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# Can a Farm-to-Table restaurant bring about change in the food system?: A case study of Chez Panisse

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## ABSTRACT

This research examines the extent to which a Farm-to-Table restaurant prompted social and ecological changes in the food system. Chefs and restaurants are uniquely positioned to both generate consumer interest in certain foods and motivate farmers to grow such products. Despite their central role in Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), the influence of restaurants on farming practices and the re-localization of food sourcing is under-explored. In this research, we used archival document review, interviews, surveys, and social network mapping to understand the mechanisms by which direct market connections between farmers and the Chez Panisse restaurant grew over time and influenced farmers' growing practices. Founded in Berkeley by Alice Waters in 1971, Chez Panisse is frequently credited with pioneering the Farm-to-Table model and spurring the slow, local, and organic food movements. Our study suggests that Chez Panisse inspired farmers toward more sustainable agriculture practices, but the restaurant was not the only influential actor in the network. We found that local food hub managers and the restaurant's "foragers" were key intermediaries. Our findings demonstrate that social embeddedness in AFNs is pertinent to fostering sustainable agriculture, the long-term survival of network actors, and network growth.

## KEYWORDS

Alternative food networks; restaurants; farm-to-table; direct-to-consumer; sustainable agriculture; chefs; California; social network analysis; social embeddedness; local food systems

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Q2 **Acronyms:** AFN: Alternative Food Network; DTC: Direct-to-consumer; CSA: Community-Supported Agriculture

## Introduction

A Los Angeles Times article titled, "She yanks their food chains" asserted that Alice Waters "insisted on grass-fed beef, and now it's on menus everywhere" (Kraft 2010). Journalists have labeled Alice Waters as a "food revolutionary" and the "mother of the organic food movement" (Burros 1996; Montagne 2007). Such stories simplify a complex history of interpersonal relationships between farmers, the restaurant community, local food hubs, and sustainable agriculture movements. To better understand such narratives, this research traced the origins and expansion of Chez Panisse's network of purveyors over nearly a 50-year period and examined the complex mechanisms by which this network prompted changes in agricultural practices. Chefs and restaurants are uniquely positioned in the food system to both generate consumer interest in certain food quality

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attributes and motivate farmers to grow such products (Inwood et al. 2009). Despite their central role, the influence of restaurants on agriculture and the re-localization of food sourcing is under-explored (Inwood et al. 2009; Nelson, Beckie, and Krogman 2017; Starr et al. 2003). 40

This research contributes to a body of scholarship that broadly examines change-making mechanisms of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs). AFNs seek to counter the alienating tendencies of the globalized industrial agri-food system by reconnecting producers and consumers, conserving local food culture, and fostering environmental sustainability. Multiple scholars have interrogated the extent to which AFNs have the political potential to transform social and ecological relations in the food system (Hinrichs 2003; Macias 2008; Parkins and Craig 2009; Selfa and Qazi 2005; Starr 2010) and whether they can mitigate or reinforce the logics of the capitalist market economy (Galt 2013; Galt et al. 2016; Guthman 2014). Scholars have examined the ways in which direct-to-consumer (DTC) markets in AFNs foster a “re-embedding” of market transactions in social relations (Hinrichs 2000; Labelle 2004; Macias 2008; Murdoch, Marsden, and Banks 2009; Starr 2010) and enable financial support for sustainable agriculture practices that emphasize agrobiodiversity, conservation, and soil regeneration (Kloppenborg, Hendrickson, and Stevenson 1996; Schoolman 2018). Building off of Polanyi’s (1944) and Granovetter’s (1985) work, Hinrichs (2000) applied the theory of social embeddedness to DTC markets, showing that although the extent of social embeddedness varies among different AFN models, DTC relationships have the potential of fostering a sense of reconnection that can encourage sustainable agriculture practices. The rationale is that when producers and consumers have close social relationships, producers are more likely to incorporate consumer feedback relating to product quality, environmental stewardship, animal welfare, and food safety. 45 50 55 60

Founded by chef Alice Waters in Berkeley, CA in 1971, Chez Panisse is considered the pioneer of the Farm-to-Table restaurant model and the hallmark for the slow and organic food movements (Chesbrough, Kim, and Agogino 2014; Goldstein 2013; Kim 2013). Really, Alice Waters did not set out to become a “revolutionary” (Goldstein 2013) but was inspired by French Nouvelle Cuisine, to prioritize seasonal ingredients in the restaurant menu (Barber 2015; Fairfax et al. 2012). In seeking unique, seasonal, and high-quality ingredients, Waters and her collaborators focused on a menu that showcased California’s *terroir* (taste of place). The restaurant menus gave credit to the farms that supplied the ingredients, a practice that added a sense of place to the cuisine that was later dubbed, “California Cuisine” (Fairfax et al. 2012). As Chez Panisse celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 2021, it joins the rank of a few long-lived service-businesses (Luo and Stark 2014). The longevity of Chez Panisse, their focus on direct food purchasing practices, and the expansion of multiple restaurants with similar models and values (Chesbrough, Kim, and Agogino 2014), leave many wondering about the material food system changes prompted by this phenomenon. 65 70 75

While cross-sectional case studies have helped test the correlation of socially embedded food networks with sustainable agriculture practices (Brinkley 2018, 2017), longitudinal in-depth case studies are needed to better understand the degrees of embeddedness and evolution over time of these networks. In this research, we trace over forty years of Chez Panisse’s direct relationships with agricultural producers (here thereafter referred to as “farmers”)<sup>1</sup> to query the influence of these farmer-restaurant 80 85

relationships on agriculture systems. This study combines social network mapping and qualitative analysis to understand the particular opportunities and tensions in Farm-to-Table connections. By reviewing the origins and expansion of farm-restaurant connections and analyzing the social embeddedness characteristics of these ties, we can assess the ways in which the Farm-to-Table restaurant model can be beneficial and/or challenging for both restaurants and farmers, and the extent to which they can foster sustainable agriculture systems. 90

## Methods

This study used a mixed-method approach, involving archival document review, semi-structured phone interviews, online surveys, social network mapping and visualization, and additional in-depth interviews for verification. This research traces 40 years of Chez Panisse's local food sourcing to examine the relationships between the restaurant and its purveyors over time. Data collection for this research primarily took place between June-October 2018. Sampling for this study was focused on producers of raw agricultural products (including vegetables, seeds, fruit, dairy, and meat) who have supplied to Chez Panisse at any point since its establishment. Sampling did not include purveyors who exclusively supplied processed or value-added products to the restaurant (e.g., wine). Most scholarly and popular media accounts of Chez Panisse have centered the perspectives of the restaurant's staff. In contrast, our research privileges the perspectives of the farmers. 95 100 105

To build a database of farms that have supplied raw agricultural products to Chez Panisse between 1981 and 2018, we triangulated archival documents, information from the restaurant, interviewees, and publicly available information on official websites. We reviewed the Chez Panisse purveyor lists from 1991 and 1995 and anniversary brochures from 1991 and 2001 in the archives of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. These records provided information on purveyors, such as their year of establishment, acreage, and what they produce. We also reviewed restaurant menus from 1973 to 2007, correspondence between farmers and Alice Waters, advertising posters for restaurant events, and pieces of journalistic media featuring the restaurant. In addition, the Office of Alice Waters provided a list of current purveyors compiled by chefs and buyers. We built a dataset of purveyors of agricultural products to Chez Panisse ( $n = 114$ ), which was coded by their type of production (i.e., produce, meat, dairy, specialty products) and the decades in which the farmer-restaurant relationship was active. 110 115

We conducted semi-structured interviews with farmers over the phone (see [Appendix A](#) for interview questionnaires). The design of the interview questionnaire was informed by the theoretical framework of social embeddedness in the context of direct agriculture markets (Hinrichs 2000). As such, we asked about how the purveyor relationship with Chez Panisse originated and developed, and the extent to which it influenced their production, acreage, and/or market channels. We initially recruited 79 farmers that were still active in 2018 and had a prior or current relationship with Chez Panisse via e-mail. We performed phone interviews with 20 farmers. In efforts to reach a higher response rate, we also created an online survey version of the interview questionnaire (see [Appendix B](#)), which yielded 9 responses. In total, we had a response rate of 40%. We used 120 125

qualitative thematic coding to analyze the responses to interviews and open-ended 130  
questions in the surveys. Interviews were coded according to five characteristics of social  
embeddedness that were outlined by Uzzi (1997). In addition, we found emerging themes  
that related to key intermediaries in the network and to specific ways in which farmer-  
restaurant relationships influenced farmers' production (what they produce and their  
growing practices). 135

In addition to qualitative analysis of farmer responses, we utilized social network  
mapping to visualize the interconnected relationships among actors affiliated with Chez  
Panisse. This analysis revealed certain actors who were identified as key connection-  
makers between farmers and the restaurant, which contributed further nuance to the  
analysis of farmer-restaurant relationships. Social network analysis (SNA) is an emerging 140  
method in local food systems scholarship (Brinkley 2017; Trivette 2018; Brinkley,  
Manser, and Pesci 2021; Luxton and Sbicca 2021). Social networks are composed of  
actors (nodes) and the relationships between actors (edges) (Marin and Wellman 2014).  
Qualitative approaches to social network analysis (SNA) focus on the meaning of ties  
between actors and are helpful tools to describe network structures and validate network 145  
data (Hollstein 2014). The combination of qualitative methods and SNA "enriches  
understanding of how respondents characterize structural aspects of the network, such  
as clusters and connected individuals, as well as further explains how actors come to  
occupy such positions" (Luxton and Sbicca 2021). We applied an egocentric analysis,  
which focuses on the network that surrounds one node (Marin and Wellman 2014) – in 150  
this case, the ego is Chez Panisse. The nodes were coded according to their main identity  
within the network (e.g., farm, restaurant), and the edges were coded according to the  
types of relationships that they represented. We used Gephi, a social network analysis  
software, to visualize the network and identify hubs.

We analyzed farmer-restaurant relationship dynamics in a subset of Chez Panisse 155  
network actors ( $n = 44$ ) but could not ascertain the representativeness of the portion of  
this study in relation to the broader network of restaurant purveyors. To this end, the  
farmers who were willing to participate in the study may not be representative of the full  
set of purveyors to Chez Panisse. The network map was primarily constructed based on  
producer responses to the question, "how did you get connected with Chez Panisse?" 160  
This information was added to the network map and triangulated with archival and  
online materials. We also conducted in-depth interviews with two actors who were  
repeatedly mentioned by interviewees for their key roles as connection-makers: Sibella  
Kraus and Bill Fujimoto (see [Appendix A](#) for interview questionnaires). In these inter-  
views, we asked questions about their ties to Chez Panisse, and their opinions about what 165  
farmers have said about this restaurant. Responses to these interviews were used to verify  
and support the analysis of farmer responses, as well as the social network visualization  
findings.

## Findings

At the time of the restaurant's establishment in 1971, Berkeley, California was at the 170  
epicenter of environmental and social movements that had emerged in the 1960s.  
Around this time, Chez Panisse became an important hub in Berkeley's broader social  
movements, acting as a salon that brought together artists, politicians, and thinkers

(Chesbrough, Kim, and Agogino 2014; Fairfax et al. 2012). In the first few years, the restaurant's focus was on finding local and seasonal ingredients. In 1985, Alice Waters shifted the focus of the restaurant from local to sustainably grown, or "organic," ingredients. In 1992, Alice Waters became the first woman to receive the prestigious James Beard Award as Best Chef in America. In 1995, Alice Waters and the Chez Panisse Foundation started the Edible Schoolyard, a food literacy program that started in Berkeley and since then has achieved a nation-wide reach. In 2002, she became the vice president of Slow Food International, an organization that works to preserve local food traditions and counteract the rise of fast food. In addition to their efforts to promote local and sustainable food purchasing among restaurants, this restaurant has also supported former staff in creating their spinoff businesses, which follow similar local purchasing practices (Chesbrough, Kim, and Agogino 2014; Nicholas 2021). Chez Panisse was and remains a benchmark for the local and slow food movements, and the Farm-to-Table restaurant model.

In this section, we first provide an overview of how Chez Panisse started and expanded its relationships with local farmers. We then examine the social embeddedness characteristics of farmer-restaurant relationships and the extent to which having a relationship with Chez Panisse influenced farmers' production and agricultural practices.

### *The origins and expansion of Chez Panisse's network of purveyors*

Through archival document review, we were able to identify the number of purveyors to Chez Panisse throughout the decades, as well as the types of products that they supplied. We found that overall, the majority of Chez Panisse's purveyors have been crop-producing farms, representing 60% of their supplying producers in the 1980s and 70% in the 2010s (Tables 1 and 2). We were able to identify 14 farmers who supplied Chez Panisse during the first few years of their establishment, in the early 1970s. This number

**Table 1.** Suppliers to Chez Panisse by decade.

| Type of supplier        | 1980s     | 1990s     | 2000s     | 2010s      | Total (1980s-2010s) |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| Farm                    | 15        | 71        | 44        | 81         | 114                 |
| Food hub                | 1         | 4         | 4         | 4          | 4                   |
| Individual <sup>a</sup> | 0         | 3         | 1         | 24         | 28                  |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>16</b> | <b>78</b> | <b>49</b> | <b>109</b> | <b>146</b>          |

<sup>a</sup>Purveyor lists from the 1990s and 2010s (the most current one) included names of individual people that we could not find online. It is likely that some of these individual names have been people who grow crops in urban backyard gardens, but this is not confirmed.

**Table 2.** Distribution of production of supplying farms over time.

| Farms' supply                      | 1980s     | 1990s     | 2000s     | 2010s     | Total (1980s-2010s) | Survey/ interview participants |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Produce (fruits and/or vegetables) | 9         | 41        | 29        | 57        | 77                  | 20                             |
| Meat                               | 6         | 20        | 11        | 14        | 24                  | 8                              |
| Dairy                              | 0         | 5         | 1         | 2         | 5                   |                                |
| Dairy & Meat                       | 0         | 3         | 2         | 3         | 3                   |                                |
| Dairy & Produce                    | 0         | 1         | 1         | 1         | 1                   |                                |
| Specialty                          | 0         | 1         | 0         | 3         | 3                   | 1                              |
| Unknown                            | 0         | 0         | 0         | 1         | 1                   |                                |
| <b>Total farms</b>                 | <b>15</b> | <b>71</b> | <b>44</b> | <b>81</b> | <b>114</b>          | <b>29</b>                      |

grew considerably over time. By 2019, the number of supplying farmers had increased nearly six times, with the most dramatic expansion in the 1990s (Table 1). The full database of Chez Panisse suppliers, food hubs, foragers, and chefs includes 177 connections among 151 network actors. Table 2 shows the distribution of types of production among supplying farmers throughout time, as well as the frequency of product types for the suppliers that participated in interviews and surveys. Almost all farmers ( $n = 107$ ) were within the state of California, and the remaining 5% were in Oregon ( $n = 5$ ), Iowa ( $n = 1$ ), and Virginia ( $n = 1$ ). The average distance between Chez Panisse and the West Coast farmers was 133.2 miles, and the average distance between Chez Panisse and the in-state farmers was 76.2 miles.<sup>2</sup> 65% of the 114 farmers were less than 100 miles from the restaurant, 20 of which (18% of all farmers) were within a 30-mile radius. We used interview and survey data, as well as social network mapping, to examine the expansion of Chez Panisse's network of purveyors over time.

Our findings suggest that the growth of the direct farmer-restaurant relationships was not by chance, or through Alice Waters alone, but largely through the intentional decision to create a paid position at the restaurant for a "forager," who would be responsible for finding new ingredients (Chesbrough, Kim, and Agogino 2014; Fairfax et al. 2012). Foragers helped generate general enthusiasm in the region for direct sales from producers to restaurants. In interviews and surveys, four farmers ( $n = 4/29$ ) explicitly noted that they started their relationship with the restaurant after being found by a forager. The first person to unofficially hold the forager role was Sibella Kraus, who originally started as a line chef at Chez Panisse in 1981. Following Kraus, other Chez Panisse staff continued to nurture relationships with regional farmers as the restaurant created an officially paid position for a forager, with the first formally hired forager being Catherine Brandel, in 1986 (O'Neill 1999). After two years of working in the kitchen, Kraus' interests in sustainable agriculture led her to become involved in the Organic Farming Association, which enabled her to develop close relationships with farmers. Conversations with other chefs who were looking for more interesting crop varieties for their kitchens inspired her to start the Farm-Restaurant Project (Goldstein 2013). Through this project, she helped foster direct supply connections for Chez Panisse while she worked in the restaurant between 1981 and 1984, and later in her job at local distributing company Greenleaf Produce (Goldstein 2013; Krause 2018). In her interview, Kraus noted that she fostered at least 100 farm connections to Chez Panisse. Yet, Kraus' organizing was broader than Chez Panisse's and extended widely to the local sustainable agriculture and restaurant communities. She encouraged multiple restaurants to source directly from local smaller-scale farmers through events such as A Tasting of Summer Produce, a gathering that brought together farmers and restaurateurs to educate chefs about the importance of sustainable agriculture to produce high-quality ingredients. A Tasting of Summer Produce initially took place at Greens Restaurant in San Francisco until it moved to the Oakland Museum. Eventually, it became open to the public, and widely signaled the start of close relationships among farmers and chefs in California (Fairfax et al. 2012).

We found that Chez Panisse also became exposed to farmers by ordering their products through local food hubs. As defined by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, a food hub is "a centrally located facility with a business management structure facilitating the aggregation, storage, processing, distribution, and/or marketing of locally/

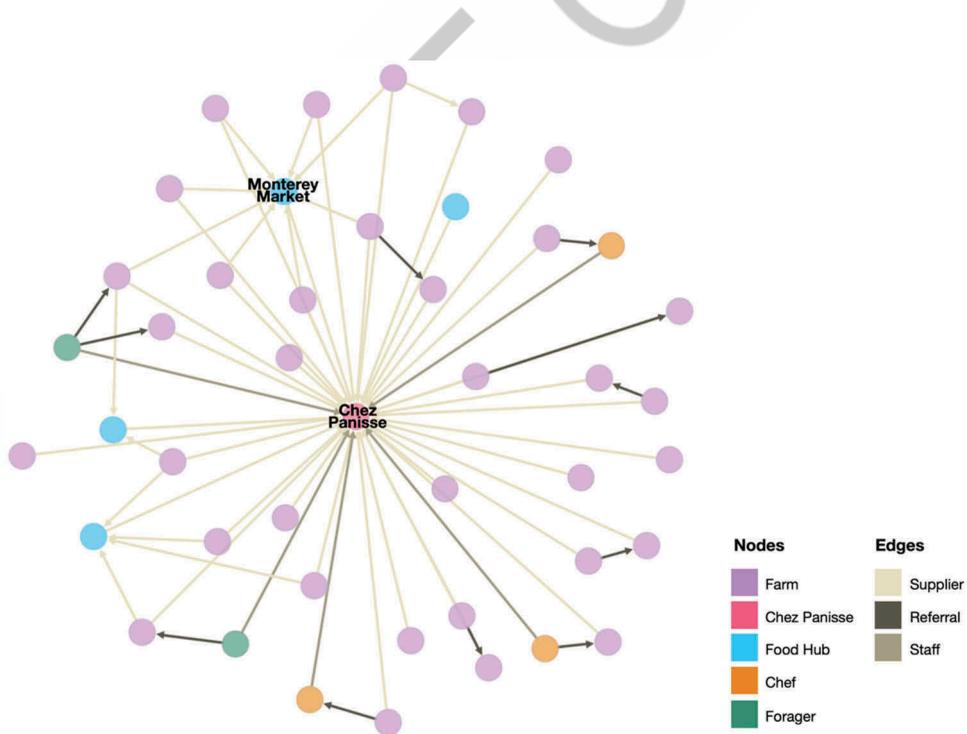
regionally produced food products” (“Getting to Scale with Regional Food Hubs | USDA” 245  
 Q4 2021). At least seven of the farms that were in purveyor lists and anniversary brochures  
 curated by Chez Panisse have not directly sold products to the restaurant on a continuous  
 basis. In three cases, farmers transitioned from selling to Chez Panisse through a food  
 hub to directly distributing products to the restaurant. But because farmers typically  
 supply a small portion of their production to restaurants, it often makes more sense to 250  
 streamline the process by going through a food hub. One of the farmers, as well as Sibella  
 Kraus in her interview, brought up the logistical issue associated with directly transport-  
 ing products to the restaurant in Berkeley, particularly when that is the only restaurant to  
 which they supply in the area. Direct distribution to restaurants can also be too expensive  
 for farmers (Sharma et al. 2012). For this reason, two of the farmers (n = 2/29) transi- 255  
 tioned from directly selling to the restaurant to only selling to food hubs. However, even  
 when Chez Panisse ordered from distributing companies or food hubs, they often  
 requested specific products from specific farms. Therefore, these farmers were often  
 aware that Chez Panisse requested their product. Even when products were bought  
 through an intermediary, Chez Panisse still featured the farms’ names on their menu 260  
 when listing the source of the product, and these farms also proudly used the Chez  
 Panisse name for marketing purposes. While the archival review of purveyor lists implied  
 that many featured farmers were direct suppliers to the restaurant, interviews revealed  
 a more complex set of interconnected relationships.

Some of the main local food hubs we identified through interviews were Greenleaf 265  
 Produce, Veritable Vegetable, and Monterey Market. All of these are located in the San  
 Francisco Bay Area, within 20 miles of Chez Panisse. Greenleaf Produce started in 1976  
 in a small warehouse, focusing on bringing organic produce from local farms to chefs in  
 the San Francisco Bay Area (“Greenleaf Produce” 2019). Veritable Vegetable was simi- 270  
 larly started in the early 1970s by two women, motivated to “bring low-cost, nutritious  
 food to neighborhood co-ops and community storefronts” (“Veritable Vegetable | Our  
 Roots” 2019). According to their website, their company has been active in changing the  
 food system by stimulating demand for fresh organic produce, developing certification  
 standards, and supplying healthy food to communities in California. A third food hub 275  
 was Monterey Market, founded by Tom Fujimoto, a former celery farmer in California  
 who was displaced from his land during World War II and taken to Japanese internment  
 camps in Utah and Arizona. Tom Fujimoto eventually returned to farming in California  
 and subsequently opened Monterey Market in 1961, a produce store that aimed to cater  
 to the multi-cultural population of Berkeley. Fujimoto sought new products that were not  
 found in “conventional supermarkets.” Tom’s son, Bill Fujimoto became the manager of 280  
 the store between 1979 and 2016, alongside his brother, Fred. Fujimoto’s approach was to  
 find extraordinary products, paying close attention to feedback from his clientele.

Bill Fujimoto played an important role in growing the network of farmers that  
 supplied Chez Panisse, particularly during the 1970s. Six of the farmers (n = 6/29)  
 referenced Monterey Market in their interview and survey responses. All of those farmers 285  
 have at some point sold products to this market and two of them became Chez Panisse  
 purveyors because of it. In their interview, one of the farmers stated, “the foundation of  
 our relationship with Chez Panisse ran through the back room of the Monterey Market.”  
 While these two farmers became direct suppliers to the restaurant, another farmer shared  
 that they decided not to do so since they felt compelled not to hurt their relationship with 290

Bill Fujimoto. Chez Panisse discontinued its purveyor relationship with the Monterey Market in 2009 after Bill Fujimoto left the store as a result of a bitter dispute with his siblings and co-owners (Bauer 2009), causing the restaurant to look elsewhere for ingredients during that time.

In addition to getting connected with the restaurant through foragers and food hub managers, farmers became affiliated to Chez Panisse in multiple ways including: soliciting the restaurant directly ( $n = 3/29$ ); meeting a Chez Panisse employee at the farmers market ( $n = 3/29$ ) or at the Tasting of Summer Produce event ( $n = 1/29$ ); being a former restaurant employee ( $n = 2/29$ ), being referred to the restaurant by another farmer ( $n = 4/29$ ) or being referred by a Chez Panisse apprentice who was sourcing from them in another business ( $n = 1/29$ ). The following social network map (Figure 1) represents a subset of the broader database of Chez Panisse purveyors that we compiled, which is limited to actors that participated in the interviews and surveys and other actors that participants mentioned. Each node (actor) in the network map is color-coded according to their main identity in the network (farm, food hub, chef, forager). Chez Panisse is at the center. The edges (connections) are color-coded according to the type of relationship they represent (supplier, referral, and staff). Supplier edges represent purveyor relationships between farmers and food hubs or the restaurant. Referral edges represent relationships where one actor referred the other actor to Chez Panisse. Staff edges represent relationships between Chez Panisse and actors that were employed by the restaurant (e.g.,



**Figure 1.** Social Network map of confirmed actors and relationships. The arrows represent the directionality of the relationships. For instance, when a producer supplied to a food hub, the arrow goes from the farm to the food hub. If a forager found the farm, then the arrow is directed from the forager to the farm.

chefs, foragers). This network map includes the farmers who supplied food hubs, such as Monterey Market (n = 7/29) and Veritable Vegetable (n = 4/29) before being connected to Chez Panisse. Also, this network map portrays the four instances in which a farmer referred another farmer to the restaurant. As the social network map of our sample shows, food hubs appear to be information hubs in this network, as they brokered numerous ties to Chez Panisse and share multiple connections with farmers that supply Chez Panisse. 315

### **Analyzing the farmer-restaurant relationships**

“I think that the benefit has been mutual. I think that Chez Panisse enjoyed consistent high quality from our farm. And we enjoyed the benefit of being associated with a prestigious restaurant” (Interview, crop farmer) 320

In this section, we use interview data to compare purveyor ties to five characteristics of social embeddedness, as outlined by Uzzi (1997): trust and reciprocity; joint problem-solving arrangements; third party referrals; fine-grained information transfer; and continuity. The premise is that economic relationships that reflect these characteristics are more likely to be motivated by social values than by market forces or individual gain (Hinrichs 2000; Uzzi 1997). After this section, we examine whether these types of relationships also influenced farmers’ agricultural practices and production. 325

Farmers (n = 12/29) reiterated the principles of trust, reciprocity, support, and mutual benefit in their relationships with Chez Panisse. For example, one of the crop farmers (Farmer 7) mentioned the importance of having a consistent outlet to sell their products and knowing that a restaurant will be buying from their farm continuously even when production for a given week may not be up to predetermined standards of quality and quantity. Farmers discussed that moral and spiritual support from the restaurant helps them continue their efforts as a small-scale operation. For instance, a meat producer located in Iowa (Farmer 15) stated, “whenever I go out there [Chez Panisse], the environment there has this kind of ethos that’s rather infectious, and it’s hard to avoid that. So it’s just, it’s hard to explain really. But it inspires you. It’s an inspirational experience every time I go there.” Interestingly, despite the relatively long spatial distance between this producer and Chez Panisse, this farmer’s responses portrayed numerous traits of social embeddedness. Support and reciprocity were recurring themes in our conversations with farmers during interviews. 330 335 340

Five of the farmers gave examples of situations of collaboration that involved Chez Panisse, other farmers, and, in some instances, other restaurants. This supports Uzzi’s (1997) assertion that socially embedded relationships tend to involve joint problem-solving arrangements that allow for easier exchange of feedback, innovative solutions, and faster processes of problem correction. Most of the situations that producers discussed related to issues with organic certification, which particularly affected meat producers. For instance, the meat producer from Iowa (Farmer 15), shared that there was a time around the year 2014 in which they could not find any affordable organic feed for their livestock. Discussion of the matter with Alice Waters led to meetings in Berkeley with other livestock producers to collaboratively work on a solution. Eventually, these farmers and the restaurant understood that meat production would not be sufficiently 345 350

profitable when buying organic feed unless the restaurant paid a higher price. In the end, 355  
 Chez Panisse continued to purchase meat that was not necessarily certified organic, as  
 long as farming practices followed other sustainability principles.

Positive experiences from both sides (farmer and restaurant) have enabled the sustain-  
 ability of these social ties, reinforcing the sense of trust in these relationships. As 360  
 Granovetter (1985) argued, reasons for repeating an economic transaction with the  
 same buyer/seller are based on past personal experiences with that actor. In turn,  
 a sense of trust between parties in economic transactions is reinforced through conti-  
 nuity. We found that 54 farmers have supplied to the restaurant for over two decades,  
 out of which 31 supplied the restaurant over 30 years, demonstrating long-term ties 365  
 (Table 3). In interviews and surveys, 21 of the 29 participants reported having  
 a continuous relationship with Chez Panisse since becoming a supplier. However,  
 some other farmers encountered logistical or interpersonal issues that hindered their  
 continuation. We identified a few different reasons that caused momentary or definite  
 discontinuation in the farmer-restaurant relationships. Sometimes, when the chef or 370  
 buyer changed, the incoming staff member would no longer be interested in a given  
 farm's product. Two farms ceased to directly sell and deliver products to Chez Panisse  
 due to logistics, so they transitioned to selling their products to a food hub who would  
 then deliver to restaurants. Two farmers mentioned sporadic pauses caused by periods of  
 low productivity at their farms. Chez Panisse did not renew a contract with one crop-  
 producing farm (Farmer 11). In the farmer's words, "we were suddenly dropped from the 375  
 restaurant with a change in their Forager. Our business plan had the restaurant specifi-  
 cally in mind. This left a very bad feeling so that we no longer wanted to engage in a direct  
 restaurant relationship [...] I thought we had an open understanding of trust with  
 regards to our product" (Farmer 11). While the continuous relationship and trust-  
 building between the restaurant and some of the purveyors partly depended on the job 380  
 stability of some network actors, many farmers have continued to supply to Chez Panisse  
 over multiple decades (see Table 3). These hallmarks of social embeddedness help explain  
 how this network continued to expand.

The most popular pathway for farmers to connect with Chez Panisse was being referred  
 to them by another farmer who was affiliated with the restaurant as a purveyor (n = 9/29). 385  
 As an example, when one farmer learned that Chez Panisse needed organic meat, they  
 referred the restaurant to their neighbor who was producing this product. Uzzi (1997) noted  
 that "embedded ties develop primarily from third-party referral networks and previous  
 personal relations which (1) set expectations for trust between newly introduced actors and  
 (2) equip the new economic exchange with resources from preexisting embedded ties" (Uzzi 390  
 1997, 679). In other words, when new actors join a social network through the referral of  
 someone who has already been affiliated with this network, they are more likely to assimilate

**Table 3.** Continuity of producers as suppliers to Chez Panisse.

| Number of decades as a supplier | Number of producers |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 decade                        | 60                  |
| 2 decades                       | 23                  |
| 3 decades                       | 19                  |
| 4 decades                       | 12                  |

to the culture and expectations that have been nurtured in this network. This emphasizes how knowledge sharing among farmers was important to fostering a particular set of values in the relationships within this network. Some farmers met each other through Chez Panisse at food-related events or meetings. For instance, a tangerine farmer (Farmer 19) talked about meeting a date grower at the farmers market and bonding over the fact that they share a dessert plate at Chez Panisse. Farmer-farmer connections are important because of the closer social ties and trust built amongst the farming and ranching communities when compared to the rather new relationships built between producers and restaurateurs. In sum, having a previous relationship with the restaurant or being referred to the restaurant by someone who was already affiliated with it may have fostered the continuation and social embeddedness characteristics in farmer-restaurant relationships.

The majority of study participants ( $n = 20/29$ ) mentioned that their relationship with Chez Panisse prompted the start of new relationships for them, which many farmers believed was a prominent factor in the growth of their business. Several farms discussed the increase in their clientele due to their association with the Chez Panisse name since having their farm's name featured on the menu provided recognition and marketing for farmers. Farmers ( $n = 6/29$ ) often received inquiries from customers who found their farm or ranch name on the menu while dining at Chez Panisse. Some farmers ( $n = 10/29$ ) have also benefited from listing Chez Panisse as a customer on their website or their farmers market banner. Lastly, 16 farmers have sold their products to chefs who have worked and/or have gone through an apprenticeship program at Chez Panisse and have since then moved on to start their own food business. As chefs are exposed to specific products and farmers while they work at the restaurant, they then keep their connections to the farmers and take them with them wherever they go. In the words of another vegetable grower (Farmer 2), "we have gained many, many new restaurant customers as Chez Panisse alumnae go on to open their own restaurants. I would say about a third of our current restaurant customers once worked for Chez Panisse!" Some farmers ( $n = 5/29$ ) attributed gaining new customers not only to their direct relationship with Chez Panisse but also to the broader culinary movements that the restaurant has motivated.

Chez Panisse also influenced farmers' market channels and scale. Interestingly, Chez Panisse was the first restaurant account for four ( $n = 4/29$ ) farms, who were then inspired to seek more restaurant accounts. For instance, a rancher mentioned that they never thought of selling a whole animal directly to a restaurant until they were connected with Chez Panisse; this relationship opened up a whole new market for this farmer. A growth in clientele may have also motivated and enabled some farmers to scale up. We found that half of the farmers in this sample ( $n = 13/29$ ) indicated that they increased in size since their operation was established. Although we could not ascertain a correlation between their growth and their affiliation with the restaurant, the fact that Chez Panisse helped many of these farmers gain recognition and customers may have played a role in their desire and ability to expand their production. Whereas the expansion in the clientele of many of the farmers cannot be exclusively attributed to their connection to Chez Panisse, it is evident that having a relationship with the restaurant has supported many farmers' marketing efforts.

### ***Did Chez Panisse influence farmers' agricultural practices and production?***

We found that farmers often received feedback from direct interactions with chefs, foragers, buyers, and even diners from Chez Panisse, and this feedback was often incorporated into their decision-making about their production. Most of the interviewed farmers (n = 18/29) asserted that their relationship with Chez Panisse prompted changes in what they produce (i.e., the specific types of crops or livestock) and/or in how they produce (e.g., their use of synthetic inputs). Out of the 18 farmers that made changes in their production because of their relationship with Chez Panisse, 16 portrayed at least one trait of social embeddedness in their relationships with the restaurant. These findings support Uzzi's (1997) assertion that in socially embedded economic ties, involved actors are more likely to trust and act on feedback that is shared between them. Our findings also support Hinrichs (2000) who argued that socially embedded ties in AFNs may prompt changes in farmers' production. The rationale is that the more socially embedded economic ties are, the more likely farmers are to respond to social values beyond pure economic values. In other words, when there are close social ties between farmers and consumers, farmers are more likely to incorporate consumers' feedback and consider their concerns for food safety and the environment (Hinrichs 2000).

Chez Panisse's "high quality" standard for their ingredients, which they associated with sustainable agriculture practices, influenced farmers to either incorporate or maintain organic or sustainable agriculture practices. Some of the farmers were highly influenced by Chez Panisse's quality standards and ideology about sustainable agriculture. In fact, six of the interviewed farmers indicated that their agricultural practices have changed as a direct result of their relationship with Chez Panisse. This was reflected in the words of one of the farmers:

"Chez Panisse raises the bar on quality. They feature it. They highlight it. They educate people about it through edible schoolyards, through events, through media, through dining. They are always turning people on to good food. Quality is number one and goes hand in hand with sustainable farming. When you take care of the soil organically, you are providing a higher level of nutrition to plants, which then gives you a better-tasting product. So, if you want the highest quality and best tasting product, you're going to grow it organically. In that way, Chez did influence Farmer [name] to go organic." (Farmer 3)

The restaurant's decision to become fully organic around the year 2000 motivated two (n = 2/29) farmers to seek organic certification. In the words of an endive farmer (Farmer 10), "we now produce organic certified endives. And it's because of Alice Waters. I told her that too. When she converted her restaurant to organic." Notably, we found a significant drop in the number of purveyors to Chez Panisse around the 2000s (see Tables 1 and 2). None of the interviewed farmers explicitly stated that they were dropped as purveyors for not becoming certified organic, but this significant drop could be attributed to the restaurant's shift of focus and some farmers' inability to reach their standards of quality. Some farmers did not become certified organic but having a close relationship with the restaurant and maintaining sustainable practices enabled them to continue as purveyors.

Face-to-face interactions with Chez Panisse staff, and the fact that restaurant diners can identify the source of the menu items, create a greater sense of responsibility for

farmers to continue growing their products up to a certain standard of quality. Although thirteen (n = 13/29) of the farmers said that they have not changed their production methods since their relationship with the restaurant started, ten (n = 10/29) of these farmers reported that they felt motivated to maintain ecologically driven farming methods thanks to the support from Chez Panisse, as well as the interest in high-quality products that the restaurant has popularized. When farmers were asked if their agricultural practices have changed since their operations were established, eight of them (n = 8/29) stated that they transitioned from “conventional” to sustainable practices<sup>3</sup> or became certified organic. Most farmers (n = 18/29) have either maintained sustainable practices or have always been certified organic, five of which transitioned from sustainable practices to becoming certified organic. Notably, none of the farmers maintained “conventional” practices or transitioned away from sustainable practices. Even in cases where Chez Panisse did not directly influence growing practices, farmers were indirectly influenced by the broader interest in high quality and sustainably grown products that were motivated by the restaurant.

A significant way in which Chez Panisse influenced farmers, particularly crop farmers, was on the specific crop varieties they grew. Nearly a third of the farmers (n = 8/29) started experimenting with new crop varieties or growing crops up to specific sizes because of Chez Panisse’s requests and/or encouragement to try them. One of the farmers also asserted that this type of feedback would go in both directions as farmers have also influenced Chez Panisse in many ways. Just as the chefs request specific products from farmers, farmers also suggest new crop varieties for chefs to try in their recipes. Or, in some cases, chefs adapt to whatever products are available at a given time. As Sibella Kraus said in her interview, “maybe it’s the end of the season and there’s not more red tomatoes, but there are some green tomatoes on the vine, so Chez Panisse would often say ok, I guess we’ll figure out how to use green tomatoes in some of our recipes.”

Two fruit growers said that receiving feedback from the chefs and buyers at the restaurant or from people who have tried their fruit when dining at the restaurant guided their decision-making about the fruit varieties that they planted. A peach grower (Farmer 20) noted, “there are certain varieties that we started to grow because of them [...] because they requested it.” In addition to the encouragement and requests to grow specific varieties, the restaurant would also request a product to be grown up to a particular size (e.g., baby greens or 3-inch-long zucchini squash). The following quote from a farmer illustrates this example:

“One day a woman who worked at Chez Panisse stopped by. It was Sibella Kraus who was working in the kitchen. And she stopped by to see how the farm was. She said “hey, we would buy those squash, those zucchinis, but we want them to be 3 inches long with the flower on” so we started going “okay” and started growing with her, basically she was kind of directing it. And it kind of extends now from there to a lot of the more obscure varieties of lettuce and greens that were available in other parts of the world but had not been grown in California, or the United States” (Farmer 9)

In a market economy that makes it increasingly difficult for small-scale farmers to generate value and capital, some farmers may be primarily motivated by capital gain to grow specialty products that they can sell for a premium price, and their relationship with Chez Panisse supports these efforts. For instance, one of the interviewed crop farmers

(Farmer 25) said that Chez Panisse was one of the only accounts that is willing to pay the “premium price” for their “high-quality” product. Restaurants play a significant role in defining and promoting particular quality attributes and contribute to certain ingredients becoming “superstars” (Nelson, Beckie, and Krogman 2017). For example, heirloom tomatoes and mesclun (or organic salad mix) gained popularity in the 1980s because prominent “celebrity chefs,” including Alice Waters, featured them in their dishes and made them a symbol of California cuisine. As ingredients like heirloom tomatoes and mesclun became a status symbol, they became precious commodities that farmers were motivated to offer to consumers at a premium price (Guthman 2003; Joseph et al. 2017). Since capitalism depends on a fast turnover of existing commodities and new forms of product differentiation, some AFN farmers attempt to become more competitive in the market through the production of exotic or high-value crops (Guthman 2014). In some ways, Chez Panisse reinforces some of the logics of capitalism, particularly product differentiation and competition, in AFNs. As previous scholars have discussed, the California Cuisine also contributed to some farmers’ desire to specialize and scale up their production (Guthman 2003). Whether they were motivated by market forces or the encouragement of Chez Panisse, farmers’ efforts to experiment with specialty crops, thereby generating value in their production, were regularly supported by their relationship with the restaurant. These efforts enabled farmers to accumulate capital, thus contributing to their ability to survive.

Other actors who acted as intermediaries between the restaurant and farmers also mediated some of the feedback that emerged from chefs and restaurant diners. For instance, in his interview, Bill Fujimoto from Monterey Market shared that he often received feedback from customers, particularly chefs, and then relayed this feedback to farmers. Fujimoto was highly motivated by his clientele to find extraordinary products. As he put it in his interview, “we were always going for the best, and [...] the best was defined by all these chefs in Berkeley. And you know, that’s getting back to Chez Panisse. The one thing I learned early was that we would offer them [the chefs] choices, and they would choose, and we would listen very carefully to what they wanted.” Fujimoto maintained close relationships with farmers, customers, and chefs; tightening feedback loops to foster a more socially embedded network. While discussing his close relationship with Chez Panisse staff, Fujimoto shared: “The sous chefs and all the chefs of Chez Panisse would come by the store. I have to be honest I had my head down, and we were just concerned about running the store and finding products. And trying to find the best product. And when they came you know, we gave them access, and in return we got criticism, constructive of course. But you file that away, and you keep trying to refine the products.” Fujimoto paid attention to this feedback for his own business, but he also shared constructive feedback with the farmers that supplied this market, thereby influencing their production. For example, he encouraged farmers to both grow a “carrot crop” that would fill up their truck, as well as an exceptional specialty crop that they could specialize on. Farmers were highly influenced by the feedback and support from Monterey Market. In the words of a peach grower (Farmer 19), “Monterey Market was our founding institution. Monterey Market put us in business. Monterey Market bought all of our fruit for 6 years.” This is another example that shows how Chez Panisse’s influence on farmers was not always direct and was sometimes passed on by other intermediary actors.

Close farm-restaurant relationships can be both a curse and a blessing for both parties at times. In some cases, Chez Panisse paid for products even when they did not meet their quality and quantity needs for a given week, with the understanding that small-scale farmers are not able to control climatic or ecological factors that may affect their production. This enables farmers to have a consistent and reliable market channel and source of income. However, we found that Chez Panisse's closest farm relationship with their primary purveyor (Farmer 1) underwent a conflict that stemmed from this very issue. The contract between Chez Panisse and this farmer is a "marriage," as the farmer called it, in which they cultivate a 25-acre property that is solely dedicated to supplying this restaurant's kitchen. Through the archival review, we found a letter from Alice Waters to this farmer,<sup>4</sup> in which Waters stated that the restaurant had been unsatisfied with the quality and quantity of the products they were receiving from the farm, and disappointed about a "breakdown in communication." In this letter written in October 1992, Waters asked the farmer, "do you really want to farm with and for us?" After listing some of the indications that this farmer was perhaps not serious about this relationship, Waters stated, "[. . .] this is supposed [sic] to be good for BOTH of us, and if it's not then we should call an end to it. We love you dearly, but a labor-intensive experiment like this needs to show more promise after all these years." This letter reflects the importance of substantial communication and trust necessary for a farmer-restaurant relationship to be sustained. Waters finished the letter stating, "it should be getting easier and better, and maybe even more profitable."

This example shows some of the tensions that can arise in direct farmer-restaurant relationships, as well as the fact that, ultimately, profitability is still an important motivator in these ties. In his interview, this farmer emphasized the significance of his 30-year relationship with Chez Panisse and how impactful the restaurant and related farms have been in promoting what he considers "better forms of food production." Although their close relationship with the restaurant may come with some higher pressure, it also facilitates a high level of trust between both parties. As a matter of fact, this farmer stated in their interview that they were not certified organic. This farmer stressed that they never wanted to become certified organic since their practices exceeded certified organic and biodynamic standards. This example showed that a close farmer-restaurant relationship may lead the restaurant to trust that the purveyor will produce up to their standards without the need for certification from a third party. As previous studies on farm-restaurant relationships have demonstrated, mutual understanding, trust, and substantial communication between farmers and the restaurant are necessary for these relationships to persist (Nelson, Beckie, and Krogman 2017; Sharma et al. 2012), especially when the products on a given week may not be up to Chez Panisse's standard of quality.

## Conclusion

This research complicates the popular media coverage of Chez Panisse as a major influence on agriculture and food systems. While popular narratives have portrayed Alice Waters as the sole influencer in California's food system, Chez Panisse's influence on farmers involved a complex set of interrelationships between the restaurant, food businesses, and farmers. The restaurant's "foragers," managers at local food hubs, and affiliated farmers played a key role in conveying information and constructive feedback

between chefs and diners, and farmers. Our findings demonstrate a collaborative approach to shifting growing and eating practices that is beyond the demands of a single person, with collective learning and behavior reinforcement. Overall, our research contributes to scholarship that examines the role of restaurants and chefs in fostering socio-cultural change (Lane 2010), the re-localization of food sourcing (Inwood et al. 2009; Nelson, Beckie, and Krogman 2017; Starr et al. 2003), and influences on farmers' production practices (Joseph et al. 2017).

With this research, we demonstrate that multiple actors played roles in both expanding the network of purveyors to the restaurant and in reinforcing information across the network. In particular, we found that the growth of the direct purchasing relationships between farmers and Chez Panisse is largely attributed to the restaurant's "foragers" and connections with local food hubs. These actors played a key role in expanding the network of suppliers to Chez Panisse, fostering socially embedded relationships in the network, and influencing farmers to assimilate toward expectations for sustainable practices and high-quality products. When new farmers joined the network of purveyors through the referral of someone already affiliated with the restaurant (such as foragers, food hub managers, or other farmers), they were more likely to assimilate to the previously established expectations for trust, reciprocity, collaboration, and lower relevance of market forces. In support, research on other AFNs has shown that network drivers and key hubs are composed of multiple business types, such as farms, food banks, food hubs, and restaurants (Brinkley 2018, 2017; Brinkley, Manser, and Pesci 2021; Trivette 2018), and such hubs can be significant brokers in generating awareness and appreciation for agricultural products and practices (Inwood et al. 2009).

Findings in this study suggest that social embeddedness in AFNs is pertinent to both fostering sustainable agriculture and the long-term survival of network actors. As other studies of AFNs suggest, both the restaurant industry (Luo and Stark 2014) and AFN businesses are highly volatile (Brinkley, Manser, and Pesci 2021). Since AFNs are formed through direct market connections, the survival of central actors is highly dependent on their connections with other actors, whether it be market channels, suppliers, or customers (Brinkley, Manser, and Pesci 2021). The closure of restaurants during the COVID-19 pandemic was highly detrimental to farmers who primarily depended on Farm-to-Table connections (Severson 2020). Given the market disturbances of the COVID-19 pandemic, having a close relationship with a supportive restaurant may have helped save affiliated farms that lost numerous other market channels during this time. When Chez Panisse closed its doors to diners in March 2020, the restaurant started selling produce boxes filled with products from their supplying farms. Other prominent Farm-to-Table restaurateurs supported farmers in similar ways, either by selling produce boxes or by raising money to support farmers (Hiller 2020). These relationships may not only support farmers' survival but also, to some extent, the survival of restaurants. As Chez Panisse celebrates its fiftieth anniversary in 2021, it has outlasted the median lifespan of the average restaurant by a factor of ten (Luo and Stark 2014). Although the direct farmer-restaurant relationships came with particular tensions and challenges, our findings suggest that close, trusting, and reciprocal relationships may be crucial to the survival of both Chez Panisse and the ecosystem of affiliated food hubs and farmers.

Future research may trace the second-degree connections in the network, specifically the connections between the spin-off businesses opened by Chez Panisse alumni and their

supplying farms. To this end, future studies may wish to model AFN growth based on our empirical research to better understand the initiation, constraints, growth, and spatiality of Farm-to-Table networks. If it takes twenty years to grow the number of farms direct marketing to Chez Panisse almost ten-fold, how many Chez Panisse-like restaurants would it take to transform all of California's agriculture? What might limit the expansion of Farm-to-Table connections? Such research could provide further clues into the opportunities and limitations of Farm-to-Table restaurant models in fostering sustainable agriculture. Although Chez Panisse might be a unique case in the restaurant industry, due to its wide-spread recognition, many other restaurants have implemented similar models; Dan Barber's Blue Hill and Kimbal Musk's The Kitchen are two famous examples in the U.S. Many other chefs, including over 15 Chez Panisse alumni in the San Francisco Bay Area alone, have followed this trend. Given the fact that Chez Panisse is owned and predominantly supported by white people of high socioeconomic status, it would be particularly interesting to examine whether our findings are transferable to Farm-to-Table restaurants owned and/or frequented by people of color and people of lower socioeconomic status. To better understand the extent of influence of Farm-to-Table restaurants on agriculture systems, future studies may implement similar questions and methodologies to interrogate whether Chez Panisse is a standalone case or if our findings also apply to other Farm-to-Table restaurants.

This research provides empirical evidence for social embeddedness characteristics in AFNs, focusing on the particularities of a prominent Farm-to-Table restaurant. Chez Panisse leveraged close relationships with farmers, other restaurants, food hub managers, and the public to spur greater influence and make local and sustainable sourcing practices desirable in the restaurant industry. Although some farmers were highly dependent on and pressured by the market economy to produce specialty commodities or become certified organic, their close relationship with Chez Panisse was an important motivator and support to carry on these efforts. Even when Chez Panisse's influence was not direct, many farmers were motivated to experiment with specialty crops and/or sustainable growing practices due to the broader interest in high-quality products that the restaurant stimulated. Our findings suggest that the Farm-to-Table restaurant model has unique characteristics that foster socially embedded ties with the potential to bring about change in agriculture and the food system.

## Notes

1. We use the term "farmers" to refer to producers of all agricultural products, including both farmers and ranchers.
2. We could not find location data for nine farms, since their addresses were not found online or in any of the archived materials.
3. We use the term "sustainable practices" to refer to the following statements producers made about their practices: lack of synthetic fertilizers or pesticides, humane raising of animals, avoiding the use of antibiotics for animals, a less-is-more approach, sustainable growing practices, biodynamic practices, natural composting, and diverse crop production. The term "conventional" is used here to refer to producers that did not use any of the previously mentioned farming practices or that used this same term.
4. This letter was found in the Chez Panisse archive of the UC Berkeley Bancroft library.

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We confirm that there are no known conflicts of interest associated with this publication and there has been no financial support for this work that could have influenced its outcome. 720

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## Appendix A.

### Guiding questions for farms:

- (1) When was your farm established? What were your outlets at the beginning? How many acres did it have?
- (2) How did your relationship with Chez Panisse start? What were you supplying to them?
- (3) Have your farming practices changed since your farm was established? 845
- (4) To what extent, if at all, has your relationship with Chez Panisse prompted such changes?
- (5) Are you still supplying to Chez Panisse? If so, what do you supply to Chez Panisse currently?
- (6) Did your relationship with Chez Panisse prompt the start of new relationships with other farms or restaurants? If so, which ones?
- (7) What are your outlets currently? To what other restaurants/cafes do you supply? 850
- (8) Which crops do you grow now?/Which livestock do you raise now?
- (9) How large is your farm (acres) now?

Guiding questions for Sibella Kraus:

- (1) How did your relationship with Chez Panisse start? Around when was that? 855
- (2) What did your job as forager entail?
- (3) At what point did you establish Greenleaf produce?
- (4) How was Chez Panisse sourcing ingredients during the first years? Who were they buying from?
- (5) What was your approach for finding new farms? What were you looking for?
- (6) Approximately how many farms did you find and connected with Chez Panisse? 860

Guiding questions for Bill Fujimoto:

- (1) How did Monterey market start?
- (2) How have you connected with the farms that you source from?
- (3) What type of products do you look for to sell at the market?
- (4) Can you tell me about the relationships that you've had with farmers? 865
- (5) How did your relationship with Chez Panisse start?
- (6) Did your relationship with CP prompt the start of any new relationships? If so, with whom? Has it brought you more customers?
- (7) Has your relationship with CP prompted any changes in what you sell at the market?

**Appendix B.**

870

Online survey questionnaire

- (1) E-Mail address:
- (2) Your farm name:
- (3) Please check all the decades in which you have supplied products to Chez Panisse: 875
  - (a) 1970s
  - (b) 1980s
  - (c) 1990s
  - (d) 2000s
  - (e) 2010s
  - (f) Currently 880
  - (g) We have only supplied them indirectly (through a distributor)
- (4) What product(s) have you supplied Chez Panisse?
- (5) How did you get connected with Chez Panisse (Check all that apply) 885
  - (a) Other farm introduced us (please write their name in "other")
  - (b) Monterey Market/Bill Fujimoto
  - (c) Sibella Kraus
  - (d) Someone involved in our farm worked at Chez Panisse
  - (e) One of their foragers found us (please write their name in "other")
  - (f) The chef/pastry chef at the time found us (please write their name in "other") 890
  - (g) At the farmers market (please write which one in "other")
  - (h) Other:
- (6) When was your farm established? What was your acreage then?
- (7) Have your farming practices changed since your farm was established? If so, how?
- (8) How, if at all, has your relationship with Chez Panisse prompted changes in your farming practices? 895
- (9) Did you start producing anything in a particular way because Chez Panisse requested it?
- (10) How, if at all, has your relationship with Chez Panisse prompted changes in how you market your products?

- (11) Has your relationship with Chez Panisse promoted new relationships with other farms or new customers? If so, how? 900
- (12) What were your outlets when your farm was established? 905
- (a) Wholesale
  - (b) Direct sales to restaurants
  - (c) Farmers markets
  - (d) CSA
  - (e) Direct sales to private customers
  - (f) Distributing companies
  - (g) Other:
- (13) What are your outlets currently? 910
- (a) Wholesale
  - (b) Direct sales to restaurants
  - (c) Farmers markets
  - (d) CSA
  - (e) Direct sales to private customers
  - (f) Distributing companies
  - (g) Other:
- (14) What is your acreage currently?
- (15) Is there anything else you'd like to share about your relationship with Chez Panisse?
- (16) Are you willing to clarify or expand on some of your responses over the phone? 915
- (17) If you answered yes above, what's the best phone number to reach you? 920