, completed over 10 written exercises with policy recommendations, and had the opportunity to participate in three online surveys. Comparatively, out of approximately 75 public forum attendees, 23 submitted questions or comments on cards and 2 submitted comments in the online forum. Further, the panel discussion at the public forum ran later than scheduled, which limited the public's question and answer and in-person networking opportunities.

Informal engagement mechanisms

As we collected data and wrote the first draft, I witnessed leaders discuss and include other ideas they exchanged with people, including participants, in social gatherings, which supports Moragues-Faus' (2019) finding that collaboration occurs outside of formalized spaces and helps bring together place-based food strategies. Since leaders co-authored the plan, it also reveals that their social contacts possessed some degree of influence in the planning process.

While food planning scholars regularly emphasize the importance of participatory planning processes between governmental and non-governmental actors, the separate engagement mechanisms utilized in the FED planning process reveal that citizen-led planning processes also deserve critical attention. In this case, leaders and food system stakeholders who attended the invitation-only meetings and their social contacts exercised the highest degree of participation and decision-making power by participating in foundational plan development, which reveals that the planning process did not fully share power with the broader community. According to Sherry Arnstein's (1969) citizen participation ladder, creating participatory plans under these conditions diminishes the planning process. Further, the public forum—the primary participation mechanism for citizens—mirrored the City's formal public participation process, which can also limit participation because formalized processes are not always understood and approachable to community members. In a case study about food planning in Toronto, Wekerle (2004) finds that municipal public participation processes limit the influence of some community food advocates.

Stakeholder representation

My analysis of descriptive representation reveals that the case studied here was not designed to nor did it actually represent the demographic makeup of Davis, which raises concerns about the inclusivity of the FED planning process. Leaders designed the core FED

planning group to be composed mostly of private sector actors, university affiliates, nonprofit representatives and city officials. When comparing group design to actual stakeholder attendance, few changes occurred. My participant observation experience explains that leaders purposely invited a greater number of private actors, primarily composed of food businesses because they perceived the hardest changes involving them. They did not exhibit the same effort to invite community members who would also be directly impacted by economic development changes, likely because widespread community outreach to identify and engage members of the public requires additional time and resources outside the scope of this initiative. Consequently, the FED Plan's economic development focus reveals that private and public sector economic development interests had stronger representation, which supports Koski et al.'s finding that group design is important for determining the agenda and policy priorities (p. 369).

The representation analysis also reveals that student participation was virtually non-existent during the formative, invitation-only meetings, despite the high student population in Davis. The muted food security section could reflect this lack of participation as university students in Davis are most impacted by food insecurity. Farmers, for example, were also seldom included despite the report's focus on regional agricultural strengths and the surrounding agricultural presence. Research shows that lack of farmer involvement is typical for food policy groups and that local agriculture seems to be particularly underrepresented (Mooney, Tanaka, & Ciciurkaite, 2014, p. 238; Harper et al., 2009, p. 24). Comments from the public forum convey the consequences of farmer exclusion on the FED Plan, which supports findings that representation significantly influences policy development and prioritization (Bassarab et al., 2019; Vogel and Henstra, 2015):

The Food and Economic Development in Davis report has very little to say

about local agriculture. What role do/should our local food producers play here?

The focus of this Food Policy Council forum is almost exclusively on food, rather than on ag production. Why?

However, it is important to note that some stakeholder groups were more difficult to engage and retain than others. Two students from the Food Recovery Network, a student-led organization that recovers and redistributes food across UC Davis's campus, represented the only students invited to the invitation-only meetings other than myself. Only one of the students attended the first meeting and did not return for the other two meetings, prompting questions about youth engagement challenges. According to Campbell and Erbstein (2011), youth engagement is particularly challenging and requires additional time, resources and commitment from leadership and institutions to succeed. Further, in their research of the Toronto Youth Food Policy Council (TYFPC), Tracy Phillippi (2010) finds that the youth experience—overstimulation from social media, convenience culture and information technology—affects this group's ability to consistently participate and organize (p. 166). Both Campbell and Erbstein (2011) and Phillippi (2010) emphasize that youth engagement is worth the added challenge and acknowledge benefits for youth, adults and the broader community. Interestingly, as the FED Plan effort evolved into a steering committee, youth engagement and participation increased. Youth comprised 26 percent of volunteer steering committee membership whereas they accounted for 8 percent of FED planning process participants, which suggests a relationship between youth participation and stakeholder engagement mechanisms. Lastly, although food

businesses represented the largest stakeholder group in the FED planning process, many food businesses declined to participate in the planning process after receiving invitations, which substantiates Moragues-Faus's (2019) finding that food businesses are a challenging group to engage. We discovered that some food businesses connected to the DDBA declined to participate because of their opposition to mobile food vending, which arose as a priority because of leadership motivations. This opposition reveals tensions among the food business community and a potential cause for engagement challenges. It also highlights the impact of leadership intentions on the stakeholder engagement process.

Time to completion

Employing different engagement mechanisms between food system stakeholders and the broader community conflicts with research that recommends deep citizen involvement in food system planning (Beckie et al, 2013; Phillippi, 2010). Coupled with a group design that involved private, university and public stakeholders rather than students and vulnerable or marginalized groups, the FED planning process was not as inclusive as other efforts. My participant observation experience reveals that timing constrained the engagement process and group design, aligning with scholars who stress the importance of time in generating trust, relationships and inclusive participatory environments (Gupta et al., 2018; Sieveking, 2019; Walsh et al., 2015). By attaching the initiative to the current City Council's term, aligning with concurrent development of other plans, seeking feasible policy changes, or "low hanging fruit", leaders traded a time-intensive inclusive community engagement process for a two-pronged participatory process that evolved quickly over less than one year, which justifies scholarly warnings of food planning involving local government as it is often hard to claim and sustain the attention of political leaders (Clark et al., 2017; Stone et al., 2006; Wekerle 2004). Timing impacted group

design by limiting outreach to personal and political connections along with advice from Diane Parro, a local government official who encouraged leadership to conduct a speedy process, rather than conducting outreach to the broader community.

In my analysis of other food systems plans, I found that 2 years is the average start-to-completion timeline for food systems plans. Similarly, Sears (2017) finds that the length of time to plan seems to remain consistently around one and a half to two years (p. 24), and Whittaker et al. (2017) note that food planning can take up to a decade (p. 13), which shows that the FED Plan—created in less than one year—occurred more rapidly. While this research supports Gupta et al.'s (2018) finding about the importance of leaders with political connections, it also warns that lopsided contributions can occur when conducting a short planning process and relying too heavily on political connections. Further, Gupta et al.'s (2018) findings—that a prudent blend of inclusive community-processes and the strategic use of insider connections lead to the best policy outcomes—could help explain why only few policy changes have occurred in this case (p. 23).

Alternative practices

A more inclusive participatory process could be embedded in the pre-planning process and foster open community involvement during critical development of the FED Plan. For example, the *One Region Forward* initiative to prepare a sustainability plan in Buffalo, NY prioritized community engagement differently by adopting a deliberate governance structure that included a cross-sectional steering committee, a local government council, a private stakeholder council, and five topical working teams comprised of community stakeholders (Raja et al., 2017). One of the working teams focused solely on food access and justice. Although the political landscape ultimately prevented wide-scale adoption of the One Region Forward

initiative, it empowered and energized citizens and organizations to advance the initiative's principles in other ways (Raja et al., 2017). This example reveals that the implementation of food planning can depend on collaboration and synergies across diverse constituencies, which suggests that a more representative, diverse and inclusive community engagement process would aid implementation of the FED Plan. In Los Angeles, city planners partnered with Community Health Council's, Inc. (CHC), a community-based health advocacy organization with over a decade of planning experience, to lead an equitable, inclusive planning process from 2006 to 2015 (Sloane et al., 2019). Utilizing CHC's model for social change, which centers community expertise and surrounds it with the support of academic contributions from public health, sociology and urban planning, the partnership engaged an inside-out community organizing strategy whereby they led tandem city and community-led participatory processes (Sloane et al., 2019). In this case, partnering with a strong, active, community-based organization led to successfully integrating food issues into community plans with a collaborative and authentic participation process (Sloane et al., 2019). Similarly, the City of Seattle, with the largest publicly managed community garden program in the country, deliberately employs an equity lens to better orient their urban agriculture programming to benefit disadvantaged communities through an engaging and inclusive public outreach process (Horst et al., 2017).

Setting priorities

How and why are policy priorities defined? What are the methods of determining policy priorities? Vogel and Henstra (2015) note that there is no standard method for defining policy priorities, and techniques vary across policy domains, influenced by politics and involving conflicts over values and interests (p. 115). Gupta et al. (2018) identify the various ways FPGs define policy priorities. The Yolo Food and Ag Alliance relies on in-person information sharing

to identify problems and generate ideas for policy-based solutions. The Sacramento Food Policy Council develops their policy campaigns through a strategic planning process and member surveys. In Napa, a group convened by the agricultural commissioner, generated policy recommendations internally. The Los Angeles food policy council (LAFPC), a large group with comparatively significant resources, employs a multidimensional governance structure that engages communities and community-based organizations in the process of setting policy priorities, bringing their proposals to leadership for final decisions (p. 22). More specifically, the LAFPC utilizes an asset-based approach to identify existing resources and relationships within a community and find ways to strengthen those through policy, technical assistance or infrastructure development (Day Farnsworth, 2017, p. 60). Asset-based community development (ABCD), introduced by John P. Kretzmann and John L. McKnight in the early 1990's in response to social and economic pressures transforming inner-city neighborhoods in the United States, emphasizes community-driven development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1996). Rather than viewing places and inhabitants through the lens of 'deprivation and lack of resources', ABCD focuses on 'assets and capacity', which can enable people to collectively overcome challenges in their own communities (Clark et al., 2017; Crowe and Smith, 2012). Similar to the LAFPC, researchers involved in the creation of FoodPlan of Central New York (FoodPlanCNY), deliberately used an asset-based approach to identify assets that could be leveraged for food system change and lead to policy change.

This case demonstrates that participants generated policy priorities through the asset-based approach introduced by leadership, which substantiates the popularization of asset-based community development as a method of determining food system planning policy priorities. While asset-based community development provided a framework for defining food planning

and policy priorities, stakeholder participation and leadership motivations ultimately translated in economic-focused asset categories and policy priorities, revealing that those invited to the table influence the priority setting phase. It also demonstrated challenges of incorporating food security as a policy priority and tradeoffs resulting from decisions made during agenda-setting. Below, we learn that asset-based community development can identify weaknesses in stakeholder representation and presents an opportunity for leadership reflexivity during the planning process.

Asset-based community development in food planning

The process of defining asset categories and identifying assets within categories occurred during the first two meetings and ultimately shaped the policy priorities in the FED Plan, evidenced by the evolution of asset-based categories throughout the planning process. In Table 3 below, we see similarities between the initial asset categories from Meeting 1, Meeting 2 and the final FED Plan. Within the asset categories, stakeholders identified existing strengths, ideas and opportunities and questions and concerns related to the local food system, see Appendix B for meeting results. Action item recommendations eventually spurred from this exercise during the first and second meetings.

Table 3. The evolution of categories between Meeting 1, Meeting 2 and the final FED Plan reveal how asset-based community development helped shape policy priorities.

Meeting 1	**Meeting 2**	**Final plan**
Food Events	Events	Food Entrepreneurship

Food and Ag Innovation	Food and Ag Innovation/Entrepreneurship	AgriFoodTech Innovation
Restaurant/Prepared Food Sales	Street Food Vending	Climate-Smart Food Practices
Culture and Branding	Branding/Narrative	Food Brand/Narrative
Policy	Food Security	Food Access and Security

Vested interests among leadership

By facilitating the asset-based process that came to define policy priorities, leaders' vested interests emerged as policy priorities. Each leader operated with unique motivations that were largely shaped by their personal and professional endeavors. For one leader who worked at the university, legalizing mobile food vending represented a way to grow new business, the local economy and culture as well as improve food security among citizens (Brinkley et al., 2017). This translated into including model mobile food vending ordinances from nearby Sacramento. Another leader embedded in the food and agriculture technology industries wanted to advance innovation opportunities in Davis through development and public-private partnerships. That same leader also founded a local nonprofit whose mission is to "build and promote a more communal, sustainable, and equitable food system through unique experiences, education, storytelling, and technology" (Land & Ladle, n.d.). The FED Plan introduced opportunities for paid partnerships between the non-profit and the City of Davis. With deep roots in the local food

scene as a cookbook author and leader of several local food institutions, the third leader desired to repurpose a downtown building to develop a food education center in conjunction with the Davis Farmers Market. Broadly, all three leaders sought to institutionalize food planning within local government and advance recommendations from stakeholders; however, their position as leaders allowed them to introduce and advance their own policy priorities during the planning process. Each of the leaders' policy priorities were included in the FED Plan's list of recommendations for immediate actions in 2019 (see Appendix D for the full list).

Food security

Interestingly, Table 3 reveals that leaders did not introduce food security as an asset category during the first meeting, raising questions about the place of food security policies in food planning initiatives. During the second meeting, a nonprofit stakeholder introduced food security as a policy priority, which led to the inclusion of a food security action area. In conversation with one of the leaders, I learned they were initially reluctant to pursue food security explicitly as an action area because food insecure individuals were not included in the planning process. Another leader admitted that food security issues deserved their own plan entirely. At least one of the leaders planned to address food insecurity differently—through specific policy recommendations and not as an action area. For example, by enacting a street food vending ordinance, the City could support low-cost healthy food options for food insecure individuals. Internally, stakeholders present at the invitation-only meeting also voiced concerns about the "fit" of food security with the overall food and economic development plan, despite that government food assistance programs directly support local businesses and thus aid local economic development. Ultimately, the leaders could not ignore the importance of food security and included it as a policy priority. Instead of consulting food insecure individuals directly,

nonprofit stakeholders primarily contributed specific recommendations within the food access and security action area throughout the rest of the planning process. Although one stakeholder ensured the inclusion of food security, I argue that the topic received less attention than others because students and food insecure individuals were effectively excluded from the FED planning process and policies, despite Davis's high poverty rate and high food insecurity rates among UC Davis students.[3] Further, despite recognizing the importance of including food insecure individuals, the truncated planning process and desire for political support superseded additional outreach. This demonstrates that a greater focus on food security presents drawbacks related to time and resources and suggests that related issues do not gain traction among local government officials in certain contexts.

An opportunity for reflexivity

Although asset-based approaches seek to establish priorities from the ground-up, the extent to which asset-based processes actually achieve this goal depends on who sits at the table (Clark et al., 2017). Weissman and Potteiger (2020) also name collaboration and diverse stakeholder participation as prerequisites to comprehensive asset identification (p. 118). In this case, stakeholders present during the invitation-only meetings indeed developed policy priorities among themselves using an asset-based process; however, leadership's conundrum to include food security as a priority supports Clark et al.'s (2017) finding that limitations exist when participation processes fail to include diverse community voices. Clark et al. (2017) show us how leadership reflexivity can ensure asset-based processes achieve their intended goal. In recounting a steering committee meeting among food system stakeholders, Clark et al. (2017) recognized

[3] Source: https://leadership.ucdavis.edu/sites/g/files/dgvnsk1166/files/files/page/Food%20Security%20Task%20Force%20Report%202018-07-05.pdf

that their asset-based process resulted in a disconnect between the stakeholders in the room and those affected by policy change, causing lopsided, exclusionary plans and policies. Clark et el. (2017) then adapted their participation model with deliberate inclusive civic engagement training. If used as an evaluation and reflexivity tool for food planning initiatives, an asset-based approach could reveal vulnerabilities and present an opportunity for course-correction.

Formulating policy options

Who conducts policy formulation? How do they formulate policy choices to address the problem? After setting policy priorities, actors embark to formulate policy options, which involves developing plausible policy choices to address the identified problem and assessing their feasibility (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 115). Research suggests that public administrators from various municipal departments are typically part of the small, specialized working group tasked with developing policy alternatives (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). Key stakeholders from the community are sometimes consulted. This group uses formal data analysis and stakeholder involvement to identify and evaluate policy options (Vogel and Henstra, 2015). Not surprisingly, Vogel and Henstra (2015) find that the composition of the group formulating policy options appears to influence the way options are generated and evaluated (p. 115). In food system planning, public administrators are typically in charge of formulating policy options. Advocates and stakeholder groups can augment the process by participating in stakeholder outreach processes. For example, providing information for policy decision-making and evaluating policy options are central tasks of FPGs, albeit after considerable partnership building and legitimizing with government officials and policy experts (Clayton et al., 2015).

In this case, the FED Plan recommends a framework for policy formulation, referencing exemplary cases and municipal code additions for use by public administrators. Public administrators who were not included in the FED planning process ultimately controlled the policy formulation process, which diverges from literature that suggests stakeholders should be more intimately involved. Ultimately, the results reveal that when public administrators control policy formulation, leaders must work to correctly identify and include these key-decision makers in food system planning. It is unclear whether leadership knew which public administrators would control policy formulation but their deliberate effort to engage with other administrators suggests internal organization and politics of city governments influenced the selection.

Stakeholders attempt to influence on policy formulation

The FED Plan includes a combination of policy and programmatic recommendations for consideration by public administrators. In most instances, the policy recommendations include model ordinances or mention existing policies to comply with. For example, the plan includes appendices with model food waste and mobile food vending ordinances collected from municode.com and city websites. It referenced the City of Sacramento's mobile food ordinance directly. It also recommends working with Yolo County to comply with SB 626, the legalization of home restaurant businesses. Leaders hoped that providing model ordinances and existing policies and programs would help the policy formulation and implementation process.

Public administration influence on policy formulation

After presenting the FED Plan to city council and staff, public administrators mostly worked behind-the-scenes to formulate policy choices as part of their formal response to the

plan. Interestingly, the staff members charged with policy formulation were not involved in the FED planning process. During their presentation to city council, staff revealed results of their initial policy formulation process—amend municipal code in compliance with sidewalk vending legislation, conduct research and outreach to develop mobile food vending regulations and explore development of an urban greenbelt gardening program. Staff directed food surplus and waste reduction policies to be addressed during the upcoming Climate Action and Adaptation Plan (CAAP) update process. Despite building relationships with public administrators throughout the planning process and hoping to work closely with public administrators to formulate policies, the FED steering committee was rarely consulted with during policy formulation.

In this case, public administrators largely controlled the process of translating the FED Plan recommendations into policy choices, only inviting stakeholder input through formal outreach mechanisms despite research that acknowledges the benefits of closer relationships between the two groups (Gupta et al., 2018). This reveals local government readiness is an important prerequisite to collaborative policy formulation processes between public administrators and food system stakeholders. It also confirms that involving key decision-makers matters, underscoring Moragues-Faus' (2019) findings about the importance of including the "right people around the table", referring to those with power and influence within the City (p.79). In this case, City staff played a pivotal role and it is unknown whether leadership knew who exactly would be charged with policy formulation. Further, Gupta et al. (2018) describe success stories of food policy groups and public administrators championing policy formulation and implementation together. Their results reveal that leadership's ability to sustain local government connections with meaningful community engagement can advance a group's food

policies. Despite a concerted effort to involve and collaborate with local government officials, the lack of action by local government in this case reveals an important constraint. As Stone et al.'s (2006) find, elected officials can help promote policy reform, but can also be unreliable because they readily shift concerns rather than maintain consistency.

Generating political support

How is political support assessed and built? Under what conditions are they effective? Research identifies political support—the collective willingness to take a course of action—as critical to policy success (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 115). Building political support involves identifying supporters and opponents of policy options and engaging relevant stakeholders, implementation agents and the broader community to generate political buy-in (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 115). Pothukuchi (2009) names political will among local government officials as an imperative part of developing collaborative food policy and argues that it is most effectively mobilized through arguments of economic benefits (p. 365). Gupta et al. (2018) identify support from local government officials as critical to FPG success but advocate for structural autonomy instead of wielding power to government entirely. Solecki (2012) asserts the importance of acquiring support from community stakeholders to demonstrate community "buy-in". In Detroit, the Black community's struggle for food security, justice and sovereignty involved creating collective, autonomous community organizations and building political support from the grassroots up (Pothukuchi, 2015). Vogel and Henstra (2015) identify multiple cases that name mayoral leadership as a key resource for advancing local policy development. For the LAFPC, strong food system stakeholder and community support helped catalyze their multi-issue food policy agenda onto the Mayor's agenda (Day Farnsworth, 2017). Comparatively,

Stone et al. (2006) find that mayors are significantly susceptible to attention, which can prove helpful if sustained and harmful if fleeting.

Similarly, the FED planning process engaged the mayor as a key political supporter who helped advance the plan into the public domain. Leaders tried to achieve support from food businesses throughout Davis because they felt the hardest changes involved them but encountered opposition by the key stakeholder group. This case reveals that successful food planning initiatives must generate political support among local politicians, food system stakeholders and the broader community.

Local government officials

Throughout the FED planning process, leaders prioritized building support among local government officials. They started by leveraging their personal connections to garner political support from the mayor. Leaders built momentum and support from other local government officials through engagement at the invitation-only meetings and in social settings. Their relationship building paid off when they were invited to give an official presentation to the City Council—the mechanism used to discuss and decide projects in public. Leaders continued to build political support by working with Diane Parro and other City staff, individuals who would eventually not take charge of plan implementation, to prioritize what and how the FED Plan was presented to Council. Leaders also worked with the mayor to prioritize actions and recommendations before the official City Council presentation. For example, the Mayor suggested that leaders request an implementation plan from the City of Davis. Comparatively, leaders built political support among the broader community through the public forum, posts on social media and public listservs and the public City Council meeting after the report was finalized. The differences between support generating mechanisms suggest that leaders expended

greater effort toward building support among certain elected local government officials with whom they were most connected than the broader community.

Food system stakeholders

Leaders generated support among food system stakeholders during the invitation-only meetings, public forum and word of mouth/social connections. My participant observation experience and descriptive representation analysis reveals that leaders prioritized support from the food businesses stakeholder group because they perceived the hardest challenges involving them. While leaders had personal relationships with many of the invited food business stakeholders, they leaders did not have the same relationship with DDBA food businesses, which seemed to impact their ability to gain political support. DDBA food businesses did not respond to engagement requests via email and became the most audible critics of the FED Plan because of the mobile food vending ordinance. Concerned by DDBA's political clout and the potential for public opposition at the city council presentation, leaders decided to de-emphasize the request to enact a street food ordinance in their presentation and the final copy of the FED Plan. DDBA opponents did not voice concerns during the city council presentation and we continued to seek engagement with this group through steering committee meetings. During the city council update in October 2019, a member of DDBA appeared for public comment naming the reasons for concern and asking to work with the city:

> *The FED is exciting. It is a big undertaking and it's really nice to see it coming along...Being a pretty tight community I feel like I should share some of the hopes and concerns in regards to this plan from our side, from a practical standpoint of the practical impacts of the street and sidewalk vendors...What I am for and are many of the folks in my community is putting hospitality on the map. We are for recognizing the*

growing economic value and opportunity that we represent for the City of Davis. I think we're around a 50 percent point for sales tax revenue for the City, so we are impactful. We are for level competition, safe operating conditions for the community and community-based businesses that represent and support this town.

I am concerned that the city may see this as a very lucrative revenue stream but may not know its limitations. If some hospitality expansion is good, more is better, maybe, if it's achieved equitably. We are concerned that enticing new businesses with untraditional business models will enjoy breaks in permitting, fees, exemptions, even grants have been discussed that the existing brick and mortar operations don't enjoy, but instead will take on the burden of more costly green legislation and other requirements. We are concerned that we negotiate for prime locations and high rents and overhead, with little to no [inaudible]. Cost and commitments that we cannot simply drive away from after a busy lunch, dinner or weekend. We are concerned that with the push for more almost exclusively new business models that this city and this council will again in some form fail to address the concerns of a lot of the people we call our neighbors. Primarily parking downtown, the cost of building and permitting fees, and the lack of new retail space that would force landlords to compete like every business in town. I know that I have voted for and attended meetings for candidates who run on these very issues so in that regard, some of this proposal seems like a dodge.

Finally, we're concerned with enforcement. Who is going to take this on? Whose plate does this go on? In terms of enforcement, Yolo County health is blown up. There's going to be no enforcement for a lot of this stuff. We want to be involved in this conversation moving forward. It's going to impact us all greatly.

Continued opposition by this group elucidates the challenges of generating political support among food system stakeholders and that perceptions of mobile food vending differs among them. It also shows that negotiating with opponents requires creative engagement mechanisms and potentially more time than leaders allocated. In this case, leaders quelled opposition by adjusting their presentation strategy, which meant that mobile food vending was deemphasized during the presentation and its connections to food security were essentially sidelined.

Community

While the mechanisms resulted in political support among local government officials, the current lack of progress suggests that it was not enough to spur policy change and prompts questions as to why. Throughout food system planning literature, scholars emphasize the positive relationship between community engagement and support and policy outcomes (Gupta et al., 2018, Pothukuchi, 2009; Wekerle, 2004). Walsh et al. (2015) find that local government officials respond favorably to the needs and interests of residents, public officials and food system stakeholders, demonstrating the need to acquire support from all three groups. In addition to acquiring support from local government officials, this case underscores that food system planning initiatives must also mobilize and demonstrate support from food system stakeholders and the broader community if they desire to achieve policy success (Day Farnsworth, 2017; Clayton et al., 2015). Further, the power differentials between city council and staff during the policy formulation phase provide further evidence that city staff must also support initiatives as they exercised a significant amount of power in food planning by deciding when and how FED recommendations were adopted.

Policy integration

How is policy implemented and by whom? How is policy mainstreamed into broader governance processes? Policy implementation can refer to both translating policy objectives into effect and embedding a particular value or subject as an overarching lens through which to evaluate proposed laws, policies and programs, a process referred to as 'mainstreaming' (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 116). Mainstreaming institutionalizes the local and regional food system as a lens for decision-making to ensure comprehensive policies that bear in mind the connections to social, economic, and environmental planning. Research shows that integration between environmental, social and economic policies is necessary to achieve sustainable development (Vogel and Henstra, 2015, p. 116; Lafferty and Hovden, 2003). Further, integrating principles and objectives into day-to-day planning and decision-making processes ensures durable and robust policies (Vogel and Henstra, 2015; Bouwer and Aerts, 2006). Public officials integrate local and regional food system principles into official local government planning documents such as strategic plans and executive directives. For example, the Mayor of San Francisco issued *Healthy and Sustainable Food for San Francisco,* an Executive Directive considered to be the first comprehensive food strategy in the United States (Mansfield and Mendes, 2013; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). The Executive Directive resulted in integration across 47 City departments and an integrated food policy approach that considers how changes in the food system can achieve similar City-goals: healthy equity, economic development and natural resource conservation (Mansfield and Mendes, 2013). Mainstreaming is also achieved by integrating food policy into current personnel positions or the creation of a dedicated administrative unit or staff position. The Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC), founded in 1990 as a subcommittee of the city's Board of Health, is part of a city department and seeks long-term solutions to hunger and sustainability of the food system (Wekerle, 2004). The food system lens can be embedded in the

policy-making process through advising and partnerships. The community-led Sacramento Food Policy Council advises agencies and officials on particular issues, partners for community engagement and becomes an ally on a particular issue or priority (Gupta et al., 2018). Mainstreaming can also involve dedicating financial support to food policy groups.

Despite calls for institutionalization and an entire "how-to" plan, this case shows that mainstreaming food planning into local governance processes appears difficult to implement in practice. Although the plan achieved widespread support among elected officials, policy implementation stalled at the hands of city staff and mainstreaming fell short of stated goals, suggesting that political barriers and institutional constraints hamper policy integration.

Local government support

In this case, city staff control policy implementation, translating policy recommendations from the FED Plan into effect. In their report to City Council, staff prioritized and categorized recommendations into four categories:

1) Actions addressed by existing City programs

2) Immediate actions underway;

3) Future action needing further direction; and

4) No additional action recommended at this time.

Their report stated, "these recommendations were developed with input from multiple City departments, recognition of City programs and work plans; and discussion of potential City roles and actions with FED group representatives" (Staff report, October 8, 2019). In Table 4, we see that staff recommends codifying food surplus and waste disposal, investment and zoning for a Food and Agriculture Innovation Center, a food brand and narrative and sidewalk vending

regulations. They also support conducting research and outreach for food truck regulations, urban farming on greenbelts and reuse of the 3rd and B building. Staff does not recommend allocating personnel or financial resources to support additional organizing and planning efforts with local nonprofit Land and Ladle. Their report does not mention food security policies although personal conversations with City staff reveal they believe food security recommendations relate more to the school district and County, which is part of the local government landscape in the United States—different types of local government have control over different types of policies. City staff's lackluster implementation plan and resistance to dedicate additional personnel and financial resources suggests competing priorities and needs that do not include institutionalizing food policies and the local and regional food system as an overarching lens throughout their planning processes. City Council's request to designate funds to the FED planning group during the most recent city council meeting despite staff's recommendation suggests diverging positions between parties. Ultimately, it appears that city staff still has decision-making power over how and when such public/nonprofit partnerships would occur.

Table 4. Staff recommended actions for City Council to support

Actions addressed by existing City programs	**Immediate actions underway**	**Future action needing further direction**	**No additional action recommended at this time**
Food surplus and waste disposal through CAAP update	Sidewalk vending regulations	Food truck regulations	Allocating dedicated City staff or existing funding resources

Explore investment and zoning for a Food and Agriculture Innovation Center at the Aggie Research Campus		Urban farming on greenbelts	
Establish a cohesive food brand and narrative to be included in current rebranding efforts		Reuse of the 3rd and B building	

Political barriers

Overall, the FED Plan aligns with other food planning initiatives seeking local government attention and long-term policy results through mainstreaming. This case reveals that political barriers may challenge mainstreaming when communities work with local government. For example, by framing the initiative as incumbent upon city actions, the FED Plan became vulnerable to the city's decision-making processes, evidenced by staff's limited implementation plan and resulting lack of change. The diverging opinions between city council leadership and city staff reveal that council support was not enough to implement policy change, suggesting political barriers between elected officials and city staff. It also raises questions about the strength of political leadership and the impact of elected officials inside city government when mainstreaming food policy. Resistance from DDBA food businesses also suggests some degree of ideological resistance within the broader community, a political barrier that Vogel and Henstra

(2015) identify as impacting policy implementation (p. 116). This case echoes findings from Raja et al. (2017) that food planning initiatives need several champions from both within local government and outside in order to achieve success.

Institutional constraints

Details of this case study also suggest that macro-level institutional constraints impact food policy implementation and mainstreaming by local governments. Namely, fragmentation of city departments, lack of financial and personnel resources and dependence on community organizations for the provisioning of social services. This case study demonstrates how these institutional constraints can impact the ability and imagination of local governments to implement food planning and policy change. For example, the fragmentation of city departments meant that multiple departments were responsible for implementing FED recommendations, which challenged implementation, accountability and institutionalization. Further, the success of implementation relied on collaboration and alignment between staff in the Economic Development and Community Development and Sustainability departments. With a lack of food planning infrastructure, the leaders' goals of institutionalization relied on multiple departments in charge of balancing priorities. It also meant that staff had to "buy-in" to the plan in order to find a home for the recommendations. Without altering current governance structures for local government officials to engage more systematically with food system stakeholders, this case demonstrates that food planning initiatives struggle for attention and institutionalized action from local governments.

Conclusion

Process takeaways

This research sought to analyze dynamics that influence the process and substance of food planning and reveal opportunities and limitations of such dynamics. Relying primarily on participant observation, this case study provides a nuanced examination of how the seven policy-making functions were carried out in one local context and uncovers the network of actors, ideas and institutions that influenced the development of a multi-sectoral food planning initiative. In so doing, I also compare this case to related research and best practices. Overall, this case study concludes by recognizing that leadership intentions drove the planning process, which inevitably influenced the substance of the FED Plan. Throughout the planning process, leaders encountered obstacles related to stakeholder representation, local government involvement and lack of time and resources, and adapted based on their unique circumstances. Notable outcomes that warrant celebration include convening stakeholders, developing a localized food plan and receiving attention from local decision makers. Leaders also advanced their personal agendas of legalizing street food vending and repurposing a community building for food-based education based on recent local government activity known at the time of this writing. The lack of broader action and institutionalization, an overarching goal of the FED Plan, disappointed leaders and participants alike, and demonstrates that food still struggles for legitimacy in the eyes of local government. While both external and internal dynamics impacted the process, this case reveals important considerations for similar initiatives during the planning process and introduces a framework for such work. The seven policy-making functions applied in this case can be used as a framework for auditing food planning processes before, during or after decisions are made. Ideally, the components that enable and constrain the food planning processes highlighted in this auditing framework can steer the course to more equitable, inclusive and successful food planning initiatives.

Process refinement: Opportunities for strengthening food planning initiatives

This in-depth case study offers valuable insights into how to strengthen food planning processes in both existing and nascent food planning initiatives. Generally, this case suggests that building up community capacity could help pressure local governments to act on food planning, evidenced by the FED Plan outcomes—the City's stagnation and recent dissolution of the steering committee, which supports findings that food planning initiatives can benefit from support by a diverse, unified and informed community coalition (Whittaker et al., 2017). To achieve such a coalition, this case reveals that inclusive community engagement necessitates longer-term planning processes that foster equal participation among all food system actors—local government officials and the public alike. Similar to Gupta et al. (2018) this research warns against being beholden to local government officials and processes and suggests maintaining an autonomous relationship with local government to retain flexibility and authenticity. The relationship between leaders, community members and local government should seek to achieve a flat ontology whereby all parties leverage their unique strengths to achieve a common goal. Identification of key stakeholders and gatekeepers should also be prioritized during the initial process.

At the same time, this case study acknowledges that local socio-economic and political conditions do matter in food planning and inevitably present tradeoffs and limitations. In this case, leadership traded an inclusive participation process and comprehensive change for feasible, "low-hanging fruit" policy change supposedly supported by local government officials; however, these decisions are not mutually exclusive. An incremental change strategy could help achieve policy wins in the short run and longer-term fundamental change. Additionally, this case study

reveals the importance and precarity of leadership—operating with limited resources and time and suggests that established community-based organizations could be appropriate facilitators of food planning initiatives. More specifically, Stone et al. (2006) identify interpersonal and interorganizational networks as essential elements to building momentum and credibility and sustaining policy reform initiatives. In instances when these groups are unavailable, resources should be sought to ensure survivability. Either way, reflexivity among leadership is critical to ensure inclusive processes and policies. Further, this case study extends Sloane et al.'s (2019) recommendation that implementation, monitoring and evaluation are essential elements of successful food planning to the planning process itself. Rest assured, these recommendations are not easily achieved. As this case study underscores, food planning initiatives desperately need financial and personnel resources (Clark et al., 2017; Pothukuchi 2009). While local government funding could be a source of these resources, local government entities are increasingly underfunded, which presents an opportunity for state or federal governments to allocate grant funding toward food planning between community-based organizations and local governments.

The FED initiative demonstrates the benefits of a process audit and potential for course correction, however, leadership's ability to implement changes largely depends on available resources, both time and monetary. If the FED Plan leaders seek to reinvigorate this effort, literature posits a unique opportunity for university partnership. Whittaker et al. (2017) identify universities as sites especially well-equipped to prepare individuals and initiatives to be change agents in their communities (p. 14). Similar to other university-community partnerships in the food planning literature, the FED effort could receive financial support from existing university programs. Further, aligning the initiative more closely to the university could help gain traction and participation from students, a vital subset of Davis's population. Since the beginning of the

FED planning process, political leadership has changed, providing a renewed opportunity to forge relationships and gain political buy-in. With food supply shortages and economic challenges faced by citizens and businesses alike, the current coronavirus pandemic presents an opportunity to bring a larger group of stakeholders together virtually and creatively ideate community-based solutions. Ideas in the FED Plan can serve as a springboard for these discussions and be selected and reformulated according to current needs. Based on the City's relationship with food businesses, the ideas could also be more palatable to City staff involved with decision making. Additionally, ensuring greater participation and inclusion of community voices would demonstrate interest to City leadership. Use of the levers identified above could help catalyze the FED Plan into the current moment and meet the community during a time of need.

Limitations and future research

Relying primarily on participant observation and document analysis, this case study elucidates opportunity for further investigation. Similar to comparative case studies in the food planning literature, my findings could be strengthened through semi-structured interviews with leadership, local government officials and food system stakeholders. In-depth interviews with local politicians and City staff would be especially helpful to understand and illustrate why action continues to stall. Additionally, this case highlights the role of local government officials from the City's Economic Development Department rather than planning departments and generates further questions about the roles of local government departments in food planning. Specifically, how does food planning differ by structural location within government? While this study investigates the process in comparison to other food planning initiatives, conducting a

focused, comparative analysis between the FED Plan in Davis and Woodland's "Food Front" campaign could help reveal similarities, differences, strengths and weaknesses in terms of local government involvement. Finally, because the three leaders of the FED effort are female, it raises questions about the role of gender in food planning as a topic for further research.

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Appendix A - Acknowledgements from FED Report

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Jenny Meadows-Smith	Owner, Great Bear Winery
Kate Stille	Director of Marketing, Nugget Markets
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Lorin Kalisky	Upper Crust Bakery
Andrea Lepore	Founder and Developer, Solomon's Delicatessen
Randii MacNear	Market Manager, Davis Farmers Market
Carol Barsotti	Farm Fresh to You, Capay Organic
Jason Taormino	Davis Chamber of Commerce
Dustin Ryen	Founder and Owner, Zumapoke
Rachael Ryen	Founder and Owner, Zumapoke
Joy Cohan	Yolo Food Bank
Joyce Hardi	Slow Food Yolo
Bob Fung	Civ Energy
Paul Somerhausen	Founder and CEO, SactoMofo
Keith Taylor	Economic Development Specialist, UC Davis Cooperative Extension
Gail Feenstra	Deputy Director, UC SAREP
Bapu Vaitla	Local Food Systems Lecturer, UC Davis
Amina Harris	Director, Honey and Pollination Center, Mondavi Institute at UC Davis
Doby Fleeman	Owner, Davis Ace Hardware
Jennifer Anderson	Owner, Davis Ace Hardware
Heesun Kim	Food Recovery Network, UC Davis Student
Evan Dumas	Food Recovery Network, UC Davis Student

Appendix B - Assets and opportunities

Food & Ag Innovation	
Assets	**Ideas/Opportunities**
Village Homes fruit trees and orchards	Plant based innovative businesses
Food Safety program at UCD	Food business Incubator
Partner with Bay Area orgs like Good Food Institute	Kitchen incubator
Nugget Markets	Dispersed economic activity
Center for Food Innovation	New economic/business models
Bringing new business	Ag tech park needed
Chinese/Asian food in Davis	Easier access for rental space for startups/entrepreneurs ; Across the Causeway Classic Chinese Dumpling competition
The Cannery	Community backed grants
Relationship with international students and China's booming economy	Plant more edible landscapes and encourage use of results
Town/gown partnership	Cheaper land than Bay Area, recruit businesses
Exploratory millennial eaters	Culinary Institute
	Partner with UCD institutes and restaurants
Enhance relationship with UCD	Design a collection of volunteer opportunities as a resource for Davis citizens
Northern Cal Kaiser and UCD Center for Integrated Medicine	Front yard farms, donating produce to Davis community meals
Partner with ANR and UCD	Work with FIRST and Citrus Circuits as future workforce for ag-robotics
Marrone Bioinnovation	Need greenhouse and lab space
Sustainable food resources	Incubate entrepreneurial ventures in clean meet and plant-based proteins
Growing trend in plant-based eating	**Questions/Concerns**
Startup networking meeting in Davis @ Sophia's	Community participation
Partnership with Netherlands ag	Representativeness (age, race)
Community kitchen	Investment opportunities
HM Clause (vegetable and seed company)	Succession opportunities
	Ownership

Restaurant/Prepared Food Sales

Assets	Ideas/Opportunities
Asian population market and restaurants	Vegan food truck challenge
Progressive health department	Need higher end modern taste fresh food and restaurants
Yolo County is most forward-thinking county	Restaurants need business marketing training; restaurant start ups need check list easy available from the City of Davis
Commercial kitchen in bike museum	All college focused and not a good thing
Commissary kitchens (great way to bring chefs in for pop-ups)	International house
SB626 just passed, essentially an extension of cottage foods act for home cooks/restaurants	More locally sourced food
Markets	Popup restaurants and kitchens for international students looking to make more money
Restaurants	Need more specialty food processors for small farms
Questions/Concerns	
Give list of commissary kitchens for the group	

Culture and Branding

Assets	Ideas/Opportunities
Fresh food	Reduce food waste by creating new products and moving wasted food to people who need it
Sustainability, innovation	Focus on regional farms
City of opportunity	Interstate signage
Multiethnic	TV and YouTube Influencers stopping in Davis (Guy Fieri)
Stopping point between Bay and Tahoe	Collective marketing effort between restaurants
History of cooperation between co-op, farmer's market and farm-to-school	Form Davis food alliance (similar to Davis arts alliance)
Showcase for Yolo and valley ag products	Strong branding for sustainability and local
Yelp hotspot for cute downtown and good restaurants	Food guide
Don Shor of Redwood Barn	Davis Farmer's Market having a kitchen classroom, lead food trips/seminars around ag and food
Plant Nurseries such as Redwood Barn	Opportunity for city-branded signature event
Questions/Concerns	
Davis has highest rate of poverty in Yolo County, not including most UCD students. How does the conversation about food in Davis remain inclusive of these residents?	

Policy		
Assets	**Ideas/Opportunities**	**Questions/Concerns**
Ombudsman for events	Change food truck policy to foster food truck businesses	Lost business because business startup was too hard in Davis
Food recovery and sustainability	Hosting/cosponsoring dinner events like Woodland Dinner on Main (Davis is perfect for food festival, sidewalk BBQ)	Food recovery and food sustainability policies needed to ensure food initiatives/marketing programs serve the City's food insecure population
Sacto Mofo knows student clientele (SactoMofo brings 3-4 food trucks to campus daily)	Fast track permitting for restaurants and food businesses	Davis has a bad reputation for opening a restaurant
Strong mayoral and council interest and political momentum for urban planning	Need country culture of attracting business	Reputation for businesses failing in Davis
Ability to share food on campus	Clear policies, startup navigator at the city	City policy must be inclusive
Communal meals	Easier access to home food prep	Lack of permitting consistency
75% of students come from cultures where street food is commonplace	More commercial space for business in Davis	Elevating student participation
Student growth	Dedicate a portion of city's hotel tax to food culture/tourism	Exclusivity is a challenge – who does Davis serve?
Relatively cheap permits for street closures	Consistent policy and regulations for restaurants	
Include international students	Policy for restaurants to have a food truck	
Bike friendly town	Checklist for entrepreneur	
	Software for paperwork updates for restaurateurs	
	Central place for event permitting	
	Paving the way for average people's innovation, not just business owners	

Appendix C - Questions and comments submitted at the public forum

Food Policy Council relationship with the existing food economy	● What is the mechanism for the Food Policy Council to engage with the existing retail food economy (i.e. grocery, restaurant, and value-added vendors)?
Role of Local Agriculture	● The *Food and Economic Development in Davis* report has very little to say about local agriculture. What role do/should our local food producers play here? ● COMMENT: It is important to increase the ease of supply line from our local Yolo County farmers to the Food Policy Council initiative. ● In other areas that I have lived that were near, or in, agricultural areas, the local restaurants have had a nearly fanatical devotion to using products from local farms, but I don't see this in Davis. Is there a barrier? Is it cost? Even in the Bay Area, our local Yolo County farms are brand names in the restaurant space, and that is not true here. How can that connection be improved?

	● The focus of this Food Policy Council forum is almost exclusively on food, rather than on ag production. Why?
County-level Branding	● COMMENT: I agree with the demand that branding should be on a County level. It acknowledges that we depend on the region for our food.
Commercial Site	● Have you considered the construction of a more commercial site that could potentially house vendors and entrepreneurs and food businesses and op-ups, which could include a learning center or cafeteria? I'm curious if approaching the space for food from a more commercial viewpoint would generate dollars for the unique programs you are proposing instead of grants, etc. ● While grants to businesses might be out of the scope of this project, would a grant-funded, incubator-community, commercial kitchen be possible?
Front-yard fruit stands	● Sacramento allows front-yard fruit stands by private parties one day a week in order to utilize fruit and food that would otherwise be wasted. Can we do that here in Davis?
Relationship of Food Security and	● Food insecurity is an important issue, but what does that have to do with economic development? We could spend a lot of staff effort

Economic Development	and dollars addressing food insecurity, but doing so will distract from the efforts to develop food entrepreneurship and innovation. ● Why is food security not a priority? It should be a number one priority. What is more important?
Creative Funding Ideas	● Here are some creative funding ideas. Seasonal monthly festivals fundraisers and community gatherings like in Japan. Themed events in greenbelt parks and other locations. Davis Food Co-Op, the Farmers Market, Nugget, UC Davis Student Farm, the Mondavi Institute for Food and Wine, etc. are all potential collaborators. ● How about getting Nugget Markets behind this as a corporate sponsor?
Collaboration between UCD and the City	● COMMENT: The key for Davis should be fostering the innovation and investment that will then spin off the funding for the many other innovations proposed in this forum. That will require concerted partnering with our most unique asset, UC Davis. ● How can we build better forming partnerships between UC Davis Administration and the City to build steps for food waste? ... composting? ... education? ...sustainability? ... carbon neutrality? ... long-term planning?

	● What can be done by the University and the City to build more innovation centers in Davis to create space for food innovation? ● Central Park is arguably the most underutilized resource in the city, but the Downtown Plan update process is looking to de-emphasize Central Park even more than it already is. Shouldn't this be reversed and Central Park used much more intensely and effectively.
Home Kitchen Opportunities	● Will the city of Davis express its support for AB626, the Micro-Enterprise, Home Kitchens Act? ● What are some of the implications for growth and economic productivity of legalizing home-based cooks in Davis?
Home Farming/ Farm-to-Schools	● More than 50% of our households are in multi-family housing. What does the Food and Economic Development in Davis report say about community gardens and/or requiring space for people to be able to grow their own food? ● What specific strategies for growing school-related programs into more effective comprehensive education for a family? RISE? Composting? School gardens? Farm to school?
Food Distribution	● COMMENT: Regarding the California Good Samaritan Food Donation Act, no liability shall come to any food owner with good

	intentions, not just non-profits, all kinds of food. AB2178 produces food pantries that have less regulations then other businesses. They are limited-service, charitable, food operations ... LSCFO's. They have to be non-profits. AB2178 limits the type of organization that can donate food and the types of food that can be donated. Can the City close this mismatch? The mismatch between good Samaritan law and AB 2178. ● COMMENT: Several years ago France allowed non-standard and blemished fruits and vegetables to be allowed in the markets. More recently France legislated against tossing perfectly good food away. Viva la France!

Appendix D – Priority Action Items for 2020 from the FED Plan (p. 38)

Priority Action Items for 2019

Establish a working relationship with an independent food and economic development focused organization, comprised of community stakeholders interested in furthering the efforts outlined in this report.

Support a large-scale, premier food event for the region and smaller events through waived fees on city properties, sponsorship, and join grants to run educational food events.

Conduct, under contract, an assessment of the current food businesses' and schools' use of local products in an effort to encourage local procurement. Identify internal strengths and weaknesses in order to create a baseline that measures improvement and impact, and provides development opportunities .

Explore investment and zoning for a food and agriculture innovation and entrepreneurship center located in the City of Davis in the next three years.

Initiate and conduct a planning process to create a "Good Food Center" in a City structure in Davis Central Park colocated with the Davis Farmers Market Pavilion.

Identify and solicit well-established, high-quality restaurants to locate in the City of Davis to develop it as more of a restaurant destination.

Bring the City of Davis into compliance with SB 946 (2018), engaging and working with the existing business community to develop a street food vending implementation plan and encourage Yolo County to support home restaurants via AB 626.

Commission a feasibility study to explore opportunities around a FoodTech and AgTech focused innovation center in the City of Davis, working with UC Davis and the private sector as appropriate.