SEEKING COMMON GROUND IN SMART GROWTH AND FOOD SYSTEM PLANNING: LESSONS FROM THE ‘FOOD FOR GROWTH’ STUDIO

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Bio

Dr. Samina Raja is an Assistant Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at the State University of New York at Buffalo. She received her PhD in Urban and Regional Planning from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and her Master’s in Housing Planning from the School of Architecture and Planning in New Delhi, India.

Dr. Raja’s primary research focuses on understanding the fiscal implications of development in cities and regions. Her recent research in this area explores the influence of intergovernmental transfers on development patterns. Dr. Raja is also interested in how cities and regions can be planned to promote healthy eating and active living among its residents. Most recently, Dr. Raja has completed an experimental study, in collaboration with a team of health science researchers at the University at Buffalo Medical School, to test the relationship between built form and physical activity and obesity among youth in the United States. In the international arena, Dr. Raja’s research focuses on the role of development and planning in communities experiencing conflict; her primary geographic area of interest is the region of Kashmir in South Asia.
INTRODUCTION

Smart growth principles can facilitate the creation of food secure neighborhoods in urban America. Access to food depends in part on the transportation choices available to residents for accessing food outlets including grocery stores, as well as the mix of land uses available in a residential neighborhood that may or may not accommodate the presence of food retail or food production. As such promoting multi-modal transportation choice, a core smart growth principle, in conjunction with community-driven food system planning can increase people’s access to food. Likewise, promoting mixed-use neighborhoods – also a smart growth principle - can increase access to food retailers and community gardens within residential neighborhoods. A recent planning studio taught by the author at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning in the University at Buffalo (UB) at the State University of New York illustrates how a planning studio on food system planning incorporated smart growth principles to improve food access in urban neighborhoods and improve the quality of life of urban residents.

In fall of 2003, the Massachusetts Avenue Project (MAP) – a non-profit dedicated to revitalizing the West Side of Buffalo through food-based projects - commissioned the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at UB to prepare a food system plan for the city’s West Side. MAP sought recommendations on future course of actions that would lead to improved access to food and improve the quality of life for residents on Buffalo's West Side. This chapter describes the project and outlines the curriculum of the course during which the resulting 'Food For Growth: A Community Food System Plan for Buffalo’s West Side,’ was prepared.

Goal of the studio

Under advisement from the client, the goal of the 'Food for Growth' studio was to assess the nature and extent of food access on the West Side, and to make recommendations for future action to

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1 http://www.smartgrowth.org/about/principles/default.asp
2 The plan was completed at no cost to the client, the Massachusetts Avenue Project. MAP supported the project by providing staff time, and providing food at several community meetings. Printing of the report was made possible by a combination of funds provided by the City of Buffalo and the University at Buffalo. The faculty and students participating in the studio project also covered small expenses out of their own pockets. Several in-kind donations were made by local businesses as well.
reduce food insecurity\(^3\) and promote neighborhood revitalization. The means to achieve this goal – as well as the outcome - are in harmony with a number of smart growth principles and goals.

**Learning through practice**

The Food For Growth plan was prepared by a group of eleven graduate students as part of a semester long, 6-credit practicum taught by the author. Popularly known as a ‘studio,’ this course provides Master’s in Planning students with a ‘real world’ experience in planning practice. In addition to the substantive experience in a planning area (such as food systems), it gives students an opportunity to work in teams, hone their presentation and communication skills, work with stakeholders including community members, media, and public officials and grapple with real world constraints such as limited time and insufficient data. The planning content of studios varies each semester in response to individual clients’ needs and faculty and student interest.

**Organizational structure of the studio**

Students were asked to think of themselves as entry-level planners, working under the supervision of a senior planner (the instructor) for a planning consultancy commissioned by MAP. The student planners were strongly advised to remain in close consultation with a designated MAP representative during the course of the semester. Most of the meetings with the client occurred at the MAP Neighborhood Outreach Center (and over the telephone), although a MAP representative would periodically visit the studio to review students’ work and to advise them.

Each student had two roles in the studio: an organizational and a substantive role. In their organizational roles, students were asked to be part of at least one of six teams that focused on: overall coordination of the studio, writing and editing, media and publicity, GIS and technology, field research and surveys, and citizen participation. Their substantive role required students to work on one of four areas of food systems planning, these were: land use and food production, transportation and food access, economic development and food businesses, and food-based youth development. The semester-long work was organized in relatively traditional planning phases including background research, goal formulation, data collection, data analysis, and formulation of food systems planning.

\(^3\) Koc, MacRae, Mougeot, and Welsh (1999, p.1) define food security as a condition where “food is available at all times; that all persons have means of access to it; that it is nutritionally adequate in terms of quantity, quality and variety; and that it is acceptable within the given culture.”
recommendations. Not surprisingly, the actual work carried out did not follow the organized phases to the dot, since students had to respond nimbly to unforeseen challenges along the way – such as delays in data collection due to busy schedules of business owners and changing interview sites to accommodate the senior residents of the neighborhood.

The client
Massachusetts Avenue Project (MAP) is a non-profit, community-based organization with a mission to develop and implement community development programs that enhance the social and economic well-being of individuals and families, including promoting food security in the neighborhood. While MAP runs several programs, two of its signature programs are food-based. Food Ventures - a microenterprise development program offers business training, technical assistance, access to a licensed commercial kitchen and a micro-loan fund to low-income residents interested in starting food-based businesses. MAP’s second program, Growing Green, provides environmental and sustainable agriculture education to at-risk urban youth in growing food organically on 15 raised bed community garden plots. Growing Green participants are also trained to develop value-added products such as salsa and sauces to encourage their eventual transition to work with or as entrepreneurs for the Food Ventures program. In addition to these two programs, MAP also devotes its resources toward building capacity of other organizations who are engaged in food-based community development in other parts of the city.

Determining the boundaries of the plan
MAP’s designated service area is limited to a 10 block area within the vicinity of its Neighborhood Outreach Center on the West Side of Buffalo (see figure 1). However, the MAP staff and the studio group agreed that to facilitate collaboration among the numerous organizations that work on the West Side, the plan area for ‘Food For Growth’ needed to coincide with the designated service areas and jurisdictions of other organizations as well. MAP staff recommended that the studio group consider a larger 55-block area which coincided with the service area for a coalition of community organizations from the West Side, to which MAP belonged as well. Therefore the plan area for Food For Growth was defined to coincide with this 55-block area on the West Side of Buffalo, hereby referred to as the West Side Target Area (see figure 1).
The West Side Target area serves a multitude of ethnic and migrant groups. According to the US census Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, and other non-Caucasian races constitute 48 percent of the total population within the MAP area (US Census 2000). This diversity in the neighborhood exceeds that of the rest of the county, where non-Caucasian groups represent a mere 18% of the total county population.

### Table 1: Demographic Composition in Buffalo’s West Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
<th>Erie County</th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
<th>West Side Target Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belonging to two or more races</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cultural and ethnic richness of this neighborhood is overshadowed by the persistence of poverty among neighborhood residents—about 36% of the households have incomes below the poverty level. The poverty level in the area exceeds that of the surrounding city, which according to the 2000 US Census has the sixth-highest poverty rate in the nation. The median household income for the plan area in 1999 was $21,397, which is 87% of the citywide median income of $24,536 and a dismal 55% of the countywide median of $38,567. Of the households who were determined to be below the census poverty level, 34% supplemented their income through some form of public assistance. Sixty-six% of those who exist below the poverty level continue to do so without any form of public assistance income (US Census 2000).

INTEGRATING SMART GROWTH AND FOOD SYSTEM PLANNING

Several principles of smart growth, if integrated with food system planning, can enhance the food security of communities. For the sake of illustration an example is provided from the Food for Growth plan. The example illustrates how promoting multi-modal transportation options and mixed-use and walkable communities—a core smart growth principle—can enhance urban residents’ access to food. In addition, the example illustrates how community collaboration—another smart growth principle—was integral to the success of the food system planning process.

Increasing multi-modal transportation choices, developing walkable neighborhoods, and mixed-land uses

During focus groups and interviews conducted in the neighborhood, the studio group learnt that residents’ envisioned adequate transportation access to food outlets as an important goal for the food system plan. Therefore, a team was assigned to assess the nature of transportation barriers to accessing food, and to recommend strategies to improve transportation access to food. Students developed a multi-pronged data collection strategy to assess transportation barriers to food access. Students began by mapping the location of grocery stores in the neighborhood, city, and the

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4 The Food for Growth plan is a comprehensive food system plan that includes land use and food production, transportation and food access, economic development and food business, and youth development components. For the sake of brevity, only the transportation planning and food access component is mentioned here.
surrounding suburbs using GIS. Students found that the West Side Target area was served by a number of small ‘mom and pop’ stores.

To assess the access to food stores in the neighborhood by walking, students conducted a SWOT\(^5\) analysis with adult, youth, and senior residents to determine their preferences and concerns. Residents reported poor conditions of sidewalks (particularly during the winter) and lack of safety as constraints to walking to the corner grocery stores in their neighborhoods. Residents also reported concerns regarding the quality and price of food in the stores \(^6\) that were accessible within their walking distance (Food For Growth, 2003). The constraints on pedestrian access to food stores, combined with poor quality and high price of food in the corner grocery store highlighted the importance of vehicular access to other food outlets in the city and elsewhere.

Relying on census data, the students assessed the extent of vehicular ownership to determine whether residents had the means to drive to area grocery stores and other food outlets such as farmers markets, food pantries, restaurants, etc. Students found residents of 43% of housing units in the plan area did not own a vehicle. It was evident that to access larger and mid-sized grocery stores, residents would need access to public transportation.

The only public transportation available to residents of West Side Target Area is a bus-service operated by the Niagara Frontier Transit Authority. The studio group conducted a ‘bus chaining’ analysis, which helped illustrate the time expended and the inconvenience experienced by West Side residents who use buses as their primary means to obtain food from stores outside their neighborhood. The bus chaining analysis considered the number of buses available, the waiting time between bus transfers, the travel time, and the total time it takes for shoppers to arrive at their destination. Students found that most buses ply along the border of the plan area, which requires residents, who live toward the center of the plan area, to walk for about ½ mile simply to reach the bus stop. More troubling were the results of the actual bus trip time from the West Side Target area to reach the grocery stores. Of the nine large grocery stores included in the bus chaining

\(^5\) Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis is a commonly used technique in strategic planning.

\(^6\) In response to the residents’ concerns, the studio group designed and conducted a field survey to compare the quality and price of food in grocery stores in the neighborhood with that in the city and the adjacent suburbs. The results of the
analysis, two-way trips took an average of 2 ½ hours, not including the time residents would spend shopping in the grocery store. Only two grocery stores were found to be somewhat convenient for the West Side residents. On weekday evenings as well as on Saturday and Sunday mornings – the likely time when residents shop – it takes about 45 minutes to 1 ½ hour for a one way trip to these stores. On weekday mornings – the time when most working adults are unable to shop for grocery – it takes a reasonable 22-26 minutes to reach the store by bus. Should West Side residents forego work in favor of a grocery run, they would still be required to make two bus transfers to reach these stores – a daunting task when a shopper is carrying grocery bags, particularly while chaperoning young children on a snowy day (Food For Growth, 2003).

On the positive side, the studio group found that the county provided a van service to senior residents to enable them to grocery shop. While the informed senior residents make use of this service, other residents rely on the graciousness of friends and families to transport them (Food for Growth, 2003).

Based on their analysis of access to food stores by walking, driving, or riding the bus, the studio group concluded that residents lacked transportation access to food outlets and that access to food sources in the neighborhood could be increased in two ‘smart’ ways: first, by promoting multi-modal transportation choices for West Side residents, such as by improving conditions of sidewalks, improving bus service, and starting car/van pool services and second, by promoting a diversity of land uses in neighborhoods – specifically, increasing the number of community gardens, as well as encouraging mid- and larger-sized grocery stores would improve access to food for residents.

To achieve this, the students made specific recommendations targeted to various organizations, including MAP. For example, the studio group recommended that: NFTA revise its bus routes and timings, area grocery stores start a van pool service as a public service, and that MAP educate

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7 The studio group felt that the task of enhancing food security on the West Side could not be carried out by MAP alone. Therefore in addition to directing recommendations to MAP, the studio group outlined several policy recommendations to other public and private sector entities who work within the West Side. These entities included the city government of Buffalo, the county government of Erie, Niagara Frontier Transit Authority, a coalition of community organizations called the West Side Collaborative, and private grocery store chains operating in the city and the neighborhood.
residents about available transportation options and create a car-pooling program to facilitate West Side residents’ access to area grocery stores. In addition, the plan recommended that MAP increase the number of community gardens within the neighborhood to increase access to fresh produce and protect vibrant green space in the neighborhood. To support MAP’s efforts, the studio group recommended that the city amend its neighborhood plan to include community gardens as a desirable land use within designated residential areas in the city’s comprehensive plan, thereby promoting a greater diversity of land uses. As illustrated in the above example, the fundamental smart growth principle of increasing transportation choices and protecting mixed land use have the potential to increase food access for urban residents.

**Encouraging stakeholder collaboration and community participation in the planning process**

To make a neighborhood food secure, it is essential to determine whether the food system works for the consumers of the neighborhood food system, the residents and those who work in the neighborhood. As such engaging the residents and businesses in the planning process was a key aspect of the Food for Growth studio. Due to the compressed schedule of a semester however, engaging the residents and businesses meaningfully was the most challenging aspect of the studio. Nonetheless, students mounted a significant effort to publicize the project, engage the community, and receive direction from them.

The studio relied on traditional means and non-traditional means to publicize project-related events, and share information about the project in general. Students sent out press releases to both the print media (mainstream and alternative community newspapers) and the public radio. The publication of a cover page story on the Food for Growth project in a local newspaper before the first major community meeting and announcements made at prescheduled community events were instrumental in promoting community participation early on in the planning process. Informational flyers about meetings and events were also distributed to area families via children’s school folders in neighborhood schools. Not surprisingly, project-related events in the neighborhood that were advertised well in advance had the highest attendance, occasionally from interested residents from other neighborhoods in the city.
Neighborhood stakeholders

To receive input and engage the neighborhood, students conducted focus groups and interviews, made public presentations at community meetings, and organized an art contest for youth residents from area public schools. To the extent possible, the studio group scheduled meetings in the neighborhood during prescheduled events to avoid placing excessive demands on residents’ time. However, several meetings were organized exclusively for the studio project, particularly when meetings were necessary to conduct focus groups. The students conducted six focus groups with church/faith communities, senior citizens, immigrants and youth in the neighborhood. With the exception of one held with senior residents, all focus groups were conducted at the client’s Neighborhood Outreach Center. Focus group participants were also invited to a light dinner of pizza and soft drinks made available through the generosity of a local restaurant. Whenever focus groups were not possible such as with small business owners, students scheduled one-on-one interviews. To facilitate the participation of Spanish-speaking residents, a bi-lingual member of the studio group translated all interview questions and informational materials into Spanish.

Of all community events designed to engage the neighborhood stakeholders, the youth art contest, which had 24 participants from the neighborhood schools, was perhaps the most satisfying for the studio students. Third grade students from four public schools in the neighborhood were invited to submit a drawing with the theme of ‘Food, neighborhood, and me.’ The drawings were judged by studio group members for their artistic creativity and content. The award winning drawings (see figure 2) were published in the Food for Growth plan, and the winning artists were honored at the final public presentation in the community. Winning artists also received an award certificate and a book donated by a local bookstore.

Figure 2: Art work by West Side 3rd graders, Wesley Beasley and Arta Krasnai
Regional stakeholders

Even when preparing a neighborhood food system plan, key stakeholders exist beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood: the farmers, who produce the food that neighborhood residents consume. As such, the studio group also interviewed area farmers who sell, or might be interested in selling, fresh produce in the West Side neighborhood.

The studio group’s efforts to reach out, and to the degree possible, engage a wide group of stakeholders including youth, area businesses, residents, seniors, immigrants, community gardeners, and farmers allowed students to come to a more comprehensive understanding of the magnitude and type of food insecurity in the neighborhood, and challenged the idea of food insecurity as a monolithic concept. Senior residents, for example, experience food security in a manner distinct from say, immigrants. Engaging with a wider group of stakeholders also helped studio members to devise more creative and informed solutions to improve the food system.

COURSE OUTLINE

In the Master’s in Urban Planning program at UB, the studio is a 6-credit course scheduled to meet thrice a week, for 3.5 hours each day. While the routine of each session varied depending upon the week, the class generally began with announcements and a progress report from all teams. The remainder of the class time was devoted to completing work in small teams in consultation with the instructor, both on campus and at the client site, the Neighborhood Outreach Center on the West Side. The schedule for each month in the semester, and wherever possible for the weeks, is outlined below.

Schedule

Week 1: Introduction

- Introduction
- Background reading

Week 2: Macro-scale study of the city-level food system (food production, processing, marketing, and disposal)

- Data collection at the macro-level

Week 3: Setting goals and objectives
• Meeting with the client
• Completion of work on macro-scale study

**Week 4: Neighborhood visits**
• Memos due from all ‘macro-teams’ (including data and maps)
• Group visit to MAP Outreach Center
• Individual trips to the West Side

**Week 5: Community Meetings**
• Preparation for community meetings; submission of press release
• Community meeting to: share findings from the macro-scale study to West Side residents; develop a shared understanding of food issues; situate food-related concerns within the larger context of the city’s food system; and identify strategies for the next phase of the studio.

Community members and students identified four key food security strategies for the West Side
  o Promote food production through sustainable land use planning
  o Promote transportation access to food
  o Promote economic development by supporting food based business development in the neighborhood
  o Promote youth development through food projects

**Week 6, 7, 8, and 9: Neighborhood level data collection for the West Side area, pertaining to each of the four key strategies**
• Preparation for focus groups, interviews, surveys
• Conduct focus groups, interviews, implement survey

**Week 10: Data Analysis (Descriptive statistics, inferential statistics, asset maps, narratives**
• Data analysis
• Map making

**Week 11: Report writing and editing**
• Draft of final report ready

**Week 12, 13, and 14: Report writing, editing, preparing for presentation to client**
• Report editing
• Presentation to client

**Week 15: Report writing, and preparation for public presentation**
• Preparation for public presentation, send press release
• Final Presentation

**Week 16: Final formatting**

• Last class/ Final report due

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**Course Readings**

From the following list, only one book, Koc et al. (1999), was required for the semester. Additional readings from academic journals and newspapers were shared by students and faculty member on a news board in the studio and via a shared electronic folder on the Intranet throughout the semester. Introduction and discussion of current events and reports on relevant food system issues – particularly those pertaining to the Buffalo area - kept the studio participants engaged and enthusiastic about the work.


**Data Sources**

The plan was prepared after extensive data collection from a variety of secondary sources, including the US Census. Students also collected data from primary sources by conducting focus groups and interviews. To compare the availability and price of food, students designed and conducted an extensive field survey of 26 grocery stores located in the neighborhood and other ‘control’ areas.

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8 Despite the rigid schedule, final editing and formatting of the report continued after the semester.
Students also made extensive use of Geographic Information Systems to create food-based asset maps. Some maps, such as one for community gardens, were geo-coded manually, while others, such as the one showing location of food businesses, were created by using data assembled by Info USA, a private data vendor. The quality of data from the private vendor was a matter of concern, since several businesses were mis-identified in the vendors’ data set as non-food businesses. As a result, students had to verify the accuracy of the data by calling the businesses to confirm whether or not they were food-businesses.

**ACTIONS TAKEN**

Upon completion, the findings and recommendations of the plan were disseminated widely through a wide variety of media. Students made two public presentations in the community and one to the City Council. Students used visualization and graphic techniques to distill and present the information contained in the 150 page plan. In addition, students prepared poster display of 11 3 ft X 5 ft posters to present the findings and recommendations of the Food for Growth plan. This poster display continues to be used by the client to share findings of the project with different audiences.

Upon completion, the plan was submitted as part of a grant proposal to the United States Department of Agriculture, which through its Community Food Grant program, provided over a quarter million dollars to MAP to implement the recommendations laid out in the plan. As part of the plan’s implementation, sixteen West Side youth are currently participating in 'Growing Green,' a program with multiple and inter-related goals of achieving food security, developing community gardens, promoting youth leadership, and environmental education in the neighborhood. Following the publication of the final report, facilitated by MAP, several local stakeholders – including faith-based groups, non-profits, the local food bank - interested in the issue of food systems established a ‘Food for Growth’ coalition to promote public awareness and policy change in the area of sustainable neighborhood food systems in the city of Buffalo.

The work produced in this studio has been recognized for its excellence both, regionally and nationally. The plan received the Best Student Project award from, both, the Western New York
chapter of the American Planning Association (APA), and the Upstate Chapter of the APA. Most recently, the Food for Growth plan received the 2005 National Award for the Best Student Project from the Association of the Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) - the professional wing of the American Planning Association (APA).

CONCLUSION

Affordable access to healthy, nutritious food is a pressing issue for urban neighborhoods across the nation. As illustrated in this chapter, planning studios can integrate core smart growth principles with food system planning to promote food security in neighborhoods. This chapter provides a model for others interested in conducting a planning studio on preparing an urban neighborhood food system plan to enhance food access by utilizing smart growth principles.

The Food for Growth project was tailored to an urban neighborhood, and is most useful as a model for preparing a food system plan to alleviate food insecurity in an urban area. However, food system planning studios focusing on rural areas can integrate smart growth principles as well. For example, a food system planning studio to enhance linkages between rural producers (farmers) and urban consumers requires that farmland be preserved.

The food system is a complex system with many inter-twined parts, ranging from food production, processing, marketing, consumption, to disposal. As such, the scope of a food system plan can vary widely. A studio may focus on conducting an inventory of existing community gardens in a neighborhood and proposing locations for future gardens – others, like the Food for Growth, may have a more ambitious scope of such as conducting a comprehensive food assessment of a neighborhood, describing the local food system, as well as identifying strategies for improving the food system. In either case, the goals of the studio should be clearly defined to give the studio a clear sense of direction.

To enable this clear sense of direction, it is important for the instructor to develop the scope and goals of the studio project in collaboration with the client. In case of the Food for Growth project, the instructor was fortunate to have a prior working relationship with the Massachusetts Avenue

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9 A copy of the final report is available upon request from the author.
Project. While a pre-existing working relationship between the instructor (or, the host department) and the client is not necessary, it is important to have discuss the scope and directions for a studio at least a two to three months in advance of the start of the course.

Given that food system planning is an emerging area of planning, students are unlikely to be familiar with key concepts and relevant literature on the topic. As such, it is important that students have access to relevant reading materials. In addition, food system planning – much like all the rest of planning - relies on interdisciplinary knowledge of agriculture and nutrition. While the Food for Growth project did not have the opportunity to collaborate with academicians from these disciplines, the studio benefited greatly from the insight of practicing nutritionists and farmers.

Plans are only as good as their implementation. The success of the ‘Food for Growth’ project rests partly on continued involvement of both faculty and students with the project client and the neighborhood. After the completion of the Food for Growth plan, due to research interests in the area the instructor remains involved with MAP’s effort to implement the Food For Growth plan; likewise a former student of the studio group – due to her job and personal interest - continues to work with MAP as well. Studios that enable lasting connections through continued research and involvement of faculty and former students present a more lasting possibility for creating change on the ground – such opportunities however, are not always possible or realistic.

Planning studios have the potential of offering a realistic learning experience for students in the relatively new area of food systems planning. At the same time, partnering with universities through planning studios can offer resource-constrained communities access to high quality professional services that may otherwise be unaffordable.

SUGGESTED READINGS


For Hunger-Proof Cities: Sustainable Urban Food Systems. 1999. (Edited by Mustafa Koc, Rod MacRae, Luc J.A. Mougeot, and Jennifer Welsh.) International Development Research Center, ON, CA.


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