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Journal of Planning History published online 10 October 2013
DOI: 10.1177/1538513213507541

Article

Journal of Planning History
00(0) 1-22

DOI: 10.1177/1538513213507541
jph.sagepub.com
SAGE

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Abstract

Urban planning practitioners and academics generally view food system planning as a recent area of study, originating little more than a decade ago. Yet, food planning has a long and multifaceted history. Though not theorized as food system planning in most of the secondary literature in planning history, it is not hard to find when we look, even at some of the most familiar, seminal plans and scholarship in planning history. In this article, we trace the broad continuities and major changes in North American food planning, focusing on physical planning, regional economic development, and community economic development from the age of colonization to the present. The planners of early American cities necessarily organized urban environments and metropolitan infrastructure around agriculture, and some helped to build an international food economy. Since the nineteenth century, professional planners and their grassroots counterparts have struggled to manage the challenges posed by the industrial food system and society, in which the place of agriculture in the city is more ambiguous and contested.

Keywords

food system, agriculture, land use planning, economic development, community development

Locating Food in Planning History

Food system planning is a newly popular, emerging area of planning practice. Yet, virtually all aspects of food planning today have substantial antecedents in the first generation of professional planning a century ago.[1] In earlier eras, too, colonial and nineteenth-century planning were centrally concerned with managing and regulating the food system, though in different ways. This article traces the broad continuities and discontinuities in American food planning history, from colonial to early professional planning with a brief reflection on practice today. We focus on physical planning, regional economic development, and community economic development, which elucidate the wide range of planners' concerns, roles, and interventions in the food system.

The history of food planning is "hidden" in at least two ways. First, it has not been an explicit focus of planning historians. Recently, however, scholars of community gardening, food markets,

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and public health have found that food production, distribution, and safety were major concerns of early professional planners in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[2] Agriculture also features prominently in the canon of planning history, especially in the colonial era. Yet, planning historians have not theorized this as food system planning, partly since this concept is new to scholars today, and also due to some historians' narrow definitions of planning limited to physical design. This reflects a divide among planning historians, as in recent years some scholars have framed a much wider range of activities as planning, including community and economic development and social activism.[3] This relates to the second way that food system planning is "hidden," often in a set of nontraditional planning institutions and movements outside of municipal planning departments or physical planners' studios.

The scope of food system planning encompasses practically all subfields of planning, some of which have been examined more than others by planning historians.[4] In its focus on agriculture,[5] food planning is intimately tied to land use, environmental, and regional planning. In its concern for food access, safety, and justice, it represents a key dimension of community development and health.[6] Issues of food distribution and trade tie food planning to transportation and infrastructure planning and economic development. Today and in other eras, food planners have often viewed these activities systematically, producing an integrated, even holistic, theory and sometimes practice.[7]

The history of food planning in the United States reveals a long trajectory characterized by significant discontinuities. We focus on two formative periods of North American food system planning, the colonial era and the rise of professional planning a century ago. In both eras, food and agriculture were important parts of physical planning, regional economic development, and strategies to combat poverty and inequality. Yet, the regional and global political economic, environmental, and social context of American cities, their food systems, and their planning of course differed markedly between these two eras.

In the colonial age, agriculture was necessarily central to urban environments and their planning, and some colonies and their commodities played important roles in the Atlantic food economy. Early settlements' "foodsheds" (a term coined in the 1920s) were "semiclosed," or mainly local, for basic reasons of colonists' survival.[8] Food and agriculture were also the basis for many colonies' expansion. Especially in the north, provincial and local authorities tasked surveyors—the closest antecedent to physical planners—to lay out cities, villages, and the roads between them to grow and sustain food production, processing, and export.

The interrelated dynamics of industrialization and mass urbanization across the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries prompted the greatest discontinuity in American food system planning. Local authorities removed agriculture and allied industries from central cities (this is the subject of our companion paper in this themed issue on food planning); and wage earners began buying more of the food they consumed. Early professional planners a century ago faced an increasingly dispersed and industrialized food system. Like prior generations, they focused on securing cities' food supply, regulating markets and health, and food relief for the poor. But planners of the modern metropolis also sought to link more distant producers to local consumers and define the more limited and ambiguous place of agriculture in new urban and suburban environments. (These concerns all occupy food planners in "postindustrial" cities today.)

However, in the mid-twentieth century, food system planning largely disappeared from the profession, partly thanks to planners and to the food industry, which eclipsed the local and regional contexts in which planners typically intervened. Food processors, supermarket chains, and agricultural economists and public health professionals assumed a greater part in planning and managing the food system. Although grassroots community economic development institutions remained deeply involved in food planning, city planning departments played limited roles in planning for food systems, beyond the still important work of zoning for retail, wholesale, and port and

warehouse districts. These are big reasons why food system planning today seems a new phenomenon (and the term *food system planning* is indeed new to planners' parlance).

The next two sections, on colonial and early national eras and on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, explore how the food system was at times central to the concerns, visions, and interventions of land use and physical planning, regional economic development, and community economic development. We examine what the planning history literature says about food and agriculture, reviewing the record scholars have already uncovered, especially in the colonial era. Further analysis of plans, laws, marketing tracts, conference proceedings, reports, and civil society institutions expands this narrative to illuminate the broad contours of American food planning history.

Early American Food Planning

The planning and development of the American colonies, like imperial projects around the globe, necessarily involved food planning at the local and regional level and to varying degrees also at the transatlantic scale. Environmental historians have demonstrated how agricultural crises in Europe inspired colonists to build what Alfred Crosby has termed "neo-Europes," replicating the agricultural landscapes from whence they came.[9] This was the era when city and regional planning was inescapably most concerned with agriculture and food supply—a necessary element of colonists' basic survival, a draw for future settlers, and a central part of provincial authorities and allied merchants' visions for many colonies' roles in the Atlantic economy.

Planning historians have defined colonial planning in terms of physical and land planning—for John Reps, "ideas of the proper patterns of streets, building sites, and open spaces and the institutional arrangements of land tenure"[10]—and this reveals much about the food environment. In a still-agricultural society where food production and processing pervaded city and country alike, planning was intrinsically focused on the food system. Indeed, agriculture is by no means "hidden" in the secondary literature on this era.

In the English provinces, agricultural settlement was the dominant mode of colonization, producing regional landscapes of farming hamlets, market towns, and port cities, all with residential garden plots and commons for pasturing animals. Farming "formed the base for the New England community," Reps notes, where "the word 'town'" meant "the entire community of village lots and farm fields."[11] Surveyors arranged farm allotments to minimize villagers' journey to work, facilitate access to water, and maximize farm productivity.[12] Colonial authorities' land plans and policies incentivized the growth of peri-urban agriculture and its ties to the city. From Savannah to Pittsburgh and Kentucky, colonial and early national plans for cities and towns tied ownership of surrounding farmland to investment in central city properties (Figure 1).[13]

Across different European powers, planning for agriculture and food systems shared great similarities, but plans and urban development also varied with distinct modes of colonization and regional ecologies. In Canada, Maine, and Louisiana, French planners laid out farm hamlets that resembled the British plans.[14] But with fewer settlers, French missions, forts, towns, and plantations clustered along rivers, their plans oriented more to water transport and their economies and diets more to fishing (Figure 2).[15]

Although Spain's imperial economy focused less on food products than England or France, the Spanish settlement system made securing a local food supply similarly central to planning and development. The Laws of the Indies required that lots in pueblos be tied to surrounding farmland with "prescribed duties of cultivation."[16] The first full version of these laws in 1573 dictated that developing farms was colonists' second task (and main activity) in establishing a new town, fort, or mission, after building a defensive wall or trench and before erecting dwellings or public buildings.[17] Ordinance 16 (of the 148) stressed the need to learn about local foods with the help of

Figure 1. Thomas Holme, *A map of the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (London: Robert Greene, c. 1705). Library of Congress. Detail showing farming hamlets planned and developed in the hinterland of Philadelphia. Colonies' land marketing and tenure systems created regional hierarchies of cities, towns, and smaller places whose place in the region and its economy was largely defined by its agricultural and related processing activities.

Figure 2. Detail of Carte du cours du fleuve St. Louis depuis dix lieues audessus de la Nouvelle Orleans jusqu'à son embouchure ou sont marquées les habitations formées, et les terrains concedez [i.e. concédés], auxquels on n'a pas travaille, c. 1732. Library of Congress. This map of the Mississippi River around New Orleans shows the early French division of agricultural lands along the river.

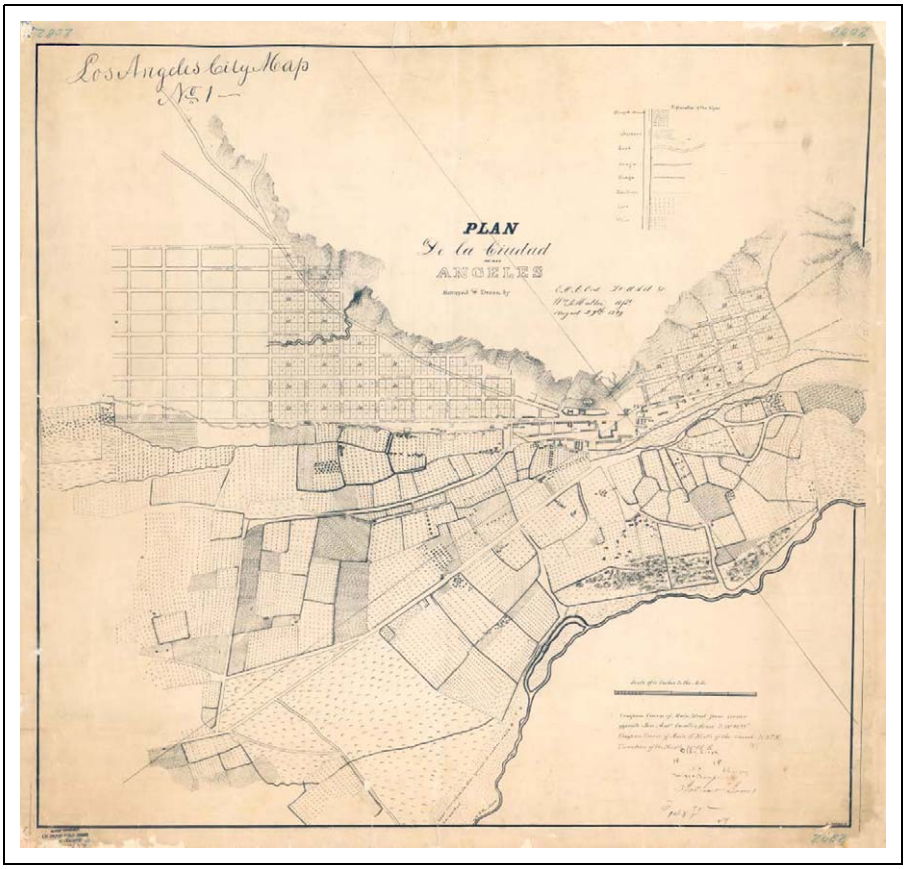

Figure 3. Edward Otho Cresap Ord and William R. Hutton, Los Angeles city map no. 1, 1849. Los Angeles Public Library map collection. The first Anglo-American map of the pueblo of Los Angeles shows vineyards, cornfields, and gardens surrounding the streets, churches, and building lots in town.

Indians. Number 18 expounded on "the dangers of running out of foodstuffs and what to do" in cases of shortage.[18] Ordinance 122 proscribed the siting of "slaughter houses, fisheries, [and] tanneries" so "that the filth can easily be disposed of," while ordinance 129 directed, "a commons shall be delimited" for recreation and pasture.[19] Later Spanish ranching created a new type of agricultural settlement that shaped urbanization from Colorado to Chile and by the late nineteenth century largely defined the geography of beef production for the cities of America and Europe (Figure 3).

While this narrative of physical planning and urbanization patterns illustrates many of the ways colonial powers ensured sufficient food supply in early American cities, following the proprietors, surveyors, merchants, and others who planned early cities and regions in some of their "less spatial" pursuits reveals an even deeper and broader engagement with the food system, especially in the British colonies. Like food planning, economic development is discussed at length but not much theorized by historians of colonial planning.[20] Economic policies, plans, and related interventions were often reflected in maps, but were more often and more explicitly written in incorporation documents, marketing tracts, and laws that shaped key aspects of the food system. Port and market inspectors made up much of early cities' tiny public sector, and much of their work concerned food trade, health, and safety.[21] Significantly, investors in colonies' land and mercantile, agricultural, and allied

enterprises were often the same people inspecting ports and markets, drafting physical plans, and laying out roads, towns, and farms.[22]

Colonial proprietors, provincial authorities, and merchant investors from Georgia to New England tied regional economic development to various models of agriculture, food and non-food, with free, slave, and indentured labor. They planned farming districts and infrastructure to attract settlers who would clear the land, push back the frontier, and funnel surplus crops to the ports to grow export economies. Some provinces, especially in the North, promoted craft and processing industries that added value to food and other products of farms, fisheries, and forests before they were sold locally or shipped from the port. Industry fueled economic specialization and diversification and largely explained, in the words of geographer Carville Earle, "why tobacco stunted the growth of towns and wheat grew them into small cities."[23] Choices to grow different crops also shaped the geography of food supply and demand on the Atlantic coast, creating large markets in the South for Mid-Atlantic wheat, New England fish and rum, and other edible imports.

The agricultural crises of Europe, coupled with concerns about the colonies' own food security, inspired divergent visions of American agricultural markets, from local seclusion to large export economies feeding people across the ocean. At one extreme, Swiss baron Christoph von Graffenried marketed his 1705 venture of New Bern in North Carolina as an agricultural paradise isolated from the pitfalls of Atlantic mercantile trade:

> The Planter sits contented at home, whilst his Oxen thrive and grow fat, and his Stocks daily increase; the fatted Porkets and Poultry are easily raised to his Table, and his Orchard affords him Liquor so that he eats, and drinks away the Cares of the World and desires no greater Happiness, than that which he daily enjoys.[24]

To be sure, colonies' ability to procure sufficient food supply figured prominently in planning for big and small places alike. But most of the proprietors and merchant investors who wrote the rules and underwrote the settlement and "improvement" of England's North American colonies envisioned the export of agricultural surplus as the basis of regional economic development.

More typical in plan and practice was the mixed food economy—of indigenous and European foods, local sufficiency, and export of agricultural surplus—envisioned by William Penn and the merchants who invested in Pennsylvania. In the 1680s, Penn advertised the province by touting its diverse natural edible wealth: "the Fruits ... I find in the Woods, are the White and Black Mulbery, Chestnut, Wallnut, Plumbs, Strawberries, Cranberries, Hurtleberries and Grapes of divers sorts," in addition to fish and animals to hunt. He celebrated local soils' ability to support all the crops of Northern European agriculture, for local consumption and export. His marketing and policies promoted food production and value-added processing as the bases of economic development.[25]

By the mid-eighteenth century, with drought and food shortages in Europe, Pennsylvania became the breadbasket of the Atlantic, with civic institutions that continued to tie agriculture to economic development. The region's merchants, elite farmers, and "scientific men" (who were also often its political leaders) promoted research, product development, and metropolitan infrastructure via the American Philosophical Society's Committee on Agriculture in the 1760s, the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture in the 1790s, and the University of Pennsylvania's Faculty of Natural Sciences and Rural Economy in subsequent decades.[26] These institutions' efforts to generate, formalize, and disseminate knowledge to promote economic development are a key part of the prehistory of professional food system planning.[27]

Other institutions reveal the early history of *community* economic development focused on food and agriculture, including visions of food justice. Some historians have interpreted resistance by slaves and pirates as mobilization against exploitative imperial food and agriculture systems.[28] More formal institutions of urban and rural reform in the early national and antebellum periods confronted

Figure 4. Waupun Prison garden, c. 1870. Wisconsin Historical Society. This view of the garden shows its arched trellis with vines and men hoeing vegetable beds beneath the prison walls.

slavery and women's rights partly through the food system. For example, the free produce movement of mainly Quakers in Philadelphia, Delaware, and Baltimore built what today we term "fair trade" networks, buying cotton and food crops from freedmen and from white farmers who used only free labor. The Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania noted, "there are many persons who, while they deplore the existence of Slavery, indirectly contribute to its support and continuance by using articles derived from the labor of Slaves." It promoted markets for freedmen's goods in the moderate and naive hope to "gradually establish a conviction in the minds of those who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage, that their own interests would be promoted by the increased quantity, and more ready sale, of their produce, resulting from the change of the condition of their Slaves into that of hired Freemen."[29] Other abolitionists sought to elevate the status of "women's work," casting cooking as a science, as Catharine Beecher argued in *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*.[30]

More mainstream efforts to address poverty in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century illustrate the enduring but shifting role of food and farming in the history of poor relief and community development (or social planning). Outdoor relief by government and elite reformers in this era, though small in scale, included distribution of food as well as fuel and other household necessities.[31] However, cities' encouragement and toleration of poor residents' vegetable gardens and keeping of pigs, cows, sheep, and chickens enabled far greater food production and distribution among the poor themselves (see our companion article). Meanwhile, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, residential institutions for the poor—including prisons, poorhouses (or almshouses), and asylums—almost always obliged inmates to farm. In addition to providing their own food, this hard labor aimed to punish prisoners and to discourage dependency among the poor (Figure 4).[32]

The expansion of the poorhouse—also called the *poor farm*—in mid-nineteenth-century America signaled vast transformations in the food system and society. The growth of wage labor and mechanization drew and pushed people out of agricultural work and into cities; and it removed vital income from farm families previously engaged in manufacturing at home. As farm size grew and employment per acre fell, farm laborers "were left to beg, steal, or go to the poorhouse," wrote one newspaper editor in western New York in 1857.[33] The growing ranks of economically insecure families, including immigrants displaced from farming in Europe, frequently moved between cities and regions, often without enough food. The poorhouse thus became a crucial source of emergency food relief. And the poorhouse farm became a tragic and ironic institution, using agriculture to discipline people displaced from agricultural livelihoods.[34]

However, industrial wealth drove even more sweeping changes in the food system and urban society, creating a distinct context for food planning in the modern metropolis. As people of all classes purchased a rising share of their food, the growth of global and industrial food through firms like United Fruit and Campbell's Soup further alienated cities and their residents from their sources of food. Early professional planners' concern for securing enough food to support the urban masses thus resembled colonial planners' designs in only the broadest sense. And like urban society in general, city planning would no longer focus centrally on agriculture, though many early planners imagined otherwise.

The Rise of Professional (Food) Planning

Planners and allied professionals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century held a keen interest in the many dimensions of the food system, as it embodied many of the foremost challenges of the modern metropolis. Key figures in the "pantheon" of planning advanced visions of local and regional food environments and sought to define explicit roles for the profession in the food system. Outside of cities, planners helped develop farming settlements and cooperatives that challenged dominant paradigms of suburbanization and the increasingly industrial food system.[35] This all amounted to a diverse practice of early professional urban food planning, though with ambiguous and ultimately declining ties to agriculture.

While early professional planners struggled with the place of agriculture in the modern city, they more easily embraced their role in shaping metropolitan food economies and supply chains. Food distribution, markets, and safety motivated their regional plans, infrastructure proposals, zoning regulations, and foodshed studies, and found an eager audience among planners' allies in government and chambers of commerce.[36] Some planners, but more allied professionals and institutions, continued to promote urban agriculture in places and times of economic and food insecurity. Settlement houses and schools ran urban gardening, cooking, and other food programs;[37] and the poorhouse farm persisted though its mission changed from punitive to reformative. This social work (or social planning), however, became increasingly divorced from traditional planning practice in mid-twentieth-century America.

Histories of early professional planning highlight urban reforms closely related to the food system, but like colonial planning histories they rarely frame them as food planning. Jon Peterson finds planning's "antecedents" in the sanitary reform, landscape design, and civic art movements.[38] Reps defines early professional planning in the terms of architects and reformers of the urban environment focused "directly on forms, patterns, locations, and interrelationships of streets, public and private building sites, parks and recreation areas, shopping and industrial districts." Few of these planners, he notes, "would recognize today's expanded definition of the field." Instead, "the questions to be answered all revolved around the issues of how best to arrange land and buildings to meet the needs of a modern urban civilization."[39] Yet, physical planners and planning in this era engaged deeply, and often holistically, with the problems of the food system.

Agriculture profoundly influenced the lives and designs of many of the most prominent early professional physical planners in the nineteenth century. Frederick Law Olmsted, Robert Morris Copeland, and George Waring dabbled in experimental agriculture or "scientific farming." The animal pastures and dairies Olmsted planned in city parks preserved aspects of agriculture to support park maintenance and to distribute milk to poor mothers and children. Waring's innovations in sanitation—based on his experiments in farm irrigation—revolutionized food safety in the industrial city.[40]

British city planning around the turn of the twentieth century likewise remained tied to agriculture. Farming cooperatives were a central feature of Raymond Unwin's early garden cities, providing food and maintaining the landscape around new suburban homes. Ebenezer Howard's vision for the ideal garden city covered the entire food cycle, with the "waste products of the town ... readily brought back to the soil, thus increasing its fertility." Five-sixths of its area consisted of an agricultural greenbelt localizing a large proportion of food production and accommodating institutions for the poor and disabled, each with its own farm. The "30,000 townspeople to be fed" could "of course ... get their food stuffs from any part of the world," Howard wrote, noting the garden city's farmers "are hardly likely to supply them with tea, with coffee, with spices, with tropical fruits or with sugar." Still, he optimistically emphasized, "the farmer of Garden City has a market at his very doors, and this a market which the rent he contributes will help to build up."[41]

In America, however, garden cities lacked working farms, and early professional planners struggled to solve fundamental tensions between agriculture and urbanization in both the suburbs and central city. From their first conference in 1909, they complained of speculation in farmland outside of cities.[42] To tax farmland as potential development plots would drive farming further from cities and generate congestion, averred Bolton Hall in his paper on the "Roots of Congestion."[43] In his introductory address at the following year's conference, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., highlighted the practice in Pennsylvania, where "within city boundaries, vacant fields held for speculative purposes are commonly taxed as agricultural property," partly to spur urbanization and end speculation.[44] Planners ultimately excluded farming from city zoning codes, to further incent development and combat nuisances of animal agriculture.[45]

Yet, early-twentieth-century planners and public officials in the United States did seek to define limited spaces and vital roles for agriculture in the city. As evidenced in early national planning conferences, this was part of determining what should constitute public spaces, amenities, and social programs. Architect Frank Miles Day questioned whether cities should locate public dairies and libraries or private pumping stations on public squares.[46] Boston Mayor John F. Fitzgerald decried urban populations' increasing isolation from nature and food production. He "suggested to the park department" of his city "that it set aside a space in one of the city parks for the growing of cereals such as corn, wheat, oats, rye, and buckwheat, as well as garden vegetables, and ... conferred with the chairman of the school board on the question of having a class in agriculture."[47]

Gardens figured largely in early planners' visions of the residential environment, and some proposed they could help ease congestion, yet opinions diverged regarding whose homes should have gardens. For suburbanites, planners at the early conferences in the United States agreed that gardens were an important amenity, including for cultivating vegetables and fruit.[48] But they debated whether slum dwellers wanted gardens, could maintain them to be aesthetically pleasing and still produce food, or if other strategies would ease congestion more effectively. Benjamin Marsh lamented the fact that tenement dwellers had little space to garden.[49] English town planner Thomas Adams agreed, when "you go down into these slums ... you will find people trying to grow potatoes in a box one foot square ... and these people will tell you that they are living under these conditions only because they cannot do otherwise."[50] Yet, Raymond Unwin cautioned against gardens for the poor, since "it is difficult to prevent some evil-minded persons from erecting stables or shacks at the back of the house."[51]

Figure 5. Group portrait of children carrying baskets of vegetables for the poor standing on the steps of the Western Settlement House in Chicago, Illinois. *Chicago Daily News*, 1917. Library of Congress. Settlement house food programs included gardens, community kitchens, milk sterilization, and food preservation, cooking, and distribution.

Some early conference attendees promoted and planted gardens at settlement houses and schools as part of a larger set of community food and feeding programs. In 1912, Congregationalist minister Newell Dwight Hillis of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn railed against the "poor and insufficient food" among the working class in Europe and New York. "You cannot build boys and girls without fresh air, exercise, and good food," he averred.[52] In cities across the United States, from the late nineteenth century, settlement house workers planted children's gardens, established kitchens and child welfare stations, and ran cooking classes that promoted a Progressive Era version of nutrition.[53] "Farm colonies" were a central part of William Booth's 1890 plan for a self-help welfare state, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, and his Salvation Army established urban poor farms in California, Colorado, and Ohio.[54] Settlement house workers in the United States participated in the school garden movement of the 1890s to 1920s.[55] Women in the allied Home Economics Movement cast home cooking as a profession and started cooking schools. More radically, Charlotte Perkins Gilman pushed cooperative kitchens as a way to remove cooking from the home and remake gender roles.[56] Social workers attended the first national conference in 1909, but thereafter largely split with physical planners and remained isolated in their own profession, which would run most formal food relief and community food programs across the twentieth century (Figure 5).

Farms and gardens also persisted at the poorhouse and prisons into the mid-twentieth century. Progressive politics recast them in more restorative and less punitive terms than reformers of the mid-nineteenth century. At the 1917 conference, the mayor of host Kansas City boasted, "We have a Welfare Board here which handles the 'down and outs' of the town, and we have established out on the edge of town a municipal farm of some 200 acres; and that Board is doing a great work in taking these men ... and starting them on the road to become useful citizens."[57]

Yet as a widespread strategy of community economic development, American city governments deployed urban agriculture mainly in times of crisis, as Laura Lawson has shown in *City Bountiful*.[58] During the depression of the 1890s, Detroit Mayor Hazen Pingree's "potato patches" and Philadelphia and New York's Vacant Lot Cultivation Associations expanded household and market gardening. Many sites were developed when real estate markets revived. The federal, state, and local governments supported large-scale vegetable production in parks and vacant spaces during World Wars I and II, and in similar gardening programs of the Great Depression. Some planners expressed unease about these programs, and in the 1940s they developed what Sarah Moore has called a "crisis narrative of the garden" that cast gardening in the city as a temporary measure that contradicted the norms of modern markets and urban development.[59]

Professional planners in the early twentieth century embraced more unreservedly their role in supporting the efficient functioning of metropolitan food distribution and markets to ensure sufficient food supply for a consumer society. At the national conference in 1913, New Yorker George Ford argued that among "the significant facts" that planners of "the city scientific" must collect was data about "food supply markets."[60] Milo Maltbie, New York's Public Service Commissioner, declared, "it is essential ... that in every plan of city development provision should be made for a prompt and cheap method of distribution," that "must go to every home, and consequently the facilities for distribution must reach every part of the city."[61] At the 1916 conference, the secretary of the Chicago City Club put it similarly: "City planning means better food for the urban community by facilitating its transport from farm or truck garden, warehouse, or market, to the kitchen."[62] This integrated vision of metropolitan food supply became an important part of regional economic development and infrastructure planning in the 1910s and 1920s.

Planners set about estimating the amount of food needed to feed metropolitan populations, in support of regional infrastructure and economic development proposals. They paid attention to rising international trade in food, including large US investments in Central and South American agriculture.[63] Increasingly dispersed foodsheds inspired planning for ports and rail links to distant places, as New York and other metropolises sourced most of their food from outside state boundaries as early as the 1850s. More proximately, within cities' own regions where planners enjoyed greater influence, much of the produce grown rotted before it arrived on consumer's plates. Planners envisioned strategies to maximize cities' yield from regional agriculture and cut this substantial waste, largely by facilitating wholesale and retail delivery to consumers and by reforming city markets and their regulation.[64] Thomas Adams, transplanted from England to Canada and later the Regional Plan Association of America (RPAA), repeatedly raised such issues in arguing for improved regional road systems.[65]

Farmland preservation quickly became a critical part of the regional visions of Adams and others. In 1919, he proposed using zoning to protect agricultural lands with particularly valuable soils "to encourage the maximum of agriculture production" and protect scenic landscapes.[66] Through the 1920s, planners advocated compact urban development leaving room for farms, sometimes with greenbelts and prohibition of even new farm buildings' construction.[67] By the 1930s, planners were discussing farm financing and the links between industrial areas and farming zones as ways to preserve farms and their relevance in metropolitan economies.[68]

For Adams' colleagues in the RPAA, agriculture was an important part of the cooperative community economic (and food) systems they promoted. In 1914, nine years before the RPAA formed,

Benton MacKaye proposed a new federal agricultural settlement policy in which, "under the cooperative principle the unit of development is not the farm but the community." In his scheme, government would be responsible for site planning and development, to promote environmental conservation and the viability of small farms. One of the four central features of his Appalachian plan, the RPAA's first project, was food and farming camps where cooperative production, cooking, and eating resembled Hudson Guild Farm where he lived and RPAA members met.[69]

RPAA members and other prominent planners advanced visions of agriculture in cities through the 1920s and 1930s, though in increasingly abstract fashion. In his 1922 book, *The Story of Utopias*, Lewis Mumford cast the classical Greek agricultural city as a utopia, contrasting it with the city of machines and industry as a dystopia generating unnaturally high population density.[70] That same year, Le Corbusier's *Contemporary City* proposed three zones of food production in agricultural towns ringing the city.[71] A decade later, Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City plan, influenced by his experience of his grandparents' farm, envisioned modern homes surrounded by expanses of farming.[72]

New Deal subsistence homesteads and Greenbelt towns of the 1930s were the fullest realization of American planners' designs for agricultural settlements in this era. The first homestead built, in 1934, followed John Nolen's earlier plan for the "farm city" of Penderlea, North Carolina, a project devoted to "scientific agriculture" that aimed to combat the social isolation of farmers (Figure 6).[73] For the planners of the 1930s Greenbelt towns and homesteads, these were a communitarian project of cooperative living and a way to include industrial workers and their families in suburbanization—in Rexford Tugwell's words:

> . . . the farmer exchanging the fruits of his labor directly for the wages of industry. The industrial worker, living in an environment far superior to that he normally is used to and provided with a partial anchor to windward through the opportunity to grow some of his own food.[74]

As Americans spent one third or more of their income on food in the mid-1930s, a large vegetable garden and sometimes a cow and hens could make a major contribution to the household budget, especially if, as planners imagined, wives would stay home.[75] However, in a familiar pattern, when prosperity returned after World War II, the 34 subsistence homesteads and three Greenbelt towns that were built became an anomaly in suburban development that increasingly sprawled across former farmland, with little planning to preserve agriculture in suburban America until the late twentieth century.

A bigger, more continuous, and more "hidden," history of planning for agriculture and food systems from the late nineteenth century to the present exists in African American community economic development.[76] Beginning in the South and moving to the North in the twentieth century, black movements and institutions built larger systems of cooperative work and land ownership than most professional planners achieved, in a fight for basic rights and survival under Jim Crow and later discrimination. The Colored Farmers Alliance, formed in 1886 to help black farmers sustain their claims to land, counted over 1.2 million members five years later.[77] The Farmers Home Improvement Society, established in 1890, supported home and farm ownership, provided technical assistance in farming as well as health benefits, and ran an agricultural college and a cooperative business that distributed to and from many of its 21,000 members across Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas by 1909.[78] George Washington Carver's Jessup Wagon, designed at the suggestion of Booker T. Washington, was a "moveable school" for rural blacks across the South. By 1930, it carried agricultural and home demonstration agents, a nurse, and an architect to help with home economics and building along with farming.[79]

Although most of these efforts faded in the mid-twentieth century, a new generation of community and economic development institutions replaced them and continued their cooperative efforts to

Figure 6. "C. D. Grant, homesteader, enlists aid of his neighbor to butcher hogs for the winter, Penderlea Homesteads, North Carolina." Photograph by Arthur Rothstein, December 1936. Library of Congress. Farming, food processing, and meal preparation were often done cooperatively in homesteads like Penderlea.

build land and food sovereignty among African Americans. These included the Federation of Southern Coops, Southern Rural Black Women's Initiative, and New Communities, formed by civil rights leaders in the 1960s as the first community land trust in America. Sociologist Monica White has traced networks of people, ideas, and strategies that suggest these institutions and others like them represent an enduring history of black food justice movements that extend through the Black Panthers' breakfast program to urban farmers in Detroit and other cities today.[80]

By contrast, traditional planning institutions largely ignored the food system for a generation or more in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Despite the growth of multiple, active threads of food planning in early-twentieth-century planning research and practice, by the end of the century professional planning institutions did relatively little to envision or shape metropolitan food systems. As suggested above, in the words of Jerome Kaufman and Kami Pothukuchi, two planning academics who reintroduced planners to the food system, planners' conception of "urban" land uses "came to be defined ... as non-agricultural, thereby conceptually distancing food as an urban issue."[81] Twentieth-century planners' success in regulating agriculture out of cities and suburbs removed landscapes of food production from planners' visions—and people's experience—of urban life.

The continued industrialization of the food system in the twentieth century played an equally important role in planners' exit from food planning. As detailed in the other articles in this issue, planners helped enable the rise of big business in farming, food processing, and retail, which in turn helped render city planners seemingly obsolete in the food system. Even more than in earlier eras, private companies, their transportation, food preservation, and logistics systems, structured increasingly dispersed landscapes of production and distribution. As Gregory Donofrio shows, planners helped dismantle central city food markets in the post–World War Two decades. By the end of the

century, though, food planning became ''hidden'' in institutions like the US Department of Agriculture, rural extension services, and the corporations of the increasingly global and consolidated food industry.[82] The ironies and inequities of American food policy, its support for corporate control of food, and consumers' alienation from the sources of our food all helped inspire urbanists to launch a new era of food planning in recent years.

What's Old about the New Food Planning

Food system planning in the United States today shares many of the concerns and aspirations of earlier eras, though some issues, interventions, and institutions are new. The ''hidden'' qualities of the industrial food system, with its unpronounceable ingredients of untraceable origins, are central to many planners' problem definition, resembling to some extent early-twentieth-century worries that the supply chains feeding cities were becoming less proximate and transparent. Environmental and health crises are familiar motivations, as are fears about food safety, even if today's preoccupations of climate change, peak oil, and obesity differ from earlier patterns and problems of food scarcity and injustice.[83] The American Planning Association has endorsed multifaceted roles for planners in the food system, echoing but surpassing the scope of planners a century ago.[84] Yet, the place of agriculture in American cities remains ambiguous, reflecting enduring tensions between traditional and grassroots food planning.

Among physical planners, food planning is part of two overarching trends in planning over the last generation—toward interdisciplinary practice and promotion of more organic, mixed-use urban forms—both of which have shaped planners' recent focus on food access and sustainability. Community food assessments in ''food deserts'' and ''food swamps'' offer one sign of the broader rapprochement of planning and public health, which grew up together in the nineteenth century but largely split in the twentieth century.[85] Facility with geographic information systems and other data-rich tools has given planners today key roles in research and design for food access and healthy environments. Design for urban agriculture, however, largely remains in a more speculative phase, most starkly so in schemes for ''vertical'' skyscraper farms.[86]

As in the early twentieth century, food system planners today are advancing ambitious visions of regional land use and provisioning. American cities' comprehensive and sustainability plans now typically include goals for food and farming inside and often beyond city limits.[87] A growing proliferation of foodshed studies and plans echoes early professional planners' concerns about metropolitan food supply. So do their support of farmland preservation and farm-to-city provisioning networks, whether farmers markets, community-supported agriculture, or local food hubs that link hinterland producers and urban consumers.[88] Rural sociologists have theorized these pursuits as ''civic agriculture,'' a suite of strategies to localize and repair the social, economic, and environmental fabric and transparency of regional food systems.[89] In inner cities, planners and institutions like The Food Trust are helping rebuild and transform food retail through supermarket financing, healthy corner store programs, farmers markets, and mobile markets.[90]

Mainstream planners have embraced urban agriculture in plans and regulatory changes, partly as a strategy for remaking vacant land after deindustrialization, though community-based organizations and food justice movements continue the pattern of nontraditional planning institutions leading much of food planning (Figure 7). New urban farms, gardens, and community kitchens represent some of the most promising forms of social enterprise, somewhat like vacant lot cultivation of earlier generations.[91] Planners and local governments have responded with substantial support, seeking to reintegrate food practices they zoned out a century ago, as cities from Cleveland to San Diego have liberalized their regulations for agriculture and vending.[92] Yet, many planning and redevelopment officials still view urban farms and gardens as ''interim'' land uses, inspired partly by recent research showing that gardens raise nearby property values.[93] Only a few cities have large, citywide

Figure 7. The French Potager Garden cultivated by Growing Power's youth program in Grant Park, Chicago. Photograph by Domenic Vitiello, 2012. Like cities in the United Kingdom, some North American cities have integrated vegetable and fruit production into public landscapes.

community land trusts preserving community gardens and farms, notably Seattle's P-Patch system and NeighborSpace in Chicago.[94]

Food justice movements in the United States are perhaps more vital today than ever, though it remains an open question whether their urban agriculture and community food projects can be more socially and economically transformative than those of earlier eras. Urban agriculture's most ardent boosters claim it has the potential to alter the distribution—and the meanings—of wealth, especially in response to economic and environmental crises.[95] While this has happened in Cuba and some cities in Argentina, Brazil, and elsewhere in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, urban farming and gardening in North America remain an important but limited, inadequate strategy for combating poverty.[96] The spike in food insecurity in the United States since 2008 has inspired some Americans to produce their own food, but far more have joined the consumer base of people using food stamps and emergency handouts from commodity surplus programs that academics and activists have condemned for reinforcing inequality.[97] The contemporary food relief system is mainly a product of the War on Poverty and the 1980s, but this contested politics of entitlement, entrepreneurship, and food sovereignty of course have a longer history.[98]

Food system planning is among the most dynamic "new" directions in planning, though it has yet to tackle some of its oldest problems. Urban agriculture and food projects offer community economic development institutions opportunities to build food and land sovereignty, even as the place of agriculture in cities and suburbs remains ambiguous and debated in many places. In the suburbs,

issues of taxation and speculation in farmland remain largely unresolved, as most American regions' continued sprawl suggests.[99] Planners and allied scholars have theorized the many neighborhood and regional level benefits associated with food production, distribution and access, finding that as in earlier eras, food planning holds out the promise of solving global and national problems through a wide range of interventions.[100] Reflecting larger patterns in planning history, however, the power to develop and regulate the food system still rests largely with public health officials and multinational food corporations. How these and other tensions play out will determine the extent to which planners can influence the food system and employ food planning to achieve social, environmental, and economic goals at the community, regional, and larger scales. For a contemporary generation of planners, though, it seems that at least for now, food planning is no longer a ''hidden'' part of the profession.

Acknowledgments

The authors wish to thank the anonymous reviewers of the journal as well as Gregory Donofrio and Laura Lawson for their generous feedback on earlier drafts of this article; Michael Katz, Jon Peterson, Bruce Stephenson, and Amanda Wagner for helpful tips about planners' past involvement in farming and food systems; William Keller for his gracious assistance at the University of Pennsylvania's Fine Arts Library; and Chris Silver for shepherding this themed issue of the journal.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Like contemporary practitioners, we employ the terms *food system planning* and *food planning* as synonyms.
2. Laura Lawson, *City Bountiful: A Century of Community Gardening in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Lawson, ''The Planner in the Garden: A Historical View of the Relationship of Planning to Community Garden Programs,'' *Journal of Planning History* 3, no. 2 (May 2004): 151–76; Sam Bass Warner, *To Dwell Is to Garden: A History of Boston's Community Gardens* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987); Gregory Donofrio, ''Feeding the City,'' *Gastronomica* 7, no. 4 (2007), 30–41; Helen Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Judith W. Leavitt, *The Healthiest City: Milwaukee and the Politics of Health Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Jennifer Lisa Koslow, *Cultivating Health: Los Angeles Women and Public Health Reform* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Daniel Eli Burstein, *Next to Godliness: Confronting Dirt and Despair in Progressive Era New York City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), chapter 3 on ''pushcart policy''; For the United Kingdom, see Carolyn Steel, *Hungry City: How Food Shapes Our Lives* (London: Random House, 2009); Joe Howe, Katrin Bohn, and Andre Viljoen, ''Food in Time: The History of English Open Urban Space as a European Example,'' in *Continuous Productive Urban Landscapes: Designing Urban Agriculture for Sustainable Cities*, ed. Viljoen, Bohn, and Howe (London: Elsevier, 2005), 95–107. Outside of but allied with planning history, scholarship in urban history and geography has also explored food systems relatively rarely, leaving the topic mainly in the realm of ecologists and engineers, rural historians, and historians of imperial economies. Recent work in historical ecology includes Dennis P. Swaney, Renee L. Santoro, Robert W. Howarth, Bongghi Hong, and Kieran P. Donaghy, ''Historical Changes in the Food and Water Supply Systems of the

New York City Metropolitan Area," *Regional Environmental Change* (2012) online first: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10113-011-0266-1; Gilles Billen, Sabine Barles, Josette Garnier, Joséphine Rouillard, and Paul Benoit, "The Foodprint of Paris: Long-term Reconstruction of the N Flows Imported into the City from Its Rural Hinterland," *Regional Environ Change* 9, no. 1 (2008): 13–24; Christopher Kennedy, John Cuddihy, and Joshua Engel-Yan, "The Changing Metabolism of Cities," *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 11, no. 2 (2007): 43–59. Rural agricultural histories include Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Geoff Cunfer, *On the Great Plains: Agriculture and Environment* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005). William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: Norton, 1992) and Richard Walker's *The Conquest of Bread: 150 Years of California Agribusiness* (New York: New Press, 2004) are exceptional in their focus on agriculture's role in urbanization. Recent literature on imperialism and the early globalization of food includes Kenneth Kiple, *A Movable Feast: Ten Millennia of Food Globalization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (New York: Walker, 1997); Virginia Scott Jenkins, *Bananas: An American History* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2000).

3. For more traditional definitions of planning, see in particular John Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Jon Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States, 1840-1917* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). For other scholars' broader definitions and analysis of newer areas of planning historiography, see, for example, Leonie Sandercock, ed., *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Robin Bachin, "City Building as Community Building: Re-visioning Planning History," *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 3 (2002): 235–39; Max Page and Randall Mason, eds., *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Domenic Vitiello, "Re-forming Schools and Cities: Placing Education on the Landscape of Planning History," *Journal of Planning History* 5, no. 3 (2006): 183–95.
4. Urban gardening and markets have been most thoroughly explored by planning historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while Reps has written copiously on colonial planning for agriculture. See, for example, Lawson, *City Bountiful*; Donofrio, "Feeding the City"; Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-century America*; John Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).
5. In this article, "agriculture" refers to *production* (other definitions include processing and distribution).
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7. For statements of the scope and roles of food planning in North America today, published by the American Planning Association (APA), see Jerome Kaufman, Kami Pothukuchi, and Deana Glosser (in consultation with APA members), "Community and Regional Food Planning: A Policy Guide of the American Planning Association," formally adopted by APA Legislative and Policy Committee and chapter delegates, at the 2007 APA national conference, Philadelphia; Samina Raja, Brandon Born, and Jessica Russel, *A Planners Guide to Community and Regional Food Planning: Transforming Food Environments, Facilitating Healthy Eating* (APA Planning Advisory Service, No. 554, 2008).
8. A *foodshed* refers to the geography from which a city or town's food supply is derived. "Semiclosed" or "localized" food supply means a city or town gets the great majority of its food supply from its own region, producing all that it can locally and importing only foodstuffs that cannot grow in its region.

9. Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983).
10. Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America*, 3; also, John Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972). Francois-Auguste de Montequin's work focused mainly on the design of civic and military architecture; yet, elements of Spanish colonial cities' food environments are also discernible in his work. Francois-Auguste de Montequin, "El proceso de urbanizacion en San Agustin de la Florida, 1565-1821: Arquitectura civil y militar" *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 37 (1980): 583–647; and "Campeche: Evolution of a Fortified Colonial City," *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians* 33, no.3 (October 1974): 240.
11. Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 120.
12. Ibid., 129, 150.
13. Ibid., 186, 206, 210.
14. Ibid., 59, 73.
15. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession.*
16. Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 30–54, the quote is from 54. "Ordenanzas sobre Descubrimientos Nuevos y Poblaciones [July 13, 1573]," in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relatives al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones espaiiolas de America* . . . , ed. Joaquin F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cardenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza (42 v., Madrid, 1864–1884), VIII, 484–537, XVI, 142–187, partially translated in Zelia Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying-out of New Towns," HAHI, IV (November 1921), 743–53, V (May 1922), 249–54.
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21. William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1996); Tangires, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*.
22. Vitiello, *Engineering Philadelphia*, chapter 1.
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29. *Constitution of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: D&S Neall, 1827), 1.
30. Catharine Beecher, *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (Boston: Webb, 1841); also Sarah Josepha Hale, *The Good Housekeeper* (Boston: Otis, Broaders, 1841); Lydia Maria Child, *The American Frugal Housewife* (Boston: Marsh and Capen, and Carter and Hendee, 1829).
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35. Hal S. Barron, *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation of the Rural North, 1870-1930* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1997), chapter 2.
36. Donofrio, "Feeding the City."
37. Lawson, *City Bountiful*.
38. Peterson, *The Birth of City Planning in the United States*. A broader alternative view of planning's nineteenth-century origins may be found in Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America.*
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43. Hall, "Cutting the Roots of Congestion."
44. Frederick Law Olmsted, "Introductory Address on City Planning," *Proceedings of the Second National Conference*, 28.
45. See our companion article, "From Farm to Nuisance," in this issue of the *Journal of Planning History*.
46. Olmsted, "Introductory Address on City Planning," 63.
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48. See, for example, remarks of George Sturgis of the Boston chapter of the American Institute of Architects, in *National Conference on City Planning* (1915), 15; also John Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), chapter 8.
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58. Lawson, *City Bountiful* and "The Planner in the Garden"; Warner, *To Dwell is to Garden*.
59. Sarah Moore, "Forgotten Roots of the Green City: Subsistence Gardening in Columbus, Ohio, 1900-1940," *Urban Geography* 27, no. 2 (2006): 174–92.
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61. Milo Maltbie, "Transportation and City Planning," *Fifth National Conference on City Planning* (Cambridge: University Press, 1913), 117–18.
62. *Planning Problems of Town, City, and Region* (Cambridge: University Press, 1916), 269.
63. At the fourth national conference in 1912, Hillis urged fellow delegates to consider a question that "may seem far afield from city planning," but which he argued was vital to continuing the project of urban and national growth. With US investments in agriculture and infrastructure in Central and South America, "We are going to control more than half of the farm lands of the globe, and the United States will be rich beyond the dreams of any people in the world." *Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference on City Planning*, 103.
64. Donofrio, "Feeding the City."
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81. Kameshwari Pothukuchi and Jerome L. Kaufman, ''Placing the Food System on the Urban Agenda: The Role of Municipal Institutions in Food Systems Planning,'' *Agriculture and Human Values* 16 (1999): 213–24.
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83. On the environmental and health issues raised by the industrial food system, see, for example, Brian Halweil, *Change on the Horizon: A Scan of the American Food System* (Washington, DC: Worldwatch, 2005); Danielle Murray, *Oil and Food: A Rising Security Challenge* (Washington, DC: Earth Policy Institute, 2005); Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006).
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