IV. LOCAL FOOD POLICY ORGANIZATIONS [F-6, F-7, F-8, & F-9]

In this section you will find a historical timeline of work that has been done on local food systems planning over the past several decades written by Kate Clancy. Also, there are some summaries as well as the complete reports prepared by Ken Dahlberg on the local food policy councils in Knoxville, TN, St. Paul, MN, Onondaga County, NY, and Philadelphia, PA.


B. Local Food Policy Councils:

1. Knoxville. [F-6]


3. Onondaga County, NY. [F-8]


5. Toronto, Canada. [F-9]
   Rod MacRae, "So Why is the City of Toronto Concerned about Food and Agricultural Policy? A Short History of the Toronto Food Policy Council." *Culture and Agriculture*, Winter 1994, pp. 15-18.
A Timeline of Local Food Systems Planning

Prepared by Kate Clancy - 1996

[This historical timeline of how local food system concepts and planning have developed includes only highlights of the many activities and writings that comprise this effort. The phrase local food systems planning (LFSP) is used to gather together under one concept a number of different activities and ideas. Many of the events in the timeline were not labeled as LFSP in the materials which describe them. The efforts listed here are in constant flux. Many projects and organizations no longer exist or have changed in various ways. New projects committed to understanding and improving local food systems start up every month.]

1920s to 1960s

1929--Hedden writes How Great Cities are Fed (DC Heath and Co.), to educate people on the complexity of the food system at the time. First usage of the term "foodshed".

1941-45--Serious effort at planning for food supplies during WW II. Development of the Recommended Daily Allowances, grain enrichment policy, and rationing of some foods.

1962-Rachel Carson's Silent Spring is published; begins the education of U.S. public on environmental issues and the relationship of many of them to food production.

1970s

1973--The oil embargo and Russian wheat deals alert general public to new issues like dependence on foreign energy sources, world grain trade (trading oil for food), and other similar complexities. The meat boycott is first major move of consumers onto the agriculture policy agenda. E.F. Schumacher publishes Small is Beautiful, a treatise on a new, more humane economics.

mid-970s--Nutrition policy councils start in various places around the country; forerunners to food policy councils.

1975--Food for People, Not for Profit (Lerza and Jacobson) alerts the general public to many of the problems in the food system and how they are related to each other.

1977/78

-Bob Wilson and grad students in planning do study of food distribution system in Knoxville.

-Paige Chapel is hired as urban agriculture coordinator at the Center for Neighborhood Technology in Chicago.
-Mark Winne starts The Hartford Food System.

1980s

1980-82

-Rodale begins its Cornucopia Project to encourage groups around the country to describe and measure local food supplies.

-The Cornell Center for Local Food and Agriculture started by University's chaplain.

-Knoxville City Council resolution approves establishment of a Food Policy Council (1st in the country).

-Britz compiles and publishes *The Edible City Resource Manual* in Oregon; a philosophy and model for a "biologically healthy urban environment".

-London (England) Food Commission is established.

-Rod Leonard starts publication of *The Community-Nutritionist* to highlight community food activities.

-The Center for Neighborhood Technology publishes *Food Files*, a compilation of sophisticated analyses of the Chicago food system including an urban food system matrix, strategies for reform written by Paige Chapel, and a model plan for metro food production prepared by Roger Blobaum.

1983-85

-Onondaga County Legislature gives go ahead to develop a Food Systems Council based on arguments that it was needed to protect and plan for future food supply.

-Philadelphia Food Task Force begins.

-Ken Taylor founds the Minnesota Food Association. Threat to demolish farmer's market leads to development of the St. Paul Food Commission which MFA staffs.

-Bob Rodale proposes in op-ed ad in NY Times that the Mayor institute a New York City Department of Food.

-In response to hunger crisis of 1981-84, U.S. Conference of Mayors initiates a 5-city project to develop food policy councils.

-Brewster Kneen starts Nutrition Policy Institute in Canada. His *Ram's Horn* publication influences thinking about food systems throughout North America.

1988-90

-Healthy Toronto 2000, in furthering "healthy cities", "healthy public policy" model, recommends the development of a Toronto Food Policy Council (TFPC).
-Kate Clancy outlines the eight elements critical to the success of food system councils.

- TFPC is formed as a sub-committee of the Board of Health with substantial budget and extensive, sophisticated food systems agenda.

1990s

1991-92

-Northeast Network Project, a collaboration of Penn State and Cornell University Extension begins public policy education on food and agriculture across the region.

-Ken Dahlberg commences his study of food policy councils.

-Arthur Getz publishes his thoughts on urban foodsheds (based in part on his work on Japanese “CSAs”) and inspires more food systems work.

-Phil Lewis at U of Wisconsin proposes Circle City concept to preserve farmland and food supplies in the Midwest.

1993-present

-An explosion of food system projects occurs across the country, including metro planning, community food security, regional food guides, and many others.
Few citizens noticed last October when the Knoxville City Council unanimously adopted Resolution R-202-81. But the measure could have a far greater impact on their lives than the big World's Fair that will descend upon them in May.

That is, if the resolution's authors can make them understand its meaning. Knoxville may not know it, but it has embarked upon a unique and promising experiment.

The document is three pages long, but one line states its thrust: "Local government has a proper role to play in ensuring that all citizens have access to an adequate and nutritious food supply." The statement signifies one of the first times that a local community has recognized officially the food needs of its citizens.

It is more than a symbolic step. City Hall has called for a community-wide Food Policy Council to assemble all of the heretofore unconnected pieces that comprise the city's food system. With this act Knoxville joins only a tiny handful of other cities. (Hartford, Connecticut is another.)

Knoxville and surrounding Knox County is not a metropolitan area plunging so steeply into recession that authorities are casting about for drastic solutions. As home to the huge Tennessee Valley Authority, the University of Tennessee and several diverse private industries (the Oak Ridge nuclear facility is a neighbor), the area has escaped the most severe effects of the nation's economic downswing. But neither is it a well-oiled urban utopia, where each of its citizens' needs is carefully attended to and problems are few. In fact, the Knoxville area (population; 320,000) falls somewhere in between; it's neither Cleveland nor Palm Springs.

And, like other city fathers, Knoxville's have generally overlooked an invisible, pervasive, diverse-but fragmented-urban support system: food supply.

Knoxville's blighted areas don't bring to mind the stark poverty of a Watts or Harlem. Nevertheless, the residents here are poor. City authorities have brought in many of the traditional cures to worn-out neighborhoods like Mountain view, treating physical signs of illness through block-raising, brick-raising urban renewal. In fact, the area has undergone a pleasing facelift.

But, cruising up one street and down another, there's a gradual realization that something is missing: There are no food stores in this rejuvenated section. The nearest supermarkets barely skirt the edges of Mountairiview, well out of walking distance for most of the area's largely low-income population. Anti-hunger activists working with the Knoxville-Knox County Community Action Committee's Food Supply Project piqued the City Council's interest in Resolution R-202-81. The resolution underlines the city's "support of an effort to improve the quality, availability, and accessibility of food delivery systems for all citizens, and (designates) the Community Action Committee's Food Supply Project as part of this effort."

The Food Supply Project was funded by a two-year $25,000 grant from the now-defunct Community Services Administration that will be exhausted by September 30. Like so many advocates at the local level, CAC's food staff had for years battled the food problems of low-income citizens with standard-issue weapons: food stamp and school meal advocacy, community gardens, food buying clubs, and so forth. Although useful, such activities often were unrelated, and treated symptoms rather than causes.

Then the group came across a 1977 study by Robert L. Wilson, a food planning consultant and professor at the University of Tennessee Graduate School of Planning. The study, "Food Distribution and Consumption in Knoxville," was conducted by his students in a ten-week graduate planning course. Wilson considers it one of the first comprehensive examinations of a community's food supply problems and potential in the nation.

At the CAC's West Neighborhood Center, Rita Shoffner is troubled by the numbers she sees on her desk pad. In March, 1981, some 16,700 households in the county received food stamps. By December, the caseload had dropped to 14,968, the direct result of last year's federal budget cutbacks, she says. She sees even more cuts on the horizon this year.

Ironically, much of the drop could have been avoided. "Knox County could have a caseload of 5,000-they have enough money for that. But the stories about WIC (huge cutback proposals, ultimately rejected by Congress) were so horrible that people just would not bother to apply for it, " she observes sadly.

Nutrition Planning for a City
by Geoff Becker
Editor, CNI Weekly Report
The U.T. study documented many of the needs that CAC workers had been dealing with for years on a day-to-day basis. The study found that city residents spend about a fourth of their incomes on food, a rate that climbs as income drops to the poverty line. The U.T. students found a significant number of low-income and elderly residents in the city, which they defined as "high-risk" groups. Some 40 percent of all pupils qualified for free or reduced-price lunches. Other observations in the U.T. study, which CAC staff also had found but not formally documented:

*There was no broad coordinating agency for food in the city.

*The surrounding county was experiencing a disturbing loss of agricultural land. An aging and outmoded wholesale facility near the downtown area was handling most of the city's produce supplies.

* The coming World's Fair might put a heavy strain on the already fragile and fragmented food distribution system, as the city copes with large numbers of visitors.

* There was little or no monitoring of nutritional deficiencies among the city's high-risk populations, and no coordination of the public intervention programs aimed at these groups.

"Bob's study made a lot of sense to the agency in light of its experience," said Alan Town, who runs CAC's Food Supply Project. As an anti-poverty organization, CAC's first responsibility has been to the poor. However, "looking at the community's entire food system, we realized that we're all affected by the same strengths and weaknesses in it," Town added.

Among those weaknesses is a flight of food retailers from the inner city, a phenomenon that Knoxville shares with many metropolitan areas. It affects all inner-city dwellers but is hardest on the poor and elderly, who lack the transportation or money to shop elsewhere. For example, researchers found that 20 percent of those in one low-income neighborhood took cabs to buy groceries.

"You can't comparison shop very well in a taxicab," Town commented. The few small stores that exist in the bowels of the city offer smaller selections, generally lower quality and higher prices, according to the Project's research. An inner-city shopper without transportation pays an average 12 percent more for food than suburban consumers, Town said.

"Even the stores here now, however inadequate, won't be here in the future, observed Wilson. "There's a complete absence of investment, and people still here aren't upgrading their stores. Even the Mom and Pops are changing hands rapidly, not a good economic indicator."

Like other city retailers, food merchants must deal with older buildings that are not energy-efficient, with urban congestion, poor loading facilities, outmoded equipment, lack of financing, and a host of other problems that their suburban counterparts are generally immune to.

The most remarkable thing about the White Store in Knoxville's central business district is that it's there at all. Ed McMillan, White's vice President for public relations, says it's the only chain supermarket still operating in that part of the locally-owned string of 45 scores, moved this city. White, a local outlet into its present location from another downtown site about a year ago.

The inside of the White store looks like any of its suburban relatives, with wide, clean aisles lined by well-stocked shelves, gleaming meat and frozen food counters, and banks of cash registers waiting to ring up customers' purchases. Even that similarity is remarkable, considering the operating problems McMillan and store manager Gerald Waites relate.

The store opens at 7:30 a.m., quickly filling with office workers and nearby elderly and low-income residents. It stays busy all day until its 6 p.m. closing time. However, Waites says he sells fewer items per person than a typical supermarket, indicating that more people must pass through his checkout aisles to create a healthy volume of sales. This ratio makes cleanliness and neatness major headaches.

Many clients use food stamps, which sometimes slows the checkout lines. The store needs more employees to wait on the market's large number of older customers-and, though store officials are reluctant to admit it, to keep one eye out for shoplifters looking for an occasional five-finger discount. The White supermarket occupies an old department store, which took some creativity and good humor to adapt to. Maneuvering delivery trucks into the alley behind the store is a test of
The store’s got to make money. "It’s not our most profitable store, by any stretch of the imagination, " McMillan says, professing White’s concern about meeting a community need. But he admits White is a business, plain and simple. "If we did not think the store would be profitable, we would not be here. The bottom line is: the store’s got to make money."

Near the heart of Knoxville’s food supply problems, Wilson believes, is a long-standing neglect of food and nutrition by government. Communities that ordinarily weave transportation, housing, recreation, and other basic needs into their comprehensive plans rarely mention food.

On the surface, the invisible hand of the marketplace seems to be taking care of things in the food system, and food has not been seen as a matter of public concern, Wilson observed. Then the Arab oil embargo shocked the nation out of its slumbering attitude about energy. As the source of food drifts further from those who consume it, the link becomes more fragile. Few cities are prepared to deal with a genuine food emergency caused by a natural disaster, a labor strike, or even another oil crisis, he said.

Wilson likens a city’s food supply to its water system. Few communities lack a well-filled reservoir, and authorities fret when droughts lower the water level. How many weeks or days could a community survive after it breaks in the food distribution chain?

There are the more immediate considerations in everyday community life that are just as important. Planners don’t recognize that when a bus route is cancelled or altered, it affects whether or not residents will be able to get to the store to buy food, Town put in.

Pointing to a pleasantly-designed subsidized housing project for the elderly, Wilson said, "it doesn’t look bad up there on the hill" unless you’re an elderly woman forced to carry a heavy bag of groceries all the way home up a long, long hill. "It’s just another example of public decisions failing to take into account something that involves a daily need," he added.

Almeda Lemmings, an intake worker at CACs East Neighborhood Center, recently learned that her job may be abolished, the result of federal budget cutbacks. It's not because there's too little to do. She meets daily with the people who trickle, and sometimes stream, into the center seeking help with jobhunting, paying for home heating bills, finding enough food for their families, fixing their homes, and other needs.

Lemmings said she has become keenly aware that food is not unrelated to other problems. She sees many clients with high heating bills, empty cupboards and too little cash to pay for both. For these families, life is literally a choice between heating and eating.

Food activists in Knoxville believe attention to food planning has become even more crucial since lawmakers last year began pulling the federal government out of the business of feeding poor people. "In the past, local officials could remain relatively unconcerned about food assistance. These days it's got to be a local responsibility because the federal presence is diminishing," said one.

"One problem with the present system is the lack of any overall coordinating agency which can perform a broad oversight function," the U.T study notes. Without such a body, acting on long-term solutions becomes difficult at best.

Clues on why food hasn't fit nearly into the agendas if city officials can be found at the state level and beyond in Washington. While there are agencies that deal with pieces of food supply, none takes a comprehensive view. Food distribution seems to fit nowhere. Agriculture departments deal mainly with farmers. Health and human service agencies focus on poverty, diet-related problems and other individual needs. Housing agencies put people under roofs and alter the landscape around them, but rarely if ever think about how those people will eat. A few pioneering efforts in past years offered some promise at USDA in Washington, but that promise has faded in the current political climate.

The U.T. recommendation led to local advocates' suggestion for a community-wide Food Policy Council, the implementing body for the city's resolution.

When planners do think of food, they're not very optimistic about the ability of surrounding farms to produce a reliable, inexpensive supply of fresh food for the community. "The time when East Tennessee was a food-producing region has passed, " commented one, bemoaning the loss of farmland to the encroaching suburbs and the growing concentration of the food industry.

Jim Mansfield, local organizer for the Agricultural Marketing Project, offers a somewhat different perspective. There are enough farmers here to offer a steady supply of produce to many city and county residents. "From the farmers' point of view, marketing is the real problem," not producing. "They'd grow more if there were more places to sell it. " Smaller dealers once bought from local farmers and offered it to small grocers. But "vertical integration" of the food system and the growth of chain stores closed most of those doorways, explained Mansfield, who has helped to organize a farmers' cooperative and foster new marketing opportunities.

The CAC staffers and Wilson last August took their research and ideas to Mayor Randy Tyree, the energetic Democrat who crusaded to bring the World's Fair to his city. Tyree, who has set his sights on the governorship this year, listened sympathetically. He suggested that the group prepare a resolution for adoption by the City Council.
"The resolution was really the mayor's idea," said Dixie Petrey, CAC community food director. Tyree said later in an interview that it was a "reaction to what I perceived as a problem in the community. As mayor, you try to address the deficiencies in a community. It was a quality of life issue affecting people I had a responsibility toward."

(Ironically, it was Tyree and not an earlier mayor with a more direct stake in food that first gave the issue official status. Knoxville was run during the 1960s by Cas Walker, a colorful man who liked to present a hayseed demeanor to his public. Usually referred to by the press as "millionaire grocer," Walker made his fortune selling food to city residents, many of them Poor, through his is chain of supermarkets. Although on the wane, the stores, are still evident throughout the city, their faces decorated with homilies about drinking and driving.)

The resolution was put before the council in October, and it passed with surprisingly little debate. The resolution designates the CAC Food Supply Project to 11 prepare a strategy for improving the inner-city food supply" with the assistance of several government agencies.

The resolution encourages the participation of the private food industry and the public. It calls for the formation of the Food Policy Council, with broad community representation, to "continually monitor Knoxville's food supply system (and) recommend appropriate actions as needed." The strategy will be steering toward four broad goals:

1) Insuring enough food for all citizens;
2) Strengthening the "economic vitality" of the private food sector;
3) Improving the quality of citizens' food;
4) Encouraging the consumption of nutritious food.

Residents of Knoxville's "MLB" area, consisting of the mainly low-income neighborhoods of Mechanicsville, Lonsdale and Beaumont, had been looking hopefully toward the groundbreaking for a new shopping center in their part of town. A private developer's plans called for a multi-million dollar financing package seeded by a $1 million federal Urban Development Action Grant, already approved. But the UDAG grant now is slipping away because the developer has been unable to attract a food store as "anchor" for his shopping center. Without it, other retailers probably won't locate there.

Harry Spencer, director of the West Neighborhood Center, and community organizer Mike Steele said the need for a large food store is real and documented. The only large store now in the area is an independently-run "Cas Walker Associate, " which they describe as run-down and stocked with Often poorer quality but higher priced foods.

Steele conducted a community survey that indicated overwhelming support for a new market. But the developer has been unable to turn that enthusiasm into a commitment by a large grocer to locate in his center. The project has been weighed down by "poor planning and poor advice," Steele says. The developer "didn't build in community support early.

Since passage of the food supply resolution, Town and his colleagues have been working on the structure and objectives of the new food policy council. It's a slow moving process, partly because they still have a major teaching chore ahead of them. Speaking with even those familiar with Resolution R-202-81, one gets a strong feeling that not everyone has grasped the full implications.

Mayor Tyree suggests that the measure will "be of benefit to some truly needy people." He points to those who "were surviving but were not being adequately fed." He expresses confidence that American agricultural and technical know-how will keep the nation's horn of plenty well-stocked. He doesn't foresee such drastic measures in the near future as a city annexing surrounding farmlands as a reservoir for future food producing capabilities.

Part of the reason some may consider Knoxville's food issues mainly a poor people's problem is where the resolution was nurtured: at the CAC. The CAC is the agency in town that takes care of the poor. If you've got a poor people's problem, send it over to Luke Ross and Barbara Kelly at Knoxville CAC.

(If anything, that's a commendable axiom. "We were deeply involved in food programming long before there was funding to do it," asserted Kelly, the deputy director. "Any agency that's concerned about poor people has got to be concerned about food-it's one of the basics." Beside summer feeding and an array of community food and nutrition activities, the CAC sponsors elderly nutrition projects in 16 nearby counties.)

Even McMillan and Waites at the White store seem at somewhat of a loss to describe how the food supply initiative could help private industry. "We're sold on it," said McMillan, adding, "People in the food business are just a little bit shy." Waites said he thinks the City could help with the parking problem and through a more lenient attitude toward his delivery trucks that sometimes must block the street or alley.

"We see a public food policy council as trying to mediate this," Petrey ventured.

Elsewhere, the message is slowly getting through.

"We've always been more concerned with the physical development of the community," conceded Frank Turner, the youngish director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission, whose staff fills an expansive office in the new city-county municipal building. He said he believes the food policy council will offer a "real opportunity" and "great forum for communicating food problems."

Dennis Upton, deputy director of the city's Department of Community and Economic Development, said the council will help in "getting the issue entrenched into the government cycle." Both men will, if prodded, recite the litany of problems that Wilson, Town and Petrey have been preaching about lately.
Del Long works during the cold winter months in a small garage warmed only by a portable kerosene heater. He is preparing packets of vegetable seeds that he and volunteers will distribute to disadvantaged Knoxville residents this spring. Although government-subsidized, the free seed program is run on a shoestring budget. Funding cuts have forced a reduction of Long's current workweek.

Yet this is perhaps the most popular food program in the city. People will use the seeds to grow food in their own gardens and in about 20 community plots throughout the city Long estimates that his seeds have produced about "three quarters of a million dollars worth of vegetables in the county-not bad for a garage."

What, then, will be Knoxville's solutions its specific steps for solving the problems defined by Wilson and the CAC staff and slowly being grasped by others in the community? "The approach is so new that you've almost got to make it up as you go along," admitted Town

The Knoxville Food Policy Council probably will consist of seven persons appointed by the Mayor for three-year terms, with some overlap to provide continuity. To be named in April, they will represent a broad range of citizens, including industry executives, elected officials, government managers and consumers. The CAC Food Supply Project will provide staff support through September 30, when its federal grant is due to expire.

The city economic development department and the planning commission have agreed to contribute some staff time and a small budget set-aside to support the work after that. A system of advisory committees will provide the technical expertise and also will help spread the council's message throughout the community.

The council's organizers already have listed several immediate issues for the council to ponder:

1. Working toward a bus system that is responsive to citizens who use it as their primary access to food;
2. Building a food policy component into the planning council's general, sector, and small area Plans;
3. Vigorously supporting efforts to develop new food retailers within the inner-city;
4. Coordinating and promoting urban gardening programs;
5. Evaluating the impact on Knoxville of federal budget cuts, and the ability of existing local agencies to fill the gaps;
6. Educating itself on the ins and outs of the present Knoxville food system—or lack of it.

The Hartford Experience

Hartford, Connecticut, one of the few other places to attempt a comprehensive approach to urban food problems, has teamed how crucial early planning and education can be. Organizers implemented a plan there in 1977 that is aimed mainly at the low and moderate income residents of this old, and ailing, industrial city. In “Food Marketing Alternatives for the Inner City: A Guide to Community-Based Solutions for Urban Food Problems, CNI's Pat Brown Kelly and Thomas B. Smith write:

"If you think of building a food system as putting together a puzzle, some of the pieces in Hartford were force-fit. Groups joined without knowing what they were joining; neighborhood commitments were made without agreement on a city-wide commitment."

"Says (Hartford Food System Director Mark) Winne: 'We have not resolved some basic questions like: What is the role of the food system in the lives of the organizations that comprise it? What are the organizations! roles to each other? What, in fact, is the function of an integrated, centralized food system?'"

"Coalition members never asked these questions, he said. They took the grand plan presented to them and ran with it. " Winne likely would approve of Knoxville's careful, gradual approach to building its food system.
Report and Recommendations
on
The Knoxville, Tennessee Food System

Prepared by

Kenneth A. Dahlberg
Department of Political Science
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, MI 49008

Phone (616) 387-5686
Fax (616) 387-3999

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GLOSSARY

CAC = [Knoxville-Knox County] Community Action Committee

FPC = Food Policy Council

KCDC = Knoxville Community Development Corporation

MPC = Metropolitan Planning Commission
REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE FOOD SYSTEM

by Kenneth A. Dahlberg

INTRODUCTION

This report on the Knoxville food system and the Knoxville Food Policy Council is the first of six on cities and counties around the country. The reports are part of a larger research project entitled, "Local Food Systems: Policies and Values Influencing their Potential." The other study sites are: St. Paul, MN; Onondaga County, NY; Philadelphia, PA; Charleston, SC; and Kansas City, MO. All except Onondaga County participated in a 1984-85 project conducted by the U.S. Conference of Mayors to establish local food policy councils.

My interest in municipal food systems follows on from earlier work on sustainable agriculture - where the idea of localizing food systems is stressed, but where any role for cities themselves is neglected. This project thus seeks to explore the potential of cities to be more self-reliant and more efficient in operating their local food systems. Much greater development of this potential is not only desirable, but may be required if federal and state funds for food-related programs remain stagnant or decline. One of the major challenges at this point is that few citizens or officials are aware of the extent and complexity of their local food systems, much less their potential. This is reflected in the fact that no city has a department of food. Equally, few people are aware that the value of the produce from all U.S. gardens (urban and rural) is roughly equivalent to that of the corn crop (approx. $18 billion/year!).

I have sought to understand how local food systems operate at the household, neighborhood, and municipal levels. I have also sought to understand at each of these levels the full food system cycle and the associated issues: from production issues (farmland preservation, farmers markets, household & community gardens), to processing issues (local vs. outside), to distribution issues (transportation, warehousing) to access issues (inner city grocery stores, school breakfasts & lunches, food stamps, the WIC program, etc.), to use issues (food safety and handling, restaurants, street vendors), to food re-cycling (gleaning, food banks, food pantries and soup kitchens) to waste stream issues (composting, garbage fed to pigs, etc.). Besides the social and environmental issues associated with the above, there are also a number of ethical and value issues involved which I have also sought to understand and describe.

My visit to Knoxville (May 1991) and subsequent work has been greatly facilitated by the extensive and generous help of Dixie L. Petrey and Robert L. Wilson - two of the key long-term people involved in creating and developing the Knoxville Food Policy Council.

THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL SETTING

Knoxville, Tennessee, is the third largest city in the state and is located adjacent to the Great Smoky Mountains. Its population of 165,000 continues to be influenced by Appalachian culture and values. These include an emphasis on independence and self reliance combined with volunteerism. For many church goers, volunteerism is seen as a tithing of one's time. The city accounts for 49% of Knox County's population of 335,750. Blacks constitute 15.8% of the city's population and 8.8% of the county's. Asians, Hispanics, and American Indians constitute less than 2% of either the city or the
county's population. 1984 figures showed approximately 14% of county residents below the poverty line, with 71% of them living in the city.

The economic importance of Knoxville's food system is significant. 25% of all industrial, wholesale, and retail establishments are food related. 15% of all retail employees work in food stores and eating and drinking establishments. Food stores accounted for 18% of all retail sales and eating places for 13%. Wholesale groceries and related goods were 17% of total wholesale trade (1982). Since 1970, there has been a significant trend towards concentration in the number of wholesale grocers in Tennessee from approximately 50-60 in 1970 to only 6-10 in 1990. A similar trend is visible among retailers. There has been a comparable loss of inner city grocery stores.

As in all the cities studied, there have been dramatic increases in the need for food and shelter assistance, especially since 1980.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FOOD POLICY COUNCIL

Much of the groundwork for the creation of the Food Policy Council came from the food and nutrition programs of the Knoxville-Knox County Community Action Committee (CAC). The CAC was established in 1965 through an agreement between the City and the County. Its board includes the Mayor and the County Executive as members. A university study and a federal grant were important in giving CAC the perspective and the funds to expand its food programs. A 1977 study by University of Tennessee graduate students under Robert L. Wilson, then Associate Professor, examined Knoxville's food system and needs. Much of this information was used by CAC in its successful application for a Community Food and Nutrition grant from the Office of Community Services, Health and Human Services. The two year grant (1979-81) funded a staff person and a consultant to develop programs to improve the food supply in inner city neighborhoods. The programs developed included outreach to advise families of their eligibility for food assistance programs, mobile meals, a home garden program, a food buying club, and a community food and nutrition program.

These efforts, however, were not enough to offset the impacts of the 1981 and 1982 federal cuts in the food stamp program and in school breakfast and lunch programs. Local participation in WIC, Senior Nutrition, and the home garden program was also declining. New efforts were needed and the city responded.

An October 13, 1981 resolution of the Knoxville City Council recognized food as a matter for governmental concern and encouraged formation of a group to "continually monitor Knoxville's food supply system and to recommend appropriate actions to improve the system as needed." Resolution R-202-81 also declared that "local government has a proper role to play in ensuring that all citizens have access to an adequate and nutritious food supply." To determine how to proceed, the Mayor appointed an interagency staff committee with representatives from the Community Action Committee (designated the lead agency), the Metropolitan Planning Commission, and the Department of Community Economic Development. They developed a proposal which Mayor Tyree implemented on July 1, 1982, by establishing the Food Policy Council (FPC) and appointing its members.

The goals of the FPC for the Knoxville food system are to:

- ensure that an adequate and nutritious food supply is available to all citizens;

- strengthen the economic vitality of the private food industry;
- improve the quality of food available to all citizens;
- encourage citizens to accept and consume nutritious food;
- minimize the food-related activities which degrade the natural environment; and
- limit wasteful use of scarce resources needed for future food production and distribution.

**ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS**

The Food Policy Council (FPC) is advisory to the City Council, the Mayor, and the community in general. It may prepare reports directed to the Mayor, and/or City Council, prepare publications for general distribution, or communicate through the media. The FPC prepares an annual report on the status of the food system, its needs, and FPC activities. The FPC has no authority to operate food distribution facilities, to regulate or control any aspect of the food system, public or private. Implementation of FPC proposals depends on voluntary cooperation by other public agencies, by non-profit corporations, and by firms in the food industry.

The Food Policy Council is coordinated through the Knoxville-Knox County Community Action Committee. Since councils often reflect the staffing agency's views, one might have expected the FPC to focus primarily on poverty and hunger related issues. The FPC, however, has addressed a much broader range of issues. This is because of: 1) the presence on the FPC of liaison staff from other agencies; 2) the use of advisory committees; 3) the use of an outside consultant; and 4) an understanding by CAC leadership that the entire food system affects the food available for low income people.

The size of the FPC has been seven since its inception. Rather than having a large council with representatives of various interests, it was decided to have a smaller group that would work individually and as a group to improve the Knoxville food system. Criteria include selecting a mix of people with leadership qualities and some knowledge of food issues who:

1) have a government tie and public status;
2) work in the food business; or
3) are involved with neighborhood and consumer interests.

In addition, the general criteria for the Council as a whole are that:

1) it include a diversity of food distribution interests and perspectives (e.g. advocacy, economic and business, physical logistics, social service, nutrition and health, agriculture and farming, consumers);
2) public interest be the dominant concern of the group;
3) there be at least one or two good moderators in the group; and
4) at least one or two persons have experience in the public arena.8

To date there have been few people on the FPC representing either farming or environmental concerns.
At various points, there have been some problems with the lack of regular attendance by some members. Currently, the FPC is seeking to deal with this by having full meetings every other month with the Executive Committee meeting in between. If this does not work, then consideration might be given to making by-laws changes to address the problem. A better approach might be to seek to increase the visibility of the FPC so that nominees are aware of it and will want to serve on it. Also, the earlier practice of including one City Council member on the FPC has now been re-established after several years when no Council member served. This practice should be continued. If the work load of the FPC increases, consideration might be given either to increasing its size to nine or to broadening and strengthening the advisory committee structure.

Advisory committees have been a valuable part of FPC’s activities. Some have been more effective than others. The Nutrition and Health Advisory Committee has been particularly active over the years, in part because of a pre-existing and active group of nutritionists - the Greater Knoxville Nutrition Council. However, the charge developed for this committee by the FPC helped to focus the efforts of these people and to bring in other health professionals. The Food Industry Advisory Committee has had its ups and downs -perhaps because it involves primarily private-sector people who are more interested in specific projects with fairly obvious results rather than longer-term institution- and program-building. In 1991, an amended charge was prepared for The Food Industry Advisory Committee in a effort to reactivate it. Efforts to develop an effective Agriculture and Land Resource Advisory Committee were not successful, both because of the lack of much public concern over these issues and the lack of any clear constituency groups.

Each advisory committee includes at least one member of the FPC as liaison. This is only one of the many tasks that FPC members carry out. There have been many very dedicated and capable members of the FPC who have served long terms. The degree of citizen commitment represented by their activities has been crucial to the accomplishments of the FPC.

The role of staff has also been very important to the success of the FPC. The coordinating agency, CAC, has worked at the highest levels of city government since its beginning (1965) and has gained the respect of local officials. This has had a positive impact on their responses to FPC requests and recommendations. Also, the presence of liaison staff from the Mayor's office, the Metropolitan Planning Commission, and the Knoxville Community Development Corporation has been very important. In the early years, they not only proposed the basic goals and structures of the FPC, but worked hard to get it going. Since then, they have provided an important source of continuity and expertise for the FPC and have been able to broaden its influence externally. Finally, these accomplishments also derived from the strong and careful administrative management of the FPC Staff Coordinator, Dixie L. Petrey. Her role in helping to create and then coordinate the FPC over the years was crucial.

The regular availability of an experienced and knowledgeable outside consultant, Robert L. Wilson, has also been extremely important. In addition to his role in helping to establish the FPC, he has drafted the charges for the advisory committees, prepared initial drafts of the annual report, helped to organize annual retreats, and helped to organize various hearings and workshops. It has been very important to have this independent source of ideas, evaluation, and judgement to help identify longer-term needs and opportunities for the FPC.

The result of all of these efforts is that the FPC has been able to involve and coordinate the efforts of many more individuals, volunteer groups, and public agencies than would otherwise have been the case. This means that much more has been accomplished in terms of providing/maintaining food-related social support systems than would otherwise be the case. This coordination and leveraging
of informal and formal resources is not easy to document nor portray. While the FPC has clearly been able to strengthen the social support systems in Knoxville, it has done less with environmental problems or environmental support systems.

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A. The FPC has helped to increase food availability and quality in the public schools. The FPC was an important part of the drive to require all schools to offer a school breakfast program. It has monitored school lunch programs to assure their availability and nutritional quality. It also pushed vigorously to have the schools hire a school nutrition educator. While the Knox County School Board authorized such a position in 1989, it still has not been funded.

B. The FPC has helped to improve access for inner city poor to reasonably priced and nutritious food. The FPC addressed this challenge by encouraging new studies and bringing together previous studies on the number and types of food outlets in the inner city - something that highlighted the decline in small grocery stores and the increase in convenience stores. Perhaps most importantly, the FPC was the main catalyst for bus route changes which provide better access for inner city poor to outlining supermarkets (and jobs). It has also encouraged experimental programs with K-TRANS and local supermarkets to make transport of groceries easier on buses through the use of bus racks and folding carts. Finally, beginning with the planning for the World's Fair, it has repeatedly urged the creation of a downtown farmers' market - with the latest call appearing in its most recent annual report.

C. The FPC helped to bring food into the planning process and reports of the Metropolitan Planning Commission (MPC). MPC reports now contain a section entitled "food, health and social services." These efforts were facilitated by the presence of a MPC staff liaison person on the FPC. The FPC has also sought to get other public and private agencies to include food issues in their planning process.

D. The FPC has monitored and encouraged efforts to strengthen the emergency food programs in Knoxville. The Emergency Food Helpers network has focused on food pantries and food assistance with the support of CAC's Nutrition Project. Community gardens have also been encouraged. As one observer noted regarding food availability, "Knoxville is better off now than 10 years ago. It is better off than East Tennessee, and much better off than the average U.S. city."

E. The FPC has drawn upon its advisory committees both for recommendations and programs. It requested that its Nutrition and Health Advisory Committee prepare a report on food-related health problems. The resulting report (1984) provided the basis for many projects and activities, both by the committee and the FPC. One of these, the Calorie Conscious Consumer, asked restaurants, grocery stores, and other institutional food suppliers and servers to encourage the consumption of low calorie, nutritious food. Awards were given in each category.

F. The FPC has testified at various public hearings dealing with food issues. Besides testifying on the need for the school breakfasts and nutrition education, it has publicly supported efforts to increase direct food support programs, to remove the sales tax from food, and to support better food labeling requirements. It has also organized its own hearings on local food issues.

G. In October of 1988, the FPC issued a major report setting out twenty-nine specific policy goals aimed at implementing the five broad goals of the FPC. This report and the other activities led and/or coordinated by the FPC have generally made food and nutrition issues more visible in Knoxville.
H. As a pioneer in dealing with local food system issues, the FPC has gained national and international attention among those interested in such issues. The FPC in many ways served as the model for the U.S. Conference of Mayors project which established food policy councils in four other cities. It also provided training to representatives of thirty cities involved in the 1986 Hands Across America project. Also, Dixie L. Petrey was asked to present a paper at a 1987 World Health Organization meeting on "Healthy Cities" held in Australia.

Summary: The FPC has been able to put food issues on the public agenda in a way that was not possible previously. This results from its different capabilities and roles: 1) its catalytic and coordinating role in getting public agencies and private volunteer groups to cooperate in pursuing food related policies; 2) its role in expanding the decisionmaking and planning horizons of the different agencies that it works with - for example, the local school board, the transit authority, the public housing board, and the Metropolitan Planning Commission; 3) its public educational role, where in developing the kind of programs described above, it has helped to educate the general public to the various food and nutrition needs of Knoxville; and 4) its role in legitimizing the work and efforts of others working on food issues.

THE SOURCES OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

There are a number of sources of the above accomplishments. First, there has been a high degree of continuity and support from the inter-agency staff. Particularly important were the dedication, enthusiasm, and administrative skills of Dixie L. Petrey, who recently retired. She had very limited staff time allocated to her for FPC activities. Fortunately, her successor apparently will have a larger portion of her time allocated to the FPC. Second, the ideas and proposals provided by the FPC consultant, Robert Wilson, have been crucial, not only in the creation of the FPC, but in encouraging a broad-gauge approach to the food system. Third, it is clear that most members of the FPC have taken their volunteer job very seriously and have devoted significant amounts of time and effort to promoting the FPC and its programs. The contributions of the FPC members has derived in part from their having been carefully identified (with staff and FPC input) and well briefed before their official nomination and appointment. This process was not used in 1989 with some negative results. Fourth, the annual retreat for the FPC members and staff has been very important in evaluating programs and developing priorities for the future. It also helps to keep a healthy balance between the FPC members and the staff. This retreat should be continued and every effort made to encourage all FPC members and inter-agency staff to attend, including the City's Director of Policy Development and Human Services herself as well as her Assistant. The written annual report is very important, both as a record and as a way of keeping the City Council informed of FPC activities and the larger food system needs of Knoxville. As suggested below, it might be useful to have a presentation and discussion of the annual report with the MPC.

ISSUES NEEDING CONTINUING OR ADDITIONAL WORK

A. Efforts to get the school nutrition coordinator position filled. In addition to continuing these efforts, there would seem to be quite a bit of potential to go beyond the purely nutritional aspects of this effort to include other complementary educational possibilities. Specifically, school garden and composting programs would get students more involved not only the sources, quality, health, and nutrition of their food, but would have science and social studies benefits as well. The Grow Lab and Life Lab programs (mainly K-6) have a long and well developed history in doing this.11 Also, it was reported that the Mount Olive school has a composting program. One possibility here might be to create a new "food and nutrition education advisory committee" that would be composed of teachers,
perhaps a university environmental studies professor or student, a couple of people from the gardening community (perhaps a Master Gardener), the nutrition coordinator, etc.

Another possibility would be to encourage the nutrition coordinator to improve the nutritional quality of the meals being served. When I met with a former Knoxvillian, Pat Snyder, in St. Paul, MN, she indicated that they have developed school lunch recipes which reduce the fat and salt content of school meals. A final problem noted by one person is that the school breakfast/lunchroom atmosphere is one of noise and chaos and that since the teachers no longer have monitoring duty, there is little nutrition guidance, much less guidance on reasonable behavior at meals. What to do about this is a difficult question.

B. Inner city food access. Now that bus routing has been improved, it would be useful to look down the road to see how access can be linked with inner city neighborhood redevelopment -particularly in the Five Points and Mechanicsville areas. Consideration might be given to trying to expand the non-profit mini-market concept that Knoxville Community Development Corp. (KCDC) has supported in one of its housing projects for the elderly. The basic parameters in access are: locational access, temporal access, and access to quality foods, particularly fresh produce and meats. The county should be encouraged to speed up its consideration of a satellite farmers market in the downtown area. Consideration might also be given to a "Tennessee Fresh" program (modeled on those of Massachusetts and Michigan whereby local produce is so labeled). A complementary program is one where recipients of food stamps and WIC coupons can use them at local farmers markets. This benefits both those receiving assistance and local producers.

C. Malnutrition and diet issues. As the Nutrition and Health Advisory Committee has recognized itself, there is still much work to be done here. After developing, promoting, and then spinning-off their Calorie Conscious Consumer program, they have been updating their 1984 report to identify new needs. One area where there might be a greater emphasis is on healthy-sized portions (with restaurants offering two sizes for major entrees, with the smaller costing less). A slogan for the "all you can eat" places might be: "A healthy-sized serving is one that doesn't go either to waist or waste."

D. Emergency food coordination. The role of the FPC in monitoring the emergency food system seems to be working well overall. It gets occasional reports both from the CAC Nutrition project and from the Emergency Food Helpers network. It can also serve as a forum for discussion of related issues. As a joint sponsor of just launched campaign to make Knoxville and Knox County a "Hunger-Free Zone," the FPC might seek to develop programs educating the public not only on the emergency food system, but on some of the linkages between hunger, poverty, poor nutrition and poor health, neighborhood and inner city decline, declining federal and state funding, etc.

E. Land issues. While trying to save farmland is very difficult and long-term, it may be useful to try to continue to give this a bit of publicity. In addition to the preserving farmland, it might be useful to add some discussion on how to make city/county land available for gardens on a long-term basis - either through leases or through the creation of a land trust.

F. The sales tax on food. While this has gotten tied up with more general tax and reform issues, it is an important and basic issue. Even though removal of the sales tax on food would mean tax losses to local jurisdictions, the basic need and equity dimensions still would seem to call for continued efforts to promote this reform - which would save the poor the equivalent of roughly one month's worth of food.
EMERGING AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

A. Current national trends are likely to further undermine the "safety nets" provided by the city's informal natural and social support systems. Declining federal and state support will increase the need for greater self-reliance for all local food systems (household, neighborhood, and metropolitan). The challenge is to try to maintain current support systems as much as possible, while building the foundations of greater self-reliance - all at a time when most people do not see any immediate or pressing need to do so. This means current perceptions of problems (hunger and poverty) and solutions (emergency feeding programs and welfare) will need to shift to the opportunities in local economic development, energy efficiency, and environmental improvement that would result from pursuing a self-reliant strategy based upon the World Health Organization's "healthy cities program."

B. In terms of the emergency feeding system, I got conflicting views. One person indicated that Knoxville has been able to hold its own over the past ten years and that while current funding levels need to be maintained, there is no need for expansion. Another indicated that the demand upon local food pantries has increased greatly the past couple of years. Another indicated that calls for assistance had gone up from 6000 in 1984 to 22,000 in 1990. Part of the reason the first person may not have seen an emerging problem stems from the increased efficiency of SHARE (the local food bank) over the past several years where deliveries have increased from 960,000 pounds delivered in 1988 to 2,400,000 in 1991 (est.) while the cost per pound to deliver this food has decreased from 19.5 cents per pound in 1988 to 11.5 cents per pound in 1991 (est.). Reductions in the cost/pound are clearly leveling off - which means that any future increase in demand for food will increase the cost to SHARE's various funding agencies roughly in proportion to the increase in demand.

C. In terms of building new foundations or frameworks for the future, these need to be cast in terms of energy and resource efficiency and environmental soundness for natural support systems and in terms of equity and greater community self-reliance for social support systems. Specific foci might include: work on how composting and other ways to handle food system wastes can be increasingly integrated into recycling and solid waste programs. Since Knoxville has already gained recognition from the World Health Organization's "healthy cities" program, updating and localizing their concepts might offer a good way to link and publicize various issues - and perhaps to build some new coalitions. Open hearings on how to make Knoxville a "healthy city" might be one way to do this.

In terms of social support systems, it would appear that providing increased access and quality of food for daycare children and for the elderly will require additional attention. Currently KCDC is trying to ensure that its daycare centers offer the equivalent of school lunches (and breakfasts). One challenge is how to extend this to private day care centers that don't have the staff to handle the federal reporting requirements.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS MADE ABOVE:

A. Attendance at FPC meetings: If the current meeting schedule changes do not work, consideration might be given to making by-laws changes to address the problem or to increasing the visibility of the FPC so that potential nominees are aware of it and will want to serve on it.

B. Membership on the FPC: The earlier practice of including one City Council member on the FPC has now been re-established and should be continued. Consideration should be given to including members concerned about farming and environmental issues.
C. Size of the FPC: If the work load of the FPC increases, consideration might be given either to increasing its size to nine or to broadening and strengthening the advisory committee structure.

D. New Advisory Committee: Create a new "food and nutrition education advisory committee" that would be composed of K-6 teachers, perhaps a university environmental studies professor or student, a couple of people from the gardening community (perhaps a Master Gardener), the nutrition coordinator, etc.

E. Food access: Consideration might be given to trying to expand the non-profit mini-market concept that Knoxville Community Development Corp. (KCDC) has supported in one of its housing projects for the elderly. Also, the county should be encouraged to speed up its consideration of a satellite farmers market in the downtown area.

F. Education and visibility: As a joint sponsor of just launched campaign to make Knoxville and Knox County a "Hunger-Free Zone," the FPC might seek to develop programs educating the public not only on the emergency food system, but on some of the linkages between hunger, poverty, poor nutrition and poor health, neighborhood and inner city decline, declining federal and state funding, etc.

G. Food wastes: The FPC needs to explore how composting and other ways to handle food system wastes can be increasingly integrated into local recycling and solid waste programs.

ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS:

A. Advisory Committees. Review the role and function of the FPC's advisory committees. The FPC has been well served by the reports and programs developed by its Health and Nutrition Advisory Committee. Its new Food and Nutrition Audio-Visual Advisory Committee appears to be off to a promising start. And the revised Statement of Purpose (August 20, 1991) for the Food Industry Advisory Committee suggests a revival there. While it is very important to have a committee such as this to express the views and needs of the food industry, the FPC should find a way to examine and discuss the implications of any and all advisory committee recommendations for the total food system, including food access, local jobs, food system sustainability, and local self-reliance.

These committees might broaden their activities as follows. The Health and Nutrition Advisory Committee might address the issues of food access for daycare centers and the elderly identified above.

As mentioned in Recommendation D above, an education-oriented advisory committee is needed to try to bring together teachers, environmentalists, gardeners, and nutritionists to create school garden and composting programs and healthier school meals. The new Food and Nutrition Audio-Visual Advisory Committee might well be gradually transformed into that broader Food and Nutrition Education Advisory Committee.

Finally, in the longer term, an advisory committee which would address issues of food and the environment should be considered. The FPC would benefit from greater links with the environmental community. Issues which this committee might address could include food waste recycling, composting and solid waste issues.

The above ideas and recommendations might well be considered at the next annual retreat of the Food Policy Council.
B. Public Visibility. Plan a major public event to gain greater visibility for the FPC. To be meaningful, this would need to be combined with a review of past programs, discussion of how to deal with emerging and future challenges, and an attempt to bring in new people through existing or new advisory committees. As part of this, the FPC might try to get a University of Tennessee student (or class) to do a detailed history of the FPC. In any case, it would be valuable for the FPC to update the excellent flyer prepared some years ago describing its history, role, and activities. Also, a set of orientation materials for new Council and advisory committee members would be helpful. These might include photos, news clippings, program summaries, annual reports, etc.

C. Garden Programs. Seek to broaden and strengthen current household and community garden programs. CAC's receipt of a special Community Development Fund grant will go a long way in providing the staff time to coordinate actions between CAC, KCDC, and public housing officials. Efforts are also needed to expand these programs beyond inner city and poverty groups. What the FPC might focus on is how to make city and/or county land available for gardens on a long-term basis - whether through leases or a land trust.

D. Relations with area governments. The FPC addresses its annual report to the Mayor, the City Council, and the people of the city. However, its activities really affect the entire county. In the longer term, the FPC should explore ways to build stronger links with county agencies, difficult as this may be. Not only are political jealousies involved, but important issues of race and class.

While one person suggested the idea of a "Metropolitan Food Commission," any such possibility seems unlikely in the next few years. Also, such a commission would not have the "leverage" which the MPC has in terms of its zoning and permit powers. Thus, it would appear useful to strengthen the already good ties with MPC. This might be done by scheduling an annual presentation (based around the annual report) before the MPC - something which would also give the FPC greater visibility.

E. Neighborhood Development. Encourage greater inclusion of food access and garden issues in community and neighborhood development or redevelopment efforts. This might be done in cooperation with both the KCDC and the MPC.

F. City Support. The City Council and the Mayor should consider modestly increasing the staff and budget resources it provides the FPC to help increase its scope, efficiency, and effectiveness. The current very modest support is being used very effectively, but as indicated above, there is a great need to build the foundations now for the greater self-reliance which will be required before many more years. Since the FPC deals with only one part of this, the City should be encouraged take the lead and to strengthen its own research capabilities as they relate to the broader issues of food, sustainability, and local self-reliance more generally. The city might also explore participating in the World Health Organization's Healthy City Program.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS:

Through steady and persistent work, the Knoxville Food Policy Council has built up a wealth of knowledge and experience on the Knoxville food system. It has experimented with a number of approaches to better coordinate and encourage the activities of public and private agencies, schools, neighborhood groups, and citizens concerned about food and hunger issues. It has accomplished a great deal. Curiously, its local visibility and recognition is less than it has earned nationally and internationally. Perhaps most significantly, its accomplishments are a primarily a result of local efforts, with only occasional external support. Its work has been pioneering since there have been few other
examples for it to draw upon. Hopefully this report will help the FPC gain the greater local recognition it deserves.

REFERENCES

1. This report is based upon work supported by the Ethics and Values Studies Program of the National Science Foundation under Grant No. DIR-9022243. The government has certain rights in this material. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.


3. Their thoughtful comments and suggestions have greatly improved earlier drafts of this report and have helped me to avoid errors and misinterpretations. Any that remain are my responsibility. Also, I would like to thank all those that I interviewed and/or talked with on the phone. They gave me a much better sense of the dynamics and issues facing the Food Policy Council than would otherwise have been the case.


5. A study done in Philadelphia included horticultural jobs and sales as part of the local food and fiber system - thus giving even higher figures on the economic importance of this sector. See Ross Koppel, Agenda for Growth: The Impact of Food and Agriculture on the Economy of the Delaware Valley, Philadelphia, PA: Food and Agriculture Task Force, 1988.

6. The following draws upon the October 1988 flyer, "Food Policy Council of the City of Knoxville" and the chapter by Dixie Lea Petrey (op cit., 1990).

7. This study was originally published in 1977 by the Graduate School of Planning, University of Tennessee, and was later reprinted by the Cornucopia Project. See Blakey, R. C., et al., "Food Distribution and Consumption in Knoxville. Exploring Food-Related Local Planning Issues," Emmaus, PA: Cornucopia Project of Rodale Press, 1982.

8. These criteria are contained in the "Proposal for a Food Policy Council for the City of Knoxville," prepared by an Interagency Working Group composed of representatives from: Community Action Committee (lead agency), Dept. of Community and Economic Development, and the Metropolitan Planning Commission, February 16, 1982, and are summarized in the October 1988 flyer, "Food Policy Council of the City of Knoxville."


11. These educational programs have been developed with support from the National Science Foundation as a way of trying to make elementary science curricula more interesting and relevant for students. The Grow Lab program is an indoor program using a lighted box and was developed in cooperation with the National Gardening Association. The Life Lab program is an outdoor program.