Urban Food Governance and Equity:
A Case Study of Farmers' Markets in London

Natalie Neumann

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City, University of London

School of Health Sciences

Centre for Food Policy

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Content

List of Tables and Figures

Figures

Tables

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Declaration

The work contained in this thesis was completed by the candidate (Natalie Neumann) under the supervision of Professor Martin Caraher and Professor Debra Salmon. It has not been submitted for any other degrees either now or in the past. Where work contained within this thesis has been published previously, this has been stated clearly in the text. All sources of information have been acknowledged and the appropriate references can be found at the end of the thesis. The University Librarian of City, University of London is permitted to allow the thesis to be copied in whole or in part without further reference to the author. This permission covers single copies made for study purposes, subject to normal conditions of acknowledgement.

Abstract

Urban food strategies often aim to address inequalities in access to healthy food, as well as aim to support local food systems, including farmers' markets. It is important to understand how these goals are linked in practice. This research explored how equality in access was considered in the governance of farmers' markets in London, and how this was linked to urban food policy.

A case study of the governance of farmers' markets in London was conducted. Methods included a document analysis of urban food strategies and web content of organisations running farmers' markets; geographical mapping of farmers' markets in London according to levels of deprivation; and eighteen semi-structured interviews with people running farmers' markets, farmers, urban food policy stakeholders and NGO representatives. Documents and semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic content analysis.

This study found that farmers' markets in London were governed primarily by individual organisations, with little or no support or involvement from urban food policy. Whilst in some cases people organising farmers' markets considered economic, geographic or cultural access through different strategies, this did not form a priority. This was mainly due to a reported tension between considering equality in access and ensuring livelihoods for farmers. The consideration of equality in access to farmers' markets was not supported by urban food policy.

Addressing the tension between considering equality in access and securing livelihoods for farmers would require support from urban food policy, as well as wider policy. In urban food policy in London issues of access and farmers' markets were not linked, which relates to a series of economic and social barriers, but also to policy stakeholders' assumptions and beliefs about farmers' markets, as well as to a separation of rural and urban equity in urban food policy. Change in urban food policy to support access to farmers' markets would require change in the beliefs and assumptions of policy stakeholders. Further, it would be necessary for urban food policy stakeholders to address rural and urban equity holistically in line with a food systems approach as set out in urban food strategies.

List of Abbreviations

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
AFN	Alternative Food Network
APA	American Planning Association
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
EU	European Union
FARMA	National Farmers Retail and Market Association
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FM	Farmers' Market
FPC	Food Policy Council
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
LFB	London Food Board
LMB	London Markets Board
MUFPP	Milan Urban Food Policy Pact
SFCN	Sustainable Food Cities Network
SFPN	Sustainable Food Places Network
SFMNP	Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program
SNAP	Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program
UFS	Urban Food Strategy
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UN	United Nations
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
WHO	World Health Organisation
WIC FMNP	Women, Infant and Children's Farmers' Market Nutrition Program

PART ONE – INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 1: Introduction

"*How to feed sustainably an increasingly urbanised world constitutes one of the main development challenges of our era"* (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015, p. 1558)

The current global food system has been identified as unsustainable (Friel *et al.*, 2009; Ingram, 2016; Mason and Lang, 2017; Willett *et al.*, 2019). It is a major contributor to resource depletion, water scarcity, loss of biodiversity, as well as climate change, which in turn is threatening the food system (Garnett, 2013; FAO, 2016b). Across the globe, malnutrition is now characterized by a double-burden with 2.2 billion people overweight or obese and 462 million still underweight (Global Nutrition Report, 2021; WHO, 2021). Vast inequalities characterise the food system. These include small family farmers across the globe struggling to compete with industrial agriculture (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011), as well as inequalities in access to healthy food across and within countries (Dixon *et al.*, 2007). By 2050, the human population is expected to reach 9 billion people, who will need to be fed sustainably (Godfray *et al.*, 2016). It has been recognized internationally that a food system is needed which is healthy, resilient, equitable and sustainable and can feed a growing population (FAO, 2016b; Ingram, 2016; Meybeck and Gitz, 2017). Scholars have suggested that this will require a change in policy and governance on local, national and global level (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Parsons, 2019; Parsons and Hawkes, 2019; Parsons, Hawkes and Wells, 2019).

Globally, many cities are aiming to tackle these challenges associated with the current food system with the development and formation of Food Policy Councils, urban food strategies, food boards and food partnerships (Morgan, 2015; Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019). In Europe, this is manifesting in the development of urban food strategies anchored in city-level government (Cretella, 2016a; Sonnino, Tegoni and De Cunto, 2019). These urban food strategies aim to create healthy, equitable and sustainable food systems (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Moragues *et al.*, 2013; Morgan, 2015; Matacena, 2016; Ilieva, 2017; Sonnino, 2019). In Europe, thirty-six urban food strategies were developed between 2004 and 2014, eleven of these in the UK (Cretella, 2016a). London, UK, was one of the first cities in Europe to develop an urban food strategy in 2006 (Cretella, 2016a).

A further response to the above described problems in the global food system has been the emergence of Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), aiming to counter the values of the dominant global food system (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). The concept of AFNs includes fair trade, organic agriculture, farmers' markets, community-supported agriculture and urban agriculture (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). Within these AFNs, there is often an emphasis on short food supply chains and producers selling directly to consumers (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). AFNs have been seen by NGOs, policy makers and often in academia as contributing to more sustainable, equitable and healthy food systems (Wegener and Hanning, 2010; Matacena, 2016). Accordingly, evidence has shown that they can provide multiple environmental, social and health benefits (Wegener and Hanning, 2010; Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012; Matacena, 2016).

However, AFNs have also been examined more critically (Clancy, 1994; Allen *et al.*, 2003; Guthman, 2008; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). A major critique of AFNs and local food systems has focused on equity. Although originally seen as being able to provide access to healthy food in communities, research has also shown that AFNs can perpetuate existing inequalities (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012; Caraher and Dowler, 2014; Marsden and Morley, 2014; Matacena, 2016); studies in settings such as the UK and US have often found participants in local food systems to be mostly white and affluent (Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Guthman, 2008; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Tregear, 2011; Gibb and Wittman, 2012; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017).

One manifestation of AFNs are farmers' markets (FMs), a space in which local farmers sell their produce directly to the public. The early development of FMs was informed by AFN principles. Early reports and academic literature tended to reflect this heritage, highlighting the multiple benefits FMs can provide, such as enabling livelihoods for small farmers, increasing access and consumption of healthy food in communities, as well as supporting sustainable agriculture (Brown, 2002; Stagl, 2002; Morris and Buller, 2003; Seyfang, 2005; Brown and Miller, 2008; Larsen and Gilliland, 2009; Project for Public Spaces & Columbia University, 2009; Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015). However, similarly to AFNs more generally, later literature studying FMs in the US from a critical public health perspective often found FMs to be spaces that exclude citizens on low incomes and from ethnic minorities (Friends of the Earth, 2000; Guthman, Morris and

Allen, 2006; Guthman, 2008; Harrison *et al.*, 2010; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015; Freedman *et al.*, 2016; Figueroa-Rodríguez *et al.*, 2019). To date, academic literature on FMs in the UK is scarce and has not investigated issues of equity.

Urban food strategies include AFNs as part of the more sustainable food systems they are aiming for (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Candel, 2020). The strategies aim to support short food supply chains, increase the provision of locally grown food and often specifically aim to support FMs (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Candel, 2020). However, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the potential of FMs to fulfil the goals of urban food strategies in addressing inequalities in access to healthy food has been challenged by research in the US. Research on urban food strategies in the UK and in other countries generally is still limited and has mostly focused on the content of urban food strategies rather than how these food strategies are implemented (Hawkes, C., Halliday, 2017; Cretella, 2019), specifically in relation to goals around supporting short supply chains. Accordingly, researchers have highlighted that the facilitation of short food supply chains or AFNs, including FMs, by urban food strategies remained to be examined by future research (Matacena, 2016; Sonnino, 2016).

London is a city which reflects the global problems in the food system listed above, including inequalities in access to food and associated health inequalities, as well as unsustainable consumption patterns for health and the environment (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005; LDA, 2006b; Public Health England, 2015). In response, a food strategy was developed by the Mayor of London in 2006 (LDA, 2006a). The London Food Board (LFB), situated in the London government, and which originally included representatives from organisations running FMs, was created to oversee the development and implementation of the strategy (Reynolds, 2009; Cretella, 2016b; *Mayor of London*, 2020). Urban food policies have also been developed at local council level in London (London consists of thirty-three local boroughs). The LFB launched a new London food strategy in 2018 demonstrating a sustained policy commitment to improving the food system (GLA, 2018a). During this study, the Mayor of London also formed the London Markets Board (LMB), to support retail and wholesale markets in London (GLA, 2017; Mayor of London, 2022). London has additionally signed the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP), together with

210 other cities globally (MUFPP, 2020b). The MUFPP has as its goal to collaborate to shape inclusive, resilient, sustainable local food supply chains and good food cultures, while living within environmental limits (MUFPP, 2015). The 2006 London Food Strategy has a strong focus on addressing inequalities in access to food (Reynolds, 2009; Cretella, 2016a; Candel, 2020), as well as supporting local food and specifically FMs (Reynolds, 2009; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010; Sonnino, 2016). However, how these goals are linked in implementation in regard to FMs has not been examined.

This research sought to address these evidence gaps in the UK by exploring how equity is considered in the governance of FMs in London, and how this is linked to urban food policy, as part of understanding the implementation of urban food strategies (UFSs). To explore this question a case study of the governance of FMs in London was conducted; methods included geographical mapping of the distribution of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators, a document analysis of UFSs in London and other relevant policy documents and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs and urban food policy in London.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 that follows, the literature review, first reviews the methods used to review the literature, then presents relevant literature that has informed this research on inequalities in access to food, food environments, Alternative Food Networks, urban food policy, and FMs. Chapter 3, the methodology, outlines the research design and methods used to explore the research questions. Chapter 4 first presents findings from the geographical mapping of FMs in London and secondly presents findings from the document analysis of UFSs in London and other relevant policy documents. Chapters 5 and 6 present findings from semi-structured interviews exploring the governance of FMs, the consideration of equity within this and links to urban food policy in London. Chapter 7 includes the discussion and the conclusion. The discussion discusses the findings from this study in three separate sections, (1) the consideration of equity by organisations running FMs, (2) the consideration of equality in access to FMs in urban food policy and (3) the application of the Advocacy Coalition framework to these findings. The conclusion sets out recommendations for policy and practice, as well as for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter begins by laying out the methods used for retrieving the literature used in this literature review. It then reviews the literature in the themes of inequalities in the global food system, including the marginalisation of small farmers and access to healthy food for diverse populations (section 2.1), Alternative Food Networks and local food systems (section 2.2), FMs (section 2.3) and urban food governance (section 2.4). These themes are reviewed to contribute to the research questions of this study, which are the following:

Research Question 1: What in 2017/18, was the governance related to FMs in London, and how was it linked to urban food policy on mayoral and borough level?
Research Question 2: How was equality in access considered in the governance of FMs and how was this linked to urban food policy on mayoral and borough level?

Table 1 below summarises databases and keywords used for the literature review. It shows databases and keywords used for the initial literature review in 2016-2017, as well as databases and keywords used to update the literature review in the years 2020 and 2022. The keywords used in 2020 and 2022 were fewer compared to the ones used in 2016-2017. This had two reasons. Firstly, the study had become more focused and so some areas of the initial literature review were no longer priorities. Secondly, other strategies had been used to keep the literature up-to-date throughout the study; this included regularly checking for any new literature from key authors, attending conferences, checking bibliographies of any new studies, as well as scanning regular newsletters from relevant journals, organisations and Universities.

Database	**Keywords searched in 2016-2017**	**Keywords searched in 2020 and 2022**
Ebscohost: Academic Search Complete, GreenFile, SocINDEX, CINAHL Plus, Medline Complete	"farmers markets" AND London "farmers markets" AND England "farmers markets" AND Edinburgh "farmers markets" AND consumption	"farmers market" AND UK "farmers market" AND England
Search: Ebscohost Academic Search Complete, GreenFile, SocINDEX, CINAHL Plus, Medline Complete	"sustainable diet" and inequality "sustainable diets" and UK	
Google Scholar	"Farmers? Market*" and "London"	
Google Scholar	Defra AND "farmers markets"	
Ebscohost: Academic Search Complete	London AND "food access" London AND "food supply" "local food" AND climate	

Ebscohost: Academic Search Complete	"local food" AND environment "food access" AND "public health" AND UK "food poverty" AND UK inequality AND food AND UK sustainability AND equality AND food	
Ebscohost: Academic Search Complete	"urban food strategy" "urban food strategies"	
Public Health Nutrition Journal	Caraher	
Ebscohost	Caraher, Hawkes, Lang, Salmon in Author	
Ebscohost	"seasonal food" AND "sustainable diets" "local food" AND "sustainable diet" "local food" AND "inequality" AND "access" "sustainable diet" AND "inequality" "sustainable diet" AND "equity" "sustainable" AND "food basket" "sustainable food basket" AND "access" "access" AND "sustainable food" AND "urban" "local farming" AND sustainability "local food" AND sustainability	
Google Scholar	Access to "sustainable food" "inequality" AND "access to sustainable food" "sustainable food basket"	
Google Scholar	"organic food" AND "Sustainability" AND "review"	
Google Scholar	"Food environments" AND UK	
Google Scholar	"Food environments" AND "sustainability" "Food environments" AND "access to sustainable" (not food) "community food environment" AND "sustainability"	
Google Scholar	"Access to healthy and sustainable food"	
Google Scholar	"urban food policy" AND "farmers' market" "urban food policy" AND "small farmers" "urban food policy" AND "family famers"	"urban food strategies" AND "farmers' markets" "urban food policy" AND "farmers' markets" "Food policy councils" AND "farmers' markets" "governance" and "farmers' markets"
Ebscohost Academic Search Complete	"farmers' market" AND "low-income" AND "US" "farmers' market" AND "low-income" "farmers' market" AND equality "farmers' markets" AND inequality	"farmers' markets" AND "urban food policy" "farmers' markets" AND "

	"farmers' markets" AND prices "farmers' markets" AND policy "farmers' markets"	
Google Scholar	"food environment" and "alternative food networks"	
Google Scholar	"food environment" and "policy"	
Google Scholar	To confirm that not much has been published on urban food strategies in the US either "urban food strategies" and "US"	
Google Scholar	"implementation of urban food strategies" "impact of urban food strategies"	
Google Scholar		"food policy" AND "kingdon" "food policy" AND "Sabatier" "urban food policy" AND "kingdon" "urban food policy" AND "sabatier"

Table 1: Summary of key words and databases used for literature review

The following methods were used to source and select relevant literature for this literature review:

1) Systematic searches were performed using the following databases: Ebscohost (Academic Search Complete, GreenFile, SocINDEX, CINAHL Plus, Medline Complete) and Google Scholar. The main key words used were: 'farmers markets', 'local food', 'food access', 'urban food strategies', 'sustainable diets', 'urban food policy', 'inequality', 'food environment', and 'urban food policy'.
2) Literature was selected as relevant based on the abstract and often by reading the complete paper. Relevant publications were saved in Mendeley according to themes.
3) Bibliographies of the most relevant papers were searched for additional literature not previously identified in the literature search using the databases.
4) The Scopus database was used to view how often publications had been cited and to identify any further related publications based on the list of citations. Scopus was also used to provide lists of all publications published by individual authors.
5) Some academic literature was searched directly by the author in Google Scholar due to previous knowledge. Additionally, publication lists of authors were searched in Google Scholar if they were found to have published several relevant documents.
6) Grey literature was searched online on government pages, on local council websites, and by using key words in the Google Search Engine. Other publicly

available policy documents or reports were identified in academic literature and then searched online in the Google Search Engine.

The themes ultimately selected as relevant for this literature review were based on the process of the literature review and the resulting narrowing in on the precise aim, objectives, research design and methods. As some of the themes are based in different disciplines, and additionally specific themes have been studied across different disciplines, such as FMs, multi-disciplinary literature has been reviewed. These disciplines included food policy, public health, nutrition studies, planning studies, rural studies, agricultural studies, geography and sociology.

The main journals drawn on include 'Agriculture and Human Values', 'American Journal of Preventative Medicine', 'Appetite', 'British Food Journal', 'Environment and Planning A', 'Food Policy', 'Health and Place', 'International Planning Studies', 'Journal of Hunger and Environmental Nutrition', 'Journal of Rural Studies', 'Local Environment', 'Public Health Nutrition', 'Sociologica Ruralis', and 'The Lancet'.

2.1 Global Food System and Inequalities

The current global food system is based on neoliberal policy characterized by liberalized food trade, industrialized large-scale agriculture, patenting of seeds and multinational food corporations (Rosset, 2008). Although pursued as a solution to food security and to eradicating hunger globally (Rosset, 2008), it has been realized that this system has brought with it a variety of economic, environmental, and social problems (Rosset, 2008; Friel *et al.*, 2009; Godfray *et al.*, 2016; Ingram, 2016; Mason and Lang, 2017; Willett *et al.*, 2019). Depletion of soil, water, fossil fuels, biodiversity and other resources are some of the consequences which are now evident (Garnett, 2013; FAO, 2016b). Further, climate change is on the one hand a threat to the food supply, while the food system contributes 30% of global green-house gas emissions (Garnett, 2011; FAO, 2016b). Malnutrition is now a huge double-burden with globally 2.2 billion people overweight and 462 million still underweight (Global Nutrition Report, 2021; WHO, 2021). Further, there has been a huge increase in obesity and diet-related disease (Willett *et al.*, 2019). At the same time one third of all food produced is wasted (Godfray *et al.*, 2016). By 2050, the world population is expected to reach 9 billion (Godfray *et al.*, 2016). Today, already more than half of the world's population lives in urban areas with urbanisation steadily increasing (WHO, 2015), putting

increasing pressure on food systems and rural populations to produce enough food (Barosh *et al.*, 2014; FAO, 2016b). The manner in which cities can be fed in a just, sustainable and culturally appropriate way in the face of climate change, widening inequalities and world hunger, has been defined as the urban food question (Morgan, 2009).

Inequalities are one of the major issues which cut across the food system. On the one hand, there are vast inequalities in access to healthy, fresh, and sustainable food across and within countries (Dixon *et al.*, 2007). Obesity and diet-related disease disproportionately affect low-income groups, reflected in a social gradient of disease (Marmot and Bell, 2010). On the provider side, the number of small family farmers is decreasing as they struggle to keep up with industrial farming, as government support and emphasis goes to larger, industrial farms and companies (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011). These specific inequalities are discussed in the sections following.

It has been recognized internationally that a food system is needed which is healthy, resilient, equitable and sustainable and can feed a growing population (FAO, 2016b; Ingram, 2016; Meybeck and Gitz, 2017). Scholars have emphasised that this will require a change in policy and governance on local, national and global level, while taking a food systems approach (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Parsons, 2019; Parsons and Hawkes, 2019; Parsons, Hawkes and Wells, 2019).

The above paragraphs have described the broad issues in the global food system this research on FMs from a food policy perspective links to. The following sections of the literature review will focus on the more specific issues relevant to this study.

2.1.1 Marginalisation of Small Farmers

Inequalities in the food system can manifest on the level of food production. Evidence has found smaller farms to be at a disadvantage in the current food system compared to larger, industrial farms (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011). The United Nations Environment programme has described small farmers as being disenfranchised and disregarded in the industrial food system (Maass Wolfenson, 2012; United Nations Environment Programme, 2013).

The importance of ensuring livelihoods of small farmers as part of creating a more sustainable food system has been highlighted at UN level and in academic publications (United Nations Environment Programme, 2013; Marsden and Morley, 2014; Nguo, Mwangi and Melly, 2014). For example, according to the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) of the United Nations (UN), part of the solution to negative impacts of the current food system on a global level lies in the support of small farmers (Nguo, Mwangi and Melly, 2014). Accordingly, the FAO calls to "support the development of agricultural, environmental and social policies conducive to sustainable family farming" and states that "in the right conditions smallholders can be at the forefront to a more sustainable and equitable transformation of agriculture" (Nguo, Mwangi and Melly, 2014, p. 4).

This disadvantage for small farmers is also apparent in the UK. There has been a strong decline in farms generally and small farmers have been worst affected (CPRE, 2017, Winter *et al.*, 2016). The Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE) predicted that this process could lead to farms under 20ha being lost within a generation (CPRE, 2017). Two main reasons seen as leading to this decline have been worsening prices for farmers over the last decade, as well as the EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) disproportionately supporting larger farms and disadvantaging small farmers (CPRE, 2017). Several sources have emphasised the importance of maintaining diversity in UK farm size and a need for government action to reverse the decline of small farms in the UK (CPRE, 2017; Winter *et al.*, 2016).

Solutions to improving the economic resilience of small farms in the UK have been suggested. These have included for instance the shortening of supply chains, in which farmers receive a larger share of the value of their products (Winter et. al 2016). Further seen as essential is making the engagement with small farmers a strategic priority within food governance and policy (Winter et. al 2016). As discussed in subsequent sections of this literature review, FMs can provide a space for small farmers to sustain livelihoods and can therefore be a policy tool to contribute to these solutions.

2.1.2 Inequalities in Access to Healthy Food

Inequalities in the food system also manifest in the form of health inequalities, reflected in a social gradient of obesity and diet-related disease (Marmot *et al.*, 2012). In Europe, diet-related ill-health, specifically obesity, diabetes, cancer and heart disease,

disproportionately affect low-income groups (Dowler, 2008a; Marmot *et al.*, 2012). Research has shown that inequalities in access to healthy food form a major factor leading to these health inequalities (Dixon *et al.*, 2007; Marmot *et al.*, 2012).

Access to healthy food has been found to be affected by multiple factors and different frameworks exist to conceptualise access. For instance, some researchers have identified economic, legal, practical, social and psychological constraints in accessing healthy food (Borch and Kjærnes, 2016). Overlapping with these constraints, other research has categorised the following domains of access: economic (cost and prices), spatial-temporal (location and transportation), service delivery (food quality/variety and customer service), as well as social and personal factors (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Specifically focusing on the UK, Machell and Caraher have used a framework focusing on three key barriers in access to healthy food: access to knowledge on food and nutrition, economic access and physical access (Machell and Caraher, 2012). All conceptualisations have highlighted economic access as a critical challenge (Dowler, 2008a; Barosh *et al.*, 2014; Caraher and Dowler, 2014). As this research was set in the UK context and the framework proposed by Machell and Caraher overlapped with the other existing frameworks, this framework was used in this research as a basis for exploring access to food (also see section 3.5.1.2).

Access to healthy food is influenced by the food environment (Barosh *et al.*, 2014). Multiple frameworks of the food environment exist and differ across studies (Glanz, 2009; McKinnon *et al.*, 2009; Cannuscio *et al.*, 2013; Mattioni, Marie and Brunori, 2020). However, broadly, it is understood as comprising "the foods available to people in their surroundings as they go about their everyday lives and the nutritional quality, safety, price, convenience, labelling and promotion of these foods" (FAO, 2016a, p. viii). FMs form part of the food environment (Glanz *et al.*, 2005; Larson, Story and Nelson, 2009); therefore their location, what kind of food is sold there, and for what prices, can affect different dimensions of access. As governance and policy can influence the food environment (Mattioni 2020), understanding how these factors are influenced by food governance is important.

Research has increasingly emphasised that not only is access to a healthy diet important, but the sustainability of food consumed needs to be considered as well (Mason and Lang, 2017). It has been suggested that solutions to hunger, food poverty and inequalities need to be addressed with a new agrarian food system, based on agroecological principles, as

well as social and ecological sustainability and rights (Caraher and Dowler, 2014). However, government advice based on the framing of individual choice on living more sustainably and not relying on cheap, exploitative food can widen inequalities, as those on low incomes cannot make these choices, due to structural determinants such as price (Dixon *et al.*, 2007; Caraher and Dowler, 2014). For instance, evidence found healthy and sustainable food to be more expensive than conventionally produced food; it further showed inequities in affordability while the poorest households would have to spend 33-44% of their weekly income, compared to 8-9% for the highest income quintile to purchase these foods (Barosh *et al.*, 2014). Thus, food security in cities while taking into account sustainability is becoming an internationally recognized issue of equity (Barosh *et al.*, 2014). Accordingly, it has been suggested that engagement with government is necessary to prevent policies towards sustainable consumption widening existing inequalities (Dowler, 2008a, 2008b). These views show that taking a food systems perspective is critical when addressing inequalities in access to food. As discussed in section 2.4, UFSs aim to address problems in the food system from such a food system perspective.

Inequalities in access to healthy food present an increasing problem in the UK food system. Insufficient access to food can lead to food insecurity, also referred to as food poverty, which in severe cases can ultimately lead to hunger and malnutrition (Borch and Kjærnes, 2016; I. FAO, 2016). Food poverty has been a rising issue in the UK, intensified by the economic crisis in 2008; the number of calories purchased has decreased and has been substituted with unhealthier food (Taylor-Robinson *et al.*, 2013). It has been shown that people living in the UK on minimum wage or less do not have enough money to meet basic needs, including food (Dowler, 2008b). In line with this, there has also been an exponential increase of people using food banks in recent years (The Trussel Trust, 2017, 2021). These circumstances have been intensified by the Covid-19 pandemic; 7.6% of households in the UK were experiencing food insecurity before the pandemic, while this number rose to above 9% since the beginning of the pandemic (Goudie and McIntyre, 2021).

It has been argued that inequalities in access to healthy food, reflected in the polarising of high value foods for high-income and low value foods for low-income citizens, have not adequately been addressed in health or food policy in the UK and globally (Hawkes, 2008; Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Dowler and O'Connor, 2012). It has been argued that addressing issues of food security on policy level in the UK and other countries will need to

involve guaranteeing citizens the right to food, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Riches and Silvasti, 2014; Caraher and Furey, 2018). Many have suggested that this right is currently not being fulfilled in the UK, reflected for instance in the government's reliance on food banks to provide food for low-income citizens, rather than changing the social welfare system and addressing the gap between income and food costs (de Schutter, 2014; Riches and Silvasti, 2014; Caraher and Furey, 2018). It has also been argued that issues of access to food have not been addressed partly due to inadequate diets being dominantly framed as a problem of 'individual choice' among policy makers in neoliberal states, rather than recognising the structural factors affecting diet, such as physical and economic access to healthy food (Dowler and O'Connor, 2012; Caraher and Dowler, 2014). Along this argument, access to food is seen to be left mainly to the market by policy (Caraher, 2003). However, scholars have suggested that more recent policy initiatives around food, including UFSs, have been recognising inequalities in access to food as affected by structural issues (Dowler, 2008a). UFSs are discussed in more detail in section 2.4 in this chapter.

2.1.3 Inequalities in London

These globally present inequalities in access to food and consequent health inequalities described above are also reflected in London, UK. London is a highly urbanised area of 8.5 million people. Vast socioeconomic inequalities exist across London and are visible in health outcomes (LDA, 2006b; Public Health England, 2015). Life expectancy declines across richer to poorer neighbourhoods and on individual level lowers with income and social gradient (Public Health England, 2015). Policy documents have identified inequalities in access to healthy food as a major factor contributing to these health inequalities (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005; LDA, 2006b). For example, thirteen wards in East London boroughs were shown to provide no or low levels of affordable fresh food (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005; LDA, 2006b). At the same time, the environmental impacts of the food system are evident in London; it is estimated that food consumption in London is responsible for 41% of London's "ecological footprint" (LDA, 2006b).

In 2006, a first UFS was developed in London and had as one its main aims to tackle inequalities in access to nutritious food, while simultaneously aimed to lower the environmental impact of the food consumed in London (LDA, 2006b). The goals and content of this strategy are discussed in detail in section 2.4.

2.2 Alternative Food Networks and Local Food Systems

Alternative Food Networks (AFNs) and local food systems have evolved in reaction to problems in the current food system described in section 2.1, such as to inequalities in access to healthy food, the struggle of small farmers, as well as to ecological and food safety issues (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). More recently, as is discussed in detail in section 2.4 and relevant to this study, AFNs and local food systems are included as part of a more sustainable, healthy and equitable food system in UFSs (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019). This section explores the conceptualisation of AFNs and local food systems, critiques thereof, as well as policy and governance surrounding AFNs and local food systems.

The concept of AFNs has been used as a broad term for networks of producers, consumers and other actors that embody alternatives to the global, industrialised food system (Murdoch et al., 2000 in Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003; Tregear, 2011). They are often also referred to as local food systems, alternative food systems or short food supply chains (Renting et al., 2012 in Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019), while others view short food supply chains and local food systems as forms of AFNs (Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003; Tregear, 2011; Matacena, 2016). These differences reflect a variation in conceptual and empirical definition of these concepts (Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003). For the remainder of this thesis, the terms 'local food system' and 'short food supply chain' will be used interchangeably, while seen as a form of AFN.

AFNs are seen to include but are not limited to short food supply chains, FMs, community-supported agriculture, urban agriculture, as well as organic agriculture and fair trade (Renting, Marsden and Banks, 2003; Matacena, 2016). AFNs have evolved or re-emerged in response to food safety scandals, as well as in response to general concerns around the global industrial agri-food system (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). The aim of people establishing AFNs has been described as wanting to express a differentiation or counteraction to the conventional food system, seeking to reduce its negative impacts by providing livelihoods for small farmers, supporting sustainable production methods and providing access to healthy food (Alkon and Mares, 2012; Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012; Matacena, 2016; Smith *et al.*, 2016; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). They have been regarded as having transformative potential to a more just, equal and sustainable food system (Matacena, 2016). They have seen huge growth over the last decades, in part driven

by an increasing demand by citizens for locally grown food and more diverse food supply chains (Wegener and Hanning, 2010; Marsden, Morgan and Morley, 2016; Matacena, 2016).

When examining AFNs, studies have described multiple social, environmental and economic benefits. The most commonly highlighted benefits have included local anchorage, economic viability, ecological sustainability, and social justice (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012; Matacena, 2016). More specifically, this included for example providing access to healthy food at a reasonable price, while increasing profit margins for small producers who have been marginalised in the industrial food system (Wegener and Hanning, 2010; Matacena, 2016). Further, studies have also concluded that AFNs provide ecological benefits by supporting more sustainable farming methods and reducing greenhouse-gas emissions (Wegener and Hanning, 2010).

Localising food supply chains often forms a dominant aspect of AFNs (Tregear, 2011; Kirwan and Maye, 2013). The aim of many AFNs is to establish regional and local food systems, which enhance the role of small and medium farmers using more sustainable production methods and provide a more direct relationship between producers and consumers (Matacena, 2016; Smith *et al.*, 2016). The meaning of 'local' and 'regional' varies depending on the context, however generally refers to a certain radius within which food is produced, processed, distributed and sold (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). This process of establishing more localised food systems, often with the goal of circumventing global, industrial food supply chains, has also been referred to as 're-localisation' (Hinrichs, 2003). FMs form part of such local food systems. They provide a space where farmers sell produce from within a certain radius directly to citizens. FMs have been referred to as "keystones in rebuilding local and regional food systems" (Gillespie *et al.*, 2007, p. 79) and are discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

Studies have suggested that local food systems can provide multiple benefits. These include increasing the availability of fresh and healthy food, reducing 'food miles', supporting small sustainable farms, revitalising local cultures, contributing to the local economy, cultivating a connection to a place, and strengthening communities (Feenstra, 2002; Gibb and Wittman, 2012). By its proponents, local food is often viewed as a means to address social injustices and ecological impacts within the current agri-food system and has been

frequently used as a proxy by people and organisations across the globe advocating for more sustainable food systems (Allen, 2010; Gibb and Wittman, 2012; Marsden and Morley, 2014). According to some, different discourses exist around local food; DuPuis and Goodman have distinguished between the US and European discourses of local food. While the US food activist discourse connects the localisation of food systems with environmental sustainability and social justice, in Europe it has become more integrated in a novel EU system to enhance rural livelihoods and protect European heritage (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005).

In the UK, no legal or single definition of 'local food' exists, although it is commonly understood as food that has been produced and sold within a relatively small area, often within 30 miles (Kirwan and Maye, 2013). However, this area can differ across context. For instance, the National Farmers Retail and Market Association (FARMA), an independent accrediting body ensuring standards of FMs and an organisation which supports farmers in selling their produce directly (DEFRA, 2012), normally stipulates that food at FARMA-certified FMs come within 30 miles of the market, however this extends to 100 miles for FMs located in a large city such as London (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). (While finalising this thesis, FARMA became the Farm Retail Association (Farm Retail Association, 2022), however will be referred to as FARMA for the remainder of this thesis). In the UK, sales of local food were estimated to lie around £4.7 billion in 2007 and were expected to grow to £6.2 billion by 2012, forming 3.5% of the total food market in the UK (Kirwan and Maye, 2013). However, reports on sales of local food are not sufficient to produce an accurate figure of its contribution to the UK food supply chain (Kirwan and Maye, 2013).

2.2.1 Critiques of Alternative Food Networks and Local Food Systems

Although AFNs and local food systems have evolved in response to problems in the current system and can provide multiple benefits, they have also been analysed critically in light of their claims of contributing to a more healthy, sustainable and equitable food system (Clancy, 1994; Allen *et al.*, 2003; Guthman, 2008; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). This section reviews some of the main critiques of AFNs and local food systems.

A major critique of AFNs and local food systems is focused on whether these systems contribute to a more equitable food system. Although advocates of the alternative food

movement, as well as academic literature refer to their potential of addressing inequalities in access to healthy food, in some cases AFNs and local food systems have been shown to exacerbate pre-existing inequalities, rather than improve them (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012; Caraher and Dowler, 2014; Marsden and Morley, 2014; Matacena, 2016). For instance, multiple studies in the US have highlighted the tendency of participants in local food systems to be white and more affluent, threatening AFNs to be exclusionary places for certain groups such as people from ethnic minorities and on low incomes (Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Guthman, 2008; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Tregear, 2011; Gibb and Wittman, 2012; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). Similarly, scholars have questioned whether all citizens are equally included in AFNs (Caraher and Dowler, 2014). On the other hand, some evidence has found a mix of socioeconomic status in AFN participants or even found people on low incomes joining AFNs as it provided better value than other food retail, reflecting the importance of analysis of participation on a case-by-case basis (Seyfang, 2006; Kneafsey *et al.*, 2008; Matacena, 2016).

Different reasons for possible low participation of minority or low-income communities in AFNs have been reported. These included AFNs to be elitist (Hinrichs and Kremer, 2002; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017), culturally and ethnically exclusive (Guthman, 2003; Alkon and Mares, 2012; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017) and that people on low incomes faced temporal, financial, social and geographical limitations to accessing them (Alkon and Mares, 2012; Caraher and Dowler, 2014; Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). Thus, as put by Hodgins and Fraser, the alternative food movement can only be a progressive force for the food system if it not only advances ecological sustainability and social justice for farmers, but for consumers as well (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017).

A further critical debate around AFNs and local food systems entails environmental sustainability. As described above, the assumed benefits of these systems are often based on the expectation that they entail more ecological farming methods (Forssell and Lankoski, 2015), as well as a reduction of transport emissions (Schönhart, Penker and Schmid, 2009). However, there is a danger of equating local food with environmental sustainability (Born and Purcell, 2006; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). Evidence that local food systems display a lower environmental impact compared to the conventional, globalised food system per se is scarce (Foster, Green and Bleda, 2007; Marsden and Morley, 2014).

For instance, research in Europe has found that local food systems can cover many different forms of agriculture (Winter, 2003; Watts, Ilbery and Maye, 2005) and that transport of food on average has been found to contribute little to overall food chain emissions (Garnett, 2011). Environmental sustainability in the food system is based on a highly complex set of measurements, which include the use of resources, pollution, damage to soil, water, and air (including greenhouse-gas emissions), biodiversity and ecosystems, and animal welfare (Forssell and Lankoski, 2015). Agricultural production methods and lower food miles only form part of this multi-dimensional process (Edwards-Jones *et al.*, 2008). In an examination of the overall sustainability of AFNs on a global level, research has concluded that AFNs may contribute to sustainability in many ways, while some aspects of sustainability are not addressed, as AFNs can be diverse and it depends on which characteristics they exhibit (Forssell and Lankoski, 2015). Thus, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that AFNs and local food systems are more environmentally sustainable; again, this would need to be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

The above critiques and findings demonstrate the importance of examining AFNs and local food systems critically in relation to their potential to transform the food system, rather than assuming economic, environmental and social benefits intrinsic to these systems. Accordingly, research has pointed out the necessity to be critical of AFNs and question their direction and values (DeLind, 2011). Other researchers have made similar recommendations in relation to local food systems. For instance, Born and Purcell have highlighted a need to avoid the 'local trap', referring to avoiding the assumption that local food systems inherently yield positive outcomes, such as environmental sustainability, food security, social justice and democracy (Born and Purcell, 2006). They have suggested that the local scale should not be seen as an end-goal in itself, but as a strategy which can help achieve certain equity and environmental benefits (Born and Purcell, 2006). Similarly, DuPuis and Goodman have advocated for a 'reflexive localism' approach. This approach involves a reflexive understanding of local food politics, focusing on the process of how local food systems can become more just and sustainable, rather than making assumptions that they exhibit these attributes intrinsically (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005). More recent research concurs with this approach, arguing that academic literature and popular discourse around AFNs making uncritical assumptions of benefits of these systems "can hamper our understanding about the sustainability of AFNs, with potential adverse consequences for efforts to build more sustainable food systems." (Forssell and Lankoski,

2015, p. 64). It has thus been concluded that research must examine the agendas which are being empowered in pursuing local food in each particular context (Born and Purcell, 2006). Particularly as AFNs and local food systems, such as FMs, feature in UFSs as part of a more sustainable food system, it is important to assess whether the agendas advanced in these instruments are aligned with equity and environmental goals in UFSs.

2.2.2 Policy and Governance

Local food as part of an alternative agri-food system has not only been promoted by food activists and academics but has also been integrated to a small extent in national or international policy, specifically in government reports towards future sustainable food systems (Marsden and Morley, 2014). In these cases, it is usually framed as part of the solution to co-exist with a dominant conventional sector (Marsden and Morley, 2014). For example, on EU policy level, local food has been regarded as marginal and has been supported mainly by rural development schemes; this compartmentalisation of local food can lead to tensions on how global and local food is defined in EU policy and throws up the question how short food supply chains should be regulated (Smith *et al.*, 2016). A study by Smith et al. concluded that policy makers need to acknowledge the interconnectedness of local and global food systems to drive the wider commitment to food sustainability (Smith *et al.*, 2016).

In the UK, support for local food on a national policy level was boosted in 2002 by a report published by the Policy Commission on the Future of Farming and Food, the 'Sustainable Farming and Food Strategy', which framed local food as a vehicle to support farmers and rural development (PCFFF, 2002; Kirwan and Maye, 2013). The framing of local food in this report was however critiqued by advocates of local food, who called for a realigning of the role of local food to integrate environmental sustainability, nutrition, and social justice (Kirwan and Maye, 2013). Overall, it has been argued that local food has been side-lined in government policy in the UK, as food security and resilience in the food system is seen to be able to be solved by relying primarily on the global food market and technological fixes, resulting in a negative influence on the development of local food systems (Kirwan and Maye, 2013).

More recently, AFNs and local food have featured as part of visions of more sustainable, healthy and equitable food systems in UFSs (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and

Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019), which is discussed in more detail in section 2.4. According to some scholars, these strategies take a 'reflexive localism' approach by not seeing re-localisation as an end goal, but as a means to an end, embedded in a wider vision of sustainability (Sonnino, 2016). More specifically, research has suggested that local food is often framed as providing economic and environmental benefits in UFSs (Sonnino, 2016, 2019), however while still taking a nuanced perspective to local food and avoiding the 'local trap' (Sonnino, 2019). However, UFSs have framed local food in different instances as providing the following benefits: a tool to enhance justice, economic development and employment opportunities, increase the availability of fresh and healthy food, and promote environmental conservation (Sonnino and Spayde, 2014). Thus, as these are not guaranteed outcomes of local food systems as argued above, it will be important to examine whether instruments providing local food, such as FMs, are delivering on these specific goals laid out in UFSs. And further, whether their agendas are aligned with the broader goals of sustainability and equity set out in UFSs.

2.3 Farmers' Markets

FMs are a form of AFN and form part of local food systems (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). They are generally understood as spaces where farmers access the local market and sell their produce directly to the public (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). As part of the rise and growth of AFNs generally in the last decades, FMs have re-emerged in increasing numbers primarily across Europe, the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012). Before this re-emergence, FMs had lost their once dominant position as a community institution due to the rise in the refrigeration of food and national supermarket chains (Gillespie *et al.*, 2007). They can provide livelihoods for small farmers (Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman, 2012) and simultaneously form part of the food environment and therefore play a role in access to healthy food.

FMs, as local food more broadly, are viewed by many NGOs, as well as academic researchers as beneficial on many levels, and are thus often presented as part of the solution to a more sustainable and equitable food system. In support of this perspective, studies have found that FMs can provide multiple benefits for citizens, farmers and the environment; these include fair prices and provision of livelihoods for farmers, supporting the local economy, supporting sustainable agriculture, providing fresh and healthy food at competitive prices, increasing fruit and vegetable consumption, protecting biodiversity, and

using less food miles (Brown, 2002; Stagl, 2002; Morris and Buller, 2003; Seyfang, 2005; Brown and Miller, 2008; Larsen and Gilliland, 2009; Project for Public Spaces & Columbia University, 2009; Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015). They have further been shown to provide a positive community space and links to other community activities and help raise awareness on food justice issues and ecological principles (Gillespie *et al.*, 2007; A. H. Alkon, 2008; Project for Public Spaces & Columbia University, 2009; Lowery *et al.*, 2016). Although research has shown that FMs can provide these benefits, some studies have provided more critical perspectives, including in relation to access (Figueroa-Rodríguez *et al.*, 2019), which is discussed below. Considering that local food systems and specifically FMs feature in UFSs as part of achieving a more sustainable and equitable food system (this is discussed in more detail in section 2.4), it is essential to engage with this more critical research to understand their role and contribution to the food system, specifically in relation to equity.

The following two sections will first review the development of FMs, as well as academic literature on FMs in the US (section 2.3.1) and then the UK (section 2.3.2), specifically focusing on an equity perspective. Most literature on FMs has been published in the US, with far less publications in Canada, the UK, Australia, New Zealand and other countries (Figueroa-Rodríguez *et al.*, 2019)**.**

2.3.1 Farmers' Markets in the US

This section reviews the development, policy environment and academic literature on FMs in the US in relation to equity. The US offers a very insightful case for examining FMs as they have seen huge growth since the 1970s, there have been multiple policies supporting access to FMs, including on city level, and they have been extensively studied in academic literature across different disciplines including from an equity perspective.

In the US, FMs started to reappear in the 1970s and numbers have rapidly increased since then (Markowitz, 2010). Between 1994 and 2016, numbers increased by as much as 394%, resulting in more than 8,600 markets across the US today (USDA, 2017b; Schupp, 2019). Spending on local food sold directly through farmers in the US doubled between the years 1992 and 2012, amounting to $1.4 billion in 2012 (USDA, 2017a). The re-emergence of FMs in the US is seen as grounded in social movements aiming to address issues in the current industrial food system (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Markowitz, 2010). This has been

expressed as FMs being “perhaps the most visible of a variety of new food-farm initiatives that have emerged since the 1970s through the swelling of variegated social movements aiming to create a healthier, environmentally and economically sustainable, and more equitable agri-food system.” (Markowitz, 2010). Thus, addressing issues of equity was one of the main drivers of the re-emergence of FMs in the US.

Public policy, in addition to social movements, has also contributed to the growth of FMs in the US (Lowery *et al.*, 2016). To support small farmers who were unable to compete in conventional markets, FMs in the US have been supported by federal policies since the 1970s. Supportive policies have included the US Congress Public Law 94-463 passed in 1976, also known as the Farmer-to-Consumer direct marketing Act (Brown, 2002), enabling local governments and non-profits to develop and promote FMs (Markowitz, 2010). A more recent policy supporting producers is the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Agricultural Marketing Service and its Farmers’ Market Promotion Program (Markowitz, 2010; USDA, 2017a). Within policy, FMs have been acknowledged as an important part of the food system, having been described as “a critical ingredient in local economies, food systems & communities” (USDA, 2013). They have also been recognised as beneficial by the planning community in the US. In 2007, the American Planning Association (APA) published a first policy guide on regional and community food planning; this included goals to assist in the development and increase access to FMs (APA, 2007).

The steady increase of FMs in the US since the 1970s has been accompanied by a growth in academic literature examining their development and role across a number of disciplines and public policy objectives. Early literature on FMs focused mainly on their economic impact (Brown, 2002; Brown and Miller, 2008). This included for instance the economic impact on farmers and communities, such as increases in employment and contribution of markets to farmers’ livelihoods (Brown, 2002; Brown and Miller, 2008). Research into non-economic and social impacts of FMs, including wider implications for the food system, was relatively uncommon before 2002 (Brown, 2002). This however changed in subsequent decades, in which research on FMs expanded into other disciplines, including the fields of nutrition, health, agriculture, consumer sciences, community development, sociology, environmental sciences, and parks and recreation (Freedman *et al.*, 2016).

Around the year 2000, a body of literature started to emerge which examined FMs from a public health equity perspective. This involved for instance examining them as a means for accessing healthy food for low-income groups and looking at impacts of the use of FMs on diets. Taking this perspective in academic research was linked, first of all, to the introduction of several government policies providing vouchers for low-income citizens for use at FMs. Secondly, FMs were being promoted by NGOs, academics and policy as an opportunity to increase access to healthy food in low-income communities and contribute to food justice (Larsen and Gilliland, 2009; Project for Public Spaces & Columbia University, 2009; Ruelas *et al.*, 2012; Dimitri *et al.*, 2015; Lambert-Pennington and Hicks, 2016; Lowery *et al.*, 2016). Research therefore aimed to evaluate and provide evidence on the accessibility to and impact of FMs.

The reasons why citizens frequent FMs, barriers they encounter in accessing them, as well as their demographics provide important evidence for shaping policy on creating access to FMs. Studies have found the main motivations for attending FMs to include the offer of high-quality food for reasonable prices, the social benefits, the perceived quality, healthfulness and freshness of the food, as well as the variety of produce offered, including local and organic foods (Brown, 2002; Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Motivations were similar among lower and higher income groups (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Other research has similarly found that both low and high-income communities had interest in buying local and organic agricultural produce, concluding that "the attractiveness of these products transcends the educational, income and subcultural difference represented by these two communities" (Burns, 1996; Stephenson and Lev, 2004).

However in spite of this interest, similarly as with AFNs more generally, studies have found inequalities in access to FMs. Research has reported the majority of customers at FMs to be Caucasian, middle-aged, middle-income and well-educated women (Brown, 2002; Betz and Farmer, 2016; Figueroa-Rodríguez *et al.*, 2019), demonstrating a lack of diverse clientele. In line with these findings, research has found that some citizens, including people on low incomes, face geographical, economic and cultural barriers in accessing FMs. Reflecting spatial barriers, FMs have been found to be predominantly located in affluent and white communities and were found to provide more fruits and vegetables in these neighbourhoods (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Harrison *et al.*, 2010; Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Singleton, Sen and Affuso, 2015; Lowery *et al.*, 2016; Schupp, 2019). California had

the highest number of FMs in the US in 2012 (Agricultural Marketing Resource Centre, 2012), however, only 14% were situated in low-income neighbourhoods (Friends of the Earth, 2000; Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Jones and Bhatia, 2011). Highlighting the significance of these inequalities in the food environment, recipients of food vouchers have reported one of the main barriers in accessing FMs to be the location of FMs (Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015).

People in the US have been found to also face economic barriers in accessing FMs. Research has shown that a main barrier in accessing FMs for people using food vouchers to be the lack of acceptance of these vouchers (Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015), demonstrating that FMs were not accessible without financial support. Also others have suggested that there is a need for private or public subsidies, such as food vouchers, to guarantee affordability of FMs for low-income citizens, if to provide a sufficient return for farmers (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Allen, 2010; Markowitz, 2010; Johnson *et al.*, 2012), highlighting a tension between equality in access to FMs for low-income citizens and fair prices for farmers.

In contrast to these reported economic barriers, other research has not reported clear economic barriers to FMs. As described in detail in section 2.1, the price of food is one of the main determinants in accessing healthy food (Dowler, 2008a; Barosh *et al.*, 2014). Accordingly, research has examined how prices at FMs are perceived by citizens, as well as have examined actual prices of food at FMs. A review by Freedman et al. in 2016 summarised that multiple studies had shown that for both low-income and high-income citizens, prices at FMs had been most often perceived as fair and good value, whereas only some viewed them as high (Freedman *et al.*, 2016), showing no clear indication that people on low incomes felt that prices were too high at FMs.

Very few studies in the US have actually measured prices at FMs and compared them to other food retail to gain insight into economic access. In addition, some of the research is dated. The few existing studies have shown differing results. Some evidence found FMs to offer a price saving compared to supermarkets (Sommer, Wing and Aitkens, 1980; Larsen and Gilliland, 2009; Lee *et al.*, 2010; McGuirt *et al.*, 2011) or other retail, such as grocery stores or convenience stores (Brucato, 1948; Hess, 1974; Brown, 2002; Larsen and Gilliland, 2009; Lee *et al.*, 2010; McGuirt *et al.*, 2011). In one case introducing a FM to a food desert

had even lowered prices in surrounding retail (Larsen and Gilliland, 2009), demonstrating that the presence of an FM increased economic access to food in general. On the other hand, studies found FMs to be comparable or more expensive than supermarket prices for some products (Blake, 1994; Brown, 2002; Pearson *et al.*, 2014; Lucan *et al.*, 2015), more expensive compared to grocery stores (Wheeler and Chapman-Novakofski, 2014), as well as to vegetable and fruit markets (Pearson *et al.*, 2014; Lucan *et al.*, 2015). These mixed results across studies demonstrate the difficulty of making definite conclusions about economic accessibility to FMs compared to other food retail. In coherence with this, other authors have called for more research on prices at FMs in different communities, how they are determined and how they compare to other retail (Ruelas *et al.*, 2012). Thus, more research is needed to understand the role of FMs in the food environment.

A third challenge in accessing FMs concerns cultural barriers. Evidence has pointed to FMs being excluding, unwelcoming or even discriminatory places for citizens from ethnic minorities and low-income citizens (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Guthman, 2008; Markowitz, 2010; Freedman *et al.*, 2016). For example, families using food vouchers had explained that they had not only encountered economic barriers to FMs, but also felt barriers concerning residential segregation and culture (Wetherill and Gray, 2015). A lack of racial diversity among farmers also was found to contribute to a feeling of social exclusion and an unwelcoming space for outsiders (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). In another example, research at a FM which had been initiated to address a lack of access to healthy food, found that food vouchers (discussed below) did not overcome less tangible barriers such as perceptions of space and belonging, leading to exclusion based on race and class (Lambert-Pennington and Hicks, 2016). The study concluded that the ongoing resistance of acknowledging FMs as places of racial inequality continued to challenge their food justice potential (Lambert-Pennington and Hicks, 2016). In line with this argument, it has been suggested based on an analysis in California, that FMs “reflect a variant of whiteness that is distinguished by its tendency to maintain a liberal regard for cultural diversity while leaving race and class privileges unexamined.” (Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Gibb and Wittman, 2012, p. 3).

The following section reviews how policy and governance around FMs in the US has aimed to address geographic and economic barriers in access.

2.3.1.1 Policy and Governance around Farmers' Markets in the US

Several policies on federal level in the US have been introduced to support and encourage economic access to FMs. These programs emerged partly in response to lobbying by Community Food Security activists in the 1990s, who formulated a vision of food security, based on community self-reliance and sustainable regional and local agriculture (Markowitz, 2010). In 1992, US Congress introduced the Women, Infant and Children's Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (WIC FMNP), with funds allocated through state governments (USDA, 2016). The scheme provides coupons for purchase of fruits and vegetables at FMs, with the aim of providing fresh, locally grown fruits and vegetables to women, infant and children, while increasing awareness, use and sales of FMs (USDA, 2016). In 2015, there were 1.7 million recipients and 3,390 FMs accepting these vouchers (USDA, 2016). A further subsidy program with similar goals was introduced under the 2002 Farm Bill, the Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) (USDA, 2012). It operates through grants administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and provides coupons for low-income seniors to buy fresh fruits and vegetables at FMs (USDA, 2012). By 2011, 4598 FMs were participating in this scheme (USDA, 2012). In addition, the main federal nutrition subsidy in the US for citizens on low incomes, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) can be used at selected FMs, with one in four FMs in the US accepting SNAP benefits (Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Dimitri *et al.*, 2015). In addition to these government policies, grassroots organisations started providing 'farmers' market incentives', in which SNAP recipients receive coupons to match their SNAP redemption for fruits and vegetables at FMs, to further incentivize a high-quality diet for SNAP users (Dimitri *et al.*, 2015; NAFMNP, 2017; USDA, 2017c). These incentives have been traditionally offered by non-profits and local jurisdictions, however were later included in the 2014 Food Insecurity Nutrition Incentive Program within the US government (Dimitri *et al.*, 2015; NAFMNP, 2017; USDA, 2017c; Saitone and McLaughlin, 2018). These examples demonstrate that FMs are used as policy instruments in US policy, as well as by grassroots organisations, for improving access to fruits and vegetables for low-income citizens.

Policy support for increasing geographic and economic access to FMs also exists on city policy level. For instance, local jurisdictions were found to be instituting policies facilitating FMs in areas with little food retail (Fang *et al.*, 2013). However, in these cases, subsidy programs were still often needed to make them accessible (Dimitri *et al.*, 2015). Similarly, building on the work of the already established Food Policy Council (FPC) (defined in

section 2.4) in 2011, the Los Angeles City Council approved a plan in 2015 for reducing food insecurity, which included the aim of ensuring that more citizens lived within a mile of a FM (Lowery *et al.*, 2016). Efforts on behalf of FPCs to improve access to FMs are presented in more detail in section 2.4.1.

People running FMs have also employed different strategies to increase access. This has included for instance setting up FMs intentionally in low-income and ethnic minority neighbourhoods (A. Alkon, 2008; Young *et al.*, 2011; Ruelas *et al.*, 2012; Schupp, 2019), farmers deliberately lowering their prices in low-income communities (A. Alkon, 2008), as well as accepting the multiple food voucher schemes mentioned above (Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Dimitri *et al.*, 2015). These governance decisions can affect location and prices and can have impact on access for low-income communities. The importance of governance of FMs on access has previously been emphasised. Betz and Farmer had found that different modes of governance of FMs were linked to income and ethnicity of customers at FMs (Betz and Farmer, 2016). Emphasising the importance of understanding the governance of FMs, the researchers thus concluded that "by better understanding how the emerging governance system impacts who ultimately attends the market, agencies coordinating farmers' markets and market managers can better understand how to reach potential non-participants", and therefore cater to diverse communities (Betz and Farmer, 2016, p. 1431).

Research has provided suggestions for changes in governance to address equity. Scholars have recommended structural levers on local, state and national government level; these included supporting appropriate locations and accessibility of markets, as well as government subsidies to incentivise growing of fruits and vegetables for sale at FMs to facilitate competitive prices (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Further, recommendations on organisational and community level have entailed the promotion of markets, the formation of local health food policy coalitions to support improved access to FMs and to target social norms relating to FMs (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Markowitz concluded that the establishment of FMs that served lower-income communities needed an interplay between government (local, state, and/or federal) and community-based efforts (Markowitz, 2010). The importance and challenge of creating policy and governance around FMs was summarised by Lowery who highlighted that "crafting public policy to regulate the location of nutritional resources such as farmers' markets remains a challenge because farmers' markets, like any other marketplace, are not a natural occurrence; their form, function, and

purpose must be instigated and maintained through carefully crafted public policies" (Lowery *et al.*, 2016, p. 255).

2.3.2 Farmers' Markets in the UK

In the UK, the re-emergence of FMs has taken a slightly different trajectory compared to the US in relation to the time of re-emergence, reasons for re-emerging, policy and focus within academic literature. Equity has not played a major role in policy or academic literature around FMs in the UK, as it has in the US.

In the UK, FMs began re-emerging in 1997, twenty years later than in the US, and have since increased to more than 750 today (FARMA, 2017). Early academic research on FMs described them as the "fastest-growing innovations in food supply in recent years" (Bentley 2003). Similar to the US, sales increased in the UK as the number of FMs grew, from £166 million in 2002 to £220 million in 2008, still remaining at that level in 2011 (Statista, 2017). In 1999, the National Farmers Retail and Market Association (FARMA) was formed, acting as an independent accrediting body for ensuring standards of markets, as well as, an organisation supporting farmers selling their produce directly (DEFRA, 2012). It was formed by the Soil Association and the Bath Environment Centre, forming a network across England, Wales, and Scotland to ensure a certain standard (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000; Bentley, Hallsworth and Bryan, 2003). According to FARMA, a FM is "…a market in which farmers, growers or producers from a defined local area are present in person to sell their own produce, direct to the public. All products sold should have been grown, reared, caught, brewed, pickled, baked, smoked or processed by the stallholder." (DEFRA, 2012). As mentioned in section 2.2, while finalising this thesis, FARMA changed its name to the Farm Retail Association (Farm Retail Association, 2022), however will be continued to be referred to as FARMA in this thesis.

In the UK, the re-emergence of FMs has had slightly different drivers as compared to the US. The first main driver described in the literature was to enable better prices for farmers (La Trobe, 2001; Morris and Buller, 2003; FARMA, 2017). This was a response to poor farm prices, with producers needing a viable route to market their produce (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; FARMA, 2017). A second driver was a change in consumer demand in response to several food crises in the agricultural sector in the 1990s, such as BSE and Foot and Mouth disease; these crises had led consumers and farmers to mistrust the globalised

food system and raised concerns around safety, sources and quality of food (La Trobe, 2001; Morris and Buller, 2003; FARMA, 2017). In addition, the organic movement has been viewed as having a strong influence on the FM movement (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000; Bentley, Hallsworth and Bryan, 2003). According to DuPuis and Goodman, the re-emergence was thus more focused on rural livelihoods and the origin of food, rather than based on social movements demanding more justice in the food system, as it had been in the US (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005). However, the second FM established in the UK was set up by an organisation aiming to bring healthy, sustainable and affordable food to the city (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015), contrasting the perspective that social justice had not been a driver of the FM movement in the UK. Thus, although the focus was seen to be on farmers' livelihoods and food safety, there was also motivation within the movement to increase access to healthy food through affordable prices; the motivations for establishing FMs seemed to differ depending on governance of the market.

Academic research on FMs in the UK has been much more limited compared to the large body of literature on FMs in the US. Firstly, it is much more limited in terms of quantity. Only twenty studies on FMs were identified as part of this literature review, which were mainly published between the years 2000 and 2012. To the current knowledge of the researcher there has only been one academic publication on FMs in the UK since 2012, demonstrating a lack of up-to-date research. Secondly, due to the limited number of publications, the scope of lenses from which FMs have been studied is also limited. As described above, FMs in the US have been studied from multiple perspectives. In the UK, the focus of studies has been mainly on the viability of markets, motivations among consumers and farmers for using FMs, sociological analyses of FMs as alternative spaces, as well as perceptions of quality and taste of the food (Moore, 2006; Carey *et al.*, 2011; Spiller, 2012) (see Table 3 for overview of UK literature by focus).

In contrast to the US, FMs in the UK have not been examined from a public health or equity perspective. They have not been framed in academic literature as a strategy for improving access to healthy food and as potentially contributing to food security in communities. In the US, the proportion of studies including low-income populations has increased over time, from 25% in 2000-2004 to 60.9% in 2010-2014 (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). This trend has not been seen the UK (Freedman *et al.*, 2016). For instance, only one study in UK literature has examined experiences of people at FMs from different socio-economic backgrounds

(Chambers *et al.*, 2007; Freedman *et al.*, 2016). This gap in UK literature could be partly a consequence of the differences of why FMs emerged in the UK, focused more on farmers' livelihoods and food safety, rather than aiming to provide healthy food access.

Although no UK studies have specifically set out to examine different dimensions of access to FMs, some insight can be gained from existing studies. For instance, one study mentioned briefly how FMs should be situated near public transport in order for people without a car to be able to access them (La Trobe, 2001), acknowledging issues of access for some citizens. Further, some studies have collected demographic data of people frequenting FMs, including their occupation, age and gender. For example, one study found that people frequenting a FM were mainly educated, urban, middle-class, and middle-aged (Moore, 2006), reflecting a non-diverse clientele. On the other hand, research has found that people attending FMs were often retired, and if not, their occupation varied widely from "trades people to professionals" (Brown, 2002; Szmigin, Maddock and Carrigan, 2003; Youngs, 2003, p. 515; Lyon *et al.*, 2009; Carey *et al.*, 2011), demonstrating more diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. However, these data were not collected with the aim of analysing access for people from different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds and can therefore provide only very limited insight into access to FMs.

Existing research on FMs in the UK can also provide some insight into economic access to FMs, even though this was not specifically examined. Several studies have shown that FMs were perceived by citizens as more expensive than other food retail. For example, although not examined across different socioeconomic groups, studies have found that higher prices formed a barrier for people using FMs (Archer *et al.*, 2003; Lyon *et al.*, 2009). Further, a study investigating food access in Hackney for different ethnic groups revealed that the majority of people in the study were suspicious of FMs, due to the perception of them being expensive (Bowyer *et al.*, 2009). Research at a FM in Birmingham found that 33% of shoppers at FMs found them to be more expensive than other food retail, while only 6% thought products at FMs were cheap; 24% did not have an opinion or thought it depended on the products (Bentley, Hallsworth and Bryan, 2003). The only study in the UK which explored experiences across different socioeconomic groups found that the majority of participants at FMs thought local food and FMs were more expensive than supermarkets, with no difference across socioeconomic groups (Chambers *et al.*, 2007). These views however were often based on perceptions, rather than direct experience of FMs (Chambers

et al., 2007). In contrast to these findings, other evidence has found price not to be barrier for people deciding to use FMs (La Trobe, 2001; Carey *et al.*, 2011); however in these cases interviews had only been conducted with people attending FMs. People for whom price would be a barrier in accessing a FM could be assumed not to be shopping at a FM. Overall, although not always a barrier to using FMs, findings from the literature indicate that food at FMs was generally perceived as more expensive than other retail.

Only one academic publication has collected data on actual prices at FMs and compared this to other food retail. This study found prices for organic produce at FMs to be cheaper than in supermarkets, sometimes even cheaper than non-organic products in supermarkets (La Trobe, 2001). These numbers were accurate in 1999 and are very dated at this point, however they do counteract the perception of prices at FMs being higher compared to other retail, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. Providing more recent evidence on prices, a report on street markets and FMs commissioned by the LFB in 2005 found prices at two examined FMs in London to be competitive with neighbourhood supermarkets (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005). Similarly, providing more up-to-date price comparisons, in 2017, a FM in London had compared the cost of 1kg of organic beetroot at their FM to supermarkets and delivery schemes (e.g. Sainsbury's delivery and Ocado) and found it to be at least half the price at the FM (information from a poster seen by the researcher at a FM in London). These resources point to a potential for FMs to provide an affordable source of healthy food in communities.

In addition to a gap in academic literature examining FMs from an equity perspective, scholars conducting studies on FMs in the UK seemed not to view equality in access to FMs as desirable. For example, one study had concluded FMs to be a great opportunity for high-income residents to buy high quality food (Bentley, Hallsworth and Bryan, 2003). Other evidence suggested that the greatest potential for local and regional food markets lie in urban communities, specifically those with greater purchasing power (Youngs, 2003). In terms of supporting farmers and rural economics these conclusions may be valid. However these conclusions and suggestions were not seen as problematic by the researchers, indicating that FMs are not framed within a food system perspective which aims to create more equitable food environments.

Although there is a lack of academic literature on access to FMs, some non-academic resources have provided insight into access for low-income groups to FMs in the UK. For instance, Growing Communities, a social enterprise running a FM in London, performed independent research on their FM in 2013 and found that 33% of their customers considered themselves on a low income (Growing Communities, 2013). In addition, the report commissioned by the LFB in 2005 on street markets and FMs examined two FMs in London in relation to their role in providing access to nutritious food, particularly for people on low-income and ethnic communities; it concluded that FMs increased access to fruits and vegetables for diverse populations (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005). These findings highlight that FMs in the UK could serve as a source of access to fresh fruits and vegetables for diverse communities. The role of FMs in the UK food system in relation to equality in access remains to be investigated by academic research.

2.3.2.1 Policy and Governance

In the UK, no national policies are in place that have been set up to directly support FMs, as has been the case in the US. However, some regional and national policies have aimed to support rural livelihoods and local food which have supported FMs in the past, however they were not directly aimed at supporting FMs. These have included the Processing and Marketing Grant (PMG) scheme and Rural Enterprise Scheme (Morris and Buller, 2003), the North West Rural Recovery Plan, a fair Deal for rural England (Youngs, 2003), the Policy Commission on Farming and Food 2002 (Chambers *et al.*, 2007), as well as the Local Agenda 21 scheme (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000).

The UK has also not had any national policies in place specifically aimed at increasing access to FMs, combining the support of farmers and access to food, as has been the case in the US (see section 2.3.1). A UK government-level food voucher scheme, Healthy Start, can be used at FMs; the Healthy Start scheme is aimed at low-income pregnant women or with a child under the age of four and provides vouchers which can be redeemed for milk, fruits and vegetables in 30.000 shops across the UK (Department of Health, 2017). Although the Healthy Start scheme mentions market stalls as a possibility for redemption, the policy is not aimed at promoting the use of FMs. A further food voucher scheme for low-income citizens run by a UK charity, the Alexandra Rose voucher scheme, was originally modelled after FM incentives offered by charities in the US (see section 2.3.1). However, in the UK, the scheme has been mostly linked with street markets rather than FMs, and is not set out specifically to encourage the use of FMs for recipients (Alexandra Rose Charity, 2021).

Thus, FMs have not been used as a public health strategy by NGOs or UK policy as a means of increasing access to healthy food for low-income citizens.

More recently, local food systems, including FMs, have been included in UFSs as part of a more sustainable, healthy and equitable food system, which is discussed in more detail in the next section of this literature review (section 2.4). However, none of the twenty studies on FMs in the UK have mentioned these policies or explored how these goals have been implemented in practice and are linked with the governance of FMs. Reasons for this could include, first of all, that authors had different research interests and were not approaching FMs from a food policy and governance perspective, and secondly, there had not always been UFSs in place when FMs were examined. For example, when two FMs in London were studied in 2001 (Kirwan, 2004, 2006), no UFSs in London had been developed. The body of literature on UFSs in the UK has also not explored these links (this is discussed in more detail in section 2.4). UFSs aim to support local food and FMs, while at the same time aim to address inequalities in access to food. To understand whether FMs can be used as instruments contributing to a more equitable food system, more evidence is needed on equity and FMs.

No studies on UK FMs have set out to specifically examine governance and policy around FMs. Nevertheless, some research has provided some insight into the governance of FMs in the UK. Studies revealed that governance structures have differed across the UK. FMs across the UK have been run for instance by local councils, commercial companies, producer coops, private people or voluntary organisations (Holloway and Kneafsey, 2000; La Trobe, 2001; Bentley, Hallsworth and Bryan, 2003; Youngs, 2003; MacLeod, 2007; Lyon *et al.*, 2009). Studies which have examined FMs located in London have however not provided insight into their governance structure (Kirwan, 2004, 2006). As discussed in section 2.3.1, research from the US has shown that governance can affect access. Therefore exploring the governance of FMs in the UK, and the consideration of access within this, is essential to understand how FMs are currently contributing to the food system, and potentially can contribute to a more equitable and sustainable food system.

Summarising section 2.3.2, Table 2 below provides an overview of all UK publications on FMs by broad topics, demonstrating a lack of research on both access to FMs and links to UFSs.

Research Themes	Publication
Systematic Review	None
Public Health/Equality in Access	None
Urban Food Strategies	None
Policy/Governance	1.) Morris and Buller 2003. The local food sector: A preliminary assessment of its form and impact in Gloucestershire. British Food Journal 2.) Chambers et al 2007. Local, national and imported foods: a qualitative study. Appetite
Sociology/Psychology	1.) Holloway and Kneafsey 2000. Reading the space of the farmers' market: a preliminary investigation from the UK. Sociologica Ruralis 2.) Szmigin et al 2003. Conceptualising community consumption: farmers' markets and the older consumer. British Food Journal 3.) Kirwan 2004. Alternative Strategies in the UK Agro-Food System: Interrogating the Alterity of farmers' markets. Sociologica Ruralis 4.) Moore 2006. Understanding postorganic fresh fruit and vegetable consumers at participatory farmers' market in Ireland: reflexivity, trust and social movements. Journal of Consumer Studies 5.) Kirwan 2006. The interpersonal world of direct marketing: Examining conventions of quality at UK farmers' markets. Journal of Rural Studies 6.) Spiller 2012. It tastes better because…consumer understandings of UK farmers market food. Appetite 7.) Zhao and Wise 2019. Evaluating the intersection between "green events" and sense of community at Liverpool's Lark Lane Farmers Market. Journal of Community Psychology
Perspectives of citizens, FM customers and producers/stallholders	1.) Latacz-Lohmann and Laughton 2000. Farmers' markets in the UK - a study of farmers' perceptions. Farm Management 2.) Trobe 2001. Farmers' markets: Consuming local rural produce. International Journal of Consumer Studies 3.) Archer et al 2003. Latent consumers' attitude to farmers' markets in North West England. British Food Journal 4.) Youngs 2003. Consumer direct initiatives in North West England farmers' markets. British Food Journal 5.) Bentley et al 2003. The countryside in the City: Situating a farmers' market in Birmingham. Local Economy 6.) MacLeod 2007. The origins, operations, and future of farmers' markets in Scotland. Journal of Farm Management 7.) Lyon et al 2009. Shopping at the farmers' market: consumers and their perspectives. Journal of foodservice 8.) Carey et al 2011. Farmers' Market consumers: a Scottish perspective. International Journal for Consumer Studies 9.) Bowyer et al 2009. Shopping for food: lessons from a London borough. British Food Journal
Other	1.) Thomas et al 2004. Internet adoption by farmers' markets and small farming enterprises in south-east Wales. Outlook on Agriculture 2.) Pickernell et al 2004. Farmers markets in Wales: Making the 'Net work?. British Food Journal

Table 2: Overview of Academic Publications on Farmers' Markets in the UK according to Research Topics

2.3.3 Farmers' Markets in London

London offers an excellent platform for exploring the themes of inequalities in access to food, urban food governance and FMs: it provides an example of a highly urbanised area

with high levels of food poverty and health inequalities, as well as a diverse population and diverse food retail, including multiple FMs. It has had UFS in place on mayoral and borough level for more than a decade aiming to address issues of access, as well as aiming to support local food systems and FMs.

Only two previous academic papers have been published on FMs in London. Data for both these studies were collected in 2001 and is thus not very recent. Further, the studies examined FMs in London in relation to the alterity and social space of FMs by using theories of embeddedness and regard, as well as in relation to the construction of food quality at FMs using convention theory (Kirwan, 2004, 2006). Thus, no previous studies have provided insight into equality in access to and governance of FMs nor links of their governance to UFSs.

Preliminary mapping for this study showed that there were approximately forty FMs in London at the time of the literature review. They were run by approximately seven different organisations. Several of the organisations were founded around the year 2000.

2.4 Urban Food Policy

2.4.1 Novel Food Governance Systems

In response to the problems in the current food system (as described in section 2.1), and due to a lack of integrated national food policies, cities are becoming important players in food system reform (Morgan, 2015). In the past decades, agri-food policy has been mostly dominated by national governments and international bodies (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015). However more recently, cities are becoming places of transitions to new food governance systems (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015; Morgan, 2015). These initiatives have been manifesting in different ways; as food policy councils (FPCs), food boards, food partnerships, as well as UFSs (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015). In most cases, they bring together different actors from civil society, the private sector and the local state to move towards just and sustainable food systems (Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015; Matacena, 2016). These novel governance systems are a global phenomenon, however they have most frequently emerged across the US, Canada, and the UK (Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019).

Urban food governance mechanisms have also formed national, regional and global networks (Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019). A global network was formed in October 2015, when mayors from 113 cities across the world came together in Milan to sign the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) (MUFPP, 2015). By the end of 2020, the list of signatory cities had grown to 210 (MUFPP, 2020b). The objectives of the MUFPP are to better collaborate to shape inclusive, resilient, sustainable local food supply chains and good food cultures, while living within environmental limits (MUFPP, 2015). A monitoring framework for the implementation of the MUFPP has also been developed (MUFPP, 2020a). Although approved by the UN, the pact is not legally binding, but rather has been described as providing strategic options for cities wanting to build more sustainable food systems (Cretella, 2016a). In the UK, a national network was founded in 2011, the Sustainable Food Cities Network (SFCN), now known as the Sustainable Food Places Network (SFPN) (*Sustainable Food Places*, 2020). It had been initiated by NGOs working towards more sustainable food systems, including Sustain, Food Matters and the Soil Association (Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019; *Sustainable Food Places*, 2020). The goal of the SFPN is to foster and enable cities to develop sustainable food programmes, to provide a platform for exchange of information and experience, and to provide guidance for developing food strategies (Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019). It has been argued that local efforts will remain partial and symbolic unless cities can form a trans-local urban food movement, such as the SFPN, to deliver a more ambitious reform of the food system (Morgan, 2015).

In the US, urban food governance systems most often take the form of FPCs. The first FPC in the US was set up in 1980 in Knoxville, Tennessee (Marsden and Morley, 2014). Since then, the number of FPCs has increased steadily, amounting to 284 active FPCs at the end of 2017 (Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019). FPCs have been described as spaces where food system stakeholders, including professionals, business, government and community members come together to identify and address food system issues (APA, 2007; Morgan, 2015; Calancie *et al.*, 2018; Bassarab *et al.*, 2019). A FPC can be defined as a policy advisory body, which affects food system change through the coordination of programs, by informing policy and by influencing existing political processes and institutions (Schiff, 2008). This has been summarised as FPCs being "organizations of people who are endowed with a mandate and, at least ideally, the power and the authority to effect food system change through the design of policies that integrate food with other policy areas – including health, the environment, transport and anti-poverty" (Sonnino and Spayde, 2014,

p. 189). FPCs are not necessarily embedded officially in local government, although the number of FPCs situated within governments has been increasing (Mansfield and Mendes, 2013; Morgan, 2015). No consistent form of FPC exists; each FPC has its own unique organisational structure reflecting varied and complex decision-making processes (Bassarab *et al.*, 2019). Although mostly a US and Canadian phenomenon, some FPCs have also been formed in the UK (Cretella, 2016a; Santo and Moragues-Faus, 2019).

In Europe, new food governance mechanisms have been reflected predominantly in the development of UFSs (Morgan, 2015; Cretella, 2016a). The first UFS in Europe was developed in 2004 in Cardiff (UK), followed by Brighton (UK) and London (UK) in 2006 (Cretella, 2016a). Between 2004 and 2014, thirty-six UFSs were launched in Europe, eleven of these in the UK (Cretella, 2016a). The emergence of UFSs in Europe has been attributed to an increased acknowledgment of the importance of food in urban settings in relation to logistics, security, health impacts, quality, sustainability and social inclusiveness (Cretella, 2016b) and similarly by others to a 'novel geography of food security', characterized by urbanisation, the financial crisis, widening socioeconomic inequalities, and a range of ecological issues across the food chain (Sonnino, 2016). In contrast to FPCs, UFSs are always anchored in local government (Ilieva, 2017). They have been defined as "municipal policy documents that problematize food in its social, economic and environmental dimensions by reframing it as part of the urban realm, and by acknowledging and organizing the activities of civil society and institutions within specific administrative or geographic limits. Urban food strategies assume the urban not much as a scale of intervention, but as a political unit able to produce change." (Cretella, 2016a, p. 314). UFSs usually follow a similar format entailing a vision statement, an action plan, and in some cases indicators to measure progress (Sonnino, 2016). The development process of UFSs has differed from place to place; it has been steered by task forces of lead experts in combination with public consultations, by FPCs, by interdepartmental teams in local government, or by regional planning authorities (Ilieva, 2017). Although UFSs are anchored within municipal governments, they are not very often legally binding (Ilieva, 2017).

Scholars have emphasised that UFSs are still in their infancy, academic research on UFSs is still scarce and that as yet no coherent definition of these policies exists in academic literature (Cretella, 2016a; Ilieva, 2017). However, across existing analyses of UFSs, common themes emerge around their definition. First of all, researchers have highlighted a

food system perspective within UFSs. For example, UFSs have been referred to as providing a picture of the "current food system and a roadmap for how to improve it through leadership at the local level" (Ilieva, 2017, p. 3). Similarly, Morgan has described the common thread of UFSs and FPCs as the "political desire to address socio-ecological problems associated with or generated by the industrial food system" (Morgan, 2015, p. 1388). Other research has described UFSs as contributing to a more sustainable food system (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Matacena, 2016), a "process consisting of how a city envisions change in the food system" (Moragues *et al.*, 2013, p. 6), and "an official plan or road map that helps city governments integrate a full spectrum of urban food system issues within a single policy framework" (Mansfield and Mendes, 2013, p. 38). A recent analysis of nineteen UFSs has concluded that a food system perspective is one of the fundamental values informing UFSs (Sonnino, 2019). Further common themes when describing UFS involve their focus on sustainability (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010; Cretella, 2019), their aims around supporting regional producers and connecting the rural and the urban realm (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Matacena, 2016; Sonnino, 2016), as well as the intention to address inequalities to healthy food (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Matacena, 2016). The two latter goals are discussed in more detail in the following two paragraphs due to their relevance to this study.

As already mentioned in section 2.2, the support of local food systems features in UFSs as part of creating a more sustainable and equitable food system (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019). Although an integral part in these strategies, local food can be defined in slightly different ways, including for instance coming from a respective state or a 100 mile radius in North American Strategies (Marsden and Morley, 2014). Beyond these slight differences of geography, researchers have suggested that UFSs aim to "develop more synergistic relationships between food consumers and producers and between urban areas and their surrounding hinterland." (Sonnino, 2016, p. 193), while others have highlighted how UFSs usually support regional farmers (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Matacena, 2016). Evidence has also shown that UFSs in many cases aim to specifically support FMs as part of short supply chains (Sonnino and Marsden, 2006; Morgan, 2009; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016). Research has identified an evidence gap in the implementation of these goals, which is discussed in the next section (section 2.4.2).

Addressing inequalities in access to healthy food forms a core goal across UFSs. According to an analysis of multiple UFSs, food security was the main underlying theme in these strategies, in most cases expressed as issues of access to nutritious foods (Sonnino, 2016). Several other researchers have also found UFSs aiming to increase access to healthy and affordable food for low-income citizens, as well as tackle food poverty (Machell and Caraher, 2012; Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Matacena, 2016). This was similar for FPCs in the US. Research has found that the majority of FPCs across the US had healthy food access as one of their major policy priorities (Horst, 2017; Bassarab *et al.*, 2019). Research on how these goals have been implemented in practice is presented in section 2.4.2.

No research was identified as part of this literature review which has explored how the goals presented in the previous two paragraphs are linked in UFSs in the UK; for instance, in how far AFNs, including local food systems, are seen as part of the solution to addressing inequalities in access to food in UFSs. Research from other countries has provided insight into this. For instance, while a FPC in Philadelphia, US, linked urban agriculture to equity, a FPC in Belgium made the statement that urban agriculture was for middle-class citizens, leading researchers to conclude that local food policies do not automatically lead to more just food systems (Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019). This finding reflects a need to examine UFSs critically in relation to local food politics.

2.4.2 Implementation and Impact of Urban Food Strategies

Data on the implementation and impact of UFSs are still scarce, due to their relatively recent emergence. Most research to date has solely analysed the content of UFSs. This evidence gap has been highlighted by researchers. For instance, in 2009 a study emphasised that little is known of the impact of UFSs on different issues addressed in these strategies, such as on public health and social exclusion (Wiskerke, 2009). More recently, scholars have highlighted a remaining uncertainty in how UFSs are implemented in practice and that no studies have been conducted on their impacts (Hawkes, C., Halliday, 2017; Cretella, 2019). This has also been the case for FPCs; impact studies for FPCs are still rare (Calancie *et al.*, 2018). Authors have pointed to the complexity and the resulting challenge of measuring impacts of UFSs on building more sustainable and fair food systems, and have recently suggested a novel framework for assessing the impact of UFSs in the future (Moragues-Faus and Marceau, 2018). Scholars have critiqued that UFSs are largely framed

as sustainable urban governance and best practice, in spite of this evidence gap around their implementation and impact (Cretella, 2019).

As is the case more generally with little evidence on the implementation of UFSs, there has been very little research that has investigated the implementation of goals around the support of local food systems or addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in the UK; and specifically around how these goals have been linked in practice. One study had explored how goals in the Leeds Food Strategy of addressing inequalities in access to food were implemented in practice by examining the role of municipal markets in addressing access (Machell and Caraher, 2012). Research in London had described projects by the LFB aiming to implement goals around addressing inequalities in access to food (Reynolds, 2009) (see section 2.4.3). No other studies were found that have explored the implementation of UFS goals in relation to addressing inequalities in London or other cities in the UK. A similar evidence gap exists in relation to implementing aims of supporting AFNs and local food systems.

In response to this lack of evidence, researchers have emphasised a need for empirical data at the implementation stage of UFSs, specifically in relation to goals around supporting short food supply chains. Scholars have highlighted that the facilitation of short food supply chains or AFNs by UFSs remained to be examined by future research (Matacena, 2016). And similarly, that there was a need to focus much more on food exchange nodes, including FMs, to provide evidence on the extent of how UFSs are reconnecting urban and rural areas, as well as different actors in the food chain (Sonnino, 2016). Thus, although studies have found that in many cases UFSs aim to support and expand short supply chains, and specifically FMs, the implementation of these goals remains to be investigated. And further, whether these goals have been linked in practice to goals around addressing inequalities in access to healthy food; a research gap that this study has explored.

Studies on FPCs in the US have provided more insight into implementation and impact in relation to linking issues of access and AFNs. Scholars had previously suggested that evidence on the implementation and impact of FPCs on the localisation of food systems was lacking, specifically in relation to access within local food systems (Scherb et al., 2012 in Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019). However, more recent studies have provided evidence on how these goals have been linked in practice. In one of these studies, FPCs in

the US were found to have actively supported AFNs, including FMs, as well as aimed to increase access to these (Horst, 2017). In a study developing a classification system for measuring the impact of FPCs in the future, FPCs reported having supported FMs, as well as encouraged access to these for low-income citizens (Calancie *et al.*, 2018). Specific actions on behalf of FPCs included removing state regulatory barriers for FMs, establishing FMs in low-income areas, and implementing a grant program for the acceptance of food vouchers at FMs (Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018). Further studies found that FPCs had helped a local FM association conduct a survey on whether opening times would have an effect on access for low-income citizens (Bassarab *et al.*, 2019), while another had collected data on city wide food access, including to FMs (Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019). These examples demonstrate action within urban food governance in the US linking the support of AFNs and addressing access for low-income citizens.

One of the main critiques of UFSs shows some parallels to critique of AFNs and FMs (as laid out in sections 2.2 and 2.3) and involves the assumptions concerning their progressive values. For instance, Cretella has critiqued the uncritical positive attitude towards UFSs by non-academics and academics. More specifically, she critiqued the assumption of UFSs to be carriers of progressive ideas and values, in spite of a lack of consistent definition in academic literature and a lack of focus on their meaning and effectiveness (Cretella, 2016a). She further points to the use of socially constructed terms in UFSs, including 'community', 'local', 'sustainable', and 'quality' (Cretella, 2016a). This perspective, in addition to the still scarce literature on UFSs, emphasises the need for more critical analyses of UFSs on whether they are contributing to more sustainable and equitable food systems; this will need to include analysing their content, implementation and impact.

2.4.3 Urban Food Governance in London

London, UK, was one of the first cities to develop an UFS in Europe. Since then, several UFSs have been developed in London. The first London Food Strategy (LFS), 'Healthy and Sustainable Food for London', published in 2006, was launched by then mayor Ken Livingstone (LDA, 2006a). The development of the 2006 LFS was arguably driven by the rates of obesity and diet-related disease in London, while farming and local food production were not seen as the main driver at that point (Reynolds, 2009). The LFB, which was modelled largely on the Toronto FPC, was set up in 2005 to oversee the development and implementation of the strategy (Reynolds, 2009; Cretella, 2016) and is situated within

the food unit of the London government (Reynolds, 2009; *Mayor of London*, 2020). A first action plan for the 2006 LFS was published in 2007, with a second action plan published in 2011 under a change of mayor (LDA, 2007). During data collection for this study, the LFB launched a new LFS, 'The London Food Strategy: Healthy and Sustainable Food for London', and accompanying implementation plan in 2018 (GLA, 2018a, 2018b). Along the research process, the LMB was set up by the London Mayor in 2017 to support and develop markets in London; the work of the LMB aimed to complement other mayoral strategies, including the LFS (GLA, 2017; Mayor of London, 2022). UFSs in London have also been developed on borough level (London consists of thirty-three local boroughs). This literature review identified ten borough food strategies in London. Urban food policy in London is additionally linked to national and global networks of urban food governance; London is one of the signatories to the MUFPP and is part of the SFPN.

The 2006 LFS has been reported to be supportive of local food systems (Reynolds, 2009; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010; Cretella, 2016a, 2016b; Sonnino, 2016). For instance, one of the six priority actions of the 2006 LFS was to build regional links (Reynolds, 2009; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). The 2006 LFS also specifically aimed to support FMs (LDA, 2006a; Sonnino, 2016). The support of local food systems in the 2006 LFS was seen by Morgan and Sonnino as an "outward-looking cosmopolitan localism" (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010, p. 214), based on the acknowledgment in the strategy that there was a limit to which local food could meet London's need for culturally and ethnically diverse food (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). Previous studies have also described addressing inequalities in access to healthy food as a core aim in the 2006 LFS. For instance, in a discursive analysis of the 2006 LFS, Cretella highlighted how issues of access to healthy food played a major role in the strategy (Cretella, 2016b). Also others identified food security as one of the main priorities of the 2006 LFS (Reynolds, 2009). Food strategies on borough level in London, as well as 2018 LFS have not been analysed previously in academic literature in relation to content on local food systems and inequalities in access to healthy food.

As pointed out in section 2.4.2, evidence on the implementation of strategy goals to support local food systems and address inequalities in London and the UK are still scarce. Only one study in London has listed examples of how goals of the 2006 LFS have been implemented in practice. It found that several of the major projects launched by the LFB between 2006-2009 supported local and regional food (Reynolds, 2009). For example, one

of the larger projects was aimed at increasing the sustainability and availability of locally produced food in London, which included increasing the amount of regional food in wholesale markets, as well as exploring how best to promote local-to-London produce (Reynolds, 2009). In regard to implementing goals around addressing inequalities, the study highlighted how one of the major projects of the LFB involved increasing fruit and vegetable access through small retailers in deprived areas of London (Reynolds, 2009). However, no studies were found that have examined whether FMs are supported in practice as part of efforts to support local and regional food; and further, whether this is linked in practice to goals around addressing inequalities in access to healthy food. This remains to be investigated and this study aimed to explore this evidence gap.

2.5 Problem and Aim of the Study

In summary, UFSs in the UK are aiming to address problems in the current food system. Addressing inequalities in access to healthy food often form a main focus in these strategies, while they include local food systems, and often specifically FMs, as part of a more sustainable and equitable food system they are aiming for. Research in the US however has shown that FMs, while supporting the livelihoods of small farmers, tend to serve more affluent communities and have been found to be exclusionary places for different groups, including people on low incomes. Thus, although they have potential to provide access to healthy food in communities, barriers in access to FMs have been observed and contribute to existing inequalities in access to healthy food. This role in the food system would not be in line with the goals of UFSs and emphasises a need to examine FMs critically in relation to these goals.

Research has not previously explored FMs in the UK from an equity perspective and has in some cases uncritically framed FMs as an institution serving affluent communities. Further, a research gap exists in how far the goals of addressing inequalities in access and supporting local food systems in UFSs are linked and implemented in practice in regard to FMs. It is important to understand the role of FMs in the food system, as they are promoted as part of a more sustainable and equitable food system UFSs. This research aimed to fill this evidence gap, using FMs in London as a case study. London provides an example of a highly urbanised area, reflecting huge inequalities in access to healthy food, contains a large number of FMs compared to other cities in the UK and has had a food strategy in place since 2006. Thus, the aim of this study was to explore how equity is

considered in the governance of FMs in London, and how this is linked to urban food policy. This serves as part of an effort to explore the implementation and impact of UFSs in achieving their goal of equitable food systems. The research questions and objectives to reach this aim are laid out in the next chapter (chapter 3).

PART TWO - METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter introduces the research questions and objectives of the study (section 3.1). This is followed by the research design (section 3.2) and methods (section 3.3) applied in this study. Next, sampling and recruitment (section 3.4) and analysis of the data (section 3.5) are explained. The chapter ends with sections on ensuring quality of research (section 3.6), reflections on the PhD process (section 3.7) and ethical considerations (section 3.8).

3.1 Research Questions and Objectives

To explore how equity was considered in the governance of FMs in London, and how this is linked to urban food policy, two research questions were developed.

Research question 1 (RQ1) asked what in 2017/18, was the governance related to FMs in London, and how was it linked to urban food policy? Urban food policy in this context related to UFSs on mayoral and local council level in London (Marsden and Sonnino, 2012; Moragues *et al.*, 2013; Matacena, 2016; Ilieva, 2017; Sonnino, 2019) (see section 2.4.1). From this research question four objectives were developed.
The four objectives were to:

- identify content and goals of UFS in London around FMs
- identify key stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs in London
- explore the roles, values and actions of these stakeholders in relation to FMs
- explore the roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in relation to FMs

Research question 2 (RQ2) asked how equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs in London and how this was linked to urban food policy on borough and mayoral level? For RQ2, again four objectives were developed. These were to

- identify whether, and if so how, UFSs in London make specific reference to inequalities in access to food and FMs
- map the spatial distribution of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators
- explore the roles, values and actions of stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs

- explore roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs

Table 3 presents an overview of the aim of the study, the research questions, the respective objectives and the methods which were used to meet each objective. A rationale for using these methods as part of a case study is provided in subsequent sections.

Aim of Study	Research Questions	Objectives	Methods
to explore the governance structure of FMs in London and how equality in access is considered within this, as part of an effort to evaluate the role and impact of UFSs in achieving their goal of equitable food systems.	RQ 1: What in 2017/18, was the governance related to FMs in London, and how was it linked to urban food policy on borough and mayoral level?	1. Identify the content and goals of UFSs in London in relation to FMs, short food supply chains, local food, seasonal food and small farmers	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of organisations running FMs in London
		2. Identify stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs in London	Document analysis of web content of organisations running FMs Semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers, and NGO representatives
		3. Explore roles, values and actions of these stakeholders in relation to FMs	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of organisations running FMs in London Semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers, and NGO representatives
		4. Explore roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in London in relation to FMs	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of organisations running FMs in London Semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers,

			and NGO representatives
	RQ2: How was equality in access considered in the governance of FMs in London, and how was this linked to urban food policy on borough or mayoral level?	1. Identify the goals of UFSs with specific reference to inequalities in access to food and whether this is linked to FMs	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of organisations running FMs in London
		2. Map the spatial distribution of FMs across London according to socioeconomic indicators	Geographic mapping of the distribution of FMs in London according to relative deprivation
		3. Explore roles, values and actions of stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of FMs in London Semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers, and NGO representatives
		4. Explore roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in London in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of FMs in London Semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers, and NGO representatives

Table 3: Aim of Study, Research Questions and Objectives

3.2 Research Design

This research project used a case study design (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016) entailing mixed methods to answer the research questions and meet the objectives. This study was based on a single-case with the 'governance of London FMs' forming the unit of analysis, using an analytical frame of 'equity' (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016). Data within the case were collected using a range of methods including document analysis, geographical mapping and semi-structured interviews.

An overview of the research design is depicted in figure 1. The oval form represents the case study. Within this case study, three phases of data collection are shown from left to right with methods represented as green boxes. Section 3.2.1 provides a detailed rationale for this research design.

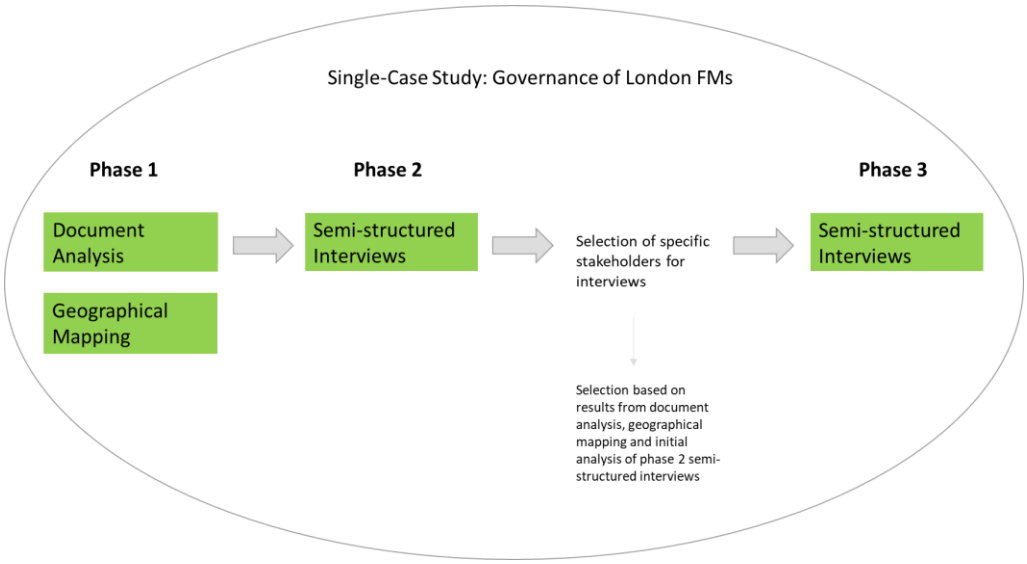

Figure 1: Overview of Research Design

3.2.1 Case Study Approach

A case study design is a common approach in the fields of psychology, sociology and political science (Yin, 2014) and is thus suited to research in food policy. A "case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a real-life context. The primary purpose is to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic, programme, policy, institution or system to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action." (Thomas, 2016, p. 10). Similarly, Yin describes a case study approach as exploring a phenomenon holistically by triangulating

data collected from different angles (Yin, 2014). Based on these definitions, a case study approach offers a useful design for this study as the aim was to explore in-depth the governance of London FMs. The objectives could best be met by exploring this phenomenon in multiple ways through different methods and from different stakeholder perspectives. Further, the primary purpose was to generate understanding and knowledge on this subject to ultimately contribute evidence to inform food policy in London and other cities and countries.

Case studies are comprised of two main parts including a subject, or case, which forms the focus of the research, and an analytical frame, which provides a means of interpreting the case or placing it into a context (Thomas, 2016). In this case the 'governance of London FMs' formed the focus of the research, while an analytical frame of 'equity' was applied. This case study was predominantly exploratory in nature, as it was of interest to explore the phenomenon of the governance of FMs in London from an equity perspective, as this has not previously been studied (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010b; Thomas, 2016; Green and Thorogood, 2018). The study therefore can build the foundations for future research (Yin, 2014). In addition, as a secondary purpose, this study also aimed to explain possible reasons for how equity was considered in decision making around FMs and thus also included explanatory elements, as it aimed to draw causal linkages (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010b).

Case studies can take the form of single-case or multiple-case studies. A single-case study was chosen as the most appropriate design. A single-case study explores a specific bounded system in-depth, which can include for example an individual, a culture, or an event (Chmiliar, 2010). Single cases explore a phenomenon in one real-world setting, while a multiple-case design investigates a contemporary phenomenon that is common in several real-world settings (Chmiliar, 2010). A multiple-case design provides a means of understanding a phenomenon via multiple representations of that phenomenon, with the research design, data collection and analysis across all sites being researched in light of the same research question (Bishop, 2010). Based on these definitions, the choice of a single-case study was reasoned accordingly. The study aim was to understand the city-wide governance of London FMs, the consideration of equality in access within this governance, and how this was linked to urban food policy. This perspective viewed the governance of London FMs as one real-world phenomenon or system, thus as one single-case study. A

multiple-case study could have been useful to look at several FMs in London, however, this would have explored the governance of individual FMs mainly for comparison, rather than the city-wide governance, and so would have not answered the research questions sufficiently. A multiple-case study could have been useful to compare the governance structure of FMs in London to the governance structure of FMs in other cities, for example, however this kind of cross-city or cross-country comparison was not feasible within the time frame and resources available (see suggestions for future research section 7.4).

The research design originally (at the time of the PhD upgrade in the first year of the PhD) included subcases as part of the single-case study. The reason for this was to additionally examine individual FMs in-depth in relation to the research questions to feed into the overall single-case study. Compared to multiple-case studies, subcases as part of a single-case study do not serve the purpose of primarily being compared to each other, but are designed to provide insight as part of the wider, connected context (Thomas, 2016). Subcases, also referred to by some as 'nested' cases, receive their wholeness from the wider case (Thomas, 2016). In this original research design, four individual FMs in London would have been chosen as subcases for more in-depth analysis feeding into the wider case.

This aspect of the research design was adjusted along the research process. This evolution was in line with the methodological literature, which states that case studies may be adapted and modified along the research process if necessary, as part of the skill of the researcher staying adaptive and keeping an open-mind (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010b; Yin, 2014). Accordingly, the subcases were removed from the research design. The decision to remove the four subcases as part of the single-case study was based on the following reasons which emerged along the research process. A first reason emerged during sampling of the documents for the document analysis in the first phase of data collection. The sampling revealed that majority of UFSs which had been developed on borough level in London were obsolete (see section 3.4.2.2). As the subcases were originally planned to be sampled according to the content of borough-level food strategies, as well as based on the geographical distribution of FMs within these boroughs, choosing subcases according to borough food strategies was no longer relevant. A second reason was based on the analysis of initial semi-structured interviews in phase 2 of data collection (see figure 1). The plan had been to interview FM managers within each of the subcases, however analysis of these

first interviews showed that this was no longer necessary (reasons are explained in more detail in section 3.4.4 under 'Recruitment and Interviews with FM organisers). A further reason was that sampling for semi-structured interviews with farmers showed that the majority of farmers sold across many different FMs in London (see section 3.5.4. under 'Recruitment and Interviews with Farmers'), which was not expected when designing the research. It was thus no longer necessary to select specific subcases of FMs for interviewing farmers. And lastly, the decision was made not to conduct a consumer nutrition environment analysis (Glanz *et al.*, 2016) within the subcases. This had been intended to provide insight into economic access and access to healthy food at FMs to triangulate with interview data. However, a very simple analysis would have not provided sufficient data, while a comprehensive analysis would have been its own PhD project. Due to the reasons above, it was therefore not necessary and less insightful for the case study to choose individual FMs as subcases.

A major strength of a case study design is the opportunity to use different types of methods and multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016). Thus, case studies can bring together a combination of methods which will best answer the research questions (Thomas, 2016), providing a platform to embed both quantitative and qualitative evidence (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2010; Yin, 2014). Different sources of evidence can then be triangulated to enable converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2014). In line with this, mixed methods were used in the case study. This involved a combination of a document analysis, geographic mapping and semi-structured interviews. The document analysis and semi-structured interviews provided qualitative evidence, while the geographic mapping provided quantitative evidence. Combining these methods allowed for analysed data to inform subsequent stages of data collection, provided more in-depth understanding of findings, as well as added strength to interpretations and validated findings through triangulation (Durand and Chantler, 2014). The different methods were conducted in multiple phases, which each phase of data collection informing subsequent phases, forming a multi-phase mixed-methods approach within the case study. A detailed rationale for this phasing and combination of methods is provided in section 3.4 where each method is explored in-depth. Section 3.5.5 describes in detail how the findings were integrated and triangulated.

Case studies can adopt different epistemological positions (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2010). The case study in this research was influenced by a critical realism perspective (Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010). Critical realism provides a distinct approach to the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of social research, rejecting the polarised positions of positivism and constructivism (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010a; Haigh *et al.*, 2019). The approach is rooted in the philosophy of Roy Bhaskar (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010a; Green and Thorogood, 2018). A critical realism view assumes that a reality or real causative forces exist independently of perceptions, theories and constructions, and acknowledges that understandings of this reality are inevitably a construction shaped by people's experiences, perceptions and standpoints (Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010; Green and Thorogood, 2018; Haigh *et al.*, 2019). These causative forces assumed to exist include both social and natural forces (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Critical realism therefore reflects an ontological realism while accepting a form of epistemological constructivism (Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010).

This case study broadly builds on this realist paradigm, which had the following implications. The governance of FMs and inequalities in access to food were assumed to exist as realities or causal forces independently from perceptions of these phenomena. Accounts from participants in semi-structured interviews on the governance of FMs and the consideration of equality in access were then seen as perceptions, experiences or standpoints of this reality. Therefore, their accounts could only provide limited insight into the reality of the governance of FMs. The application of mixed methods to understand this reality through different sources of evidence could provide a more holistic view of this reality. However, findings from all methods were seen to only provide a particular perspective on reality. Ultimately then, it was important to analyse the data critically to try to understand the reality these different types of evidence were relating to.

Data collection within the case study was based on a cross-sectional design, which refers to collecting data at one time period only, as opposed to a longitudinal design, where data are collected at several time points (Shanahan, 2010). The definition of a single time period in a cross-sectional design can vary, and for example can still refer to several visits of one site in a year, blurring the boundary with a longitudinal approach (Shanahan, 2010). However, the significant difference between these approaches is whether a change over time between data collection points is of interest in the study (Shanahan, 2010). This study was in line

with a cross-sectional approach on this basis, as although data were collected at several time points over a time period of nine months, the purpose was not to investigate a change over a certain length of time. Even though there could have been a change in the governance of FMs over time, due to external factors such as Brexit, a change of leadership of the LFB, or the formation of the LMB, the study was not designed to capture these changes.

Case studies are seen by some researchers as a less desirable method based on several critiques (Yin, 2014). One of the main critiques refers to a perceived lack of rigour in performing case studies, including not following systematic procedures (Yin, 2014). Yin responds to this critique by highlighting that this can be avoided by following systematic procedures and by not using equivocal evidence to influence findings and conclusions (Yin, 2014). This research considered this point by following systematic procedures (see section 3.7) and making conclusions based on carefully analysed evidence.

A further concern by some lies in the generalisability of case studies (Yin, 2014). In response to this critique, Yin and Thomas point out that while case studies cannot be generalised to a population level or directly to other settings, they do offer a way to generalise theoretical propositions, with the goal of providing a rich picture of a certain phenomenon and gaining analytical insights, ultimately expanding and generalising theories (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016). Accordingly, this research does not intend to generalise on the governance of FMs in other areas of the UK or FMs in other countries, but rather it intended to enhance the theoretical understanding of the consideration of equity in urban food governance and wider food policy.

A further criticism has focused on the large amount of time and effort it takes to perform case studies. Again, Yin states that this does not need to be the case (Yin, 2014). With this critique in mind, the boundaries of this case study were set consciously to contain the amount of data to be collected and analysed to a manageable workload and timeframe with the PhD programme.

3.3 Methods

This section describes the methods used to develop the case study. This includes the rationale for the choice and combination of the methods and a detailed record of how the

methods were conducted. Methods used were document analysis, geographical mapping and semi-structured interviews. This section first describes the phases of data collection (section 3.3.1), followed by an account of each individual method used (section 3.3.2, 3.3.3 and 3.3.4). Sampling and analysis for each method are described separately in sections 3.4 and 3.5.

3.3.1 Phases of Data Collection

The case study consisted of three phases of data collection. The first phase entailed a document analysis and geographical mapping, which were conducted in parallel. Phase 2 consisted of semi-structured interviews. The third phase of data collection entailed additional semi-structured interviews. Table 4 provides an overview of these three phases. It shows which methods were conducted in which phase, as well as the section where this method is discussed in detail below. A rationale for this phasing is given in sections 3.3.2, 3.3.3. and 3.3.4 where each method is described.

Phase of Data Collection	**Methods used**	**Discussed in Section**
Phase 1	Document analysis of UFSs in London and web content of organisations running FMs in London Geographical mapping of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators	3.3.2
Phase 2	Semi-structured interviews with people running FMs and members of the LFB	3.3.4
Phase 3	Semi-structured interviews with farmers, members of the LMB and NGO representatives	3.3.4

Table 4: Phases of Data Collection

3.3.2 Document Analysis

Objective 1 of RQ1 and objective 1 of RQ2 were to identify the content of UFSs in relation to FMs and equality in access. To meet these objectives, a document analysis of UFSs was chosen as the most appropriate method. Exploring the aims of UFSs in London in relation to FMs and equality in access aimed to provide understanding of the food policy environment. This provided a foundation to explore in semi-structured interviews policy stakeholders' perspectives on this content and how these goals were implemented in practice. The findings from the document analysis also informed interview schedules. Previous research on urban food governance has also used document analyses to examine the content of UFSs (Cretella, 2016a; Sonnino, 2016; Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018). And similarly to

this study, they were conducted to "understand the nature of the [governance] network, refine the research questions and design semi-structured interviews" (Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018, p. 3).

Objective 2 of RQ1 involved identifying stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs and objective 3 aimed to explore their roles, values and actions. Objective 3 of RQ2 aimed to explore roles, values and actions of stakeholders in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs. As part of meeting these objectives, a document analysis of web content of organisations running FMs was chosen as the most appropriate method. The document analysis of this web content was aimed at providing initial insight into the governance of FMs and the consideration of equality in access within this. This served, first of all, as part of identifying stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs. Secondly, to then explore the findings from the document analysis, such as motivations and aims of organisations running FMs, in more detail in interviews. And further, to triangulate the findings with findings from interviews on the governance of FMs and the consideration of equity.

The sampling of documents is depicted in section 3.4.2. Documents were analysed as described in section 3.5.2.

3.3.3 Geographical Mapping

The first objective of RQ2 was to map the distribution of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators. For this purpose, geographical mapping was chosen as the most appropriate method. The purpose of creating a visual and descriptive analysis of the spatial distribution of FMs according to socioeconomic areas in London was, first of all, to provide a foundation to then explore in interviews the underlying governance processes that had led to this distribution. And as part of this, to understand whether the consideration of geographic access to FMs had played a role. And secondly, to triangulate the findings with perspectives on the location of FMs in relation to equity provided by participants in interviews.

Geographical analyses can capture spatial inequalities in food environments on a large scale by using pre-existing data and census information (McKinnon *et al.*, 2009; Lytle and Sokol, 2017). They are frequently performed using geographic information software (GIS) technology, which is a computer based method and tool, with which spatial and thematic

data can be organised and combined, and then represented and analysed according to geographic location (Charreire *et al.*, 2010). GIS studies frequently use the density of food outlets in a certain geographic area when assessing food environments, and potential inequalities within these (Charreire *et al.*, 2010). Previous research has used this kind of spatial analysis to analyse the location of FMs in the US according to socioeconomic indicators (Lucan *et al.*, 2015; Lowery *et al.*, 2016), however this has not been done in London or the UK.

In line with this approach, free and open-source geographic information software (QGIS) was used in this study to perform a spatial analysis of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators. To familiarise themselves with the software, the researcher first spent some time researching academic literature and reading manuals offered by the software developer. When using the software, a first step involved identifying the exact addresses of all FMs in London (see sampling section 3.4.3) and entering these into the software. To then visualise the distribution of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators, this study used pre-existing census data freely available from the UK government, the 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) (Department for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2015a). The IMD is an official UK government measure of relative deprivation consisting of seven domains of deprivation: income, employment, education, health, crime, housing, and the living environment (Department for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2015a). It can provide data on relative deprivation according to small areas in England with approximately the same amount of population. These small areas are referred to as Lower-layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs). A pre-existing QGIS compatible data file which contained IMD data for London was accessed online from the University of Sheffield (University of Sheffield, 2016) and entered into QGIS. These steps resulted in a map which visually presented the location of FMs according to IMD deciles across London. This map was useful for providing a visual overview.

It was then of interest to obtain and visualise data of precisely how many FMs were located in each decile of deprivation. For this, an online tool provided by the UK Government Department for Housing, Communities and Local Government (Department for Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2015b) was used. The tool offered the opportunity to enter postcodes of FMs, and then provided output files identifying the LSOA where each FMs was located, as well as provided the deprivation data for that LSOA. The deprivation

data involved deciles, ranks and scores of the overall IMD, as well as for each of the seven domains, and thus was able to provide data on where FMs were located according to IMD and income decile. These data were then used to generate an analysis in Microsoft Excel of the spatial distribution of FMs across IMD and income deprivation deciles in London. The sampling for these data is described in section 3.4.3; the analysis of these data is described in section 3.5.3.

Several limitations were considered in relation to this geographical mapping. First of all, as discussed in detail in the literature review, geographical access only forms one of many factors which influence access to healthy food (Machell and Caraher, 2012; Borch and Kjærnes, 2016; Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, a spatial analysis of FMs can only provide limited insight into access to FMs. Secondly, the geographical mapping performed for this study was very simple. It did not take into account any routes or distances, nor the availability of food at FMs, which affect geographical access to food retail and are normally included in an in-depth spatial food environment analysis (Charreire *et al.*, 2010). The mapping could therefore only provide limited insight into geographic access. Lastly, no conclusions could be made on who was accessing FMs located across different deprivation deciles, as many areas in London contain very mixed neighbourhoods, and further this would have needed evidence on who was frequenting FMs in London. These points however did not affect the purpose of the geographic mapping for this research. It was not used to draw any conclusions on geographical access to FMs in London according to deprivation, but rather to understand underlying governance processes that had led to this distribution.

3.3.4 Semi-structured Interviews

Objective 2 of RQ1 was to identify stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs. Objective 3 of RQ1 was to explore roles, values and actions of these stakeholders, and objective 4 was to explore the roles, values and action of urban food policy stakeholders in relation to FMs in London. To answer RQ2, objective 3 was to explore roles, values and actions of stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs in relation to the consideration of equality in access. Objective 4 of RQ2 involved exploring the roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in relation to the consideration of equality in access to FMs. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as one of the methods to meet these objectives.

Semi-structured interviewing is commonly used in political and social science and has been previously used to explore urban food governance (Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018). It is a common method used to explore and gain insight into knowledge, motivations, actions and behaviours (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). At the same time, a risk for desirability bias exists when conducting interviews, where interviewees provide 'official' narratives rather than what they really think. This was taken into account with a critical and cautious view when conducting and analysing the interviews. Thus, semi-structured interviewing offered the opportunity to explore and gain in-depth understanding of roles, values and actions of stakeholders in the governance of FMs in London. Further, semi-structured interviewing provided the opportunity to cover pre-determined topics and receive concrete information while leaving freedom to follow up on certain points if necessary and allowing for novel topics to emerge, in contrast for instance to more structured interviews (Thomas, 2013). Other methods such as surveys would have been too stringent for an exploratory approach, while in-depth interviews were not appropriate as this method would have not offered enough structure to explore pre-determined topics and provide answers to the RQs.

Interview participants were selected and recruited as described in section 3.4.4. According to the procedure for semi-structured interviews (Thomas, 2013), an interview schedule was developed with a list of topics and potential questions to be covered in the interviews. Topics aimed at answering RQ1 included actors and their roles in running FMs, values and actions of actors in relation to FMs, as well as how urban food policy was involved in this process. To answer RQ2, topics included the consideration of access to FMs in general, and then specifically the consideration of geographic and economic access to FMs. These pre-determined topics and specific questions within these were based on the literature review, the research questions and findings from the document analysis and geographic mapping. For example, the document analysis revealed the aims of the 2006 LFS around FMs. It was then possible to specifically ask questions in interviews with urban food policy stakeholders about these goals and how they were implemented in practice. Geographic mapping was used to inform interview schedules for instance by asking participants to provide views in the findings of this distribution of FMs in London. An example of an interview schedule used to interview people running FMs can be found in Appendix 1.

Before each interview, the interview schedule was adjusted to each stakeholder group and individual interviewee due to their different roles in relation to FMs and in urban food policy (see Table 7 in section 3.4.4 for a list conducted interviews). In addition, adjustments to interview schedules were made along the study. This involved for example slight adjustments to the wording of questions based on the experience gathered along the interviewing process of how to best explore pre-determined topics with participants. The content of the interview schedule also evolved over time, as it became clear along the research process which questions were most relevant and which topics or questions were no longer important. And lastly, the interview schedules were adjusted based on emerging analysis of interviews as part of an iterative design. In some cases for instance questions were added to the interview schedule to explore in more depth findings from previous interviews.

For face-to-face interviews, consent forms were signed in person before beginning the interviews. For telephone interviews, consent forms were signed by the participants and sent to the researcher by post or email before the interviews, and then printed by the researcher. All consent forms were stored in locked storage at City University, in line with ethics regulations (City University of London, 2022). All interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 1 hour and 15 minutes. Interviews were recorded with either a dictaphone or a mobile phone. After the interview, audio files were transferred to a computer, anonymised (as stated on the consent form and according to ethical regulations (City University of London, 2022), and then deleted from the recording devices (dictaphone or mobile phone). Interviews were transcribed by the researcher using a computer software called Inqscribe. For the transcription process, interviews were listened to twice. This allowed, first of all, for picking up any mistakes from the first round of transcription. And secondly, it allowed for familiarisation with the data as an initial phase of analysis, which included noting initial ideas for themes. Anonymised transcriptions were stored on a password-protected computer. A separate document used as a key for the anonymised transcriptions containing the names of participants was stored as a password-protected document, in line with data protection and ethics guidelines (City University of London, 2022).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in two phases, forming phase 2 and phase 3 of data collection. The reason for this was that the selection of interviewees in phase 3

depended on findings from interviews in phase 2. More details on this process are presented in section 3.4.4.

3.4 Sampling and Recruitment

This section describes the sampling and recruitment procedures for the methods used within the case study. Purposive sampling was used throughout, adjusted to each individual method. This section describes this process in relation to the identification of FMs in London (section 3.4.1), as well as in relation to sampling of documents (section 3.4.2), sampling for geographical mapping (section 3.4.3) and sampling of interview participants (section 3.4.4).

3.4.1 Identification of FMs in London

As it was the aim in this study to gain insight into the governance of FMs in London overall, it was necessary to identify all FMs in London as part of the case study. FMs were identified by purposive sampling. Purposive sampling entails the researcher deliberately choosing cases which are most likely to answer the research questions (Green and Thorogood, 2018).

In line with the process of purposive sampling (Green and Thorogood, 2018), a first step involved determining the inclusion and exclusion criteria for sampling all FMs in London. As part of this, establishing how a FM was defined in London was essential. This definition was reasoned based on the literature review and initial scoping of FMs in London. Across the UK, FARMA formed a certification body for FMs (see literature review section 2.3.2). Thus, any FMs certified by FARMA were included. However, not all food markets in London calling themselves 'farmers' market' were certified by FARMA. Thus, a question remained whether these non-certified FMs still adhered to the FM principles set out by FARMA, and if not, what would make them count as a FM. Based on the literature review, the researcher reasoned that a FM in London was defined as a space where farmers, travelling from a certain radius around London, sold their farm produce directly to the public. Desk research of websites of non-certified FMs were used to check whether this was the case (not all 'farmers' markets' had a website). Websites confirmed these basic criteria were in place; farmers sold their produce at these FMs and rules existed on the provenance of the food, which had to be sourced within a certain radius, usually within 100 miles, of London. During this desk research for sampling FMs, it became clear that other food markets in London,

which did not call themselves 'farmers' market' but rather usually used terms similar to 'good food market', also featured some of the same farmers who sold at 'farmers' markets'. However, the decision was made to solely include markets which were called 'farmers' market' to limit the scope of this research and as websites had mostly demonstrated that they adhered to the basic principles of FMs. However, the fact that there was no clear definition of London FMs was taken into account by aiming to explore in the interviews the views of different stakeholders on what specifically entailed a FM in London (see section 5.2.1). It was clear that this methodological issue was showing an important initial insight into the governance of FMs, which is further picked up in the discussion chapter. Thus, for the purpose of this study the inclusion criteria were as follows:

- Food markets in London including the word 'Farmers' Market' in their name
- FMs situated within the Greater London geographical area

The exclusion criteria were defined as following:

- Food Markets not including 'Farmers' market' in their name
- Farmers' markets outside the Greater London geographical area

Based on these inclusion and exclusion criteria, any additional London FMs were identified in the following way. Initially, an internet search for FMs in London was performed with the Google search engine. As the researcher was living in London at the time of the research, they also had local knowledge of existing FMs in London. The combination of these approaches resulted in a list of FMs across London. This included on the one hand organisations which ran multiple FMs in London, as well as organisations that ran only one FM. Additionally, the FARMA website offered a list of all FMs in the UK that were FARMA certified. This list was used to verify the first list of organisations running FMs, as well as to identify any additional FMs certified by FARMA that had not previously been found through the internet search and local knowledge.

At a later stage in the study, in 2017, the LMB was formed, as described in detail in section 2.4.3 in the literature review. The LMB website offered a tool to locate different types of markets in London on a map (Mayor of London, 2022). Although the database was at a beginning stage and did not provide a complete list of London markets at the time, it was used to check for any additional FMs not previously identified. The tool offered the possibility to limit the search to FMs. The FMs shown on the map were cross-checked with

the list of FMs identified by the researcher through the process in the previous paragraphs. The list provided by the LMB included markets that did not have 'farmers' market' in their name, which was an exclusion criterion for this study. It also included FMs that were not FARMA certified. This confirmed the methodological issue above, that it seemed there was no coherent definition of FMs in London, not even on behalf of the LMB. Taking the inclusion and exclusion criteria of this study into account, this cross-checking added three further FMs to the case study. Along the study, one additional FM was discovered by the researcher by passing by in London and was added to the list of organisations running FMs.

The above process found approximately forty FMs in London run by ten different organisations spread across eighteen of thirty-three boroughs in London. These ten organisations consisted of small private businesses (8), one social enterprise (1), and one community-interest company (1). At the time of data collection, one organisation ran twenty-three markets, one ran nine and the other organisations ran between three and one FM; this number varied throughout the study as some FMs closed down or new FMs opened up during this study. These organisations running FMs will be referred to from hereon as 'FM organisations'. An overview of FM organisations in London (anonymised) is provided below in table 5. It should be noted that the list of FMs in London was not exhaustive, but rather based on an explorative approach by the researcher at the time of data collection. Ultimately, five of these ten FM organisations were interviewed as part of the case study (see table 7 section 3.4.4).

Organisation	Type of organisation	Number of markets in London
FM Organisation 1	Private business	23
FM Organisation 2	Private business	9
FM Organisation 3	Private business	1
FM Organisation 4	Social Enterprise	1
FM Organisation 5	Community-interest company	1
FM Organisation 6	n/a	1
FM Organisation 7	Private business	2
FM Organisation 8	n/a	2
FM Organisation 9	n/a	1
FM Organisation 10	n/a	1

Table 5: Overview of FM organisations in London

Although not officially part of the research, the researcher visited about fifteen FMs in different areas of London over the course of the research. The purpose of this was to immerse themselves in the setting of the case study. It provided a familiarisation with the overall setting of the study and helped shaped critical thinking for the analysis. Visiting and observing FMs, which included recording the ratio of fruits and vegetables to other foods,

helped shape the interview schedules. After having started interviewing, it was useful to observe FMs while reflecting on what participants had said in interviews. A foundational question addressed in the interviews was the definition of a FM. Participants often compared FMs to other types of food markets in London, which in some cases featured the same farmers as FMs. To experience these different types of markets as described by participants, the researcher also visited about five of these 'good food markets' in London.

3.4.2 Sampling for Document Analysis

As described in section 3.3.2, this research aimed to analyse UFSs and web content of FM organisations. The sampling procedure for each of these groups of documents is laid out separately in the following two sections.

3.4.2.2 Sampling of Web Content of Organisations running FMs

After having identified FMs in London according to the procedure in section 3.4.1, the content of the websites of all these FM organisations was copied and pasted into Word documents, compiling the content into one Word document per FM organisation. In one case, an FM organisation did not have a website and was solely listed on other websites providing lists of markets in London. In addition to copying website content, any existing documents available on the websites of FM organisations were downloaded and added to the compiled Word file. This included for example annual reports produced by the FM organisations. The collection of these data was performed in 2016.

Summarising this sampling process for web content of FM organisations, the inclusion criteria for the document analysis of web content of FM organisations were as follows:

- Website content of FM organisations, including annual reports, rules and regulations and manifestos
- Publicly available documents and websites

3.4.2.2 Sampling of Urban Food Strategies

UFSs in London were also identified purposively as it was the goal to sample all UFSs in London. In first instance, they were identified through the literature review in 2016. This process identified the 2006 LFS, the 2015 MUFPP of which London is a signatory to, and several UFSs on local council level in London as significant. The LFB website was used to download the 2006 LFS, the MUFPP website was used to download the MUFPP and local

council websites were used to download local council UFSs. While using the LFB website, an additional essential urban food policy document was identified, the 2006 LFS Implementation Plan. To identify whether any other food strategies on borough level existed which had not been identified as part of the literature review, an additional online search was performed using the Google search engine and websites of each of the thirty-three local councils in London.

Summarising this sampling process, the inclusion criteria for the document analysis of UFSs were as follows:

- UFSs which had been developed on city-level and borough-level government in London
- Publicly available documents and websites

As already stated, the aim of the study was to understand the links of the governance of FMs and urban food governance in relation to integrated UFSs rooted in government. However, other strategies could have been viewed as part of urban food governance in London. For example, strategies aiming to address inequalities in London, as well as strategies focused on food poverty or public health. However, this study was focused solely on integrated UFSs addressing the entire food system (see definition in literature review section 2.4.1). This led to the following exclusion criteria for the document analysis of UFSs:

- Existing food charters in London boroughs designed by NGOs which were not situated in government
- Food poverty strategies, strategies on inequalities and public health and any other strategies focused on one part of the food system situated in borough-level or city-level government

Three additional documents were added to the document analysis along the research process. In 2018, the LFB published a new LFS. An implementation plan for this strategy was also published. These documents were downloaded from the LFB website. In December 2017, the LMB was formed to support London markets. An initial report, 'Understanding London's Markets', examined the social and economic values of markets in London (GLA, 2017). This was downloaded from the LMB website. The LMB aimed to support all markets in London, which included FMs. Although this document was not an integrated food strategy and would have been excluded from the document analysis based

on the exclusion criteria above, an exception was made here. As the 2018 LFS quoted as one of its aims to "support London's markets to increase their supply of fresh, local and seasonal produce to meet all Londoners' cultural needs through the London Markets Board." (GLA, 2018a, p. 21), the LMB could be seen as offshoot of the LFS to implement its goals on markets. It was therefore relevant to examine documents produced by the LMB.

When sampling documents, it was not initially clear from local council websites whether the ten UFSs (in nine local councils) identified on borough level (see table 6 number 7-16) were still relevant at the time of this study, as some timeframes of the documents were out of date. Additionally, as only ten UFSs were found online, a question remained whether any other boroughs had developed UFSs, which had not been found online. To investigate whether the ten UFSs identified were still relevant, and if not, whether they had been updated, and further whether any additional UFSs existed in local council governments in London, all thirty-three local council offices were contacted by phone by the researcher. Initially, this involved using the local council main telephone numbers, as it was not clear from websites or the literature review in which local council department UFSs were located. If a call got through to an administrative employee, they did usually not know what a food strategy was or in what department it was located. In order to be of help to the researcher, they took a guess in which department an UFS could be located, choosing departments which they knew had some connection to food; the administrative employees provided telephone numbers or email addresses to these departments for the researcher. The researcher then emailed these departments asking about the food strategies, often following up to three times by email or phone. This process often involved employees referring the researcher back and forth between teams, which they thought would be in charge of a food strategy. Departments which the researcher was referred to included food safety teams, public health teams, environmental health teams and food teams. Ultimately, the researcher received answers from eleven local councils: of the nine local councils identified by the researcher of having had an UFS in place at some point, four local councils provided responses. None of the UFSs in these four councils were still in place (either obsolete, unknown, or replaced by obesity strategies or food poverty strategies). The five other local councils did not have UFSs in place, although in some cases referred to being under the umbrella of the LFB. This process was revealing of some features of the governance of FMs in London, which is picked up in the discussion.

3.4.2.3 Summary of Sampled Documents

Table 6 below lists all twenty-five documents that were included in the document analysis based on the sampling strategy in the two sections above (only nine of ten FM organisations are listed, as one of them did not have any web content).

List of Documents (Original Title)	Title Used in Thesis
1. Healthy and Sustainable Food for London: The Mayor's Food Strategy 2006	2006 LFS
2. Healthy and Sustainable Food for London: The Mayor's Food Strategy Implementation Plan September 2007	2006 LFS Implementation Plan
3. The London Food Strategy: Healthy and Sustainable Food for London (2018)	2018 LFS
4. The London Food Strategy: Implementation Plan 2018-2023	2018 LFS Implementation Plan
5. Understanding London's Markets (2017)	Understanding London's Markets Report
6. Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (2015)	MUFPP
7. Hounslow Food Strategy 2004	Hounslow Food Strategy
8. Southwark Council Food Strategy (2010)	Southwark Food Strategy
9. Draft Lambeth Food Strategy (2014)	Lambeth Food Strategy
10. Enfield Food Strategy: Every Bite Matters (2011)	Enfield Food Strategy
11. Enfield Food Strategy Action Plan 2011-2014	Enfield Food Strategy Action Plan
12. Good Food for Camden: The Healthy and Sustainable Food Strategy, 2009-2012	Camden Food Strategy
13. Greenwich Food Policy (2003)	Greenwich Food Strategy
14. Lewisham Food Strategy: Are you thinking about food? July 2006	Lewisham Food Strategy
15. Food: A Strategy for Islington: Making Healthy and Sustainable Food Accessible to All Food Strategy (2009)	Islington Food Strategy
16. Sustainable Food at the Heart of Everyday Life: Sustainable Food Strategy 2010-2015	Haringey Food Strategy
17. FM Organisation 1 Website Content	FM1 WC
18. FM Organisation 2 Website Content	FM2 WC
19. FM Organisation 3 Website Content	FM3 WC
20. FM Organisation 4 Website Content	FM4 WC
21. FM Organisation 5 Website Content	FM5 WC
22. FM Organisation 6 Website Content	FM6 WC
23. FM Organisation 7 Website Content	FM7 WC
24. FM Organisation 8 Website Content	FM8 WC
25. FM Organisation 9 Website Content	FM9 WC

Table 6: List of Sampled Documents

3.4.3 Sampling for Geographical Mapping

All FMs sampled according to section 3.4.1 above were used for geographical mapping. No additional sampling was necessary. The only additional step involved identifying postcodes, addresses, and if available on websites of FM organisations the more exact location (e.g. car parks, school grounds, public streets) of all 42 FMs identified. These were then used to enter the location of FMs into the QGIS software, as well as into the online tool described in section 3.3.3.

3.4.4 Sampling for Semi-Structured Interviews

The purpose of semi-structured interviews was to gain insight into the roles, values and actions of stakeholders involved in the governance of FMs and of urban food policy stakeholders in London. To meet these objectives, purposive sampling was used to select interviewees for the second and third phase of data collection.

Organisations, groups and institutions to be interviewed were first selected purposively based on the literature review, which included reviewing academic and grey literature, policy documents and scoping out the FM network in London online. Then, findings from the document analysis and local knowledge of the researcher of how FMs functioned in London contributed to this initial list of organisations, groups and institutions to be interviewed. Based on this sampling procedure, a list of organisations, groups and institutions as relevant for exploring the governance of FMs, the consideration of equality in access and the links to urban food policy from multiple perspectives included all FM organisations (sampled according to section 3.1), farmers, FARMA, the LFB as well as local councils in London. Any other relevant groups or institutions were expected to be identified along the interviewing process, meeting objective 2 of RQ1 (see table 3 section 3.1). Two NGOs and the LMB were identified as relevant through this snowball approach (Green and Thorogood, 2018).

Semi-structured interviews were separated across phase 2 and phase 3 of data collection (see figure 1 section 3.2). The reason was that the selection of participants for phase 3 was dependent on analysis of phase 2 interviews (explained in detail below in subsections on farmers and local councils). Phase 2 aimed to include interviews with members of the LFB and representatives from FM organisations (referred to as FM organisers for the remainder of this thesis). Phase 3 aimed to entail interviews with farmers and local councils (local councils were ultimately not interviewed). Any organisations, groups and institutions identified as additionally relevant along the interviewing process in phase 2 also formed phase 3 of data collection. Although the research design was kept mostly to these phases, it was not always possible to conduct all phase 2 interviews before starting phase 3 interviews, due to dependency on people being available for interviews.

Interviews were conducted between February and December 2018. Table 7 provides an overview of all organisations, institutions and groups sampled as relevant for phase 2 and phase 3 of data collection, as well as the actual number of interviews conducted.

Data Collection Phase	Organisation, Institution or Stakeholder Group	Number of Interviews
Phase 2	London Food Board	3
	FM Organisation 1	1
	FM Organisation 2	1
	FM Organisation 3	1
	FM Organisation 4	1
	FM Organisation 5	1
	FM Organisation 6	0
	FM Organisation 7	0
	FM Organisation 8	0
	FM Organisation 9	0
	FARMA	0
Phase 3	London Markets Board	2
	Farmers	6
	NGOs	2
	Local Councils	0
	Total number of interviews	**18**

Table 7: List of conducted interviews in each phase of data collection

The specific sampling and recruitment procedure for each of the stakeholder groups is laid out in the following subsections.

3.4.4.1 Recruitment and Interviews with Members of the London Food Board

The LFB website was used to identify which members of the LFB were most appropriate to interview for this study based on their role and history of membership at the LFB, as well as their background. A colleague at the Centre for Food Policy was able to introduce the researcher to one of the members via email. The member was sent the recruitment email (as shown as part of Ethics Approval in Annex 2) with the attached information sheet of the study (as shown as part of Ethics Approval in Annex 2) and agreed to an interview. After the interview, this member was able to provide contact information of a second purposively selected member of the LFB. At a later point in the research, a colleague at the Centre for Food Policy was able to provide email contacts for several more members.

Ultimately, three members of the LFB were interviewed. Interviews were conducted face-to-face at participants' homes or offices. The specific roles of these participants on the LFB, as well as their institutional knowledge due to long-term membership made them relevant and knowledgeable on the topic of the research. Their accounts were similar, suggesting some level of saturation of findings from this group and further recruitment would have been very difficult, if not impossible, so efforts to recruit were stopped after three interviews.

3.4.4.2 Recruitment and Interviews with Members of the London Markets Board

Members of the LMB were initially contacted by emailing the coordinator of the LMB, as it was not possible to gain a lot of insight about each member from the LMB website and email addresses were not listed. The contact for the coordinator was provided by a member of the LFB. The coordinator was asked by the researcher to send the recruitment email with the attached information sheet to all members of the LMB. It was assumed that all members would have general knowledge of how FMs featured in their plans and meetings. Members then replied to the researcher directly if they were willing to be interviewed and interview appointments were agreed by email.

As only one interview had been conducted, the coordinator was contacted again after several months and asked whether they would be able to send around the updated information sheet and recruitment email for further interviews. Additionally, a colleague at the Centre for Food Policy was able to provide some contacts of members, who were then emailed the recruitment email and information sheet directly.

Ultimately, two members of the LMB were interviewed. The participants were interviewed face-to-face either in their offices or in coffee shops around London. The LMB had just been set up and had not had many meetings and so accounts were brief and similar in relation to FMs, so no further members were recruited.

3.4.4.3 Recruitment and Interviews with FM Organisers

As part of understanding the role of FM organisations, it was originally assumed that it would be of interest to interview both people running FM organisations, as well as several market managers, who were in charge of managing FMs on the day of the markets. However, initial interviews in phase 2 revealed that within FM organisations running only

one or two FMs, this was usually the same person. In FM organisations running more FMs, these roles were separated. However, even in these cases, it became clear in interviews that it was the people running these organisations who could provide insight into the system-wide governance which was relevant for this research. As such, it was not necessary to interview market managers as a separate group. For the purpose of this study, the term 'FM organiser' will be used to refer to the people running FM organisations.

Email addresses or phone numbers of FM organisations were retrieved from their websites. As a first step, the recruitment email with the attached information sheet was sent to the email address or through a contact form available on the website, although contact forms did not allow for attaching the information sheet. If a telephone number was provided on the website, the researcher was able to follow up on the recruitment email by telephone. In one case, a colleague at the Centre for Food Policy provided the email address of one FM organiser. Appointments for interviews were agreed by email. Interviews were held face-to-face at FMs on weekends or in coffee shops around London during the week.

Of the ten FM organisations identified as part of the case study (see section 3.4.1), five FM organisers were ultimately interviewed. There were various reasons why the other FM organisers were not interviewed. For instance, one participant declined due to time constraints and referred to one of the larger FM organisations as more appropriate for interviewing. They were prompted again by the researcher but did no longer reply. Another FM organiser cancelled the interview five different times. An interview with a farmer at a later point revealed that this FM had closed down. Other FM organisers did not respond to any emails or contact forms on websites even though they were contacted several times; they were also not reachable by phone. In these non-responsive cases, the researcher visited the FMs in person to see whether it was possible to recruit FM organisers. In some cases, participants were open or happy to take the information sheet and said they would get in touch. However, even after following up on these cases, these efforts did not result in any interviews.

3.4.4.4 Recruitment and Interviews with Farmers

In this study, farmers were defined as people selling fruits, vegetables, meat, eggs, fish, dairy and bread at FMs. This was based on the assumption that FMs in London were a space where farmers sold their produce directly to citizens (see section 3.4.1). Thus, it was

assumed that people selling these products had farmed them, rather than bought them from farms or wholesale markets. Although stalls at FMs in London also sold other food products, such as honey, hot food, some processed and baked foods, this study was interested solely in direct sales of basic foods from farmers (and fishers). This boundary blurred slightly by including people selling bread as they were not necessarily farmers themselves. However, bread was considered an essential product in relation to access to food, and secondly in some cases people selling bread were involved in growing and milling the grains according to FM websites. The assumption that FMs in London did primarily intend to provide a space for farmers to directly sell their produce in London was explored in the interviews (see findings Chapter 5).

In most cases, FM organisations showed a list of all farmers and other stallholders selling at their FM on their websites. These lists were compiled into an overview of all farmers selling at FMs in London using Microsoft Excel. This compilation revealed that many farmers sold their produce across different FMs and across different FM organisations (see table in Appendix 3). From this list, a smaller list of farmers was created by farmers who sold across as many FMs and FM organisations as possible. These farms were seen as most relevant, as the aim of the interviews was to gain insight into the governance of FMs overall. Perspectives and experiences of farmers selling across different FMs and FM organisations was seen to be able to provide insight into governance within and across FM organisations. A next step involved prioritising farmers who were selling through any of the five FM organisations that had been interviewed in phase 2 of data collection to be able to triangulate their responses with responses from FM organisers. This approach resulted in ten farms to be contacted in the first instance, with more farms to be contacted if these were not available.

Websites of FM organisations often provided links to farm websites or email addresses of farmers. If a telephone number was provided on the farm website, first contact with farmers was made by telephone. Otherwise, contact was initiated by sending the recruitment email with the attached information sheet. However, it was difficult to reach farmers through these pathways, as they did not often answer the phone or emails. For this reason, some farmers were directly approached at FMs making them aware of the email or giving them the information sheet directly at the market. In cases where it was not the farm owners selling the produce, but rather their employees, they were asked to forward

the information to the owner of the farm. After reaching out to farmers at the FMs, they often replied to emails or subsequent phone calls. Others did not respond.

Ultimately, six farmers were interviewed. Interviews were either conducted face-to-face at farms or over the phone, as this was often most convenient for farmers.

3.4.4.5 Recruitment and Interviews with NGO Representatives

Two NGOs were additionally identified as relevant institutions along the interviewing process. This involved one NGO involved in UK food systems, as well as one NGO involved in access to food for low-income citizens in London and the UK. The latter was identified through snowball sampling based on the interview with a member of the LFB. Contact information of the most relevant people in these NGOs was retrieved from the websites of these organisations. NGO representatives were contacted by email, with the information sheet attached. In one case, a colleague at the Centre for Food Policy followed up on the recruitment email, which resulted in a reply.

One representative from each NGO was interviewed. Interviews were conducted in one case over the phone and in the other case face-to-face in the participants' office.

3.4.4.6 Recruitment and Interviews with Local Council Employees

Purposive sampling for local councils was based on the following reasoning. First of all, a list of local councils was compiled which had been mentioned most by interviewees in phase 2 of data collection, as this demonstrated that these local councils had in some capacity been involved with FMs. Then, using data from the geographical mapping, it was examined how many FMs existed in each of these boroughs and by how many different FM organisations these were run. Additionally, local councils that had been part of previous research or unpublished MSc theses in relation to urban food policy were taken out of the selection to prevent over-researching. Based on these criteria, two local councils were chosen to be interviewed.

Initial analysis of interviews with stakeholders in phase 2 revealed that the relevant departments which dealt with FMs had included planning departments, public health departments and environmental health departments, depending on the capacity in which they were involved. For this reason, efforts were made to enquire within all these

departments in the two local councils selected. For this purpose, local council websites were used to find email contact information for each department. The recruitment email with the attached information sheet was sent. If no response was received, this was followed up by email and by phone several times. However, it was often very time-intense to communicate with local councils, as people kept referring the researcher from one person to the next in different departments. Even with several follow-ups on the recruitment email, the researcher received only one answer from one public health department, which stated that they did not have enough to do with FMs and did not want to be interviewed. This was a very similar process when being consistently cross-referred when trying to contact local councils about whether UFSs existed or were still up to date (see section 3.4.2.2). These efforts for recruiting local council employees did not result in any interviews. This formed a limitation in the study, as it would have been insightful to include a perspective from this stakeholder group, as their roles and views were only described by other stakeholder groups. However, as stated in section 3.4.2.2, this lack of response revealed patterns of governance around FMs and was thus a finding in itself, which is picked up in the discussion.

3.4.4.7 Recruitment and Interviews with FARMA Representatives

The contact details for FARMA were found on the FARMA website. FARMA was contacted initially by telephone to enquire which employees were working on FMs to identify the most relevant person or people to interview. The recruitment email and information sheet were sent to the appropriate contact for FMs, who agreed to send the information on to relevant colleagues. They requested to see the interview questions beforehand, which were sent by the researcher. However, no response was received after this, even after following up several times by email and phone. Ultimately, efforts did not result in interviews with FARMA representatives.

3.5 Analysis

This section describes how the data in this study were analysed. It first presents the theoretical underpinning of analysis (section 3.5.1), then explains how the data generated from each method were analysed in detail (section 3.5.2-3.5.4) and then integrated and triangulated as part of the case study (section 3.5.5).

3.5.1 Conceptual Framework for Analysis

A governance (section 3.5.1.1) and equity (section 3.5.1.2) lens provided an overall framing for this food policy study. These conceptual frameworks were used to guide data collection and analysis while using an inductive approach that allowed for emerging themes. In the discussion, governance related theories were used to discuss the themes developed within these frameworks (section 3.5.1.3).

3.5.1.1 Governance Framework

Governance can be defined as "the systems and processes used by states and organisations to manage their affairs" (O'Leary, 2007). Further, governance has been defined as relating to who is governing, what they are governing and how this is being governed (O'Leary, 2007). Although definitions of governance as above can be found, scholars have highlighted a lack of consensus on what phenomena precisely can be grouped under this term (Jordan, 2008). Governance has been described as a contested concept with multiple interpretations and definitions (Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018) and has been used very loosely as a term (Pierre and Peters, 2005; Kooiman 2003 and van Keersbergen and van Waarden, 2004 cited by Jordan, 2008). In spite of these multiple meanings, it has been argued that it is still a useful term (Rhodes, 2007; Jordan, 2008). The following three paragraphs present conceptualisations of governance by multiple scholars. These were used as a foundation for conceptualising governance in this study, as is explained below.

Kooiman has suggested a governance framework formed by three elements, "images, instruments and action" (Kooiman, 2003, chapter 1, p. 5). According to Kooiman, "all sorts of inner and outer data can be part of a governing image: visions, knowledge, facts, judgements, presuppositions, wishes, goals, hypotheses, theories, convictions, and even metaphors or parables." (Kooiman, 2003, chapter 3, p. 2). Governance instruments are used to link these images to action and action refers to how instruments are put into action (Kooiman, 2003; Perrin *et al.*, 2018).

Jordan 2008 states three key points in the definition of governance, drawing on other scholars including Kooiman. First of all, he distinguishes 'governance' from 'governing', where 'governance' describes "the patterns that emerge from the governing activities of social, political and administrative actors" (Jordan, 2008 quoting Kooiman, 1993). Secondly, he distinguishes governance and government: "while government centres on the

institutions and actions of the state, the term governance allows nonstate actors such as businesses and nongovernmental organisations to be brought into any analysis of societal steering (Jordan, 2008 quoting Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). And thirdly, governance is not tied to particular geographical spaces or time periods and can therefore be used to describe different scales (such as international, national or subnational) (Jordan, 2008).

In the field of food policy, taking a governance perspective provides a central lens for analysing the food system (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). The word 'governance' has been described by Mason and Lang as "the actions, decisions and process roles of many actors, all of whom have a stake in the food system" (Mason and Lang, 2017, p. 260). These "new" forms of governance in the food system involving these multiple actors have been described as more complex and multi-level than "'old', top-down forms of governance", and include companies, civil society organisations, consumers, professions, as well as the weakened state as policy actors (Mason and Lang, 2017, p. 260). Further, these forms of governance can include multiple levels, ranging from the local to the global (Mason and Lang, 2017). Mason and Lang further write that governance describes how, by whom and with what effect decisions are made and emphasise that 'food governance' involves examining the whole process of decision making, including the values of actors that underly decisions (Mason and Lang, 2017). Similarly, food governance has been defined by others as "all modes of governing encompassing activities carried out by different actors to guide, steer, control or manage the pursuance of food security" (Moragues-Faus, Sonnino and Marsden, 2017, p. 185; Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018).

Combining the above definitions and conceptualisations of governance, the following four elements formed a framework for exploring the governance of FMs, the consideration of equity within this and how this was linked to urban food policy in London: 1.) actors and their roles (who are the actors involved and what roles do they play), 2.) actors' values (what are actor's values underlying their decisions, which include for instance their visions, ideas, knowledge, judgements, goals, convictions), 3.) governance instruments (how are these values put into action, e.g. laws or regulations) and 4.) actor's actions. The framework was used as a conceptual framework to partly guide the development of interview schedules and to organise interview data in chapter 5, serving as a foundational

framework for the development of themes. It was also used within a food access equity framework (see section 3.5.1.2) to develop themes in chapter 6.

3.5.1.2 Food Access Equity Framework

The equity lens in this study acknowledges that inequalities in access to, and consumption of, healthy food exist, and that these inequalities are in part structurally determined and contribute to health inequalities (Dixon *et al.*, 2007; Caraher, 2016), drawing on the concept of the social determinants of health (Marmot and Bell, 2010).

Scholars have suggested multiple frameworks for conceptualising access to healthy food (Machell and Caraher, 2012; Borch and Kjærnes, 2016; Freedman *et al.*, 2016). Existing frameworks were presented in section 2.1.2 in the literature review. To explore the consideration of access in the governance of FMs in this study, a framework proposed by Machell and Caraher (Machell and Caraher, 2012) was used as a foundation. Their framework overlapped with frameworks developed by other scholars and was specifically focused on the UK. The framework included three key barriers in access to food: access to knowledge on food and nutrition, economic access and physical access (Machell and Caraher, 2012). This study focused on two aspects of this framework: a) geographic access to FMs and b) economic access to FMs. It was used to guide data collection and as an organising framework for developing themes in chapter 6.

In the discussion (see chapter 7), the themes developed within the governance and equity frameworks (see chapters 5 and 6) are discussed using a range of theories that relate to governance, including reflexive localism (see literature review section 2.2.1), the local trap (see literature review section 2.2.1), as well as the Advocacy Coalition Framework (see section 7.3). These are presented and explored in the discussion in more detail.

3.5.2 Analysis of Documents

A simplified version of a thematic content analysis was used to analyse the documents. A detailed description of thematic content analysis is provided in section 3.5.4 below.

The sampled UFSs were analysed accordingly. First, relevant topics of interest to meet the objectives were pre-defined to analyse the content of documents. This is referred to in thematic content analysis as developing concept-driven main categories or a deductive

approach (Green and Thorogood, 2018). To gain insight into the content and aims of UFSs in relation to FMs and equality in access, these concept-driven main categories were included:

- Content relating to inequalities in access to food
- Content relating to supporting small/family, local or regional farmers
- Content relating to local/seasonal food and short food supply chains
- Content relating to FMs
- Content linking FMs and issues of access

Documents were printed and read thoroughly for familiarisation with the content while taking notes. Documents were then read for a second time and coded by hand on the margins for the pre-defined main categories. In addition, the researcher was open to any content that was seen as relevant to meet the objectives beyond the pre-determined topics or would expand the topics in an unforeseen way, reflecting an inductive approach. However, the main categories remained the same. The content identified as relevant was then copied and pasted from the electronic version of the documents into a Microsoft Word file, creating one Word file per UFS. Within the word file, content was then grouped under each main category. If relevant, themes were developed in these main categories. Thematic content analysis was simplified to this process, as normally it would involve further steps (themes were not developed across categories). The content coded within the main categories is presented in section 4.1.1.

For the analysis of web content of FM organisations, pre-determined main categories differed slightly. The main aim here was to gain insight into the governance of FMs, including what defined FMs, the motivations and aims of FM organisations, and the consideration of access. For this reason, pre-determined main categories included:

- Content on the definition of FMs and aims of FM organisations
- Content on rules and regulations for FMs
- Content on access to FMs

The process of analysis followed the same procedure as the analysis of UFSs as described in the previous paragraph. The content coded within main categories is presented in section 4.1.2.

3.5.3 Analysis of Geographical Mapping

As described in section 3.3.3, an online tool used for the geographical mapping provided IMD data according to postcodes of FMs. These data were downloaded from the website as a Microsoft Excel file. IMD deciles and income deciles for the location of each FM were then copied into a new Microsoft Excel File. IMD deciles and income deciles were both of interest, as they are commonly used measures for determining socioeconomic inequalities. To visualise the number of FMs located in each IMD and income decile, 2-D column charts were created using Microsoft Excel. These charts were created for one FM organisation running twenty-three markets, for one FM organisation running nine markets, and then additional charts combining the rest of FMs across FM organisations in London. Additionally, the more specific location of individual FMs was also charted for the twenty-three FMs run by one FM organisation and the nine FMs run by a second FM organisation (these data were not available for all other FMs). Thus, the following charts were created:

1) Distribution of 23 FMs run by FM organisation 1 across IMD and income deciles
2) Distribution of 9 FMs run by FM organisation 2 across IMD and income deciles
3) Distribution of all other FMs in London across IMD and income deciles
4) Distribution of 23 FMs run by FM organisation 1 by specific location across IMD and income deciles
5) Distribution of 9 FMs run by FM organisation 2 by specific location across IMD and income deciles

The charts were interpreted by looking at trends in distribution according to IMD and income deciles in London (see chapter 4).

3.5.4 Analysis of Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic content analysis. Thematic content analysis provides an analysis method, which is frequently used in qualitative research and aims to identify key elements of participants' accounts (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). Identifying themes, or recurring issues, in the data is a way of reducing the complexity of participants' accounts and can be used as a tool to summarise and organise the range of topics, views, experiences and beliefs of participants (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). A theme can be seen as a label for groups of data segments belonging together on an abstract level as argued by the researcher (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Thematic content analysis has been shown to be

a useful approach for answering questions about salient responses for particular groups or respondents or identifying typical responses (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Thematic content analysis is particularly suited to exploratory studies, and can produce sound findings useful for policy and practice (Green and Thorogood, 2018), and was thus appropriate for this study considering the exploratory aim and orientation to food policy.

The process of thematic content analysis involves several common steps, described slightly differently by different authors (Bazeley, 2007; Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). These steps have been set out for instance as: a) familiarisation with the data, b) identification of themes, c) coding of the data set, d) organisation of codes and themes (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Others have described the steps as a) initial coding, b) developing a coding scheme (creating categories and subcategories), c) coding the data set d) developing themes (Durand and Chantler, 2014). Concepts, categories and themes are terms that are used in social science in different ways and often used interchangeably (Bazeley, 2007). However, the principles of the process are very similar in spite of subtle differences in the use of terms. In this study, a combination of these steps was used to develop a thematic content analysis. The detailed process is laid out in the following paragraphs.

In first instance, interviews were analysed 'informally' to gain familiarisation with the data. This involved, first of all, developing interview notes directly after conducting interviews with initial ideas, impressions and potential themes relevant to the research questions. Secondly, the process of transcription, which involved listening to the transcript twice to correct any mistakes made in the first transcription, was used to add any thoughts, insights and early ideas on themes to these interview notes. Previous literature has emphasised the value of familiarising oneself with the data as a very useful first step in qualitative analysis (Silverman, 2010; Creswell, 2013; Durand and Chantler, 2014; Saldana, 2016; Green and Thorogood, 2018).

Interviews were then initially coded. For this, interview transcripts were first imported as files into the Nvivo 11 software, a software package frequently used as a tool to store and organise qualitative data, as well as code data electronically (Bazeley, 2007). Codes in this case related to, as defined by Durand and Chantler, labelling data extracts as indicators of a concept (Durand and Chantler, 2014). In the Nvivo software, codes are labelled as 'nodes'.

For the purposes of this study, a combination of a deductive and inductive approach to developing codes was used (Bazeley, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Saldana, 2016; Green and Thorogood, 2018); some codes were identified as relevant before beginning the analysis, while most codes were developed inductively along the analysis process. A governance framework and a food access framework (see section 3.5.1) shaped the direction when developing deductive and inductive codes. This initial coding of interviews was used to develop a 'coding scheme' (discussed in the next paragraph). Additionally, it was used to adjust subsequent interview schedules, as is common in qualitative interviewing (Bazeley, 2007; Saldana, 2016), as well as inform interview schedules for phase 3 of data collection.

After having coded approximately five interviews, an initial 'coding scheme' was developed. This involved sorting individual codes into groups according to similar subjects, resulting in categories and subcategories, a process that has been described previously in the literature (Bazeley, 2007; Durand and Chantler, 2014; Creswell, 2018; Green and Thorogood, 2018). Again, this was shaped by a governance and food access framework (see section 3.5.1). This process of sorting codes was done by hand initially and then entered in the Nvivo software, resulting in a so-called node-tree in the Nvivo software (Bazeley, 2007). Subsequent interview transcripts were coded using this coding scheme. Further, as has been described previously, it was essential to allow for new data to challenge the existing coding scheme and adapt it along the coding process, which involved changing or adding new categories and subcategories (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). Along this process, it was then important to evaluate labels and definitions of categories and subcategories, reflect on how categories related to each other and how they overlapped, as well as whether they became redundant and ultimately which main categories would become themes (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). In line with a mainly inductive approach to the analysis, the coding scheme continuously evolved throughout the project (Green and Thorogood, 2018). An example of such a coding scheme at one point during the analysis is shown in Appendix 4.

Once a coding scheme with categories and subcategories was established based on the coding of all eighteen interviews, themes were developed (Bazeley, 2007; Saldana, 2016; Creswell, 2018). This phase of thematic content analysis is often also referred to as 'cut and paste' (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). When doing this manually, data extracts under each code are cut out of copies of transcripts and pasted

onto large pieces of paper, while electronically this can be done by cutting and pasting data extracts from the same code into Word files (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018), as was done in this study. Data extracts were then compared and contrasted, to develop novel themes within the codes, look at relationships across codes and think about the meaning of the data (Durand and Chantler, 2014; Green and Thorogood, 2018). This process resulted in a further restructuring of the coding scheme, as is commonly the case (Durand and Chantler, 2014). As similarities and differences of perspectives between each stakeholder group were of interest in this study, data for each stakeholder group were separated as part of analysing data extracts from each code. For this, a 'Matrix Query' in the Nvivo software was used as a tool to visualise the content of codes separated by each stakeholder group. Governance and food access equity frameworks (see section 3.5.1) were used as a foundation and organisation structure to develop themes and subthemes. Themes and subthemes were developed within and across stakeholder groups, depending on whether responses from participants showed differences that were relevant for answering the research questions. These themes and subthemes are presented in chapters 5 and 6 and ultimately form several overarching themes which are presented at the end of each of these chapters.

3.5.5 Integration and Triangulation

In line with a case study approach (see section 3.2.1), findings from multiple sources were integrated and triangulated, providing in-depth and holistic insight from different perspectives on the governance of FMs, the consideration of equality in access within this, and how this linked to urban food policy. This involved multiple strategies; firstly, the analysis of data in each phase of data collection informed subsequent phases of data collection. Secondly, findings from different methods were integrated to provide more in-depth understandings of findings, and thirdly findings were triangulated to add strength to the interpretations. Ultimately, these strategies led to the core findings of this case study, which are presented and discussed in chapter 7. More detail and examples of how methods were combined with these strategies are laid out in the following paragraphs.

Findings from the document analysis and findings from semi-structured interviews were combined in the following ways. First of all, findings from the document analysis informed phase 2 and 3 of data collection. This involved document analysis findings informing interview schedules; for example, interviews explored policy stakeholders' perspectives on

the content of London UFSs in relation to FMs, as well as how this content was implemented in practice. At the same time, combining the findings from the document analysis with these perspectives from semi-structured interviews allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the food policy environment around FMs. Similarly, the document analysis of web content of FM organisations provided initial insight into the governance of FMs in London and the consideration of access. The findings informed interview schedules in phase 2 and 3, as these insights into the governance could be then explored in more detail and from stakeholders' perspectives.

Secondly, findings from the document analysis and findings from semi-structured interviews were triangulated. For instance, this involved comparing website content of FM organisations on the consideration of access with participants' accounts on how equality in access was considered by FM organisations, and whether findings from these different sources of data overlapped. Or for example, in how far information on other parts of governance of FMs on the websites aligned with accounts by participants on the governance of FMs in interviews.

Findings from the geographical mapping of FMs in London were also combined with interview data through different strategies. First of all, findings from the geographical mapping on the distribution of FMs according to socioeconomic indicators in London informed subsequent stages of data collection; the findings were used in interview schedules to explore participants' perspectives on geographical access to FMs. Secondly, the findings from the geographical mapping were integrated with interview data. Findings from interviews on the consideration of equality in access was used to explain whether the consideration of geographic equality in access in the governance of FMs had led to the presence of FMs in lower-income areas of London. And thirdly, findings from the geographical mapping were triangulated with accounts by participants. This involved for instance comparing the distribution of FMs in London according to socioeconomic indicators with participants' views on the location of FMs in London and on geographical access for different communities.

Findings from individual interviews were combined with each other by informing subsequent phases of research and by triangulation. First of all, interviews in phase 2 of the case study informed sampling of participants for phase 3. For instance, participants'

accounts in phase 2 interviews revealed additional relevant stakeholders or institutions in the governance of FMs in London, which were then interviewed in phase 3. Further, the selection of farmers for phase 3 of data collection was partly based on which FM organisations were interviewed in phase 2; it was of interest to interview farmers who sold at these specific FMs to be able to triangulate their responses with accounts by FM organisers. This provided more validity than if they had spoken about FM organisations that had not been interviewed. Although, not interviewed, the selection of local councils to be interviewed in phase 3 had also been dependent on analysis of interviews in phase 2, aiming to interview local councils mentioned frequently in phase 2 interviews. The selection of local councils had also been dependent on the geographical mapping which showed how many and which FM organisations were located in these boroughs. Perspectives of individual participants were finally compared to each other for triangulation in the analysis (see findings chapter 5 and 6), adding strength to findings from individual interviews.

The core findings in this case study (see chapter 7) emerged based on the following strategy. Overarching themes from chapter 6 and chapter 7 served as a basis for these core findings. These were then combined with findings from other methods based on the strategies above. The discussion (see chapter 7) discusses this integration and triangulation in more detail.

3.6 Ensuring Quality of Research

This section describes how quality of research was ensured. This involved ensuring reliability and validity (section 3.6.1), and as part of this accounting for reflexivity and the role of the researcher (3.6.2).

3.6.1 Reliability and Validity

Considerable debate exists in relation to how concepts such as reliability and validity should be applied in case studies (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2016) and qualitative research (Green and Thorogood, 2018). According to Yin, commonly used criteria to establish the quality of empirical social research, including case studies, are construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability (Yin, 2014). In contrast, Thomas states that reliability and validity are not always important or necessary and are not a principal concern in a case study (Thomas, 2013, 2016). Green and Thorogood suggest though that quality criteria are

necessary to ensure rigour (Green and Thorogood, 2018). They provide suggestions of how transparency, reliability and validity can result in rigorous qualitative research (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Acknowledging this complexity, this thesis mainly uses Yin's criteria, as listed above, and draws on the ideas of Green and Thorogood, reflecting the central role for qualitative methods in this study. Each of Yin's criteria are discussed in turn. Reflexivity by the researcher (addressed in section 3.6.2) is mentioned as additionally important by Green and Thorogood (Green and Thorogood, 2018) and cuts across all Yin's criteria of validity.

Construct validity is the extent to which the results of a test (or another instrument) truly correlate with the theoretical construct for which it aims to act as a measure (Golafshani, 2003; Thomas, 2013). As defined by Yin, construct validity needs to identify correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Yin, 2013). Accordingly, the conceptualisation of governance and equity in this study was based on reviewing core literature (see section 3.5.1). Further, the methodology chapter has provided a transparent rationale for using a combination of a document analysis, geographic mapping and semi-structured interviews to explore these concepts. This study also triangulated multiple sources of evidence (see section 3.5.5), which forms a tactic for increasing construct validity (Aaltio and Heilmann, 2010; Yin, 2014).

"Internal validity is the extent to which the design of an experiment attends to and eliminates factors which can influence an experiment" (Thomas, 2013, p. 140) and is thus concerned with establishing causal relationships (Yue, 2010; Yin, 2014). According to Yin, internal validity is mainly a concern for explanatory studies in which the researcher aims to understand causal relationships, and does not apply to exploratory studies (Yin, 2013). Although this case study included elements of an explanatory approach (aiming to understand why equality in access had or had not been considered), it took mainly an exploratory and descriptive approach (aiming to understand how equality in access was considered in governance), and thus internal validity was not a central consideration. Nevertheless, this study aimed to ensure internal validity when discussing the findings of this study by: offering detailed explanations for causal relationships suggested, cautiously suggesting any causal relationships and including rival explanations, and calling for future research to investigate these potential causal relationships further.

External validity refers to defining the domain to which findings can be generalised (Yin, 2014; Thomas, 2017). According to Yin, external validity tests whether a study's findings are generalisable beyond the immediate study (Yin, 2014). Case study research does not aim to generalise to a wider population, but rather generalise on a theoretical level (Yin, 2014). The findings in this case study were generalised on a theoretical level by exploring their potential analytical and conceptual generalisability in the discussion.

According to Green and Thorogood, a further strategy to increase validity in qualitative research involves demonstrating that the interpretation of qualitative data is not based on selecting the most exotic data, or findings are not drawn solely on data which confirm presumptions of the researcher (Green and Thorogood, 2018). This includes for instance accounting for deviant cases, as well as including simple counting, to provide insight into the typicality of accounts (Green and Thorogood, 2018). In line with this, chapter 5 and 6 provide a detailed and transparent presentation of the evidence, which includes the presentation of deviant cases. Interview data were rigorously analysed, and always involved counting as part of the analysis to gain insight into frequency of accounts when developing themes. In chapters 5 and 6, the frequency of accounts is in some cases indicated in the presentation of data, either by the exact number of accounts or by more vague descriptions such as "all", "most/the majority", or "some", or "very few".

Reliability originally refers to the extent to which a research instrument will provide the same results in different points in time and to which the results can be reproduced under a similar methodology (Golafshani, 2003; Thomas, 2013). In relation to a case study, Yin describes this as a later researcher being able to follow the same procedures and if conducting the same case study, they would arrive at the same findings and conclusions (Yin, 2014). For this to be possible, all procedures need to be clearly documented (Yin, 2014). This research ensured reliability in the following ways. Each step of the geographical mapping was clearly documented above, including census data and software used. Also data collection for the document analysis was clearly documented, including where documents were retrieved and how they were analysed. Interviews were all transcribed fully and accurately and their analysis described in detail in the methodology, including how coding categories were developed. For Yin, reliability only applies to the phase of data collection. Green and Thorogood additionally refer to reliability relating to the 'repeatability' of interpretation, meaning that a similar study would result in similar themes

and that data would be coded in the same way (Green and Thorogood, 2018). However as they emphasise, in more inductive approaches, two researchers would not necessarily identify the same themes, as this depends on the researcher's interests, knowledge, theoretical approach and epistemological framework (Green and Thorogood, 2018). As the analysis of interviews relied on both deductive and inductive approaches, it was then important that codes and themes were identifiable and credible. This was ensured by accurate and full transparency of how interviews were coded and the theoretical framing for this, as well as providing an example of a full coding scheme in Appendix 4. The development of core findings is described in detail throughout the methodology, findings chapters and discussion.

3.6.2 Reflexivity

A researcher needs to be aware and critical of their own political standpoint and theoretical assumptions, background, as well as influence in all phases of conducting research (Creswell, 2013). Factors contributing to a researcher's standpoint include likes, dislikes, background, vested interests and expectations, including class, gender, ethnicity, ideas and commitments (Thomas, 2013).

My education and work experience has shaped the direction of my study and my approach to the topic. My university education in Molecular Medicine (purely quantitative) provided understanding of the basics of research. In addition to research skills for conducting laboratory research using a positivist perspective, it was in this BSc and MSc where I first came in contact with and developed an interest in the effect of diet on health and the molecular mechanisms of these processes. Following on with an MSc in Global Health and Development, my view expanded to a wider understanding of social and political factors contributing to diet and health. I was also for the first time exposed to social science research. The combination of these degrees provided a holistic understanding of nutrition and diet, including its wider determinants and effects on health. At this point I had developed a keen interest and a critical view of the global food system through my studies and due to private interest. Hence, my MSc thesis investigated the effectiveness of the WHO policy on baby milk substitutes, taking a critical stance towards large corporations in the food system. Subsequent work in maternal and child health in Nepal, volunteer work for Baby Milk Action, and my work in an international HIV/AIDS NGO has further deepened my knowledge and views on global inequalities, poverty and food security, as well as the

complexity of the food system. In between these experiences, I aimed to experience the food system from a practical perspective and worked on a farm in California, which included selling harvested produce at FMs. Most recently, keen to focus my work directly in the food system and further to act locally with a global view, I joined a Research Centre for Organic Agriculture in Germany before starting this PhD. This multidisciplinary training and work experience has shaped the holistic approach I used to explore the consideration of equity in the governance of FMs and its links to urban food policy London, in which I have integrated and synthesised my knowledge and experience on the field of food systems and health, exploring a local issue while taking a global food systems perspective.

A further significant factor which I acknowledge in shaping my viewpoint is my personal background. I grew up in Germany to middle-class parents who had both immigrated to Germany from contrasting countries at the time, Slovakia (at that time a communist state) and California, US. I was thus raised with an outsider perspective of the culture I was immersed in and was exposed to different cultures and views of the world in my home life. This critical view towards a status quo has shaped my behaviour and thinking throughout my life, always questioning 'reality', acknowledging that the way things were was often a social construction, and I was able to imagine and had seen alternatives. I therefore see change in food systems as possible. I acknowledge my privilege of being white, being a woman in a Western culture and having the privilege of a university education. I have not experienced a position in which I was not able to afford healthy food, or if in a position with financial constraints, I was not in a situation in which I had to choose between other essential costs, such as rent and electricity, and food. When researching inequalities in access to food I am coming from an outside perspective relating to some experiences, as I have not experienced issues of access and have not felt excluded from food retail due to my background and need to be aware not to make assumptions about these situations.

As I am conducting research in food policy, it is also necessary to be transparent about my assumptions and philosophical view of the food system and how this has influenced the research design. I am passionate about contributing to change in the food system and I am doing this PhD as I deeply care about planetary and human health. I see the current food system as unsustainable on many levels and I am committed to contributing to a more healthy, sustainable and equitable food system with my work. This includes, but is of course not limited to, more sustainable methods of food production (e.g. agroecological

principles which includes organic agriculture), the support of small farmers globally, sustainable diets (a shift in how and what people eat), as well as addressing power imbalances in the food system. Based on my knowledge, growing and sourcing food locally, and aiming to eat seasonally and regionally, should be part of this more sustainable food system. I hold the position that we need to create systems in which all people have access to healthy and sustainable food globally. For me, integrated food policies on city and country level, such as urban food policies in London, offer one pathway which can contribute to transitioning to more sustainable food systems.

I am of the view that behaviour, choices and health outcomes as they relate to the food system are shaped and limited by structural determinants and power. And I therefore see policy as an essential lever for change in these systems. If people's income is insufficient to afford a healthy and sustainable diet or they experience other issues of access to this kind of diet, they are not able to make choices that are better for themselves and the planet. I further have the view that people have agency within these social and political determinants of diet and health and not everyone is interested in healthy and sustainable diets. Further, many people are unaware that the food system and the way we consume food is not sustainable.

This perspective influenced the research questions and research design in so far that I am interested in food governance, assuming that governance in the food system affects people's access to healthy and sustainable diets. As described in Tim Lang's book 'Food Wars', my thinking is in line with his definition of the ecological paradigm, working on the assumption that humans need to act in the interest of public health and the planet. I see it as essential to create food policies based on these values.

I also think it is important to declare my perspective on FMs specifically. I see FMs as a good way to provide local, fresh food from small-scale farmers to communities. At the same time, I am not suggesting that FMs are the solution to problems in the food system, as they are a small channel for food retail. I am aware that cultural, social and personal factors play a huge role within the food system, and that many people do not want to buy their food at FMs for many reasons. However, in my view, even though FMs form a small part of the food system, their efforts reflect larger changes that need to happen in the food system. These efforts often include needing to change how food is produced, the need to

provide fair wages for farmers globally, shortening supply chains and expanding awareness on where food comes from.

A transition to a more sustainable and fair system will need to address the vast inequalities that exist in all parts of the food system, which are often rooted in larger societal and political systems. Research has shown that the divide in the food system is often exacerbated in alternative systems, such as FMs, that are founded on trying to address these issues in the first place. Based on my view, I think that even if food is produced and sold in potentially more sustainable ways, such as is often the case at FMs, this cannot contribute to a more sustainable food system if it is exacerbating pre-existing inequalities in access to healthy and sustainable food. I do think it is essential to ensure equity is considered in the governance of FMs. I am not suggesting that addressing equity issues around FMs will have a huge impact on the food system. However, I am viewing FMs as a reflection of issues within the food system and as a good lens to examine the food system. This perspective has shaped the aim of my research and I kept these assumptions in mind throughout the research when collecting and analysing data.

3.7 Reflections on the PhD Process

When beginning the study, I anticipated that some people would feel uncomfortable when being asked questions in the interviews about equality in access or would be deterred from participating based on the information sheet. The reason for this was that if they had not considered it in relation to FMs, people might have felt like they should be and could feel indirectly criticised and unwilling to participate in the study. This anticipation was justified in some cases. In some interviews I could feel a slight underlying annoyance or defensiveness when speaking about the consideration of equality in access to FMs. To try to avoid people not participating for this reason, in some cases I did not always immediately reveal that the study entailed questions about equality in access to FMs when enquiring about participation with FM organisers at FMs in person. Of course the information sheet gave this information away once I handed it to them. When I did not receive an email to confirm participation, I often wondered if they felt uncomfortable speaking about equality in access to FMs or had not thought about it before.

A point leading on from this concerned desirability bias. For the same reasons as above, I questioned whether FM organisers would provide their honest views on the consideration

of equality in access at FMs, or rather might have exaggerated their interest or efforts due to desirability bias. However, in contrast to my expectation, some FM organisers did directly 'admit' that equality in access was not a consideration for them, and others did not seem to have exaggerated their efforts. However, they all said equality in access to FMs was important, which could have been due to desirability bias. This is where triangulation with data from the document analysis was important. Although most FM organisers spoke about how they considered equality in access, including some specific strategies, only one FM organisation had made references to issues of access on their website. Even if they seemed genuine and honest, I was able to compare their statements to their websites.

As I progressed in my interviewing, my interviewing skills improved. I noticed that it became easier to navigate between pre-determined topics, as well as leave space for novel topics to emerge. I was also able to be more spontaneous with questioning, which resulted in a better flow of the interviews. A second important learning was that I became more aware of my bias in later interviews. Even though I did not show this outwardly, in initial interviews I could feel myself being critical of answers by participants due to my own biases (see reflexivity section above). Although I did not think that I showed it outwardly, I would be more aware in future of experimenter-expectancy effects, brought about by expectations of the researcher, in which participants might conform to a lead a researcher might be giving through the tone of voice, words used or questions asked (Thomas, 2013). After I had conducted a few interviews, I became less emotional and was rather just interested in participants' perspectives without comparing this to my own perspective. This involved partly letting go of how I thought the world should be, and rather trying to understand how it currently was.

I was also aware of how my own characteristics shaped my interviews and data. I realised later in the interviewing process that it was an advantage to have an American English accent, rather than a British English accent. This placed me as an outsider, participants could not put me into a category in terms of background as they would have often been able with a British English accent. When speaking to farmers, policy stakeholders, and FM organisers, who in some cases were from different sections of society, they were not able to place my socioeconomic background. When we spoke about equality in access, I feel like my outsider standing helped, as participants in other cases might have categorised me and answered according to my socioeconomic background. This to me removed a barrier, and

we could relate human to human. A further advantage of being the outsider in this way was that participants felt like they would need to explain cultural norms to me, such as that FMs are seen as a middle-class pursuit in the UK. Possibly, they would have not explained this in as much detail if I had been British or possibly would have seen me as naïve for asking questions about equality in access to FMs.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

As this study involved human participants, ethical considerations to protect them were highly relevant (Thomas, 2016). For this reason, informed consent was gained from participants, they were protected from harm, their privacy and confidentiality was protected and participants were selected equitably (Thomas, 2013). Additionally, collected data containing information about people and institutions were anonymised and kept securely.

This research study presents low ethical risks, as it is not dealing with sensitive information. Nevertheless, some possibly sensitive points were considered. This involved for example the collection of interview data on internal management and 'micropolitics' of FMs and urban food policy. Further, it was considered before the interviews that participants might be wary of providing information that could be deemed commercially sensitive. In consequence, a series of steps were taken to ensure confidentiality of findings, particularly anonymising the presentation of data below.

Ethical approval was granted on November 15th, 2017 by the Sociology Research Ethics Committee, City, University of London (see Appendix 2 for Ethical Approval). Throughout the study, several minor additions and changes to the ethics form were approved by the Sociology Research Ethics Committee. This included for example that supervisors would be able to see interview data before anonymisation, which had previously only been allowed by the researcher. A second change included that interviews could also be conducted over the phone, as this was sometimes the best option for interviewees who lived further away from London, which mostly applied to farmers.

PART THREE – FINDINGS

Chapter 4: Document Analysis and Geographical Mapping

This chapter presents the findings from phase 1 of data collection. This includes findings from the document analysis and geographical mapping.

4.1 Document Analysis

This section begins by presenting the findings from the analysis of UFSs (section 4.1.1), followed by findings from the analysis of website content of FM organisations (section 4.1.2). The purpose of this document analysis is set out in detail in section 3.3.2.

4.1.1 Document Analysis of Urban Food Strategies in London

Findings from the analysis of sixteen UFSs (see table 5 section 3.4.2) is presented below along key categories of interest, based on the analysis laid out in section 3.5.2. These categories included: inequalities in access to food; support of small/family, local or regional farmers; local/seasonal food and short food supply chains; FMs; FMs linking with issues of access.

Inequalities in Access to Healthy Food

All policy documents except one acknowledged the existence of inequalities in access to healthy food in London and expressed the goal of addressing these inequalities. For instance, the MUFFP stated as one its main aims to create inclusive food systems which provide healthy and affordable food to all people and recommends actions for achieving social and economic equity. The 2006 LFS expressed as one of its guiding visions for "all Londoners [to] have ready access to an adequate, safe, nutritious, and affordable diet" and that healthy eating should not be more expensive than alternatives. Addressing inequalities in access to healthy food remained a central theme in the 2018 LFS. One of its main aims included ensuring "that all Londoners can eat well and are able to enjoy food security for themselves and their family". Similarly, the 'Understanding London's Markets' Report' expressed the importance of London's markets benefiting all Londoners and that "markets should always be places where all are welcomed and treated equally regardless of wealth, status, age or ethnicity". The report further provided recommendations for the LMB to develop "a strategic approach to London's markets for the benefit of all".

Local council level strategies also prioritised addressing these inequalities. In the Greenwich Food Strategy, this was expressed as the council wanting to encourage initiatives to improve food access. The Islington Food Strategy set as its overarching goal to make "healthy and sustainable food accessible to all". The Lewisham Strategy stated as one of its main aims to reduce the physical, economic, social, cultural and educational barriers to accessing healthy food. In Enfield, the strategy aimed to reduce spatial inequalities through more fresh food outlets. Other strategies expressed this focus on equity as needing to address health inequalities by increasing access to healthy food.

Small/Family, Local and Regional Producers

Half of all strategies (n=8) stated the importance of supporting either small, local, or sustainable producers. The 2006 LFS emphasised the struggle of small farmers to survive and set as one of its visions to have "more effective and affordable distribution channels […] available to producers of all sizes". Further, it set as an action to support local producers, wanting to enable "producers in and around London to understand and access the opportunities of the London market". Accordingly, the accompanying 2006 LFS Implementation Plan set out to reconnect producers and consumers in London for the benefit of the farming community. The MUFPP also expressed a necessity to support both local and small producers. It stated that family and small farmers played a key role in feeding cities and the aim needed to be to engage small scale producers in the implementation of food policies. It further stated as one of its actions to support local producers by seeking "coherence between the city and nearby rural food production…focusing on smallholder producers and family farmers". Although the 2018 LFS did mention producers in their statement that "good food is fair treatment and decent working conditions for producers and suppliers", there were no specific aims of supporting small or local farmers. In the 2018 LFS Implementation Plan, there were no specific actions to support producers.

Among local council UFSs that included comments on supporting producers, there were slight variations whether this was focused on small, local or sustainable producers. For instance, Haringey Food Strategy mentioned both supporting sustainable and local producers. A specific priority involved increasing "business opportunities for sustainable food producers by supporting FMs, street markets and partnerships with local retailers". Both Enfield and Hounslow Food Strategies focused on the need and benefit of supporting

local producers. However, the Enfield Strategy Action Plan only contained specific actions to support local food growing in the borough, rather than supporting local farmers around London.

Local/Seasonal Food

The majority of strategies (n= 14 of 16) included locally grown and seasonal food as part of food systems they were aiming for. The 2006 LFS for instance envisioned that "more of London's food will be 'local' and diverse – that is, wherever practical, it will come from the surrounding area, neighbouring regions and from elsewhere within the UK…", however it also stated that for all Londoners to have access to culturally appropriate food, there may be limits in how far local food can meet these needs. The 2006 LFS Implementation Plan aimed to build capacity for local, regional and sustainable food to be supplied in London and to support retail opportunities for selling this kind of produce. The 2018 LFS encourages a food system based on more local, seasonal and sustainably produced food. In line with this vision, the accompanying Implementation Plan plans to "support others to shape and identify the new incentives needed to improve the environmental quality of the Green Belt and increase the supply of locally-sourced food.". Also the 2015 MUFFP aims to increase local and seasonal food; one of its recommended actions involves supporting "improved food storage, processing, transport and distribution technologies and infrastructure linking peri-urban and near rural areas to ensure seasonal food consumption". The 'Understanding London's Market Report' merely mentions local and seasonal food in the context of needing to develop joint working with the LFB to achieve the objectives of the LFS around local and seasonal food, with no definitive actions or responsibilities mentioned.

Local council UFSs also envision increasing the amount of locally grown food as part of their strategy. The Camden Food Strategy for instance aims to "improve access to healthy, affordable and locally grown food" and defined 'good food' as using "fresh, locally grown or reared seasonal produce". The Lewisham and Hounslow Food Strategies expressed these goals as aiming to take steps towards shortening supply chains. Similarly, the Islington Food Strategy and Enfield Food Strategy aim to promote local, seasonal food as part of the strategy. The Enfield Food Strategy Action Plan included specific actions on growing food within the borough.

Farmers' Markets

The majority (n=10 of 16) of London UFSs aimed to promote or support FMs. For instance, the 2006 LFS mentions FMs several times. It states that FMs are run by four organisations in London and are defined as places that are frequented due to the high quality of food and due to people "passing by". Further, it expressed that FMs "are seen by some as middle-class conceits; and by others as a vital component of a shift towards a healthier and sustainable food system". The 2006 LFS further intended to provide support to FMs. This was expressed in that spatial planning should encompass the protection of FMs; the strategy stated that "government and local authority policies have for many years discriminated against them, and this should be redressed". And ultimately, the 2006 LFS includes as one of its actions to provide advice and support programmes for FMs. However, in the 2006 LFS Implementation Plan, there were no specific goals listed around FMs. In the 2018 LFS, FMs were no longer mentioned as an entity to be supported, however were mentioned in sections of the strategy directing citizens to what they could do to improve the food system. This included suggesting that people could use FMs as part of "good food shopping". Further, as part of good food growing, the strategy suggests that citizens can support urban farms and growing spaces by buying from local box schemes and FMs. The 2018 LFS Implementation Plan does not include actions relating to FMs. In the 'Understanding London's Markets Report', FMs are mentioned as being mainly run by commercial operators. There is no mention of needing to support FMs, however it quotes one FM organiser speaking about a lack of space for FMs in London: "we would like to have more markets, but when we look for land, we have barriers - every bit of land is being built on, so there is a shortage of space in London". The MUFFP aims for FMs to be supported; it suggests for cities to provide policy and programme support for FMs and other types of markets, working with private and public components of market systems.

Several local council UFSs either included FMs as part of a food system they were aiming for or aimed to specifically support FMs. Each strategy stated different reasons why this was important. The Lewisham Food Strategy suggested for instance that it was important that "farmers and street markets are integrated into any redesign of town centres". The local FM in Lewisham was also given as an example of "environmentally friendly food production and supply". The Islington Food Strategy saw it as important to encourage FMs to promote local food. The Enfield Food Strategy stated the importance of supporting local producers and suppliers in Enfield, and although FMs did not exclusively sell food that was

grown in Enfield, they saw them as being able to "attract residents and visitors who then spend money on other products and services in the Borough". The Enfield Strategy Action Plan did not include any goals around supporting FMs. The Haringey Food Strategy equated supporting FMs with increasing business opportunities for sustainable food producers. Similarly, the Hounslow Food Strategy framed FMs as protecting farmers' livelihoods, as well as helping to revitalise the local economy and provide community and environmental benefits. The strategy further described how it aimed to develop and actively promote FMs, which was seen as a low-cost action. This involved identifying a lead officer for FMs, as well as supporting the development and networking of FMs.

Farmers' Markets and Equality in Access to Healthy Food

Among all policy documents, it was rare to find FMs linked to addressing inequalities in access to healthy food. Only two local council UFSs directly linked FMs to equity; this involved goals around ensuring that FMs could be accessed by diverse communities or were set up in lower-income areas. For example, the Haringey Food Strategy stated that **"**farmers' markets can achieve sustainability goals on the production side of the agro-food industry, but care must be taken to ensure they are inclusive to a range of consumers". The Hounslow Food Strategy set as a potential action to "ensure that farmers' markets are also set up in poorer areas".

Summary

All policy documents except one acknowledged the existence of inequalities in access to healthy food in London and expressed the goal of addressing these inequalities. Half of all strategies stated the importance of supporting either small, local, or sustainable producers. The majority of strategies either included locally grown or seasonal food as part of the equitable and sustainable food systems or set goals how to increase or support local and seasonal food. Further, the majority of strategies aimed to specifically promote or support FMs. Only two local council food strategies directly linked FMs to issues of access.

These findings are summarised in table 8 below. The left column shows each UFS examined. The top column shows each pre-determined topic used to examine the content of these strategies. A green box reflects that a food strategy included this topic as part of a system it aimed for or that it listed specific actions to support it. An orange box reflects that

this topic was not mentioned in the strategy (see table 6 section 3.4.2.3 for code of documents):

Document	Inequalities in Access to Healthy Food	Small/Family/Local/Regional Farmers	Local/Regional /Seasonal Food	FMs	FMs and Inequalities in Access
2006 LFS					
2006 LFS Implementation Plan					
2018 LFS					
2018 LFS Implementation Plan					
Understanding London's Markets Report					
MUFFP					
Hounslow Food Strategy					
Southwark Food Strategy					
Lambeth Food Strategy					
Enfield Food Strategy					
Enfield Food Strategy Action Plan					
Camden Food Strategy					
Greenwich Food Strategy					
Lewisham Food Strategy					
Islington Food Strategy					
Haringey Food Strategy					

Table 8: Summary of Document Analysis of Urban Food Strategies

4.1.2 Document Analysis of Web Content of FM Organisations

This section presents the findings from the document analysis of the web content of nine FM organisations. The documents were analysed as described in section 3.5.2. The findings are presented below along the three pre-determined categories used in the analysis: definition of FMs and aims of FM organisations; rules and regulations; and access to FMs.

Definition of FMs and Aims of FM Organisations

Four themes emerged when examining the definitions of FMs and aims of FM organisations; 1) what was sold at FMs, 2) FMs provided local and seasonal food, 3) FMs

connected farmers and the urban community directly and 4) FMs supported farmers' livelihoods. Each are described in the following paragraphs.

All FM organisations listed on their websites what kind of food their FMs sold. This included in all cases fruits and vegetables, dairy, meat and bread, while several FM organisations additionally mentioned eggs and fresh fish. Some also listed honey, jams, relishes, cakes, hot food stalls, olives, flowers, coffee and ready-to-eat foods.

As part of describing their markets, the majority of FM organisations also emphasised that their FMs sold local or seasonal food. This was described as "locally sourced food", "ingredients from the local region", "locally farmed and reared", "local farmers produce", "locally-produced foods" or shortened supply chains. How this was precisely defined is presented under 'Rules around FMs' below.

Most FM organisations stated on their websites how one of their aims was to bring farmers and the urban community in direct contact. This was expressed in various ways, such as "we play a big part in helping the farmers bring their fresh & sustainable produce to your doorstop" or "we strongly believe that fresh, local produce should be available direct from the producer". Similarly put, one FM organisation aimed to "put you in direct contact with the farmers, fishermen, growers and bakers who make your food", while another saw the idea of a FM in "the customer [going] and [speaking] to the producer direct and [asking] anything at all about production methods, tastes, where it was made, what's in the ingredients". One FM organisation further emphasised that they wanted "to see more ecological farms directly connected to the urban communities they feed."

A few FM organisations (n=3) also specifically referred to their mission of wanting to support farmers. For instance, one FM organisation felt they were supporting farmers by providing a direct outlet to sell their produce in London. Others referred to their aim of wanting to increase farm incomes through conducting FMs or emphasised how their organisation ensured that small farmers and suppliers were paid fair prices, who were disadvantaged by the conventional food system (supermarkets and agri-business), enabling them to be able to produce sustainably.

Rules for FMs

Each FM organisation seemed to have their own set of rules, although overall these rules showed similarities. The main topics in rules at FMs revolved around interpretations of 'local' food, what exactly could be sold at FMs, who could sell at FMs, as well as what kind of agricultural methods and animal welfare standards were allowed. Each of these is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Although the majority of FMs described their markets as selling local food (see above), what exactly 'local food' entailed in more detail differed slightly across FM organisations; the permitted radius for food to be grown, reared or caught varied from 50 miles to 150 miles radius around the market, London or around the M25 motorway surrounding London. Several FM organisations also specified ranges for their markets. One FM organisation for instance had a 50-mile radius of the M25, while this increased to 100 miles for produce that was more difficult to find.

Many FM organisations also listed what was allowed to be sold at their markets. Although they had all listed in principle the same basic products (fruits, vegetables, dairy, meat and bread) that were sold at their markets (see above), their rules often differed in relation to what foods were allowed beyond these basic products, and who was allowed to sell them. For instance, some FM organisations allowed certain ready-to-eat foods or chocolate, while for others this was not an option. Further, some FM organisations were very strict that it had to be the farmer themselves selling the produce, as well as the prepared foods, while others did not have very strict rules on this.

More than half of FM organisations commented on what kind of agricultural methods or standards they accepted at their markets. This differed across FM organisations, although there was often an emphasis on 'higher' standards. One FM organisation did not allow GM products, while another only permitted "certified organic produce, no air-freighted or hothouse produce", supporting "only those practices that did not increase the amounts of artificial chemicals, fertilisers and pesticides in our food and the environment, but which rely on sound soil and wildlife management and involve the highest standards of animal welfare". A further FM organisation said they encouraged sustainable methods of food production, which included for them both organic and conventional production methods; as part of this, they specified animal welfare rules, with grazing animals having to have

regular access to pasture, animals needing to be free to move around, and hormones and routine antibiotics not permitted. Others stated how they had a strong view on how food should be grown, reared and served, although did not specify this further.

The document analysis showed that four FM organisations were FARMA certified, while the other six did not mention being FARMA-certified on their websites.

Access to FMs

Four (of nine) FM organisations made references to affordability and access to their FMs on their websites. One FM organisation stated that their markets catered to "all tastebuds and pockets" (this FM organisation was not interviewed as part of the case study). A second FM organisation similarly expressed that their FMs were suited to "a wide and diverse range of consumers" and offered "reasonable prices" (this FM organisation was not interviewed as part of the case study). A third FM organisation referred to "farmers [selling] their produce to the public for a fair price". A fourth FM organisation made comments on the affordability and access to their FM multiple times. This was expressed in one instance as the FM making it "easier and more affordable for people to choose and use fresh, seasonal and local food"; they also stated that farmers charged a fair price for their produce. This FM organisation also wrote that they accepted the Healthy Start voucher scheme, as well as the Rose voucher scheme (see section 2.3.2.1), making the market more accessible to people on low incomes.

4.2 Geographical Mapping

Geographical mapping was performed to gain insight into the location of FMs according to deprivation level across London. The findings served as a preparation for semi-structured interviews, with interviews seeking explanations for this distribution, as well as to compare views by participants on distribution to actual distribution shown in this mapping. This section first presents the distribution of FMs according to IMD and income deciles (section 4.2.1). This is followed by the findings on the more specific locations of these FMs according to IMD and income deciles (section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Location of FMs in London according to IMD and Income Relative Deprivation

Figure 2 visualises the location of FMs on a map of Greater London according to deprivation level. The FMs are depicted by different coloured dots on the map. Each colour indicates

FMs run by different FM organisations, with some organisations running multiple FMs. The shade of blue colouring reflects the decile of deprivation in these areas. This ranges from dark blue representing areas in the most deprived percentile through to light blue reflecting the least deprived areas. This map only shows the approximate location of FMs, due to limitations in analysis. Figures 3, 4 and 5 below represent this picture as charts, providing detailed numbers of FMs across IMD and income deciles.

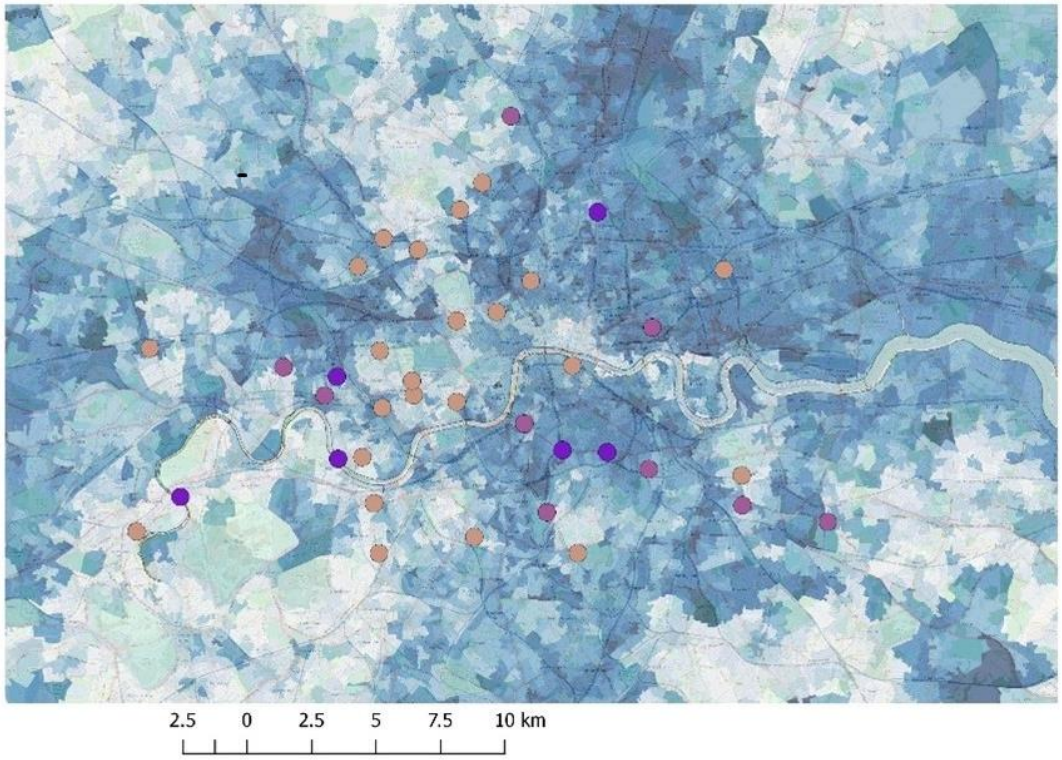

Figure 2: Map of FMs in London according to IMD decile

Figure 3 shows the distribution of twenty-three FMs run by one FM organisation according to IMD decile (left) and income decile (right). The x-axis shows the relative level of deprivation of IMD and income respectively (1-10), with 1 representing the most and 10 the least deprived areas. The y-axis shows the number of FMs (of 23) located in each level of relative deprivation. As can be seen in the diagram on the left, FMs are relatively evenly spread across levels of IMD, with thirteen FMs located in the lowest 5 deciles and ten in the highest 5 deciles. Presenting very similar findings, the right diagram also shows a relatively even distribution with twelve FMs located in income deprivation levels below 5 compared to eleven above 5.

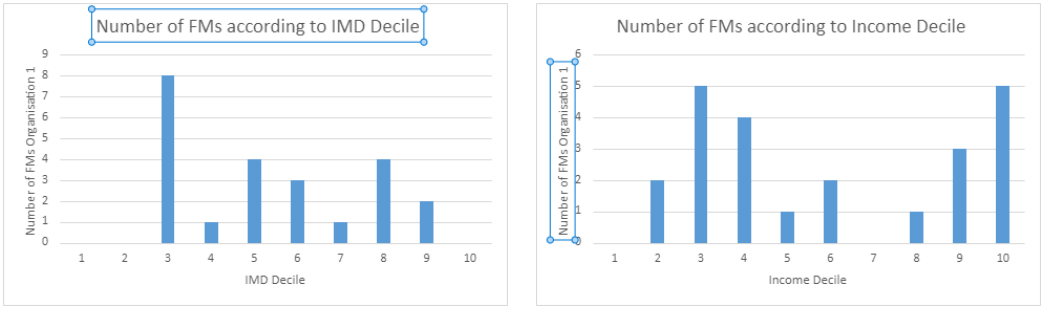

Figure 3: Number of FMs run by Organisation 1 by IMD and income decile

Figure 4 plots the same information as figure 3 (above) for nine FMs run by another FM organisation in London. Again, the findings show a relatively even distribution across levels of relative IMD and income deprivation, with slightly more FMs located in the lower deciles. Six FMs are located in the lower 5 percentiles compared to three FMs in deciles 6-10 for both IMD and income relative deprivation (left and right diagram respectively below).

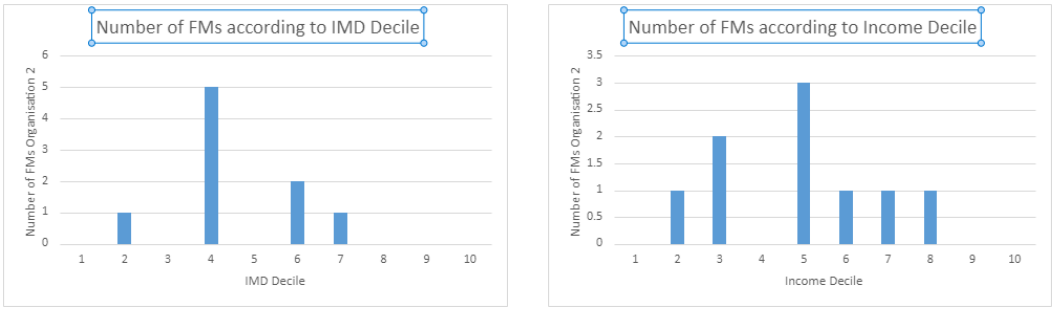

Figure 4: Number of FMs run by Organisation 2 by IMD and income decile

Figure 5 shows the ten remaining FMs run by other organisations in London grouped together. Very similar to findings presented in figures 3 and 4 above, a relatively even distribution across IMD and income deprivation can be seen for these ten FMs. For IMD relative deprivation (left chart), six FMs were located in the lowest 5 deciles, and four in the highest 5 deciles. In the right chart, five FMs were located in the lowest 5 income deciles, and five in the highest 5 income deciles.

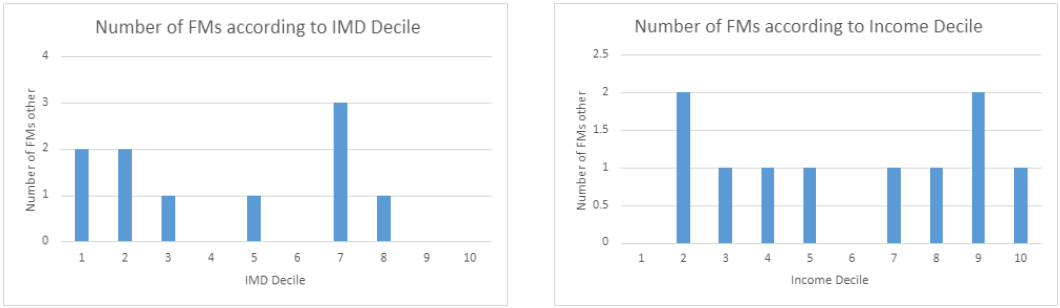

Figure 5: Number of FMs run by other organisations by IMD and income decile

4.2.2 Specific Location of FMs in London according to IMD and Income Relative Deprivation

The more specific locations of FMs were analysed to understand the distribution of FMs across public and private spaces in London. Figure 6 (below) shows charts visualising the more exact location of FMs run by organisation 1 across relative IMD (left) and income (right) deprivation. The charts show first of all where FMs are located specifically, and secondly how these spaces correlate with deciles of deprivation. The charts shows that FMs were situated in both private and public spaces; three FMs were located in university spaces (private), nine FMs within school premises (private), four FMs in car parks (unknown), and seven FMs in streets (public). As it was not possible to know whether some of these locations were private or public, such as car parks, it was difficult to interpret any trends across deciles of deprivation.

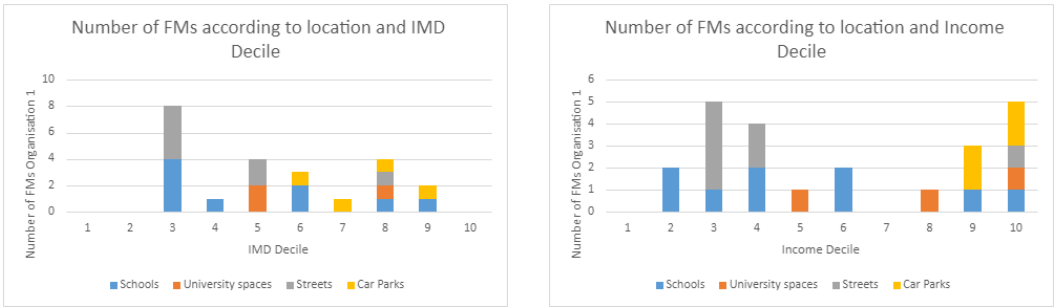

Figure 6: Number of FMs run by Organisation 1 by specific location by IMD and income decile

Figure 7 (below) shows the same charts as above for FMs run by a second organisation in London. The charts show that of these, four FMs were located in public and four FMs in private spaces; two FMs were located in parks (public), two in public streets (public), one in a city farm (private), one in a church ground (private) and two within school premises (private). In this case, identifying a trend across deciles was possible, as it was clear which locations were private and public. The left graph shows that in the lower five IMD deciles, three FMs were located in public spaces, while two in private spaces. In the highest five deciles, two FMs were located in private locations (school and church), while one was located in a public location (park). Thus, there was a relatively even distribution of FMs in private and public spaces across IMD deciles. The right graph shows that in the lower five income deciles, more FMs (n=4) were located in public spaces than in private spaces (n=2), while in the highest five deciles, FMs were only located in private spaces (school and

church grounds). Thus overall, there was a tendency for more FMs to be located in public spaces in lower income deciles, while situated more commonly in private spaces in the higher deciles. Compared to the charts by organisation 2 above (figure 4), these charts only show eight FMs, as these data were not available for one of the FMs. These data were also not available for all other FMs run by other FM organisations.

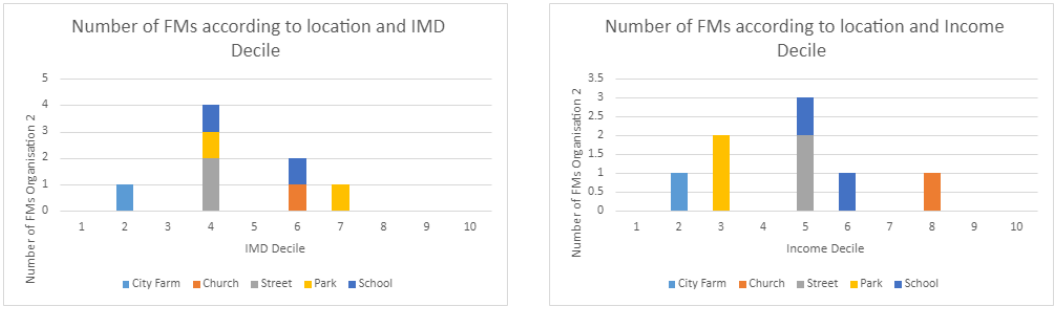

Figure 7: Number of FMs run by Organisation 2 by specific location by IMD and income decile

Summary

Figures 3-5 show first of all, that FMs in London were relatively evenly distributed across all deciles of IMD and income relative deprivation. Figures 5 and 6 showed that FMs in London were situated in both public and private spaces, with relatively even spread across both. For organisation 2, FMs in the lowest IMD and income deciles were located mainly in public spaces, while FMs in the highest deciles to a majority in private spaces. These findings served as a preparation for semi-structured interviews, which explored the governance processes that had led to this geographical distribution, including whether the presence of FMs in areas of higher relative deprivation was the result of intentional decisions to provide access in lower-income communities or whether this was motivated by other reasons (see findings Chapter 6). And further what underlying governance processes had led to FMs being located in public and private spaces and whether this was linked with the consideration of access. The findings from the geographical analysis were also used for triangulation with interview data.

Chapter 5: Governance of Farmers' Markets in London

Chapter 5 presents findings drawn from interview data collected as part of the case study. The data and analysis address objectives 2,3 and 4 of RQ1: identifying the actors involved in the governance of FMs in London; exploring their roles, values and actions in relation to FMs; and exploring the roles, values and actions of urban food policy stakeholders in London in relation to FMs (see table 3 section 3.1). Details on the eighteen interviews that were conducted can be found in section 3.4.4. Interviews were analysed using thematic content analysis as described in section 3.5.4.

As discussed in detail in section 3.5.1, conceptual frameworks of (food) governance (Kooiman, 2003; Jordan, 2008; Mason and Lang, 2017; Moragues-Faus, Sonnino and Marsden, 2017; Moragues-faus and Sonnino, 2018) were combined into one framework, and then used to present and explore the data in this chapter. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into four sections corresponding to the four parts of the framework: a) actors and their roles in the governance of FMs (section 5.1), b) actors' values around FMs (section 5.2), c) instruments of governance around FMs (section 5.3) and d) actors' actions around FMs (section 5.4). Within these four sections, each numbered subsection presents a pre-determined topic explored in interviews. Within these, inductive and deductive themes and subthemes are presented. All themes and subthemes ultimately form two overarching themes (see details section 5.5):

1) In London, FMs were primarily governed by individual FM organisations based on their own beliefs, values and rules around FMs
2) In practice, the governance of FMs was not linked to urban food policy on mayoral level. Local councils were in some cases involved and supportive in the governance of FMs, however whether this was linked to borough or mayoral UFSs was unclear.

Throughout this chapter, the data are presented either across stakeholder groups or, where relevant, are stratified by stakeholder group. The following table shows the codes and descriptions used for interview participants in this and subsequent chapters.

Interview Participants	Code when using quotes	Other descriptions
FM Organisers	STx_FMOrganiser	
Farmers	STx_Farmer	Producers
Members of London Food Board	STx_LondonFoodBoard	Policy Stakeholder
Members of London Markets Board	STx_LondonMarketsBoard	Policy Stakeholder
NGO Representatives	STx_NGORepresentative	

Table 9: Codes and descriptions used for participants

5.1 Actors and their Roles in the Governance of Farmers' Markets

Section 5.1 identifies actors involved in the governance of FMs in London and describes their roles. The term 'actors' is used collectively for organisations, institutions or stakeholder groups.

5.1.1 Actors and their Roles in Setting Up and Running Farmers' Markets

This section sets out which actors were involved in setting up and running FMs in London. This also includes actors, which were interviewed on the assumption that they might play a role, however, were found not to according to interview data. 'Setting up FMs' refers in this study to the process beginning with the intention or idea to set up a FM to the actual implementation of a market. 'Running FMs' has been defined as the process of running FMs once they had been set up.

'Setting up FMs' and 'Running FMs' were predefined topics in interview schedules used to explore the governance process. In early interviews, participants were directly asked which organisations, institutions and groups were involved in setting up and running FMs and whether this included local councils, farmers, citizens, the LFB and the LMB, as these had been identified as potentially involved based on the literature review and the document analysis. In addition, relevant actors' and their roles were revealed in other parts of the interviews. As the actors involved became more apparent throughout the interview process, some of the later interviews did not include broad questions on who was involved, but rather explored the roles of specific actors in more detail. Below, evidence is presented separated by actors, commencing with FM organisers, followed by local council representatives, private property owners, citizens, members of the LFB, members of the LMB, representatives of NGOs and farmers.

FM Organisers

FM organisers reported playing a central role in setting up FMs in London, either by initiating FMs or by being invited to set up markets. All stakeholder groups reported FM organisations as central to the process of setting up FMs in London.

FM organisations were often identified as initiating FMs. For example, referring to themselves, most (four of five) FM organisers clearly stated how they had set up a FM, as explained by this interviewee:

> *"…obviously, choosing a site and setting up a market, is, eh, you know, is, you know, wasn't easy, eh, for me. But, eh, there we go. But it was, you know, it was a good thing, and there's also, I didn't have to, I didn't have to write any business plans, it was just there, you know, I was my own boss (laughs)." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

Another FM organiser also spoke about how their work included "*finding new sites, getting new markets set up" (ST4_FMOrganiser),* demonstrating that they viewed themselves as the ones setting up markets. Additionally, FM organisers spoke about their intentions on setting up new markets in the future, again reflecting their role as decision makers in setting up FMs, as shown in these statements:

> *"We're still setting up new markets, yes. Yeah, that, that won't stop, as long as people want us to open new markets." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*
>
> *"Yeah, I've got two other farmers' markets coming up." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

The fact that FM organisations played a central and leading role in setting up FMs was echoed by an NGO representative who commented that *"[specific FM organisation] have always got a few eyes in the fire about new ones that they might or may not set up" (ST9_NGORepresentative)*.

FM organisations also received requests to set up FMs. Interviewees explained that in some cases, citizens, local councils, or private property owners (defined below) contacted FM organisers asking them to set up a FM in a specific location. However, even in these cases, FM organisers were still described as decision makers on whether they would ultimately set up a FM, as highlighted by this participant:

> *"[the FM organisations] still have to make the call if will this work" (ST9_NGORepresentative)*

Local Councils

Local council employees could not be recruited for this study (see reasons section 3.4.4.6). Their role in setting up FMs was therefore solely based on views by other stakeholder groups. Across the interview data, local councils were mentioned as playing two main roles in *setting up FMs*; a) renting out public spaces for FMs and b) in rare cases initiating FMs, overall pointing towards a more passive role in the setting up process.

Firstly, local councils were described as 'landlords', renting out public spaces to FM organisations to run FMs. This was described by four FM organisers in a similar manner to this example:

> *"R: And if [a FM is] somewhere in a public space? Would the Council need to be involved?*
>
> *ST4: If it's, if it's a council owned site, then yes…." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

In this context, FM organisers explained that they usually contacted local councils asking about a piece of property they saw as suitable for a FM. An NGO representative also referenced this 'landlord' role for local councils, in the context of explaining how complicated it was to find out who owned certain spaces in London:

> *"there's kind of question marks over who owns [the space], is it Network Rail because it's next to a railway, it's a railway station car park, so is it the railway station, is the railway company? Is it, is it Southeast Rail? Is it the car park? The car park was sold off so it's NCP, is it the council? The council has some role in there. Ehm, and you can see the complications that if you decide that you want a farmers' market in a place" (ST9_NGORepresentative)*.

Demonstrating a powerful position for local councils in deciding whether a FM could go ahead, one FM organiser mentioned how the local council had not approved a FM in a certain area by stating that others tried to start *"a market there and I think the local council, ehm, you know, they wouldn't approve it." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*. However, it was not clear whether the local council decided to not rent out a public space, or rather if they did not approve of the FM in general, even if it was meant to be located in a privately-owned space. The former would show a dependency of FM organisers on local councils deciding to rent out public spaces, the latter would show that local councils had a strong position in determining whether FMs could go ahead in London overall. Similarly, FM organisers also spoke about needing licenses from local councils for conducting markets,

although it was not clear whether this was necessary only on council-owned space, or for FMs run on private property as well:

> *"Yes, yeah, and then, and also the main, ehm, you know, the, ehm, (laughs), the main I suppose license for any market in London in particular, is, ehm, you can have a market without a full license fourteen times a year, any more than fourteen times a year, say in this space you have to get planning permission. Which is what we had to do here. Ehm, so that's, so that's no mean feat. You know, it takes a lot, especially these days. You know, it's very costly, so that has to be factored in as well to every, you know, every new market." (ST10_FMOrganiser).*

Local councils were also found to have initiated FMs, although this role was only mentioned by one participant and seemed to happen very rarely. The interviewee explained that a local council had initiated a market by asking an FM organiser to run FMs on council-owned property.

In addition to the roles of local councils in *setting up FMs*, as described above, several roles for local councils as part of *running FMs* were described by participants, which involved a) supportive and unsupportive roles as landlords, b) promoting FMs and c) inspecting food hygiene. In relation to their role as 'landlords', local councils had been described as being both supportive and unsupportive. For example, one FM organiser described how a local council had been helpful by agreeing to rent out a council-owned space to the FM organiser who was looking for a new location. The participant also described another supportive situation in which a local council had organised a weekly street closure for a FM, resulting in an FM *"on a Saturday on a closed street." (ST4_FMOrganiser).* A second FM organiser spoke about how with their "*existing markets, [they] have, really good support from the council" (ST10_FMOrganiser).* However, this FM organiser emphasised that in fifty percent of cases local councils had been very unsupportive. In one case, the local council had ended a contract with the FM organisation and then taken over the market. Similarly, two other FM organisers explained how local councils were wanting to or had shut down their FMs. In one example, the participant had been fighting the local council for three years to keep the market open, as described here:

> *" [local council in London], it's been, they've tried to close [a FM] down so I've always been like in the forefront of fighting for how important it is to be here….I think it kind of started about three years ago. There's been like a real push and pull. But every*

time the public have come out and news has gone crazy and then they stopped because they realised it's really important to the community." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

The participant also added that they had *"asked a number of times to move location, to up the road, because it's better foot fall." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*, however that the local council was not supportive. An NGO representative echoed views of local councils being unsupportive of FMs, stating that they were "*trying to think of any local council that has been wholeheartedly championing farmers' markets…you know there's a couple of local authorities that really don't like, don't get farmers' markets." (ST9_NGORepresentative).* In contrast to these views, a member of the LFB assumed local councils would not mind FMs:

"I mean I cannot see any council, I can't see any council, if you don't make mess, not letting you do it if you found the right space." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

Emphasising their unsupportive role, local councils were further described as being mostly interested in the economic gain that FMs provided, rather than what FMs were bringing to the community, and thus were not seen as supportive of FMs as a way of providing fresh food in the community. This was exemplified by an FM organiser, who had explained the benefits of providing fresh food and 'organic produce' in the community to the local council, however ultimately needing to present "*the council with, ehm, what they call, they call it a business plan, but just kind of, eh, how many stalls there's going to be, what we're going to charge for rent. It's very money focused to be completely honest." (ST2_FMOrganiser).* This sentiment was echoed by a member of the LFB, who 'guessed' that local councils were just interested in receiving the rent from FM organisations, rather than being interested in FMs providing access to fresh food:

"I suspect [councils] are jolly happy to get the rent…My guess is it's more based on good business than on "this is a wonderful opportunity to enable everyone to get fresher food". I mean, frankly, I think that most councils would be just as happy as having an antique stall if they got the same kind of money." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

Participants also spoke about local councils as playing a role in the promotion of FMs, independently from whether FMs were run on council-owned property or on private property. Again, participants had experiences with local councils being both supportive and unsupportive in this role. For instance, one FM organiser spoke about the importance of putting up signs once a week to advertise their FMs. They reported how some local councils were supportive and would *"turn a blind eye" (ST4_FMOrganiser),* while others fined the FM organisers for putting up signs:

"Signage is always really problematic for any market in that we don't have a shop front. And therefore we're invisible without signs. And we're only there for like four hours a week, so we need signage out…so having, having you know, a reasonable sympathetic ear with different people in the council rather than being fined would be, would be useful." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

An NGO representative also mentioned how local councils mostly did not allow signage for FMs and similarly suggested "*it would be good to see more local authorities, whoever, actually getting on board with better promoting these markets." (ST9_NGORepresentative).* In contrast, a further FM organiser described a local council as supportive in promoting their FMs by being "*very helpful in terms of actually putting up notifications about the market and where it was and things into sort of the Council publications. So that's, that's helpful. They have, they do include us in Council, ehm, promotions about what's on in [borough of London] so that's, that's been great." (ST5_FMOrganiser).*

Local councils were also reported as conducting food safety inspections of farmers and other stallholders. FM organisers and farmers spoke about this role stating for example that "*the environmental, ehm, people, […] they visit the stalls to make sure that we have procedures in place and things like that, you know." (ST14_Farmer)* or that *"you get inspected by the Environmental Health officers of that district…so they've all got to inspect, and you have rules of temperatures of so many hours" (ST13_Farmer).* This role was not specific to FMs as anyone selling food in London is required to be checked for food hygiene by local councils.

Beyond these roles above, two FM organisers highlighted that local councils were not involved in the specifics of how FMs were run. This was expressed as "*in terms of the fundamental organisation or construction or decision making of the market, there's no council involvement there." (ST5_FMOrganiser)* or that a local council *"actually [has] very little influence on how [the FM] is run." (ST2_FMOrganiser).* Further confirming these views, no FM organisers mentioned local councils being involved in running FMs beyond the roles above.

Several interviewees were unsure in what capacity local councils were involved in *setting up and running FMs*. Members of the LFB, farmers and NGO representatives were mostly of the opinion that local councils played a role, however their responses demonstrated a lack

of knowledge around the detail of this role. For example, a member of the LFB stated that local councils were involved generally, however did not specify in what capacity:

> *"R:…do you know or does the London Food Board know whether local boroughs are involved in decisions around farmers' markets?"*
>
> *ST1: Oh yeah, they would be. No no, no, absolutely, and each borough would make its own decisions." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

On the other hand, another member of the LFB assumed local councils were not involved:

> *"R:…and do you know if local boroughs are involved in these decisions or have been historically?*
>
> *ST3: A far as I am aware not. No." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

An NGO representative was similarly unsure whether the council was involved and who was responsible within the council:

> *"I'm not sure when they set up a new farmers' market, how much the council is involved…Ehm, I don't know where it would sit within the councils at the moment." (ST9_NGORepresentative)*

Most farmers assumed that local councils were involved in some way, but did not provide much detail on the specific role, as reflected in these examples:

> *"R: Yeah. And do you what exactly, what the council's role is?*
>
> *ST11: (shakes head)*
>
> *R: No, ok.*
>
> *ST11: Just planning, planning basically. You have to have planning permission." (ST11_Farmer).*

Private Property Owners

Participants spoke about FMs being situated in private spaces, such as school yards and churches, in contrast to being located on council-owned spaces. Geographical mapping had also showed that many FMs were run on private property (see section 4.2). People from which these spaces were rented, including vicars and school principals, will be referred to in this study as private property owners. Their role was described by interviewees either as 'landlords' or in some cases simultaneously as 'initiators' of FMs, although their motivation for initiating FMs was not mentioned.

Most FM organisers and NGO representatives spoke about private property as landlords when wanting to rent a space for FMs:

"R:…who else would be involved if you make decisions for example, ok, we could set up here, let's do a consultation. Ehm, what other stakeholders would be involved in this decision? Would that be the council? Would that? Who would that be?"
ST10: Ehm, it would be the landlord. You know, in the case of this, this is one, the grounds here are run by the council. Ehm, the case of, school in [location of FM], where we, where we go to occasionally, when there are big events on at the [landmark in London]. Ehm, it would be the head teacher. Ehm, so it's the landlord, whoever the landlord is…" (ST10_FMOrganiser)

NGO representatives similarly described FM organisations initially finding a piece of property and then enquiring with the private property owner about renting the space. Confirming these descriptions, FM organisers explained how they had in the past initiated contact with vicars or school principals asking about renting church grounds or school yards from them, in some cases based on pre-existing personal and professional connections.

Private property owners were also in some cases mentioned as initiating FMs. One FM organiser explained that they had often been contacted by private property owners about setting up a FM:

"Ehm, it's a mixture. It's probably more at the moment, it's probably [private property owners] coming to us. Only because of time constraints, in fact yeah. I used to, years ago I used to go out and just walk around London and you know, and have a look at sites." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

An NGO representative confirmed this, viewing initiation by private property owners as the most common pathway for setting up new FMs for this FM organisation, making it easier in their view for the FM organisations:

"I think where there's been more farmers' markets set up in recent years has been where there's been a new development…It'll be the people who developed those flats that invited the farmers' market to come in. Which will make [FM organisation] for example, make their life a lot easier rather than having to go out there, identify a bit of land, that might, that might or might not work and who may or may let you, to actually have people inviting you. Now they still have to make the call of will this work, will it make money." (ST9_NGO)

For this particular FM organisation, this indicated that there was an early stage of development with the initiative coming from the FM organisations, and now more often private property owners were approaching them.

Communities

Interviewees described different roles for citizens in the process of setting up FMs. These involved citizens as initiators of FMs, as providing feedback and as founders of FM organisations.

Several FM organisers talked about how very occasionally citizens had initiated setting up FMs. Two processes for this were described. Firstly, in some cases citizens had directly approached FM organisations asking them to set up a FM in a certain location. In other cases citizens had collaborated with local councils to initiate community consultations on setting up a FM in their community, and then letting FM organisations bid to be the ones setting it up. This latter process is described here:

> *"the one at [location], [community groups] are the ones that, they organised the consultation with the council. Ehm, and then together with the council, they tendered the, you know, ehm, the market out to organisers and they chose us." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

A further role for citizens, described by two FM organisers, was the participation in surveys concerning FMs. For instance, one interviewee spoke about local councils being obligated to conduct community surveys before agreeing to rent out a public space for conducting a FM, thus giving citizens a role in decision making around setting up a FM:

> *"I think it's the retail and business manager from [borough in London]. And then he had to go to a cabinet, the board, I suppose they've got a board who deal with these things. And they'd sort of internally had a few meetings. But they also had to ehm, let their community know that they are doing this and get feedback. So they had to run a survey on it to get feedback, which turned out positive. Still here." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

Another example of this kind of citizen engagement was given by an FM organiser who explained that they conducted surveys with citizens and shopkeepers, when thinking about setting up a FM in an area to determine whether there was sufficient interest. Their decision whether to set up a new FM was based on the responses:

> *"…and at the last minute, something stirred inside of me and I said 'no, we're not going to do it', 'cause we do a lot of market research… eh, you know, if from a 5000, ehm, mail shot, because we always deliver to the door, and we give them the option to either fill in the little form and send it by post, or phone us up, or online. Ehm, for*

5000, we need to get a minimum of 250 replies. Otherwise we won't do it." (ST10_FMOrganiser)

London Food Board

Interview data indicated that the LFB was not involved in *setting up FMs* in London. Two members of the LFB clearly stated they had no involvement in setting up FMs in London; for example:

"R:…so has the London Food Board been involved in any way in setting up farmers' markets across London?

ST1: No, we haven't… we haven't helped with farmers' markets." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

"R:…so do you know if the London Food Board has been involved in the past or now in decisions in setting up farmers' markets across London?

ST3: Not that I am aware of, no." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

A third member was not sure as to whether the LFB was involved. Responses from FM organisers, NGO representatives and farmers supported these views, as they did not mention the LFB as playing a role when speaking about setting up FMs.

Additionally indicating no involvement of the LFB was a lack or little knowledge of the setting up process among members. For instance, one member explained that they were not aware of the setting up process:

"I don't know who decides to set up a farmers' market." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

Other members similarly stated that they only assumed what the exact setting up process involved, as reflected here in words such as "my guess would be":

"No, but my guess would be that the people who run the farmers' markets, and they will be able to tell you this in a nano second, ehm, they would find a place and then they would go and try and get it….I don't the options, I don't know, I have never been on the receiving end of a decision." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

Comments from members of the LFB indicated that the LFB was also not involved in *running FMs* in London. This was reflected mainly in comments from all three members of the LFB stating that they had little knowledge of how decisions around FMs were made in London and by whom, and in some cases stated that they were not aware whether the LFB was involved:

"R: Ok, yeah, thank you, that's good. Ehm, so are you in general aware of what institutions and organisations are involved in decisions around farmers' markets? ST16: No." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

A member of the LFB specifically stated that they did not know who was making decisions:

"Well, who,[…]. Who's making the decisions about farmers' markets?" (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

Their lack of involvement was further demonstrated in how members of the LFB spoke about FM organisations. For instance, although two members had mentioned the name of one specific FM organisation throughout the interviews, one of these members was unsure about the name and whether the organisation still existed:

"Well, I mean there used to be the [FM Organisation]. I don't know whether it's called Association or not because I know [name of person] was based on that." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

One participant also mentioned a second FM organisation, however had forgotten that they ran a FM, as they also provided other services:

"I mean I am a great fan of [FM Organisation] and you know I think that what they do with their vegetable boxes is brilliant…I mean they're a scheme that we would have given anything to see replicated all across London. But I don't call them a farmers' market.

R: They have a farmers' market, as well.

ST1: Oh, they do on a Saturday now, yeah ok." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

They further explained that they had not been to all FMs in London and reflected on their possibly "narrow focus" of FMs in London:

ST1: You know, I do think of them in a slightly narrow focus. And maybe there are more [name of one FM organiser]." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

A third member did not mention any FM organisations and added that they were not sure *"what the dynamics and the tensions and the barriers around farmers' markets are…" (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)*.

Additionally to not being part of running FMs, participants did not describe the LFB as providing any support either. For instance, a member of the LFB reported that the *"reality is that (sighs), I'm not sure we've done anything, quite frankly [to support FMs]."(ST1_LondonFoodBoard).*The other members of the LFB gave ambivalent answers

stating that FMs were supported as part of supporting markets in general, however did not speak of any specific actions:

"R: Yeah, ok. And then also wouldn't know if they support them in any way?

ST16: Ehm, yeah, no I think, I think it's entirely fair to say that, that, there is a real real drive for there to want further, to want for there to be many more markets within London. Ehm,

R: Markets in general?

ST16: Markets in general, but that would include farmers' markets."

(ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

Most FM organisers reported that they had not received support from the LFB and had not been in contact regarding running FMs. These experiences are reflected in this exchange:

"R: so you haven't received any support or advice from the London Food Board ever?

ST4: No, no.

R: For farmers' markets?

ST4: Not that I can really think of.

R: Ok, so there is no connection?

ST4: Not really. I mean somebody, you know might remind me that we have done something but just at this moment I can't think of anything really.

R: So it's not a very active relationship then?

ST4: No. Not at all." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

There were several reasons reported by members of the LFB for a lack of involvement or support. These reasons did not seem to be based on an official LFB position, as there was no reference to official discussions and members gave different reasons or none at all. One participant referred to how FMs were 'valued greatly', however that they had an 'elitist tag' and were serving 'middle-class' citizens. They were further seen to be located *"in areas where you would get healthy shoppers anyway, you would get more middle-class people who are prepared to spend a bit more for whatever they get on a Saturday morning, mostly on the Saturday, mostly at weekends." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard).* The participant therefore did not see FMs as part of the solution to addressing the *"core principles [of the LFB of] trying to, trying to enable poorer people to get access to decent food" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*. Supporting FMs was seen as equivalent to helping more expensive food shops or 'posh restaurants'. They also referenced FMs as getting along fine

on their own without any help from the LFB; FMs had never gotten in touch needing assistance:

> *"But I've never ever had a food, a farmers' markets ring us up and say we need some help because we're going to get shut or something like that. So that's quite good. I mean either it's good or it's bad because they know we wouldn't help." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Contrasting this view that FMs did not need help, some FM organisers had spoken about their struggles in interviews. For example, two FM organisers spoke about financial struggles; in one case a participant spoke about the financial risk of opening a market in a new location and how *"it's, it's not easy, it really isn't easy. Ehm, and you know, there are no grants and that kind of thing that I know of, that's available for small companies, you know to explore areas." (ST10_FMOrganiser).* Another FM organiser spoke about how the local council had been trying to close down the FM and how they had *"worked on the petitioning campaign to keep it open." (ST2_FMOrganiser).*

The member of the LFB further felt that FMs were already 'ticking all the boxes', for instance by having more sustainable production methods, and that other areas in food policy thus needed more attention:

> *"R: So is this, is this kind of an assumption at the London Food Board then that, ok, farmers' markets, they have good production methods, we don't need to intervene?*
>
> *ST1: Yeah, yeah.*
>
> *ST1: …You might find someone who says something different, but that is my assumption. Absolutely about a farmers' market, that you, you know have so many other places to worry about. That they seem to meet, they tick all the boxes." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Ultimately, this LFB member questioned their own assumptions around FMs and wondered whether the LFB should have done more to support FMs as part of supporting local growers, hoping that the LMB might be able to help:

> *"I would love to see more places where local growers can get access to market and if that's through the farmers' market which is probably is then yes, you know you're, you're asking good questions. I mean, it's maybe that we should have put more emphasis on trying to get more going. Hopefully, the Markets Board will be able to help with this."(ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

A second LFB member gave a slightly different reason for a lack of involvement of the LFB. They did not see a reason why FMs needed to be supported specifically or differently to any other markets. They also spoke about a lack of money to support markets in general:

> "*I think we have to be realistic, there isn't a budget, you know under the current administration. The support is more in terms of, ehm, networking, and stakeholder management and ehm, opinion forming. Rather than in the past where there might have been money available to people." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard).*

London Markets Board

Interviews also revealed no involvement of the LMB in *setting up FMs*. This was evidenced by members of the LMB commenting that FMs did not need any support:

> *"I think they just, they're just getting on doing it by themselves." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)*

Affirming this, FM organisers, farmers and NGO representatives did not mention the LMB as playing a role in *setting up FMs* in London. Additionally, members of the LFB explained that they were *"not aware of a huge initiative to set up new farmers' markets" (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)* on behalf of the LMB.

Comments from members of the LMB showed that the LMB was also not involved in *running FMs*. This was firstly reflected in a statement by one member of the LMB speaking about their lack of knowledge of how FMs were run in London. Although they did mention one existing FM organisation, they did not know how other FMs in London were run, and whether council-run FMs existed in London. They further spoke about how they had searched for FMs online to draw up a list for the interview, demonstrating that they did not previously have this knowledge:

> *"I had a look at that but I just, I did a web search and then I went onto the [FM organisation] website and then I, eh, went, eh, well I just had another look ehm, on sort of council led farmers' markets because I think, I suppose given my background this is a particular interest to me, so not so much in, ehm, in London, when I was trying to draw a list, are there any in London? Harpenden, is that London?" (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)*

Further demonstrating a lack of involvement of the LMB in running FMs was that participants reported that FMs had not been discussed in LMB meetings:

"But to be honest nothing, there's been no specific discussion on farmers' markets as such." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)

This lack of involvement was confirmed by perspectives from FM organisers. They did not know of the existence of the LMB and had not been contacted by the LMB (which could have been related to the fact that it had been set up shortly before the interviews):

"R: …how do you think the newly formed London Markets Board will affect your work in any way? If?

ST5: I actually didn't know there was one. So

R: Mhm. It was formed in December so it's very new, yeah.

ST5: Ok, I don't know (laughs). Is the answer.

R: Yeah, ok. So you haven't been consulted in any way as running a farmers' markets in London by them?

ST5: Not yet." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

Members of the LFB also assumed that the LMB was not specifically supporting FMs or was not planning to. For instance, one member spoke about how *"strangely enough, farmers' markets I would say aren't really on [LMB's] agenda at the moment." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard).* A second member 'guessed' that "*the Market Board's role will be to look after [protecting street markets]",* however, they did not know if this would include support for FMs, as they might be less 'problematic' for local councils.

A reason provided by one LMB member for a lack of discussions or plans around FMs on the LMB was the assumption that FMs did not need any help. However, at the same time they stated that they did not know whether "*those organisations would say they would like, would like help to do publicity" (ST17_LondonMarkets Board).* Ultimately, this participant highlighted that FMs would be seen by the LMB as "a key part of the market offer" *(ST17_LondonMarkets Board)* and thus be included as part of supporting and promoting all markets in London. In contrast, a member of the LFB commented how FMs had just not come up in discussions, as they were "*not very visible [within] the wider markets sector" (ST3_LondonFoodBoard).*

However, it should be noted that the LMB had only been set up in December 2017, shortly before interviews were conducted between early spring and summer 2018, and according to a member they had *"only had two main meetings, and the working groups that meet*

more frequently than that" (ST7_LondonMarketsBoard). Thus their role and specific actions had not been established at that point.

Farmers

According to farmers, they did not officially play a role in the initial *setting up process of FMs*. Most farmers (5 of 6) stated directly that they were not part of setting up markets, as illustrated in these comments:

> *"R: And you're not really involved in decisions initially, where they are set up? ST14: No, no." (ST14_Farmer)*
>
> *"I am not somebody who sets up farmers' markets but just looks for ones to go on…." (ST15_Farmer)*

Further demonstrating their lack of involvement in setting up FMs was their limited knowledge around how the setting up process worked in detail. The majority, four farmers, either did not know how FMs were set up in London or were not particularly sure who was involved in the process, as demonstrated in these comments:

> *"No, I'm not that politically aware of how all the different farmers' markets are managed in London. Ehm, I presume [FM organisation] still exists. Ehm, yeah, sorry, I'm not." (ST18_Farmer)*
>
> *"I think it starts off with a group of like-minded people really, and I suppose finding the right premises." (ST13_Farmer)*

Although farmers were not officially involved in initial decisions around setting up FMs, some farmers reported being involved informally. This is reflected in statements by two farmers about how FM organisations included them in decisions by asking their views on setting up FMs before decisions were finalised, as reflected in this comment:

> *"If it, I mean, it's their decision if [FM organisations are] going to do it. And they do a hell of a lot of research. And then they will approach us with that research of you know, with 'we've scouted out this area and for these reasons we think it would be a good venue and we've talked to the local community' and, and yeah, they go out and do all the leg work. And then they'll come and talk to the growers, producers and see what they think. And that might be informal chats at the markets with the different managers…" (ST12_Farmer)*

Even though farmers were either not or solely informally involved in initial decisions about setting up FMs, eventually the setting up process would involve the recruitment of farmers to implement a market. This process of joining was expressed by one farmer as coming to the picture at a "later stage":

> *"R: And so are you aware that any other institutions or organisations are involved in how farmers' markets are set up? Would you know about that? Or are you not directly involved?*
>
> *ST13: Not directly involved really. No, no. We get asked at a later stage probably. If that's going to set up." (ST13_Farmer)*

According to FM organisers and farmers, the recruitment of farmers for markets was initiated from either FM organisers or farmers, as reflected in these statements:

> *"ST13: I think [name of FM Organisation] contacted us. Yeah, and [name of another FM Organisation], I'm not sure about that. I know we've applied with them.*
>
> *R: Ok, so it kind of works both ways?*
>
> *ST13: It works both ways, yeah." (ST13_Famer)*

Once FMs were established, farmers were involved in *running FMs* in relation to forming part of the market. However, their involvement in decisions around running the markets was limited. This was partly demonstrated by a lack of knowledge around how FMs were run. More than half of farmers spoke about not knowing who was involved in running FMs and made similar statements to this farmer:

> *"I don't know who's involved." (ST11_Farmer)*

NGOs

NGOs did not seem to play a role in setting up or running FMs in London. They were not mentioned by FM organisers, nor by any other stakeholder groups when enquiring about these processes in interviews. Two NGO representatives affirmed this finding, who stated their lack of involvement. However although not involved directly, one of them did promote FMs as part of their work:

> *"R: …so, so how is [name of NGO] exactly, or is [name of NGO] at all involved or has it been involved in decisions around farmers' markets in London directly in any way?*
>
> *ST9: No, not decisions. Eh, promoting farmers' markets, yes."*
>
> *(ST9_NGORepresentative)*

This perspective was not surprising as NGO representatives were included in the interview sample for insights and views on urban food governance in London, as well as due to their

work on inequalities in access to healthy food. It was not expected for them to be directly involved in setting up or running FMs.

5.1.2 Views on Organisation of Farmers' Markets in London

In the interviews, participants were asked whether they thought the organisation of FMs in London was effective, providing an open space for them to decide what they viewed as effectiveness and speak freely about their opinions on how FMs functioned in London. They were also asked whether they felt any stakeholders were missing in the process. Two main themes emerged from these questions and are presented below.

FMs Run Differently by Individual Organisations

Participants' responses focused around FMs in London being run by individual FM organisations and how there was no overall organisation of FMs. For many FM organisers and farmers, the effectiveness of the organisation of FMs could only be assessed on the level of each individual FM organisation, rather than collectively as FMs in London. For example, two FM organisers spoke about how one could not really respond to the question on whether the organisation of FMs was effective, as there were several organisations acting individually. For them, there was no overarching body organising FMs, and thus no collective organisation of FMs:

> *"Well ok, for us, I mean there isn't an association of farmers' markets in London. So that's kind of my point really. There's you know us, our organisation…obviously, but we still, we do what we do, we try to do it as well as we can. Ehm, in terms of joined up approach, eh, I don't, I don't know. Is it particularly necessary?" (ST4_FMOrganiser)*
>
> *"The thing is, that's a strange question because it comes down to several different companies, private companies in many, most cases or organisations. I mean there isn't a sort of universal organisation of farmers' markets. So you know, there's [FM Organisation a], there's us, there's another called [FM Organisation b], there's a guy who runs the [area of London] market, just a guy who runs markets. Ehm, there's the, I mentioned it probably one of the other ones. Ehm, so there isn't, I mean they're just different companies, it's like saying do you think the organisation of shops in London is, because they are all different entities, and run by different entities. It's not a, one organisation, it's not a public body." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

These sentiments were further emphasised by a farmer's response to the question of effectiveness. They stated that this depended on which FM organisation one was referring to:

> *"R: Ok, yeah. And so do you think the current organisation of farmers' markets in London is effective in your view?*
>
> *ST11: Depends who you're referring to, doesn't it? (laughs)." (ST11_Farmer)*

Some FM organisers and farmers emphasised not only that effectiveness depended on the individual organisations which all acted differently, but simultaneously questioned the integrity of some FMs by using terms such as "bad companies", as this comment portrays:

> *"…if you go to different markets that are run by different companies, they run completely different…There's good companies and there's bad companies, basically. There's good companies and bad companies. It's, eh, eh, I think it's saying with experience you know what stalls would be good, just because you know of them, and you the farm and you've seen the produce over the years, so there's good companies and bad companies." (ST7_FMOganiser)*

Similarly, as exemplified in the following case, a farmer described one FM organisation as effective, however was concerned about other FMs "diluting" the concept of FMs:

> *"Again, because, because I'm only up to date with [name of FM Organisation], it's very effective what they do. Beyond that, I have some doubts from what I hear anecdotally. When I hear, when people come to me to buy my produce and they'll say 'oh, I'm doing a farmers' market in xy and z, and I say 'well, are you allowed to sell my produce?' and they'll say 'yes'. So some, there's some dilution going that I'm not agreeing with, and I'd definitely be concerned about that." (ST18_Farmer)*

Lack of Government Involvement

When participants were asked about any potentially missing stakeholders in the organisation of FMs, responses focused on a lack of involvement of different levels of government. For instance, two interviewees thought that local councils needed to play more of a role in the organisation of FMs. This included one FM organiser, who felt that their local council could have provided more support to their FM in order to expand the benefits in the local community:

> *"I do honestly think somebody from the council should be more involved in the development of [name of farmers' market], because I think it's essential to the community, the local community. Ehm, for so many reasons, but also particularly for*

health, ehm, and there seems to be, it's just, I think it's a shame because I think if we had a little bit of support from the council to develop it more, ehm, things like I would love to hold like healthy eating workshops with young kids where they could come and try loads of different foods and stuff like that, but everything we do we have to have permission and there's always like a, yeah…" (ST2_FMOrganiser)

This interviewee additionally suggested that it would be helpful if FMs were spoken about more in "higher places":

"Ehm, but also be spoken about kind of in government, it should be something, I think farmers' markets are so important, and I don't think you realise that until you have been part of one. Ehm, I don't know whether there could be some sort of incentive, or it could be brought into, like you were saying about giving vouchers in schools, I don't know who these particular people are, but I feel like it would be really important for it to be more important and be spoken about in higher places, yeah." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

A farmer echoed the view that local councils could be providing more support to support FMs, such as by creating better transport access to FMs: "*because space is such a premium in London….And perhaps the infrastructure to get to [FMs], and get home from them, without, whether that's a cycle path or a foot path, ok, parking a vehicle yes if you want to do a lot of shopping, ehm, you know, local councils could help on that." (ST18_Farmer).* For others, a government body that presided over FMs was necessary to provide support when needed. They specifically referred to a situation in which their FM was being shut down by the local council, in which they would have needed support. This emphasised how FMs all acted individually and their FARMA certification had also not been helpful:

"So at the moment you've got small independent companies doing what they want, and there's no, FARMA can't really do, like FARMA couldn't help me with what was happening to me. We should have, we couldn't be protected under there, even though I was part of FARMA. It didn't really mean anything, you know, it didn't help me with lawyers to stop what was happening etc. Eh, so I think there definitely should be a government body that, that, that presides over farmers' markets." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

In contrast to the participants above suggesting a need for more support for FMs, more than half of FM organisers did not think there were any stakeholders missing in the organisation of FMs. In two cases, they additionally expressed their scepticism in relation to

involving any other stakeholders. For instance, one participant was concerned that introducing other stakeholders would result in more control around FMs, which they did not welcome:

> *"Ehm, it has to be the right kind of support for the right reasons. Ehm, and I say that because, ehm, you know, it would have to be experienced support (laughs). Ehm, not just, ehm, not something that will sort of, control the markets even further." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

Similarly, wanting to avoid any additional complications by involving more stakeholders, an interviewee stated that *"when trying to set a market up, usually less is more. The more people get involved, the more complex things can be." (ST4_FMOrganiser).*

Summary of Section 5.1

Section 5.1 has presented actors and their roles in setting up and running FMs in London according to accounts by interviewees. Based on interview data, FM organisations played a leading role in setting up FMs. Local councils played a more passive role, however were in some situations core gatekeepers due to their roles either as landlords, providing licences for markets, promoting markets or as inspection agents for food hygiene. Very rarely, they had initiated FMs. Private property owners were involved in the governance of FMs when renting out their property to FM organisations. More recently, they had also acted as initiators of markets. Citizens took part in surveys conducted either by local councils or FM organisations. Occasionally, they initiated FMs by contacting local councils or FM organisations. Farmers were mostly not involved in the initial setting up stages. They were usually recruited once decisions had been made to set up new markets and then were minorly involved beyond selling their produce. The LFB and LMB were not involved in setting up or running FMs. Reasons for a lack of involvement of the LFB included that policy stakeholders felt FMs did not contribute to providing access to fresh food for low-income citizens, FMs did not need help and were already doing well on issues of sustainability. Members of the LMB similarly assumed FMs did not need any support. These reasons did not seem to be based on official positions of these boards. Overall, the findings in this section illustrated that participants described the process of setting up and running FMs mainly led by FM organisations as decision makers, with more minor involvement of local councils, private landlords, citizens and farmers, and no involvement of the LFB and LMB.

When asked about the effectiveness of the organisation of FMs in London, responses by FM organisers and farmers focused around how each FM organisation was different and acted individually, with no collective organisation of FMs across London. When discussing potentially missing stakeholders in the governance of FMs, several participants, including FM organisers and farmers, felt that support on government level would be needed. Suggestions included support from local councils, forming a government body which presided over FMs, as well as support for FMs from national government. At the same time, the majority of FM organisers were sceptical towards additional involvement due to not wanting more control in the governance of FMs.

5.2 Actors' Values in Relation to Farmers' Markets

This section lays out themes that emerged around actors' values and beliefs in relation to FMs. To explore this, participants were asked how they defined a FM and what they thought the purpose of FMs was. Further, they were questioned about the benefits they saw in FMs. Their views around FMs were also extracted from other parts of the interviews. This section shows that interviewees identified five core principles of FMs, however presented a spectrum of values within these principles. It further illustrates that participants were often critical of other participants' values and beliefs around FMs.

Spectrum of Beliefs and Values around FMs

Although most stakeholders aligned on five core principles they felt defined FMs, they displayed a spectrum of values and beliefs within each of these core principles. The overlapping core principles of FMs were a) a focus on farmers, b) the sale of basic groceries, c) high quality food, d) the sale of locally produced food, as well as e) 'good' production methods. Depending on the core principles, the spectrum of values was in some cases narrower than in others.

There was a general consensus among participants that FMs focused on farmers, which was reflected in three main points. First of all, the majority of participants (including FM organisers, farmers and policy stakeholders) spoke about the ethos of FMs involving actual farmers selling their produce directly to the public, as stated here:

> *"ST11: Everybody, every market we do has a person from the farm.*
>
> *R: Ok, yeah. And, ehm,*

ST11: And that's what it's supposed to be. That's their, that was their ethos." (ST11_Farmer)

"I suppose a farmers' market is direct, the produce is directly sourced from a farm, or a producer. So, ehm, they are, eh, they would have, eh, either grown it or reared the animals, ehm, or made the produce, eh, so that's what they are. Yeah." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)

However, one FM organiser shared that it was not always someone from the farm selling the food, acknowledging some flexibility around this core principle:

"So it really is the actual farmers who are at the market because if it's just somebody who is coming in who's been employed, who lives in London and there is no real connection…We have, and some of have one or, maybe one person who's actually employed from London, but the vast majority of our stalls, and our farmers, especially our farm stalls have actually got people. And that's a really important thing." (ST5_Farmer)

A focus on farmers was secondly evidenced by participants' comments on FMs benefitting farmers' livelihoods. Most farmers, as well as several FM organisers, mentioned that farmers received fair prices for their produce at FMs, as reflected here:

"So, firstly, from the farmers' viewpoint, farmers can get the full value of their product, there's no middleman so what somebody pays for the product goes directly to the farmer. And so you know, they can, they can set a fair price and they get a fair price for their products." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

However, also here values differed slightly. For instance, although a policy stakeholder also mentioned farmers receiving 'higher' prices at FMs, they did not speak about this price as being fair for farmers, but rather framing this as farmers being able to make use of the higher prices customers in London were willing to pay. Further showing a spectrum of beliefs around a focus on farmers, several interviewees (two FM organisers, half of all farmers and one NGO representative) felt that the purpose of FMs was to specifically focus on small farmers, rather than larger producers. For instance, one FM organiser explained that their FMs were *"just supporting small, you know, small farmers" (ST4_FMOrganiser).* A farmer similarly stated that FMs should be *"an outlet for small-scale, local producers" (ST18_Farmer).* Some participants spoke about how there were some larger farms selling at FMs, which they felt was not acceptable, as FMs *"aren't supposed to let big organisations come on to the market. It's for little growers, supposedly." (ST11_Farmer).* This concern was

also reflected in the following comment by a farmer who felt that FMs were meant to provide a space to make a living for small farms, who were really struggling in the UK:

> *"it's been a massive benefit to small farmers and small producers because many many farmers would have gone out of business without, without the farmers' markets…it should be for small producers…In our area at home, we do a four-mile journey, and, well, not sorry, if we do a one mile journey by the (inaudible), there was eleven farms, now there is only one. You know, and everybody has gone, it has to be bigger and bigger and bigger, because the supermarkets are putting so much pressure on them and the big retailers are putting so much pressure on the people, and hence you end up with cow units of two thousand cows. It's immoral. These animals don't see light of day, they're in sheds all the time, you know. And we talk about animal welfare? So I think it's things like that shouldn't be allowed because I'm in, I know one particular farmer who's, who's farming two thousand acres of vegetables. That's an awful lot of vegetables to grow on two thousand acres so, you know, what is he doing on a, on a farmers' market where small producers should be there trying to eek a living out for their family?*

An NGO representative also associated FMs as being an outlet for small farmers, "*who are struggling on the whole" (ST9_NGORepresentative).* Participants' views of FMs supporting farmers' livelihoods were further illustrated by more general comments on livelihoods. For example, one farmer highlighted how the option of selling at FMs had prevented small farms from going out of business:

> *"And ehm, but it's, it's been a massive benefit to small farmers and small producers because many many farmers would have gone out of business without, without the farmers' markets." (ST14_Farmer)*

In contrast, a member of the LFB doubted that small farmers were in reality selling at FMs in London. They were sceptical of this and thought the produce was solely dressed up to appear as coming from small, local farms:

> *"and I would be quite surprised as to how many actually relatively local, smallholder type farmer providers are actually providing to farmers' markets. Ehm, as opposed to, ehm, produce being dressed up as being slightly more local. So, as you can get, I've got a degree of cynicism about farmers' markets." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)*

A focus on farmers was also evidenced by stakeholders' speaking about the importance of limiting hot food (referring to prepared food at markets sold as food to-go) at FMs to

mostly focus on farmers selling their produce. The majority of FM organisers spoke about their decision to keep the amount of these kinds of foods to a limit at their FMs, focusing mainly on farmers selling fresh produce. Similarly, several farmers only found these foods acceptable at FMs, if it was just a small part of the market, as reflected in this exchange:

> *"R: But so would you consider the ones which have a little, you know which also have cake and you know, coffee and hot food, would you still consider them a farmers' market?*
>
> *ST13: If that's just a small part of the whole market. I mean most of them do have where you can get hot food. Ehm, for the people that come into the market. For the customers rather than the, ehm, stallholders. Ehm, although stallholders do go around and get a coffee obviously. Ehm, yeah." (ST13_Farmer)*

Similarly, participants across groups (farmers, FM organisers, policy stakeholder and NGO representative) were *"concerned that there must be a tipping point, that, that where the producers, the core producers are just there as window dressing, and that can't, if that's happened you know, then it's not working." (ST18_Farmer).* At the same time, they mentioned the fine balance of hot food helping to attract people to the market, *"[needing to compete] with a street food market around the corner" (ST9_NGORepresentative),* which would ultimately keep the *"market afloat for farmers" (ST12_Farmer).* Values and beliefs diverged around whether hot food needed to be sold by farmers at FMs. For one FM organiser and a farmer, the difference between FMs and other markets was based on whether hot food stalls were run by farmers:

> *"And we have a few mid-week markets, which do have more of a kind of hot food element but they're still different to other markets in that most people selling hot food are farmers. So you won't find that, you know, anywhere else. If someone is selling meat balls or slow roast lamb, it's the farm doing it." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

In contrast, other FM organisers and farmers did not think that hot food stalls needed to be run by farmers at FMs.

A second core principle of FMs revolved around FMs selling basic groceries. Most FM organisers, as well as most farmers stated that FMs sold primarily 'basic products', including dairy, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables, fruit, and bread. They further were of the view that these basic foods formed the core of FMs, with other foods, such as pizza and brownies, forming a more secondary part, as reflected in this comment by one FM organiser:

"The key components of what we sell are raw, primary products. So, fish, meat, you know cheese, vegetables, fruit…you know they're fresh, they're seasonal, they're healthy. But of course we've still got pizza, we've still got brownies, and we've got, you know whatever on the markets." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

Demonstrating slightly diverging values, policy stakeholders mentioned these basic products in relation to FMs, however mostly spoke about the 'non-basic' products being sold at FMs. For instance, one member was of the view that *"every third stand is selling some kind of brownie." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard).*

FMs selling high quality food was also seen as a core principle by many participants, however their values and beliefs varied around this. For instance, some interviewees merely referred to the food at FMs being of *"good quality" (ST10_FMOrganiser)* or of *"quality you can't get anywhere else" (ST7_FMOrganiser).* While one interviewee more specifically equated high quality of food at FMs as "*made by small producers" (ST14_Farmer*), policy stakeholders and NGO representatives often equated food high quality food with "artisan" foods:

"No, but I mean I think, is it fair enough to say that most food at farmers' markets is artisan? Most? Ehm, but very high quality, very good." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard).

The sale of locally produced food was also seen as a core principle of FMs, and values did not vary widely around this. Participants across all stakeholder groups felt that FMs were meant to be selling food grown within a limited area around London, which however was defined in slightly different ways. For two FM organisers and an NGO representative this involved selling food produced within "*a hundred-mile catchment from London." (ST9_NGORepresentative)*. Providing less detail in exact miles, a further FM organiser stated that products at their FMs had been *"grown as locally as we can get within London"(ST4_FMOrganiser).* Farmers often expressed this by stating that *"a farmers' market is what you grow, a produce market is here, you can put anything on it. Any produce from anywhere." (ST11_Farmer)* or that FMs featured *"local producers" (ST18_Farmer).* Also policy stakeholders referred the selling of 'local' products, commenting for instance that *"[FMs are] a great way of getting local produce directly into the city" (ST3_LondonFoodBoard).* A further description involved FMs selling food that was produced within "*London's rural hinterland" (ST6_NGORepresentative).*

Most stakeholders associated food at FMs with 'good', 'sustainable' or 'proper' agricultural methods, although what this particularly meant differed between them. For example, descriptions for 'sustainable' ranged from one FM organiser explaining that 'sustainable growing methods' were part of their ethos, while another specified sustainable as certified organic agriculture. Some described FMs as providing "good produce", defining this as organic and from "*good sources" (ST2_FMOrganiser)*. One participant explained that their FM sold *"any food that is produced properly and reared properly" (ST7_FMOrganiser)*. A further stakeholder also described food sold at FMs as produced *"in a proper way" (ST14_Farmer)*, however defined this further as producing food without additives or chemicals, rather than relating this to agricultural methods. Others described the food at FMs as coming from *"sustainable, healthy food production" (ST6_NGORepresentative).* This spectrum of values and beliefs around agricultural methods was further evidenced by farmers speaking about differences between FMs; some FMs offered purely certified organic food, while *"they're not all organic markets" (ST13_Farmer)*, and that permitted agricultural methods at FMs *"depends [on] what their restrictions are" (ST13_Farmer).*

Critical Views of Others' Values Around FMs

Several stakeholders expressed critical views of other stakeholders' values and beliefs around FMs. This was expressed for instance by an FM organiser who felt it would be important for other FM organisations to increase their *"quota [of] more sustainable farmers" (ST5_FMOrganiser),* as well as critiqued other "so-called" FMs in London of letting very few actual farmers sell their produce, and mostly offering hot food:

> *"Because there's a real danger, well it's a really common thing if you go to lots of so-called farmers' markets, basically they're just like pop up food markets. There's very few actual farmers there. And we knew that unless we set a limit, consciously set a limit on that, there is a real tendency for those stalls to sort of swamp the actual farmers. And we wanted to keep the focus very much on primary food producers which is what we've done." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

In contrast, a participant was critical of other FMs limiting the amount of hot food:

> *"…some companies restrict theirselves with their rules. So they restrict theirselves to only farmers, and eh, they won't have hot food stalls." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

Critiques also extended into some participants highlighting a lack of coherence and protection of the term 'farmers' market'. For instance, one FM organiser felt that anyone

could set up a market and call it a FM, and would have wanted this addressed on government level:

> *"There is, there seems to be an increased number of markets, whether they're farmers' markets is another question. I'm sure you know that there is no copyright on the name, anyone can open a market and call it a farmers' market. You can have a car boot sale and call it a farmers' market. I mean that was one of things, that we wanted to, you know, address, but that's kind of government level, not local government." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

A farmer and member of the LFB also raised this. In both cases they referred to markets being able to call themselves FMs, even if there were no farmers selling there and the produce had not been grown within a specific radius around London. For instance, the farmer explained that *"obviously, the term farmers' market isn't protected by law, so you can call something a farmers' market and you could have bought all that veg from a wholesaler and stand there and sell it." (ST18_Farmer).*

Summary of Section 5.2

Although participants across stakeholder groups spoke mainly about five core principles that defined FMs (a focus on farmers, the sale of basic groceries, a high quality of food, the sale of locally produced food, as well as 'good' production methods), their beliefs and values differed on how these were precisely interpreted. Across participants, there were critical voices of other participants' values and beliefs around FMs.

5.3 Instruments in the Governance of FMs

This section presents interview data concerning instruments used in the governance of FMs in London. Rules and regulations around FMs were identified as the most important governance instrument beforehand by the researcher and was a pre-determined topic in interviews. The literature review had shown that most FM organisations displayed their rules and regulations on their websites, referring to them as "Our rules" or "Market Rules". The analysis of web content of FM organisations further showed that several FMs in London were FARMA certified (see section 4.1.2), which meant they had to adhere to FARMA rules and regulations. Market rules and regulations included for instance who was permitted to sell at FMs and what was permitted to be sold at FMs in London. Asking about rules and regulations, referred to from this point collectively as rules, in the interviews provided an opportunity to understand, from the perspectives of participants, how these

different sets of rules and regulations were linked, how they had been developed, who had been involved in their development, how they were implemented and how this was linked to urban food policy. Participants' values and beliefs around specific content of rules were discussed as part of section 5.2.2 and are not presented below.

5.3.1 Rules and Regulations around Farmers' Markets

Participants' responses firstly focused on how each FM organisation had developed an individual set of rules specific to their organisation. For instance, several FM organisers spoke about how they had developed their own rules. In some cases, they had based their rules on rules of other FMs and adjusted these to their values and preferences, as stated by this FM organiser:

> *"Ehm, I think [the rules], they kind of evolved. Because, ehm, you know, when we started in 2001, ehm, there weren't many farmers' markets around. Quite a few, ehm, and there was a few around London but not many. So we're kind of possibly one of the pioneers of the farmers' markets. Ehm, and we, we looked at other rules and regulations, and we found some of them are really really stringent. You know, they're, you almost have to sort of put your, ehm, stall rents up just to accommodate what they want. So we, we set up our own." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

Further highlighting that each FM organisation had developed a different set of rules, one interviewee explained how they had had to clarify their rules for farmers and stallholders joining their market, who had worked at other FM organisations in London, as rules differed between the FM organisations:

> *"And I think when you're dealing especially with new stalls, new start-ups or farmers that are coming from other companies, you definitely need to explain your rules because lots of companies as you probably know have different rules. Like [FM Organisation a] have a, you know, completely different set of rules to [FM Organisation b]."*

Comments from farmers affirmed that each FM organisation in London had created their own set of rules. When commenting on how rules at FMs affected them, farmers pointed towards differences in rules between different FM organisations, as reflected in this statement:

> *"There's one or two [FMs] we weren't allowed to do meat. Ehm, I think we have virtually got around that one now, but ehm, and there's another one we weren't allowed sell eggs and I don't think there's anything. I don't know why they have these*

peculiar, especially the meat thing, because it was, you know, organic, we weren't buying anything in, it's our own animals. Welfare-friendly and everything, so. Ehm, but they, I think [FM Organisations], I think they have allowed us to now." (ST13_Farmer)

A farmer further emphasised how FM organisations could change their rules as they felt was appropriate. The participant spoke about the decision of one FM organisation not to let farmers come from further afield than a 100 miles of the M25 motorway, however that they could change that if they wanted to:

"with the [FM Organisation], they only are going to take people within a hundred miles of the M25. So it is restricted to whether you fit into that bracket. Obviously, anything further away than that, it could be that people want to come, but they're not, they'd have to change the rules of that." (ST12_Farmer)

Farmers' views demonstrated that they did not have any formal decision-making role in the development of rules. This was reflected in farmers using phrases such as needing to "adhere" the rules or that rules were "set", as stated here:

"And then all the rules and regulations that we stand on now, they're all set, ok? So you go into a farmers' market and it's a set rule. So you nearly know. Ehm, but having said that, I still think consultation on certain things should be, or if you have an issue, they should be listened to." (ST11_Farmer)

Similarly, another farmer spoke about "conforming" to the rules:

"The rules are dead easy to conform to because, because we only sell what we produce, so it wasn't difficult for us. So the rules were never an issue." (ST18_Farmer)

FARMA rules were often mentioned as a reference point in participants' responses, although were predominantly not viewed as carrying much weight in the governance of FMs in London. More than half of FM organisers compared their rules to FARMA rules in the context of describing the development of their rules. However, they adjusted them as they felt appropriate, emphasising again how each FM organisation formed their own rules. For example, two interviewees (although NOT certified by FARMA) commented on how their rules were *"almost identical to, you know, to [FARMA]" (ST10_FMOrganiser),* however in both cases they had *"eased [them] slightly, just slightly" (ST2_FMOrganiser)*. Similarly, an FM organiser of a FARMA-certified FM explained how they had decided to merge their rules with FARMA rules. However, in contrast to other FM organisers relaxing FARMA rules,

they employed more stringency in relation to agricultural production by allowing only certified organic farmers at their markets:

> *"Ehm, we joined FARMA when we set up. Ehm, and they obviously have their rules which we just, ehm, basically, ehm, incorporated their rules into our rules. We've added our own as well which are all about the organic status and things." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

Even though FARMA rules were often used as a reference point for describing and developing rules, at the same time some participants highlighted their views on the low importance of being certified by FARMA. For instance, two FM organisers who ran FARMA-certified markets emphasised the lack of weight of the certification. One of the interviewees felt that the credibility of their market was based on their own "work", rather than the FARMA certification:

> *"The certification isn't very widely known, the credibility that we have at this market is basically down to the work that we've done here. It doesn't come from our FARMA certification. Sorry to be blunt but that's true." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

Similarly, two members of the LMB did not see the FARMA certification as essential for the regulation of FMs. In one case, this was evidenced by one member wondering whether the FARMA certification was at all useful for FM organisations or whether it made running them more difficult:

> *"…and I don't know for example whether [being a FARMA FM] is, its members think that that sort of criteria is enabling that organisation farmers' markets to thrive, you know, or to keep their place in the marketplace, or whether it is, ehm, you know, causing them problems. I, you know, I don't know." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)*

Responses from participants further focused on how FM organisers took responsibility for adherence to their market rules themselves. The majority of FM organisers (four of five) found the adherence to rules very important and policed this themselves, which is reflected in these statements:

> *"I can't think of a word, but ehm, it, it, you know, you have to stick to the rules. You know, the, you know the people who come to the market, and sell, as well as the organisers, you have to be very strict. And it takes so much effort on our part to police all this." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

"In this case people I think know, I mean we've been going long enough, this is our fifteenth year of trading. I think people know what our rules are. And that we stick to them." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

One of the FM organisers expressed that they had previously been too lenient at their market, demonstrating that adherence to rules depended on their own actions:

"And at the start, I really tried to be very, I tried to give people what I thought they want, I gave a lot of leniency. With a lot of leniency comes a lot of people who sort of will push the boundaries. So I slowly realised that the utopia that I wanted to create, wasn't viable." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

Further demonstrating that responsibility for keeping to rules at FMs lay with FM organisers, one interviewee added that they felt other FM organisations did not sufficiently police their markets. For them, this lack of strictness around rules was undermining the benefits of FMs:

"…but again if you don't police it properly….So, the whole, everything that's good about farmers' markets and all the benefits that they can give urban consumers are undermined if the people running the markets don't actually police them properly or don't care. Or are careless about it." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

Although FM organisers emphasised the importance of strict policing of their rules, at the same time they referred to their flexibility in keeping to these rules, again reflecting their power in relation to rules around FMs in London. For example, two FM organisers spoke about how they had been flexible with their rules in individual cases:

"Ehm, and, and I think that, ehm, you know, there has to be room for, not manoeuvre is not quite the right word, but ehm, you know you have to, ehm, look at each individual producer's case. And then make a decision on it." (ST10_FMOrganiser)

"Ehm, currently the rules are that it should be 100 miles within the M25, ehm, but for instance, eh our ferments, they use Chinese cabbage in their, ehm, ferments. And some of the stuff, most of it they can source from British farmers and some of it they can't. And so therefore things like that we would make an exception because otherwise it would let a lot of people not be able to be here." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

Links to Urban Food Policy

Responses from participants suggested that urban food policy on mayoral and borough level had not influenced the content of rules at FMs in London. Most FM organisers stated that the 2006 LFS had not had any impact on their rules (participants were not asked about

impact of the 2018 LFS, as the strategy was still in development at the time of data collection). In some cases, they re-emphasised in this context that their rules were based on their own values and preferences. These perspectives are reflected in the following comments:

> *"R: Ok, ok. And what the London Food Strategy, has that had any influence on your rules?*
>
> *ST7: No." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*
>
> *"Ehm, only, not really, no (laughs). I mean the [rules] where we probably already overlap, then yeah, but that's because we would have agreed with all of those sort of objectives, but no, not when we, because we set up before that food strategy existed. A long time before. And we've just tweaked our rules as we've gone along to make sure that they work for the farmers and the producers. So no." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

Members of the LFB similarly explained that they did not have any influence on what kind of food was allowed to be sold at FMs and by whom, as shown in this response:

> *"R:…is the London Food Board involved in decisions on what kind of food is sold at farmers' markets at all?*
>
> *ST3: No." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

Additionally pointing towards a lack of involvement of the LFB, policy stakeholders explained that the type of food that was sold at FMs in London had not been discussed at LFB meetings. Members were also not aware that the LFB had ever performed any kind of research on what FMs in London were selling:

> *"R: And has the London Food Board ever performed assessments on what food is sold at farmers' markets?*
>
> *ST1: No, unless [previous London Food Board members] did it. Which they might have done." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Further reflecting a lack of involvement, a LFB member assumed there to be rules around the provenance of food sold at FMs, however did not know how these rules were policed:

> *"Ehm, my understanding is that in order to call yourself a farmers' markets, you have to abide by the sort of radius of where your produce comes from etc. etc. But I'm not aware who polices that." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

FM organisers stated that local council food strategies had also not influenced their rules in any way. In one case, this was due to no strategy existing in the borough, as stated here:

"R: Ok, and what about on borough level, strategies on borough level, have they influenced your work or your regulations?

ST5: [Borough in London] doesn't have a food, doesn't have, hasn't signed up to a food charter yet. It's, it's in the pipeline I think. So no (laughs)." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

In another case, a FM organiser had emphasised how the local council was not interested in the specific rules their FM:

"And it doesn't seem that they have an opinion on how the market is or how it's run, even when I spoke to them about kind of loosening the regulations slightly, they were like "yeah, fine". There didn't seem to be a correlation between how they felt it should be and what it was bringing to the community." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

As described in section 5.1, local councils could potentially have an influence on rules at FMs through their role as inspectors of food hygiene. If food safety inspections deemed foods unsafe, these would not be allowed to be sold at FMs. These actions however were not linked to UFSs and not specific to FMs, but rather part of regulations for any food retail in London.

Summary of Section 5.3

Each FM organisation had developed their own separate set of rules for their FMs. In some cases, FARMA rules were mentioned as a reference point, with FM organisers having adjusted FARMA rules for their markets based on their own values and preferences. However, in general FARMA rules and certification were not seen as a significant instrument in the governance of FMs in London. FM organisers policed adherence to the rules themselves, and although strict adherence was seen as important, FM organisers made exceptions in individual cases. UFSs on mayoral and local council level had had no impact on FM rules, nor did the LFB have any involvement in setting rules for FMs in London.

5.4 Actions

The last section in this chapter is focused on actors' actions. As described by scholars defining frameworks for governance, values, governance instruments and actors' actions interconnect and overlap with each other (Kooiman, 2003). As this chapter has already presented actors and their roles, values and instruments, the most relevant actions in the governance of FMs have already been explored across the previous sections in this chapter. For instance, section 5.1 laid out the roles of stakeholders along the process of setting up

and running FMs, which involved their actions around FMs. Section 5.3 on governance instruments around FMs included actors' actions using these instruments. For this reason, this section provides solely a summary of these actions for each stakeholder group. Actions relating to issues of equity, answering RQ2, are discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4.1 Actions by FM Organisations

As shown in this chapter, FM organisations were the main initiators of FMs and played the main role in running FMs across London. Each FM organisation developed their own rules for their markets, decided on flexibility of these rules, as well as policed adherence to these rules themselves.

5.4.2 Actions by Farmers

Farmers had a more 'passive' role in the governance of FMs, although they formed the main reason for the existence of FMs. In some cases, farmers took action by applying to sell at FMs, although in other cases were contacted by FM organisations. To acquire a space to sell at FMs and to remain selling, farmers had to adhere to rules set by each individual FM organisation, rather than taking part in forming the rules. However, they did often share and were informally asked to share their views with FM organisers on different issues around FMs.

5.4.3 Actions by London Food Board

This chapter highlighted that the LFB was not involved in setting up or running FMs in London, as well as had not had any input on rules at FMs. Additionally, they had not recently discussed FMs in their meetings.

5.4.4 Actions by London Markets Board

The previous sections in this chapter have highlighted that the LMB was not involved in the governance of FMs in London. There were no actions mentioned on behalf of the LMB in setting up or running FMs. Further, there had been no discussions around FMs on LMB meetings. It is important to note, that the LMB had been set up shortly before interviews were conducted and had only had a few meetings.

5.4.5 Actions by Local Councils:

According to participants, local councils played minor roles in the process of setting up and running FMs. These included actions as landlords, as food inspection agents, in relation to promoting markets and in very rare cases in relation to initiating FMs. Although these roles were minor, they rendered them as gate keepers. Local councils were reported to have taken supportive and unsupportive action within these roles. Actions on behalf of local councils were described by participants, however were not confirmed by perspectives from local council employees, as they were not interviewed.

5.4.6 Actions by NGOs

Interview data found no actions on behalf of NGOs in the governance of FMs in London. One NGO reported promoting FMs as part of their work.

5.5 Chapter 5 Summary and Overarching Themes

Chapter 5 addressed objectives two, three and four of RQ1, asking what the governance related to FMs in London was in 2017/2018, and how it was linked to urban food policy on borough and mayoral level (see table 3 section 3.1). The data were presented along a conceptual framework of governance featuring actors & their roles, values, instruments, and actions.

In summary, this chapter began by setting out actors and their roles involved in the governance of FMs (section 5.1). This was explored in interviews through the process of setting up and running FMs, as well as through participants' views on the effectiveness of the organisation of FMs and which actors they thought were missing in the organisation of FMs. Interview data showed that FM organisations had a leading role in setting up and running FMs, with local councils, private property owners and communities playing more 'passive' roles. The LFB and LMB were not involved in either setting up or running FMs. Further, each FM organisation was seen as acting independently. Participants also commented on a lack of government involvement. Chapter 5 then explored participants' beliefs and values around FMs (section 5.2). This was explored in interviews through their views on the purpose and definition of FMs, as well as on the benefits FMs provided. Participants' values and beliefs around FMs differed. Although several core principles that defined FMs (including a focus on farmers, the sale of basic groceries, the high quality of food, the sale of locally produced food, as well as 'good' production methods) emerged

across all stakeholder groups, participants gave a spectrum of interpretations within these core principles and critiqued each other's values and beliefs around FMs. Participants further emphasised their scepticism towards other FMs by remarking on how any market could call themselves a FM as there was no legal protection of the term. Chapter 5 then presented instruments used in the governance of FMs (section 5.3), which was explored in interviews through perspectives on rules and regulations around FMs. The data revealed that each FM organisation had developed their own set of rules, based on their own values and preferences, and policed these rules themselves. UFSs on mayoral and local council level had had no impact on FM rules, nor did the LFB or LMB have any involvement in setting rules for FMs in London. Finally, chapter 5 summarised stakeholders' actions around FMs (section 5.4) that had emerged throughout sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.

Two overarching themes emerged across the data presented in Chapter 5. First of all, findings in all sections reflected that FMs in London were primarily governed by individual FM organisations based on their own beliefs, values and rules around FMs. This was evidenced by their role as main decisions makers in setting up and running FMs, as well as by participants' accounts of each FM organisation acting individually (see section 5.1). FM organisers also had differing interpretations of the core principles seen as defining FMs and in some cases critiqued other FM organisations for their values and actions (see section 5.2). Finally, each FM organisation had developed their own set of rules for their FMs and policed adherence to these themselves (see section 5.3).

Secondly, in practice, the governance of FMs was not linked to urban food policy on mayoral level. This was evidenced by a lack of involvement of the LFB and LMB in setting up and running FMs. This was also reflected in policy stakeholders showing little knowledge of the governance of FMs in London (section 5.1). Further, the 2006 LFS had not had any impact on rules at FMs. The LFB and LMB also had no involvement in developing or policing rules at FMs and had not performed any assessments on what kind of food was sold at FMs in London (section 5.3). In practice, local councils were in some cases involved and supportive in the governance of FMs, however, whether involvement or support was linked to local councils implementing borough or mayoral UFSs remained unclear as local council employees were not interviewed. In other cases, local councils had been unsupportive (section 5.1), which points to local councils not implementing borough or mayoral strategies. Further, local council food strategies had not influenced the rules at FMs, and

local councils in many cases had not been interested in what FMs were selling (section 5.3), further possibly pointing to no link of local council actions with implementing UFSs.

Chapter 6 will present interview data contributing to objectives 3 and 4 of RQ2 (see table 3 section 3.1), setting out how equality in access to FMs was considered within the governance process laid out in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Consideration of Equality in Access in Governance

Chapter 6 presents findings drawn from interview data collected as part of the case study. This evidence presented in this chapter addresses objective 3 and objective 4 of RQ2 (see table 3 section 3.1). It lays out the roles, values and actions of stakeholders in relation to the consideration of equality in access in the governance of FMs. Details on the eighteen interviews that were conducted can be found in 3.4.4. Interviews were analysed using thematic content analysis as described in section 3.5.4.

Based on the literature review, this research focused on exploring geographical and economic dimensions of access to FMs in London (see section 3.5.1), however cultural access additionally emerged as relevant in this context. Keeping to a governance framework within these dimensions of access, interview questions and analysis focused on actors, their values, governance instruments and actions of stakeholders. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into three sections. Section 6.1. presents perspectives on access to FMs, section 6.2 presents responses specifically relating to geographical access to FMs, and section 6.3 reports perspectives specifically relating to economic access to FMs. In these three sections, each numbered subsection presents a pre-determined topic which was explored in interviews. Within these, deductive and inductive themes and subthemes are presented. These themes ultimately form four overarching themes which emerged across the data and extend overarching themes from Chapter 5. These overarching themes are (presented in section 6.5):

1) The consideration of geographical, economic and cultural equality in access was mainly dependent on individual FM organisations and differed across them. These dimensions of access were taken into consideration and acted upon by some FM organisers with different strategies.

2) Although seen as important by FM organisers, creating equality in access was not a principal priority for most FM organisations. A main reason provided by FM organisers was a tension between creating geographical and economic access for low-income citizens and securing livelihoods for farmers.

3) The consideration of equality in access to FMs was not linked to urban food policy. In practice, the LFB, LMB and local councils did not promote or provide support in creating access to FMs for diverse populations.

4) Policy stakeholders mostly did not see it as necessary or realistic to provide equality in access to FMs. Main reasons given were that FMs were set up to support farmers and further that too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs existed to create equality in access. Additionally, they assumed that economic success for markets and farmers took precedence for FM organisations and saw this as a tension with creating access for low-income citizens. These views seemed to be based mainly in personal experiences and assumptions, rather than official policy positions.

Throughout this chapter, the data are presented either across stakeholder groups or, where relevant, are stratified by all or some stakeholder groups.

6.1 Perspectives on and Consideration of Equality in Access to Farmers' Markets

With the intention of gaining initial insight into participants' values, instruments and actions around access to FMs, stakeholders were asked in interviews who they thought FMs were aimed at and whether they felt FMs were serving diverse communities. These questions revealed similar inductive themes, however are presented separately below as they provided insight from different angles. They were also asked whether equality in access was considered by FM organisers and whether this was linked to urban food policy, and ultimately whether equality in access to FMs was seen at all as important. In these initial questions, equality in access was purposively not linked to geographic, economic or cultural dimensions, in order to explore perspectives on equality in access based on participants' own interpretation of this concept. Participants' perspectives on this were also dispersed across other parts of the interviews.

6.1.1 Who are farmers' markets aimed at?

Several participants were of the view that FMs were a space for middle-class citizens and people of higher incomes. Four stakeholders made references to FMs being aimed at or appealing to 'middle-class' citizens (one member of the LFB, one NGO representative, one farmer and one FM organiser). For example:

"I would say they are aimed at the general consumer, but given the ehm, yeah I think the price of farmers' markets means that their target is, is going to be reasonably affluent middle-class people." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

An FM organiser and farmer used this same description for the clientele at FMs, however were either critical of these categorisations or of this being the target group. For example, a farmer felt uncomfortable using 'class' to categorise people:

"Eh, I, from our experience in that like the twenty years or so, that we've been doing them, ehm, eh, it's, we're, shall I say, ehm, not professional people, but, and I hate the term, but should I say sort of, ehm, upper working-class and middle-class people. Ehm, and families basically. I hate using those terms because I don't think we should have any classification of, of, of working-class, and ehm, you know, middle-class and things like that, you know." (ST14_Farmer)

Similarly, an FM organiser described the target group of FMs as *"middle-class British people" (ST2_FMOrganiser)*, however in this context was referring to the target group of other FM organisations, while stating that they aimed to be more inclusive at their own FM. Similarly, although using different terminology, eight participants referred to the socioeconomic status of attendees of FMs. Some interviewees saw FMs as aimed at relatively affluent citizens. For example, one FM organiser stated that they aimed for demographics A to C, targeting higher socioeconomic groups. Along these lines, a farmer thought that FMs appealed to young, health-conscious families, which *"usually comes along with being in slightly more affluent areas..." (ST12_Farmer).* Another famer commented how people from lower socioeconomic groups lacked the time to source food at FMs due to having to work long hours to ensure a living:

"And some, there'll be other sections of society who are so busy, ehm, working to make enough money to live. They can't, they don't have to the time to get to the farmers' market, because it takes time and then get it home and cook it. It might be easier to click and collect, to get that produce delivered to them. Ehm, and that might be, to my mind that's a flaw in our society. If you don't have time to go and source your food and be worried about it, that's bad." (ST18_Farmer)

In contrast to these perspectives, several participants recognised a cultural perception in the UK that FMs were aimed at affluent citizens, however they did not necessarily agree with this. One FM organiser referred to this reputation of the 'classic' FM attendant in the UK, yet reported that low-income shoppers frequented their market:

"And one thing I would say about accessibility here, by having this market here on the High Street, it's not just what people think of as being the classic, ehm, farmers' market shopper who shops here. I know for a fact that there are people at the market who are on low incomes." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

One member of the LMB also referred to an 'elitist' framing of FMs, feeling frustrated about this reputation:

"…it makes me really angry that people think that people who are, ehm, not got, you know, as much money as the next person, would then want to have lesser quality produce…People want good quality produce. And they want organic good quality produce. And so I think it's for everybody in society. And it's not an elitist thing." (ST8_LondonMarketsBoard)

For one NGO representative, this cultural perception was due to national media on FMs:

"Ehm, I think when a farmers' market sets up and the sort of signage you see going up, ehm, it could appeal to anybody, but I think they just have this perception through the national media, ehm, that it's going to appeal to someone who, ehm, is maybe, ehm, middle-class affluent. Ehm, and maybe upper-class. Ehm, ehm if you think about it in the class terms, which we, I think we haven't escaped in this country." (ST9_NGOrepresentative)

Several participants (two FM organisers, two farmers, and a member of the LMB) further felt that FMs were aimed at citizens interested in seasonal food, food provenance or who cared about the social and environmental impact of the food they bought. This was reflected in both FM organisers speaking about people coming to FMs who had an interest in seasonal food, as well as how the food had been produced:

"I think farmers' markets are aimed at anyone who cares where their food comes from and is interested in seasonality." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

A farmer had a very similar view:

"I think anybody who's interested in food miles or you know, how their food has been produced. Ehm, people that have perhaps researched, ehm, food and I think it's getting more and more that way because of chemicals and all sorts of things." (ST13_Farmer)

The second farmer spoke about the social costs, such as low wages, and environmental costs of mainstream food production and hoped *"that the consumer who comes to the farmers' market will be thinking, they're answering some of those questions."*

(ST18_Farmer), implying a consciousness around these issues as a driver for attending FMs. A policy stakeholder digressed slightly from these views and commented that certain FMs were aimed at "foodies", while it was not clear whether this implied for them values around provenance and production.

Thirdly, several participants, including one FM organiser and three farmers, mentioned FMs being aimed at families. This was described as FMs being aimed at *"middle-aged families" (ST7_FMOrganiser)*, that FM organisations were *"looking for family communities" (ST12_Farmer)* or *"that success either comes from…or more so where there are families involved." (ST14_Farmer).*

Some participants, although a minority, spoke about these groups above differing across FM organisations, as well as across FMs within FM organisations. For example, one interviewee felt that whether families frequented a market differed by *"…the atmosphere…"* of the market *(ST13_Farmer)* or similarly a farmer stated that *"each farmers' market is slightly different" (ST15_Farmer)*. Also a member of the LFB referred to different FM organisations attracting a different clientele, ranging from people on a budget to very affluent citizens:

> *"Well, you know the, [name of a FM organiser]'s is clearly aimed at people who live in the area and people who are on a budget, in a quite wide range of that. In our area, they're aimed at people who are foodies, who want a different kind of food experience on a Saturday or Sunday morning. And who spend a lot of dosh and who will arrive with a lot of cash." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

6.1.2 Diversity at Farmers' Markets

To further explore perspectives on equality in access to FMs, participants were asked in how far they thought FMs were already serving diverse communities in London. Their perspectives on this were also revealed in other parts of the interviews. Diversity was left open for interpretation in some cases, however in other cases participants were specifically asked about diversity in relation to income and ethnicity, as the literature review had identified these groups as often experiencing barriers in accessing healthy food and FMs. The following paragraphs first set out responses for each stakeholder group about whether they felt FMs were diverse spaces. This is followed by factors that emerged across all stakeholder groups as affecting diversity at FMs.

Among FM organisers, FMs were mostly described as diverse spaces, in different instances referring to income, ethnicity, culture or religion. These perspectives are reflected in comments such as this:

> *"Ehm, in terms of the ethnicity of people coming to the market, and also the stallholders, ehm, I think it's different from what people might expect. Ehm, we have quite a high percentage of people from black and ethnic minorities who actually own and run stalls. Ehm, and we have quite a high percentage of black and ethnic minority shoppers at the market. Ehm, I think people tend to categorise too quickly, ehm, about who comes to market." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

However, while referring to their own FMs as diverse spaces, in most cases FM organisers added that FMs run by other FM organisations in London lacked diversity, possibly pointing to a desirability bias, as demonstrated in this comment:

> *"R: …and so based on this, do you think they serve diverse communities in London?*
> *ST2: No, but that's what I really hope that we're doing differently….*
> *R: Yeah, ok. So it is a diverse community here at this market?*
> *ST2: Definitely. Ehm, I think it appeals a lot more, I'm not saying there isn't like a huge influx of affluent people, because there is as well, there's a real mix. But that's what I think is special about [area of London] farmers' market, is it is a mix of people, cultures, and that's really important." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*

Among farmers, views were mixed on whether FMs were diverse spaces. Some farmers expressed uncertainty around this topic, using phrases such as *"I just don't know London well enough, but I mean I'm just guessing" (ST15_Farmer),* however shared their views in spite of this uncertainty. In most cases, farmers thought FMs were not diverse spaces in relation to incomes, with attendees tending to be more affluent, as reflected here:

> *"…you will get the odd person, or the odd person, you will people on lower incomes, ehm, coming to buy, ehm, I wouldn't, yeah, and that I would say would be, probably those people are spending the majority of their money on high-quality food rather than on other things, they'll sacrifice other things in their life to be able to have that. But I would say the majority of people that buy from us and from those markets can afford both, the high-quality food, I don't know, and the cars and the iPads, and all the, all the non-necessity things maybe. Ehm, yeah." (ST12_Farmer)*

In contrast, one farmer felt that there were people with a range of incomes at FMs. A further interviewee explained that they found it too difficult to judge whether their customers were low-income or high-income:

> *"R: So do you think people on lower incomes and higher incomes are coming to the market?*
>
> *ST13: Oh, sorry. You try and tell me what their incomes are, you just don't know. You can't always read them.*
>
> *R: Mhm, yeah, ok.*
>
> *ST13: Yeah. How they, very difficult one that." (ST13_Farmer)*

Further, one farmer referred to the clientele at a FM reflecting diversity in relation to people of different ethnicities attending the market:

> *"Eh, I don't know. I mean, you can go to, ehm, just take for example [area of London] which is very close to [area of London] and eh, eh, ehm, [area of London] and places like that, where there's a quite, ehm, diverse ethnic, ehm, ethnic regions. Where you know, you've got quite a lot of black people, Asian people and things like this. And in [FM in area of London] I would say you've got maybe 25% of people that are of ethnic origin. So, it doesn't mean to say that it's white affluent people that will shop in a, in a farmers' market." (ST14_Farmer)*

FMs were not seen as diverse spaces by policy stakeholders and NGO representatives. This was reflected for instance in a response by a member of the LFB, describing the community at their local FMs as "quite narrow", although they did not further describe what that meant. They implied potential differences between FMs across London by speaking only about FMs in their part of London:

> *"R: …And, based on what you just said, so you don't think they are serving diverse communities in London?*
>
> *ST1: No. I don't. Certainly the ones in my part of London. The community is not diverse that goes there. It's quite, ehm, it's quite narrow." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Others described FMs as spaces that lacked cultural diversity, as reflected in this comment:

> *"If you've been to a farmers' market in London, ehm, it's not a diverse environment. So there's that kind of, you know, how do you make those places culturally well accessible to a diverse community?" (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

Within these diverging responses from FM organisers, farmers, policy stakeholders and NGO representatives, participants across all stakeholder groups focused on several main factors that in their view affected diversity of attendants at FMs in London. This included the price of food at FMs, the location of FMs, as well as the type of food sold at FMs, reflecting that they saw economic, geographical and cultural factors as relevant in accessing FMs. Perspectives on these factors are presented in the following paragraphs.

The price of food was highlighted as affecting diversity at FMs. The majority of FM organisers felt that low prices or the range of prices at their FMs was linked to their diverse customer base, as reflected in these words:

> *"We just know that we've got products with a whole range of prices and that there is something for everybody." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

In this context, some FM organisers additionally differentiated their FMs to other FMs in London. They saw prices at their own FMs positively affecting diversity at the markets, while they found that prices at other FMs in London were too expensive, and thus negatively affected the participation of diverse communities:

> *"But I think it is, you know they're quite expensive, most farmers' markets. And, ehm, I don't think that people from all diverse communities can access them in terms of financially, firstly. So something that we've aimed to do is ensure that there isn't a rise in our prices. Our prices have been pretty consistent for quite a long time…And we're really lucky that the farmers understand that [specific FM] is cheaper than other farmers' markets." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*

In contrast to these perspectives, some farmers did not feel that prices necessarily affected diversity at a FM. They explained that people would just spend what they had 'wisely', in spite of being on a low income or would just buy less food, as suggested by this participant:

> *"If there is good food, it's not even about the price, people will just buy less. But buy, you know, buy more things to cook and prepare at home, rather than, ehm, rather than sort of, buy take-away stuff and ready-prepared food." (ST14_Farmer)*

Interviewees also mentioned the location of FMs as an influencing factor on the diversity of attendees. Several FM organisers stated that diversity depended on the location of a FM:

> *"R:…and so based on this, do you think they serve diverse communities in London? ST4: Depends where they are…" (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

Some participants further specified a lack of FMs in lower-income areas affecting diversity. For instance, a farmer who felt that FMs were frequented mostly by affluent individuals, referred to FMs not being located in areas where citizens on a low income lived:

> *"…but I mean I'm just guessing, and assuming that there are a lot of areas of London which are not wealthy and I wouldn't mind guessing that there aren't farmers' markets in them." (ST15_Farmers)*

The type of food sold at FMs was also raised as an influencing factor on diversity. For example, some participants felt that a lack of culturally appropriate produce for people from different ethnic communities in London was acting as a barrier to attracting a diverse clientele, as reflected here:

> *"…,there probably are exceptions that I'm not aware of, but for there to be true diversity there would need to be a greater diversity of the product that was brought, ehm, to market to sell, which would mean growing things that would appeal to different ethnic communities. Whether that be yams, or black horseradish, or Chinese leaf or whatever. And I'm not aware that that is actually happening." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

Others similarly mentioned the need to offer culturally appropriate food for different communities, such as halal meat, to encourage more diversity at FMs:

> *"And they, I am yet to know of a farmer that has halal, eh, a British farmer in any market I've been that has anything halal or anything for the, you know, the Muslim community etc….And you know, so I think there could be more done to encourage other communities to come along and eh sort of yeah." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

For one farmer, the responsibility for researching the needs of different communities lay with the market managers (it was not clear from their comment, whether they were specifically referring to FMs or just markets in general):

> *"You know, they should, the market owner should have, in the different areas in London, different, ehm, for the ethnic people who live there. And it's different ethnics need, like different food. Ehm, so it's up to the researchers of that market to research their customers to find out really." (ST13_Farmer)*

6.1.3 Consideration of Equality in Access

To explore the consideration of equality in the governance of FMs, participants were asked in interviews whether equality in access featured in decision making of FM organisations.

'Equality in access' was not defined for participants, leaving it open for interpretation in an effort not to shape or limit participants' responses.

FM organisers gave mixed responses on whether they considered equality in access in the governance of their FMs. For instance, three FM organisers (the majority) stated that equality in access was part of their decision making. This was evidenced in participants' statements that they *"tried as best as possible to keep [the FM] open to everyone" (ST2_FMOrganiser)* and that equality in access was *"really important" (ST5_FMOrganiser)*, as seen in the following exchanges:

> *"R: Yeah, yeah, mhm, ok. And so basically when you were setting up the farmers' market and now with you running it, equality in access is a theme?*
> *ST2: Absolutely. Yeah, ehm there's a lot of, I mean, I am from quite a privileged background, I can recognize that, but also recognise that I grew up around here, and I know what the community is and ehm, there is sadly loads of things that are opening in [area of London] that aren't serving the community. They're serving the new community but not the core. Ehm, and that really saddens me and so we've, well I, me, [man's name], tried as best as possible to keep it open to everyone. Yeah." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*
> *"R: So equality in access and diversity at the market is a theme in your company?*
> *ST5: It's something I'm really aware of. I'm really aware of it. Ehm, I've been living and working in [area of London] for a long time, all of those issues in terms of accessibility are really important to me and [FM Organisation]." (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

In contrast, two FM organisers explained that equality in access was not a consideration in their decision making. For example, one FM organiser stated that issues of access were not a priority, as they were focused on ensuring sufficient "footfall" to guarantee a sufficient income for farmers:

> *R: So now when you make decisions, is equality in access after all part of your decisions in some way?*
> *"ST4: No, it isn't. It's about whether a site is going to work. As I said, whether the footfall is high enough. Where the people are going to buy on a weekly basis and where the farmers are going to be able to you know continue to trade and make a living. So, you know, it's a bonus if it's a mixed community." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

A further interviewee, who did not consider equality in access, provided the reasoning that they operated in *"a very affluent area, so it's not really something we had to worry about" (ST7_FMOrganiser).*

Farmers had mixed views on whether they thought equality in access was considered by FM organisations and were frequently unsure. This uncertainty was reflected for example in comments emphasising that they were *"not so qualified to answer that question" (ST18_Farmer)*. Nevertheless, farmers shared their views. Several farmers did not think that equality in access was considered. They assumed that FM organisations were concerned primarily with economic success of the markets, as reflected here:

> *"…, everyone would like to pay lip service to [considering equality in access] wouldn't they? I mean, we all want to believe, that, ehm, that equality of access is important, but, ehm, when it comes to crunch, as I say, I think, that I mean I'm trying to decide if I'm being unfair (pause). I mean if I was a market organiser, I would be choosing venues that look like they could attract people who'd want to come on those markets and buy the produce…" (ST15_Farmer)*

For some, this consideration differed by FM organisation. For instance, one particular FM organisation was seen as having taken equality in access into consideration when they had set up their FM, in contrast to other FM organisations, who were seen to prioritise footfall, as shown in this response:

> *"R:…so or some do maybe, so why do you think that equality in access is or is not a priority at the different organisations?*
>
> *ST14:…the big thing they seemed to look at all the time is footfall. Like ehm, I know like [FM Organisation a], they will, they will survey a place for several weeks or months, to see what footfall crosses the gate and things like that rather than thinking about, and then basing their decisions on that. Whereas, ehm, ehm, somebody like, ehm, the [FM Organisation b], when they set up that, they wanted to, to, ehm, push organic foods, ehm, to the poor." (ST14_Farmer)*

Policy stakeholders mainly expressed that they were unsure in how far equality in access was considered by FM organisations. This was mentioned by several policy stakeholders, reflected in responses such as this one:

"R: Mhm, ok. And ehm, you might not know this because you're not involved, but if you do, in how far has equality in access shaped decisions around farmers' markets in London do you think?

ST3: I don't, I don't, I don't know." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

In spite of expressing their uncertainty, two policy stakeholders shared their views on whether they thought it was a consideration. This included one participant who thought that equality in access was not considered, as they felt economic success of FMs needed to take precedence to guarantee incomes for farmers. A further participant did not provide a direct answer, but emphasised that the quality of the food offered at FMs was more important than the consideration of equality in access:

"Ehm, I think they should think about [access] but I don't think it should be a reason for them to stop doing whatever they're doing. Ehm, I suppose for me it's more important around the quality of the produce." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)

To explore how the consideration of equality in the governance of FMs was linked to urban food policy, policy stakeholders were asked in interviews in how far FMs were linked to addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in discussions and actions of the LFB and LMB. The document analysis in this study had shown that FMs had not been linked to addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in the 2006 LFS, 2018 LFS or the 'Understanding London's Markets Report', although all strategies included FMs or local food systems as part of a more equitable food system (see Chapter 4 section 4.1.1). Interview data were aimed at understanding whether the separate goals of supporting FMs or local food and addressing inequalities in access in these strategies were linked in practice in relation to FMs.

Policy stakeholders stated that FMs were not linked to addressing issues of access to healthy food in urban food policy. This was reflected in comments from all policy stakeholders stating that FMs were not related to addressing inequalities in access to food in LFB or LMB meetings:

"R: And so at the London Markets Board, ehm, you said equality in access was a theme. Has it been directly linked to farmers' markets or local food yet or?

ST8: No, I don't think so." (ST8_LondonMarketsBoard)

Reasons provided by policy stakeholders for the disconnect between FMs and addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in urban food policy were diverse. For instance, one

member of the LFB stated that FMs were located mostly in affluent areas, and thus were unsuited to provide access to healthy food in low-income areas:

> *"R: But so at the London Food Board, is equality in access to healthy food, which is a huge part of the London Food Strategy, has it ever been considered in relation to farmers' markets? Has this theme been a debate around their role?*
>
> *ST1: Ehm, no. No, because, ehm, it's certainly been part of the role of markets. But not in way of farmers' markets. Partly because they are only open on a Saturday or a Sunday, they're not consistent, and because on the whole, most of the markets, I don't know what all forty do, but most of the markets, as far as we know, are, are in more exclusive areas. I mean we haven't got them in the middle of [area of London], we haven't got them…" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Another member of the LFB saw the purpose of FMs to support farmers and not to create access to healthy food:

> *"R:…And, ehm, within the London Food Board, is equality in access to healthy food considered in relation to farmers' markets? And has this been a theme in the debates around farmers' markets?*
>
> *ST3: Not specifically, no….Ehm, no. In my head, and I, you know, I can't speak for anybody else, but in my head, access to healthy food is an issue around price. And I think, as I said before, I think farmers' markets, ehm, bluntly farmers' markets were set up to help farmers, not necessarily to provide healthy access, that was not the driver." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

Participants also felt that other types of markets in London were more suited to addressing inequalities in access to food than FMs and were thus linking these markets to addressing inequalities. For example, a member of the LFB stated that *"most of the [farmers'] markets, as far as we know, are, are in more exclusive areas…But we have got street markets. Which we love. Yeah" (ST1_London Food Board),* indicating that street markets were more suited to addressing inequalities in access.

Participants' responses above on the consideration of equality in access reflected their particular interpretation of this concept. In most cases, the consideration of equality in access was related to the consideration of economic access to FMs. In this context, six participants referred to low-income citizens accessing FMs. This was evidenced by comments using terms such as *"[pushing] organic foods, ehm, to the poor" (ST14_Farmer),*

as well as by referring to “lower incomes” and “people on low incomes”, as in these examples:

> *“I think London is a very diverse area, so we sort of get the upper edge of society. We're, farmers' markets don't attract, well they do attract the lower incomes, but the lower incomes might just come and get a few apples or a few bits...” (ST7_FMOrganiser)*
>
> *“Ehm, I mean at a political level, I'd like customers to be able to buy our produce, but on a realistic level, as I say I am aware that the type of produce that we sell, which we do a lot of strange leafy things, unusual veg, aren't going to be the staple diet of people on low incomes.” (ST15_Farmer)*

Others similarly spoke about how equality in access was related to prices at markets, reflecting their interpretation of access in relation to economic access. For example, one farmer thought it would be difficult for FM organisations to consider equality in access, as *“the producers are charging for [the food]” (ST18_Farmer).* Further, a member of the LFB explained that incomes for farmers at markets needed to *“be guaranteed” (ST1_LondonFoodBoard),* alluding to this affecting the price. Also a member of the LMB commented that *“…you know, it's, that's where the problem with price comes in, into things,…” (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard).*

Only one participant spoke about access for people from diverse ethnicities, however also assuming that people with an Afro-Caribbean background were not “middle-class”:

> *“…it could well be argued that farmers' markets are a middle-class comfortable person’s way of shopping. But I disagree, we've certainly got members of the Afro-Caribbean community come to our stall,…”. (ST18_Farmer)*

In other cases, statements by interviewees did not clearly reveal their interpretation of equality in access. Examples included descriptions such as *“the new community but not the core [community]” (ST2_FMOrganiser), “a mixed community” (ST4_FMOrganiser) or “a colourful populus (laughs)” (ST10_FMOrganiser).* In one case, an FM organiser used sexual orientation as an example in the context of equality in access, although they had also spoken about access for low-income citizens above:

> *“…you might find as much of the population might be, ehm, ehm, gay people, and, ehm, markets have been very successful around that areas.” (ST14_Farmer)*

6.1.4 Relevance of Equality in Access in the Context of Farmers' Markets

To deepen the understanding around the consideration of equality in access, participants were asked in the interviews whether they felt equity was at all important or relevant in the context of FMs. In section 6.1.3 policy stakeholders explained that equality in access was not linked to FMs in urban food policy. Exploring whether they thought linking these was important or necessary at all, in spite of this current disconnect, provided more in-depth insight into their values around the consideration of equality in access to FMs.

Equality in access to FMs was seen as important among FM organisers and farmers. This was evidenced by their responses stating that this was something for FM organisations to aspire to, as shown in this comment:

> *"R:…do you think equality in access in general in farmers' markets in London is important?*
>
> *ST2: Yes, it should be at the forefront of farmers' markets, I think. Yeah, absolutely. Because, eh, farmers' markets are meant to bring local produce to a community. And that should be everybody in the community, not just the people that can afford it." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*

Similarly, others responded to the question of whether equality in access to FMs was at all important with phrases such as *"I mean, yes." (ST5_FMOrganiser), "I think everybody should be able to go" (ST11_Farmer)* or *"I think it should, ehm, suit all income groups." (ST13_Farmer).* Only one farmer did not feel that this was relevant, as they saw creating equality in access to FMs as *"unrealistic" (ST15_Farmer).*

In the context of FM organisers and farmers stating the importance of creating equality in access to FMs, many referred however to a tension between considering equality in access and ensuring farmers' livelihoods. For example, one FM organiser spoke of the importance of access, however clearly emphasised that it was simultaneously "really important" to ensure a sufficient income for farmers:

> *"I think it's important that everyone has an opportunity to buy, you know fresh, seasonal food. And it's also really important that farmers make enough money. So they can continue to run the stalls." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

A further FM organiser, although of the view that FMs should cater to diverse communities, spoke about the struggle of farmers. They referred to their high rate of suicide, indicating a

tension of asking farmers to ensure access for low-income communities, while hugely struggling to ensure a livelihood for themselves:

> *"Listen, I think the last person you need to speak to is the farmers about the prices of stuff. I think, you know, these are people with the highest rate of suicide...[farmers] are running independent businesses and just trying to get through on a day-to-day basis. Maybe they are the low incomes. If you look at how much money they've got to spend per, and they work unbelievably, you know work, very hard-working people, you know people are starting their days at four in the morning a lot of the time, and working you know, 18-hour shifts." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

In line with these views, several farmers explained that they needed to charge a high enough price to be able to make a living for themselves and their employees. However, these prices were often seen as high, specifically for citizens on low incomes. Even when charging these 'true' prices to ensure livelihoods, in some cases farmers were still struggling to make a living:

> *"If, if food is so cheaply available, ehm, which is yeah, usually either the farmer is not getting paid for it or it's being subsidised. Ehm, so, if that's available, ehm, then those people on the lower incomes you know, are maybe going to go and buy that. Ehm, and complain about the price of market food maybe. But, I feel those are real costs. It's yeah, it's a tricky one. I mean, it's very difficult to stand there and say 'well, actually this is the real, this is the real cost' and I'm still like not, you know, I'm still living in a caravan not really making any money, still in debt and struggling, you know, might not have a crop one year, you might not be able to sell it, you have a problem, you know, it's, it's a hard, a hard existence. Ehm, but if they're going to argue that they can get, you know, apples down the road for fifty p, it's like well, that's also your right, go and get apples down the road at fifty p." (ST12_Farmer)*

This struggle of farmers, even when receiving fair prices at FMs, was echoed by another FM organiser. They emphasised that for this reason farmers could not reduce their prices further to create access for low-income communities:

> *"I think most of the small farmers we work with are struggling to survive (laughs). You know, they literally are struggling to survive. They're thinking about how to pay their staff, what's going to happen to them post-Brexit. Ehm, so I'm not sure, I think some of them definitely think about people on low incomes but they can't again make the food cheaper. They can think about how much profit they want to make but*

they have to cover their costs and generate enough income so they can still be there next week, or next month, or next year." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

Some FM organisers and farmers were of the view that FMs were already economically, geographically and culturally accessible. For example, one FM organiser and two farmers, felt that FMs were not as expensive as people expected, and offered affordable produce for everyone:

"R:…do you think, ehm, equality in access is actually relevant in the context of farmers' markets at all?

ST18: Yeah, of course it is. I mean you don't want to exclude somebody because there is, let's say they're economically less well off. And ehm, and, and find that they just can't walk into the gate of the farmers' market. You'd always hope there's something they can buy. Ehm, but that they can take home. For example, like I said, the potato, you know if they're happy to go home and cook a potato, then it's not expensive to buy a potato and eat it. Ehm, there's no doubt going to be some produce that will be, ehm, too expensive so that will economically disqualify some people." (ST18_Farmer)

FMs were also described as already accessible for ethnic minorities:

"And also it's been a really good location for us, because of where it is, because it's open and because people can see it and just as they are now and just walk in off the street. And because it's the middle of an area which has a large black and ethnic minority community, people come here." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

Others felt that there was also sufficient geographical access to FMs in London, based on there being "*enough [farmers' markets] all around London" (ST12_Farmer)* for people wanting to access FMs.

Policy stakeholders gave mixed responses on whether creating equality in access to FMs was important. Some felt it was not important and gave differing reasons for this. For instance, one interviewee felt it was important for markets in general, however mainly emphasised that the purpose of FMs was to support farmers, rather than create access to food:

"I think as I said before, it's important for markets in general. For farmers' markets, the driver particularly in this country, was in my opinion more about the benefit to the producer than actually the consideration of the consumer." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

Another policy stakeholder highlighted that it was *"not at all" (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)* necessary to create equality in access based on how FMs manifested. In their view, FMs in London offered mainly brownies and expensive food. However, they did emphasise that if FMs became more "purist", equality in access would be highly desirable:

> *"…the desirability to have a stripped back, eh, purist farmers' market, which is in the way that I'm describing, ehm, the desirability to have those able to, ehm, to be accessible by all is highly desirable." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)*

In contrast to these responses, one member of the LFB stated that it would be important to see more consideration of equality in access in the governance of FMs:

> *"R: and then, in how far do you think equality in access is actually important in the context of farmers' markets? Or in the context of bringing local food to London? And supporting small farmers?*
> *ST1: Well, I would love to see more of it. You know, I think it's fantastically important." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Also a member of the LMB felt that more could be done for FMs to be seen as accessible to a wider public than "white, middle-class territory":

> *"I think [farmers' markets are] seen sadly still as being very white, middle-class territory and I think there're so many opportunities for that balance to be redressed and for, ehm, more creative answers to these issues to be found." (ST8_LondonMarketsBoard)*

Summary of Section 6.1

Across all stakeholder groups, participants viewed FMs as either aimed at middle-class or more affluent citizens (although this was seen by some as critical or merely a reputation in the UK), citizens interested in seasonal and sustainable food, and families. Additionally they felt that this depended on different FMs and FM organisations.

The majority of FM organisers thought of their FMs as diverse spaces while usually critiquing other FMs in London as lacking diversity. Some farmers felt FMs were diverse, while others did not. For policy stakeholders and NGO representatives FMs in London did not represent diverse spaces, although also made references to this depending on different FMs. Across all groups, participants spoke of diversity mainly in relation to income and in fewer cases in relation to ethnicity. Factors mentioned across stakeholder groups as

influencing diversity included the price of food, the location of FMs, as well as the type of food sold at FMs.

Most FM organisers reported that they considered equality in access in their decision making. Two FM organisers stated clearly that it was not a consideration, one reason being that securing sufficient income for farmers was prioritised. Farmers were unsure but mostly thought FM organisations did not consider equality in access but were rather focused on footfall and economic success of markets. Again, farmers felt this differed across FM organisations. Policy stakeholders were mostly uncertain whether equality in access was a consideration for FM organisers, however also assumed that the generation of income for farmers took precedence.

Policy stakeholders stated that FMs were not linked to addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in discussions and actions of the LFB and the LMB. Various reasons for this were given, including that FMs were located mainly in affluent areas and therefore could not serve low-income communities, that the purpose of FMs lay in supporting farmers, as well as that street markets in London were more suited to addressing inequalities in access to healthy food. Equality in access was most often interpreted as creating access for people of different socioeconomic backgrounds. Access for people from different ethnicities was also mentioned, while others did not specify exactly how they interpreted this concept.

The majority of FM organisers and farmers saw equality in access as important in the context of FMs. However, in these statements many referred to a tension between considering equality in access and ensuring livelihoods for farmers. Several FM organisers and farmers also felt that FMs were already economically, geographically and culturally accessible. Policy stakeholders differed in their views on whether it was important. Some did not think it was important; reasons for this included that FMs were meant to support farmers, as well as that they thought FMs in London mainly provided 'fancy' food. Other policy stakeholders saw creating equality in access to FMs as desirable.

6.2 Perspectives on and Consideration of Geographical Access

The geographical mapping as part of this case study showed that FMs in London were relatively equally situated across most deprived to least deprived areas in London according to IMD and income. And further, FMs were situated in both private and public

spaces (see section 4.2). In interviews, the underlying governance processes that had led to this distribution were explored to understand whether this distribution had partly resulted from efforts to increase access to FMs. For this purpose, interview questions explored participants' perspectives on the current location of FMs (section 6.2.1), how locations for FMs had been selected (section 6.2.2), and whether equality in access had featured in decision making around location (section 6.2.3). As presented in section 6.1, most FM organisers had stated that equality in access generally was a consideration for them. This section explores their values and actions more specifically in relation to the consideration of geographic access.

6.2.1 Views on Location of Farmers' Markets in London

In order to gain insight into perspectives on geographical access to FMs, participants were asked about their views on the current location of FMs in London. Additionally, the interviewer referenced findings from the geographical mapping (see section 4.2) and asked participants to comment on this distribution. Participants' perspectives on the location of FMs were also dispersed across the interviews.

Across stakeholder groups, interviewees thought that FMs were mostly located in affluent areas of London, or specifically not in low-income areas, as reflected in this comment:

> *"[FMs] tend to be in areas where you would get healthy shoppers anyway, you would get more middle-class people,…" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard).*

In contrast, two FM organisers (other FM organisers did not comment) referred to their FMs being located in low-income areas. However, one of them added that other FMs in London, in contrast to their own, were located mainly in affluent areas.

Within comments on FMs being located mainly in affluent areas, several subthemes emerged. First, several participants spoke about the need to guarantee the economic success of markets as a reason why FMs were set up primarily in affluent areas. This was for instance highlighted by the FM organiser who described other FM organisations setting up FMs in affluent areas, while in contrast their own business in a lower income area was struggling:

> *"Most farmers' markets that pop up are in really affluent areas. And sadly, and like the reality of it is, is 'cause those places make money and a profit. And [area of London] is dying (laughs). [Area of London] farmers' market is dying because we're*

trying to do everything we can to access the community but that doesn't work well in terms of business. That works well for the community but it's not a business, so it's really difficult to sustain…" (ST2_FMOrganiser)

Other interviewees referred similarly to farmers needing to make enough profit at the markets. These views are reflected in a comment by a farmer, who reported they relied on people being able to spend enough money, which was for them linked to more affluent areas:

"I mean I am making massive, ehm, generalisations. But, ehm, if you just look at the areas that our markets are in, they're relatively wealthy areas. Or up and coming areas. So, you know, they are areas where people with, eh, disposable incomes, you know, these people aren't fighting for every penny and you know, trying to work out how to pay the rent and the heating bill and mortgage. Well, if that, they probably haven't got a mortgage. You know, I don't know, ehm, you know, every costing has to be counted and that is in general, I wouldn't have said, that was our customer. And we rely on people being able to spend reasonable amounts of money to make it worth going." (ST15_Farmer)

However, contrasting these responses, some farmers spoke about how FMs in affluent areas did not always guarantee economic success, while in some cases the markets in lower income areas had worked well:

"A lot of, a lot of, ehm, people when they set up farmers' markets, they always seem to look at, ehm, eh, affluent areas. And not necessarily so that affluent areas work…But, just, ehm, basic thing and I feel that, that sometimes we do one or two markets in poorer areas and they're quite successful as well." (ST14_Farmer)

"But again, same thing, just not enough trade. And it was in a very wealthy area as well. So it's not all about money is it?" (ST15_Farmer)

Secondly, some participants thought that FMs in lower-income areas were located there due to gentrification, and thus were not serving the lower-income population in these areas. For example, a LFB member assumed that FMs were only located in poorer areas if these areas had been gentrified:

"I don't know how a farmers' market would work in a poorer area. I mean have you found a farmers' market that is in an ungentrified area? Apart from [specific FMs]?" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

One interviewee also stated that FMs had not been located in low-income areas previously, however they were now due to gentrification. In contrast to others, they saw this development as increasing geographical access to FMs for low-income citizens rather than excluding them:

> *"Ehm, yeah I mean, London's different, isn't it, and especially, you know, things are changing rapidly in London. Eh, you know, London boroughs. So for example maybe, maybe ten years ago, there wouldn't be, farmers' markets would have been very hard for low-income communities in Newham or Walthamstow to, to, or anywhere else, to, ehm, to get to. Now, because of, you know, gentrification and, and, and change of the economics and demographics of London, there's more farmers' markets, and they're more, you know, they're more geographically spread."*
> *(ST6_NGORepresentative)*

Personal perceptions of gentrification seemed to play a role in comments on geography. This was reflected in one member of the LFB identifying an area of London as ungentrified, while another member referred to the same area as gentrified.

Thirdly, participants raised the difficulty of categorising areas of London according to socioeconomic indicators. When speaking about how FMs were located mostly in affluent areas, the majority of participants simultaneously spoke about the difficulty of making a judgement on areas of London in relation to affluency. They highlighted that areas of London were often very diverse, with very affluent and very low-income citizens living side by side:

> *"I'm not on top of London, I mean it's quite a funny sort of place with affluent and impoverished areas cheek by jowl as far as I can tell." (ST15_Farmer)*

Not only was it seen as difficult to judge an area, but two participants added that it was difficult to know which parts of the population were actually accessing FMs in these diverse areas of London:

> *"Ehm, (pause) I don't know if you look at, I mean London is quite mixed so it's certainly even in somewhere like [area of London] you've got lots of housing estates around there. Are those people coming along to the market? I don't know. Ehm, it feels like a, quite a middle-class enclave. Ehm, but then maybe the proportions within the market is exactly representative of the proportions of people of different income locally." (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

Comments by participants on FMs being located mostly in affluent areas in London seemed to be based mostly in personal experience or perception. Only one participant referenced research that had been performed on the location of FMs in London, which had shown that FMs were not located in low-income areas:

> *"And that was because the findings from their research which said that farmers' markets aren't as numerous as they are in the United States, that they often, that they're not in low-income areas,…" (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

No other participants referred to any evidence or assessments of the location of FMs in London. Additionally, some policy stakeholders showed a lack of knowledge of the location of FMs in London. For example, a member of the LMB had looked up on the internet where FMs were located only just before the interview and was checking this in their notes when asked about location:

> *"I'm just looking where they are (looking at notes), yes I think it shows where they are." (ST17_LondonMarkets Board)*

Further, when a member of the LFB was told in the interview that geographical mapping had shown that some FMs were located in low-income areas, they were interested to know if these FMs were getting any subsidies, demonstrating a lack of knowledge of the governance of FMs:

> *"You're not, with the best altruism in the world, I mean, I don't know the ones that are in low-income areas, I don't know, are they getting some subsidies?*
> *R: Ehm, not that I know of yet. That's part of what I'm going to explore.*
> *ST1: Ok. Well, I'd be interested to know that. How that's working."*
> *(ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

6.2.2 Choosing Locations for FMs

To gain insight into participants' values and actions around location, participants were asked what factors influenced their decisions on where to set up FMs. The question was specifically formulated not to mention equality in access to avoid a desirability bias, in order to see whether creating equality in access for different communities would be mentioned as an influencing factor in choosing location. As illustrated in chapter 5 section 5.1, FM organisers were the main decision makers on where to set up FMs. This section builds on these data by exploring how these decisions were made in detail. This is then

compared to perspectives from other stakeholders who were not directly involved in these decisions.

Reponses from FM organisers showed very diverse factors affecting the choice of location for FMs within and across FM organisations, reflecting a lack of coherent strategy. Nevertheless, some commonalities still emerged and are presented below. Only one FM organiser mentioned wanting to create equality in access as affecting their choice of location.

The majority of FM organisers reported economic factors driving their decisions around location, such as footfall, demand and broader economic factors. For example, several FM organisers chose locations based on the assumption that it provided high footfall, as exemplified in this comment:

> *"The main consideration is that we're going to get high foot fall. And so that it's a visible location. That's kind of key. Especially now when there's kind of so much competition and we want people to be able to see and find the market easily. Ehm, so that's the kind of. So in order to make a market work, we need that, that's number one." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

FM organisers also considered demand. For instance, when thinking about setting up FMs in a location, one participant conducted surveys with citizens beforehand to check whether there was sufficient demand. Whether they would set up a FM in a location depended on a certain number of positive responses from these surveys:

> *"Ehm, and, eh, you know, if from a 5000, ehm, mail shot, because we always deliver to the door, and we give them the option to either fill in the little form and send it by post, or phone us up, or online. Ehm, for 5000, we need to get a minimum of 250 replies. Otherwise we won't do it." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

This same FM organiser also raised broader societal and economic issues as affecting their decisions, based on wanting to minimise the economic risk that setting up FMs entailed. For example, as costs of setting up FMs were so high, they had been more risk-averse when choosing locations in times of Brexit:

> *"I think Brexit has had a, ehm, has played a huge part in our decision making. Ehm, in terms of starting up new markets. Eh, we're far more picky where the markets, where we think the market's going to be. Ehm, because each market costs about 15.000-25.000 pounds to set up. Yeah, so a fair bit of cash. You know, we're not a big*

company, ehm, so we have to be even, even pickier with our sites. And nine of out ten sites, we just, you know we just discard. Because it, we know it's not going to work. You know, the population mix isn't right, that's key." (ST10_FMOrganiser)

According to several FM organisers, demographics also played a role when looking for suitable locations. Reflecting different approaches, each FM organiser described a different demographic they sought out. For instance, one FM organiser had looked for areas with more 'urban and hipsterish types':

"…there's a lot of sort of urban types like you know, young sort of hipsterish, sort of people down there that are quite, quite health conscious etc., ehm, and basically the area, yeah, I think [area of London] is an area that eh, has such a diverse amount of people, that a farmers' market is sort of, it should have." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

While another found a *"population mix" (ST10_FMOrganiser)* important, which was not further defined in this context. Only one FM organiser considered demographics in relation to wanting to create equality in access to their FMs. They explained that more FMs needed to be located in *"areas that are from lower incomes"*, and they would want to set up a FM in a location which would reach people from *"different backgrounds".* For them, this aspiration had kept them from setting up a FM in a location where they felt they would only be reaching *"affluent people"*:

"I think there should be more farmers' markets in areas that are from lower incomes. And that's why I didn't set up in [area of London] because I felt that I was just going to be accommodating people that already had access to farmers' markets and I didn't need to do that. And I was thinking where and how could I have a farmers' market that would bring in people from different backgrounds, yeah." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

A third determining factor for choosing locations mentioned by FM organisers were practical drivers. This involved for instance needing to choose from the limited locations that were available in London. FM organisers were dependent on whether local councils or private property owners were willing to rent out suitable spaces (as described in detail in section 5.1), influencing which locations were chosen for FMs:

"So we are on our third location in [borough of London]. We were in a, the original location had to leave, we moved to a school, school built and therefore we had to leave. And I was looking around for another location, and I spoke to the council about

using [street in borough]. And they were helpful and managed to, you know, gave us space to run the market." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

Some FM organisers also raised other practical factors as influencing their decision on location, which included needing to ensure easy physical access for customers, as well as having sufficient space for farmers to park their vans.

Responses from other stakeholder groups on what they thought FM organisers considered when choosing locations also included very diverse responses, however two main factors they thought were considered by FM organisers emerged. These factors overlapped with factors mentioned by FM organisers in the previous paragraphs. No participants in other stakeholder groups thought equality in access was an influencing factor for FM organisations when choosing location.

Responses in other stakeholder groups focused first of all on decisions around location being based on needing to guarantee economic success of markets and for farmers. Several participants thought FM organisations chose locations, which would provide high footfall and thus yield enough income for operators and farmers:

"There's the from a farmers' markets point of view, ehm, will that market be able to bring in enough money for the farmers there? Is it in a place where people are actually going to use it? And that comes down to sometimes very specific location on which side, which end of the street it might be. Eh, or whether that new development that maybe wants to bring in a farmers' market for its residents, ehm, whether that really does have the footfall and the people who are going to go there." (ST9_NGORepresentative)

Further, it was assumed that FM organisations chose locations based on demand. One NGO representative thought FM organisers would identify locations that did not yet have *"provision" (ST9_NGORepresentative).* Whilst a farmer regularly informed FM organisers if they had heard of demand for a FM in a certain area:

"…definitely if we would come across an area or hear because we've met people from somewhere that say actually, I'd really like, you know, quite often you get people who travel quite far in London to get to some of the good markets and then they're just like 'oh, it would great, why can't you have one near us?', and then if you hear that often enough, it would be stupid not to then go and tell the organisation, 'have you looked at that area?'." (ST12_Farmer)

Others thought that FM organisers selected affluent areas to guarantee economic success of the markets. For example, a member of the LFB stated that guaranteeing economic success of a market stood in contrast to choosing a location in a low-income area. They reported that it was too expensive and took too much commitment to run a stall, and thus not many FMs would want *"to bustle into [deprived areas]" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*. A farmer similarly assumed that FM organisations were looking to locate in affluent areas to guarantee economic success, although emphasised that it was not *"necessarily so that affluent areas work" (ST14_Farmer).*

Secondly, responses focused on FM organisers choosing the most easily accessible locations. Five participants thought FM organisers sought private spaces for their markets due to a lack of available public spaces or due to challenges when renting council-owned spaces. For instance, interviewees felt that private spaces were more readily available than council-owned spaces, as reflected in this comment:

> *"…the biggest problem that people got in setting up farmers' markets, and I know this from [FM Organisation a] and [FM Organisation b], is, is finding the venue. Not so much the location, but the venue. So hence, the reason why quite a few of them now are opening up in school yards, Saturday and Sundays they open up in the school yard. Because the most available ground is being taken for some other things." (ST14_Farmer)*

Being located on privately-owned property was further seen as easier for FM organisations as they were in those cases not bound by council regulations (although this response shows that this policy stakeholder did not know that many FMs operated privately on council-owned property, demonstrating their lack of knowledge of how FMs functioned in London):

> *"…they're held on private property in general. So that's obviously quite good for them, because they operate in a slightly different way to a lot of other for example council-led or other markets. In the sense that they're not constrained by the, you know, some of the regulations around that. Which is very interesting." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)*

6.2.3 Consideration of Equality in Access when Choosing Locations

The below paragraphs lay out responses from participants when directly asked whether equality in access was considered in decisions around location. It further includes responses from participants as to whether they thought FMs located in low-income areas

in London were there based on intentions to create access for lower-income communities. These responses were useful to compare to section 6.2.2, where only one FM organiser mentioned having considered equality in access and and participants from other stakeholder groups did not mention the consideration of equality in access as part of decision making on behalf of FMs.

As in section 6.2.2, ST2 explained that equality in access played an important role for them when choosing location; they re-emphasised how they had changed their mind about setting up a new market, as they felt they did not have enough knowledge about the local community to reach citizens on low incomes in this location:

> *"I actually thought about setting up a farmers' market in [area of London] recently, but I've only lived in [same area of London] for a bit of time, and I haven't got that much access to the community, and I had a real big think about it and I wouldn't. If I did set up one now, I would only I think appeal to more affluent people because I wouldn't have an understanding of who the other people are and how to get access that." (ST2_FMOrganiser)*

Different to section 6.2.2, two additional FM organisers reported that equality in access was a consideration for them when choosing location when directly asked. However, as they did not mention this in the previous section, it did not seem to be a core priority. This included one FM organiser who described their efforts in choosing locations in which there was a "population mix", which included for them "demographics A to Cs", "citizens in social housing", "gay people" and "single people". Thus, according to this FM organiser, they aimed to include lower income citizens in social housing as part of a mixed community, however, did not aim to reach mainly lower income communities as did ST2. The second FM organiser explained how they considered access by planning to offer culturally appropriate food for the Jewish community at a FM they were setting up, considering access for different ethnic populations; however reaching the Jewish community was not mentioned as a driver in choosing the location, but rather an effort to cater to the local community after having made the decision to set up a FM in this location (this FM organiser will therefore not be included as having considered access when choosing location):

> *"Ehm, we're gonna, there's a large Jewish community in [area of London], it's just next to [area of London]. So we're going to try and bring along a local baker that does sort of challah bread and stuff like that. So we're trying to source a local independent*

baker, that, ehm, that is the best. So to bring them along and sort of cater for them. So we're definitely thinking about catering for the local community and the local community's needs…"(ST7_FMOrganiser)

It was also clear from this participant' comments, that they did not choose locations for their FMs to reach low-income citizens:

"But, we're so gentrified in [area of London], sort of if the lower-incomes don't come, then they don't come. But I think there's enough affluence in the areas to not have to worry about that. If that makes sense." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

Within the above responses from FM organisers, some interviewees emphasised their own efforts in aiming to create access for different communities to their markets and contrasted this to a lack of effort by other FM organisations. However, neither of the FM organisers making these statements seemed to prioritise reaching low-income communities (see previous paragraph). For instance, some expressed that they were more conscious of local communities than others:

"But we're definitely, we're definitely conscious of the local community. More than most I'd say" (ST7_FMOrganiser)

There was also critique of other FM organisations setting up FMs in "really gentrified" areas, driven only by economic success:

"…we would never have a market in a, a really gentrified area like Hampstead, or, or other areas…But there are, there are the farmers' markets that are in set areas and you know why they're there." (ST10_FMOrganiser).

In contrast, other FM organisers clearly stated that they did not consider equality in access when making decisions on location. For instance, one FM organiser stated that it was an intentional decision not to set up FMs in very low-income communities. They felt that people in these areas did not feel that FMs were 'for them' and that in their experience FMs were not successful in very low-income areas:

"Ehm, yeah. I mean, I'll be honest. If a location is in a, you know if someone said 'could you run a farmers' market in this area' and it is just, we know it's going to be very kind of low, low-income level, there would be no point. You know because people just won't think, 'this is for us'. We have done, you know, we've done, we've opened markets all over the place and we've kind of seen what works and what doesn't." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

Another FM organiser said that although they had not chosen their location to create access as they chose "*this location, because [they] could have it" (ST5_FMOrganiser),* they made efforts on other levels in creating equality in access, such as offering the use of Healthy Start vouchers at their FM (discussed in more detail in section 6.3).

In the previous section (section 6.2.2), no interviewees from other stakeholder groups mentioned access for different communities as a driver for FM organisers in choosing location. When asked directly, these views remained the same except for one farmer. This farmer thought that equality in access was considered by one FM organisation and differentiated this to other FM organisations who they saw as driven mainly by economic factors such as footfall:

> *"R: you said earlier maybe that you know, organisations when they're setting up locations, they don't really consider access much, so or some do maybe, so why do you think that equality in access is or is not a priority at the different organisations? ST14: I think, I think it should be a priority, but, ehm, the big thing they seemed to look at all the time is footfall. Like ehm, I know like [FM Organisation a], they will, they will survey a place for several weeks or months, to see what footfall crosses the gate and things like that rather than thinking about, and then basing their decisions on that. Whereas, ehm, ehm, somebody like, ehm, the [FM Organisation b) when they set up that, they wanted to, to, ehm, push organic foods, ehm, to the poor. (ST14_Farmer)"*

Comparing this to comments by FM organisers, FM organiser b had stated that the location had not been chosen to increase access for different populations, however they did mention efforts on other levels to increase access such as offering voucher schemes, confirming this farmers' view that they considered equality in access, whilst through a different strategy.

Other farmers, policy stakeholders and NGO representatives did not think equality in access was a consideration when choosing location. They assumed that economic success of FMs was a main driver in choosing location and this was seen as a tension with considering equality in access. This was reflected in comments stating that FM organisations would choose locations which would guarantee an income, which was often not seen as a possibility in lower-income areas:

“a farmers' market in [area of London] for example wouldn’t work. You know, it's one of the poorest communities in London…I don't think there's that many examples of farmers' markets working where they set up exclusively in those areas.” (ST9_NGORepresentative).

“I wouldn't have thought that the, ehm, decisions on access would be, would be high up. Ehm, I think, you know, they're businesses, they, the traders that go there would have to be fairly sure of a reasonable return.” (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)

Similarly, a member of the LFB felt that the presence of FMs in low-income areas was due to business-driven motives, rather than related to any efforts to create access in these communities:

“R: Ehm, but so, some farmers' markets are located in low-income areas in London. Would you think based on your experience this is mainly market driven or, ehm, intentionally aimed at increasing access in diverse communities?

ST16: Ok, well I'm surprised by that. Ehm, my immediate cynical answer on that is, that's probably as a result of a, the organisers of farmers' markets, ehm, having a business-critical issue of struggling to find enough places to be able hold those farmer's markets. Ehm, and so they're going wherever they can…” (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

FMs were further seen to be located in low-income due to gentrification rather than to increase access. Participants highlighted that FMs were serving the new affluent community in these “up and coming” areas:

R: Do you think, ehm, they think about placing it in maybe areas where there are lower-income areas?

“ST11: Some of them do. Because everywhere in London now is an up and coming. [Area of London] was a, was a very, excuse the pun, down-trodden place. Now it's an up and coming and it's quite an expensive place. You know, everywhere is changing. Everywhere is being re, ehm, redefined if you like.” (ST11_Farmer)

Responses and language by policy stakeholders showed that they were unsure whether creating access for different populations had influenced decisions by FM organisers around location, although some had given their views on whether they thought this was considered (see previous paragraph). All three members of the LFB expressed that they were not aware of the underlying intentions of FM organisers when choosing locations for FMs, reflected in this statement:

"R:…some farmers' markets are located in low-income areas in London. And based on your experience, ehm if you can answer this, has this been mainly market-driven or intentionally aimed at increasing access?
ST3: I don't know, I don't know." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

Summary of Section 6.2

FMs were seen as located primarily in affluent areas by most participants across stakeholder groups (this only included one FM organiser). This was seen as related to needing to guarantee economic success for markets and farmers. Perspectives on FMs being located in affluent areas of London seemed to be based mostly on personal experiences or perceptions, as only one participant had referenced previous research on the location of FMs in London. Policy stakeholders showed a lack of knowledge around the location of FMs in London.

According to FM organisers, factors that had determined their choice of location included economic factors, demographics and practical drivers. Only one FM organisation reported having considered equality in access as a driving factor. In line with this, other stakeholder groups also assumed that main factors driving FM organisers were economic success of markets, as well as taking available, often privately-owned spaces. They did not mention equality in access as a driver for choice of location on behalf of FM organisations.

When asked directly whether equality in access had been part of decision-making around location to compare to answers in the previous paragraph, two additional FM organisers stated that this was a consideration for them. However, only for the FM organiser who had mentioned this as driver for choosing location when just asked generally about drivers for choosing of location (see previous paragraph), did this seem to be a priority. The remaining FM organisers clearly stated that equality in access was not a consideration. Participants from other stakeholder groups still assumed that equality in access was not a consideration for FM organisers, with the exception of one farmer. They assumed that geographical access was considered by one FM organisation, while differentiating to other FM organisations. Other stakeholders saw the need to guarantee economic success as the main driver, which was seen as a tension with setting up in low-income areas. Although members of the LFB shared their views, they simultaneously expressed uncertainty

whether equality in access had been considered by FM organisers in decisions around location.

6.3 Perspectives on and Consideration of Economic Access

As laid out in detail in the literature review (section 2.1.2), the price of food forms a determining factor in economic access to food. To explore perspectives on and consideration of economic access, participants were asked several questions around prices at FMs. These included how prices were determined and who made these decisions. They were also asked how they thought prices at FMs compared to other food retail, including supermarkets and street markets, as well as whether prices differed between FMs in different areas. Interview schedules further asked about views on the use of voucher schemes for low-income citizens at FMs. Participants also often brought up the price of food at FMs and food voucher schemes in other contexts in the interviews. Accordingly, section 6.3 contains three subsections: the determination of prices at FMs (6.3.1), perspectives on prices at FMs compared to other food retail (6.3.2), and perspectives on the use of voucher schemes for low-income citizens at FMs (6.3.3).

6.3.1 Determination of Prices of Food at Farmers' Markets

FM organisers and farmers were asked how prices at FMs were determined. Participants from other stakeholder groups were not asked this question, as it had been clear from data presented in Chapter 5 that they did not play a role in these decisions. Understanding how prices were determined at FMs was relevant as a baseline for understanding the consideration of economic access in the governance of FMs.

FM organisers reported that prices at FMs were determined by farmers and stallholders. This was expressed by all FM organisers, as exemplified in this comment:

> *"It's determined by the person on the stall…We leave it up to the individual." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

The majority of FM organisers added that they did not usually get involved in pricing as they described farmers as running their own businesses and determining their own prices. This was expressed for instance as farmers knowing best what prices to charge as they were 'experts in their field':

> *"You know, [farmers] know, they're experts in their field generally. Because it's like if I go to a cheese monger and say, you know, that Stilton looks far too expensive. I don't*

know anything about spark. I know about cheese making, but not, I don't know what he knows or she knows." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

However, at the same time several FM organisers considered possibly investigating prices if customers complained, as reflected here:

"ST4: Oh. We never, never, never get involved in pricing. No, no.

R: Ok, so it's only the farmers who determine the prices?

ST4: Of course, it's their businesses. Yes, yeah. I can't think of where we ever get involved. I'm trying to think of any example at all. No, I mean if a customer complained they thought the price was really expensive, I can't even think of what it might be, you know, whether we would get involved or not. I might query it." (ST4_FMOrganiser)

In contrast to these comments, one FM organiser stated that they did play an active role in determining prices at their FM. This was based on wanting to create economic access for low-income citizens. The interviewee explained that they had negotiated lower prices with several farmers with the goal of creating access for diverse communities:

"…so for instance, [specific farm selling at specific FM],…, they have an understanding that [areas of London] needs cheaper produce, because otherwise [local community] wouldn't be able to access their vegetables, and we've had this constant like battle, not battle, conversation about it." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

The FM organiser further expressed their gratitude in farmers having *"been really open to reducing their prices slightly." (ST2_FMOrganiser).*

In line with comments by FM organisers, farmers spoke of themselves as the sole decision makers on prices and did not mention any intervention on behalf of FM organisers, as reflected in this wording:

"I mean when I make up my pricing,..." (ST15_Farmer)

Within these comments, several farmers spoke about how they charged prices that sustained their livelihoods. This was expressed in some instances as charging "*a fair price" (ST11_Farmer)*. Others described this as basing their prices on their cost of production, and then charging enough money in order to make a living, however without overcharging customers:

"We know what our, well we should know what our cost of production is, so we should know what we need to charge to make a living. And, and, we, I feel we have got no reason to exploit that, because if you exploit that and charge too much, then

you'll eventually lose your customers, so yeah. And if something needs to cost more, let's say you've had bad year on onions as we have had this year, then you explain why they're more expensive this year and people are usually understanding, yeah." (ST18_Farmer)

One farmer spoke about their prices being based on their costs, however emphasised that these prices are often perceived by people as expensive:

"R: So, how are the prices at your stall determined?

ST13: Eh, prices are, we do, we do cost everything. Ehm, people say 'oh your stuff is expensive', we say 'well, it's because we do it on a small scale'…" (ST13_Farmer)

6.3.2 Perspectives on Prices at Farmers' Markets Compared to other Food Retail

Participants were asked in how far they thought prices at FMs compared to other food retail, specifically to supermarkets and London street markets. The comparison to London street markets in questions was based on initial interviews, in which these markets were often mentioned as very accessible for diverse populations by policy stakeholders and NGO representatives. FM organisers and farmers were additionally asked whether prices differed between FMs in different areas. This was asked to understand whether they had lowered prices at FMs in lower-income areas, as this had been a strategy used at FMs in the US (see section 2.3.1). Additionally, participants made price comparisons in other contexts in the interviews. This section begins by describing how participants compared prices at FMs to other food retail. Views are presented across stakeholder groups, as there were no significant differences across the groups. This is followed by themes that emerged as part of these responses.

When comparing prices at FMs to prices at supermarkets, stakeholders had differing views. On the one hand, prices at FMs were seen by several interviewees as more expensive than supermarket prices, as expressed by this farmer:

"Because we're probably a bit, because we're probably more, well more expensive than the supermarkets or the wholesale market. No not, maybe not quite so much the wholesale market but the, the supermarkets, so." (ST11_Farmer)

Some interviewees were more specific and thought this depended on the brand of supermarket. For instance, some saw prices at FMs as more expensive compared to budget supermarkets (Tesco, Sainsburys, Aldi, Lidl), however as equivalent to 'high-end'

supermarkets (e.g. Waitrose) or to 'higher-end' ranges available in supermarkets ('Sainsbury's Finest'):

> *"Well, [FMs are] probably the same as Waitrose, I don't know. I mean I think they're more expensive than Tesco's or Sainsbury's or Aldi or Lidl. Ehm, I think." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

On the other hand, several participants categorised FMs as cheaper than supermarkets. For some, this was only true if one were to compare to the equivalent quality in supermarkets, as in this example:

> *"So coming off the fence, I would say that if you were to look at the same product in a supermarket context, taking into account where it's come from and it's quality, I would say farmers' markets are cheaper." (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

Others thought FMs were cheaper when comparing specifically organic produce. In some cases organic food at FMs was reported to even still be cheaper than conventionally grown food sold at supermarkets, as described by this participant:

> *"I can actually send you all the information on that our prices for organic are really good. So they are highly competitive with organic produce in supermarkets. They're way cheaper from all the main, Sainsbury's, Waitrose, etc. We do price comparisons with them, ehm, we do price comparisons with Whole Foods up the road, ehm, and even with some of the conventional produce and some of the conventional meat actually in supermarkets, our organic produce here at this market is comparable in price, if not occasionally cheaper,…" (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

Confirming this view, a farmer stated that it was "really easy" to sell their organic products at a cheaper price than supermarkets, and again even in some cases at a cheaper price than conventional produce at supermarkets:

> *"I mean I, I will occasionally, we used to do it more regularly, pop into the supermarket and if we were to compare our organic price at a farmers' market versus the organic price in the supermarket, it's really easy to be cheaper. There's always the odd exception but it's really easy. To go to a supermarket and compare our organic price at our farmers' market to a conventional vegetable, eh, isn't always so straightforward, that's often an economy pack of carrots. Ehm, but surprisingly, we are the equivalent or better frequently." (ST18_Farmer)*

When compared to London street markets, prices at FMs were seen by participants as more expensive. For instance, one participant referenced a report which had stated that

street markets in London were a *"lot cheaper" (ST9_NGORepresentative)* than FMs. Similarly, a farmer estimated that street markets sold fruit and veg for "maybe half the price":

> *"I'm also aware that, eh, that a lot of people see farmers' markets as expensive, and they probably, they no doubtably are relatively, because you can probably go to a, a High Street market and there will be someone selling fruit and veg. And it won't be the producer of course, and he'll be selling it at a fraction of the price you can. So you could buy your fruit and veg there, a fraction is unfair, maybe half the price,…" (ST18_Farmer)*

Slightly contradicting these views, one of the farmers had reported selling their produce both at London street markets and FMs for the same prices.

When comparing prices across FMs in London, seven participants coherently stated that farmers charged the same prices across different FMs in London, as well as across FM organisations (for farmers selling across different FM organisations):

> *"R: Ehm, and do your prices differ between the different farmers' markets?*
> *ST14: No, no it's the same prices throughout." (ST14_Farmer)*

One participant added in this context that farmers kept prices fair for their customers across the markets:

> *"you'll find a lot of the farmers' markets work with the same, so a lot of the farmers work with the, a lot you'll know, most of the farmers. So there is a similar of price. And farmers are not stupid. Supply and demand. If they charge too much, they're not gonna. They're an independent business, so they're going to try and not charge too much, but they have to charge what they have to charge." (ST7_FMOrganiser)*

All the above statements about the price of food at FMs seemed to be based primarily on personal guesses and experiences. Specifically policy stakeholders used language indicating this. For example, a member of the LFB explained that it was "difficult" to make a statement about prices and were basing this on their own experience which they could not quite remember (although they had made comparisons about prices above):

> *"I mean it's quite difficult. I can't remember the last time I shopped at a farmers' market, but historically, ehm yeah. I was going to say that farmers' markets are m, I wouldn't say that farmers' markets are more expensive,…"(ST3_LondonFoodBoard)*

Other policy stakeholders used phrases such as *"I think…" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)* and *"I would think, and this is based on ignorance,…" (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)* when making comments on prices at FMs. Only three interviewees referenced having measured prices themselves or referred to previous 'evidence' on price comparisons. This included one FM organiser who referenced their own regular *"price comparisons" (ST5_FMOrganiser)* with supermarkets, as well as a farmer who would *"pop into the supermarket" (ST18_Farmer)* to compare their prices. Both referred to organic produce at FMs as cheaper than organic produce, and in some cases even non-organic produce, at supermarkets. Further, one NGO representative based their responses on a report performed by the New Economics Foundation comparing prices at FMs, street markets and supermarkets. According to the participant, it had found prices at FMs to be equivalent with 'higher ranges' at certain supermarkets, while more expensive than street markets.

Three main themes emerged in the above comments on prices. Firstly, more than half of participants spoke about prices at FMs reflecting "fair" or "true" prices. This included mostly FM organisers and farmers, but also participants from other stakeholder groups. For instance, one FM organiser was of the view that prices at FMs reflected the "true price of a product", however they did not specify further what exactly they meant by this:

> *"…obviously farmers' markets represent the true price of a product. And nothing else, nowhere else does. And therefore, all the time we will be told 'oh, they're expensive, farmers' markets are expensive'. And it's really patronising sometimes saying back to somebody well actually they're not. And this is why." (ST4_FMOrganiser).*

Many interviewees specified 'true' prices as meaning fair for farmers and farm workers. These sentiments were expressed by one FM organiser as *"food can't be cheap. And we can't make it cheap, because if we made it cheap, we couldn't pay the farmers the fair prices, which enable them to pay their workers fair prices and offer them sufficient benefits…" (ST5_FMOrganiser)*. Echoing this view, a farmer shared that the price they charged at FMs enabled a fair wage for them and their employees:

> *"R:…And you think with farmers' markets then that's different? The farmer actually gets a fair price?*
>
> *ST11: Yes, because he's charging what he feels is a fair price. So they're getting a fair price for their, they can pay their, their employees a fair price." (ST11_Farmer)*

Prices at FMs were also seen as fair for farmers specifically in comparison to supermarkets. For example, one farmer felt that prices at FMs were more expensive than supermarkets,

as at supermarkets the *“man at the bottom doesn’t get what he deserves” (ST11_Farmer).* Most farmers had stated that selling at FMs enabled them to charge fair prices, however shared that in spite of these better prices, they still struggled to secure their livelihoods. This was reflected in the following comment, in which a farmer described that although they charged “real costs”, they were living a “hard existence”:

> *“I feel those are real costs. It's yeah, it's a tricky one. I mean, it's very difficult to stand there and say 'well, actually this is the real, this is the real cost' and I'm still like not, you know, I'm still living in a caravan not really making any money, still in debt and struggling, you know, might not have a crop one year, you might not be able to sell it, you have a problem, you know, it's, it's a hard, a hard existence.” (ST12_Farmer)*

Further reflecting this struggle, a farmer expressed that they would not be able to afford different foods at FMs where they were selling fruits and vegetables, demonstrating that even when receiving “fair” prices for their own produce, this did not necessarily provide a sufficient income to afford products sold by other farmers receiving ‘fair’ prices:

> *“I would find it difficult to buy, live off say bread or meat or fish or cheese that was sold at farmers’ markets because basically I’m not as wealthy as my customers. So the interesting question is, who gets to benefit? You know, what population of London is benefitting?” (ST15_Farmer)*

One farmer equated the ‘true’ price of food at FMs to incorporating all environmental and social costs of food production, which included securing livelihoods for farmers. They felt that cheaper fruit and vegetables at street markets did not incorporate sufficient wages in production, nor protection of water resources and soil:

> *“I'm also aware that, eh, that a lot of people see farmers' markets as expensive, and they probably, they no doubtably are relatively, because you can probably go to a, a High Street market and there will be someone selling fruit and veg. And it won't be the producer of course, and he'll be selling it at a fraction of the price you can. So you could buy your fruit and veg there, a fraction is unfair, maybe half the price, and prepare that. And, of course, you can eat reasonably healthily that way. The, it's all about the hidden costs in our food production. Whether that's a hidden social cost, that, that, that fruit and veg that that person has bought has been imported let's say, the onions been produced somewhere else, where wages are lower, ehm, the local water resources might be exploited, ehm, differently to how they are in the UK. And, eh, so how do you quantify that, you can't. But what I do know is that, somewhere within society, whether it's this generation, or next, we're going to have to pay for*

that. Ehm, so I guess we're, we're trying to, with our production system, we're trying to keep all the cost for this current generation, eh, here and now. And, so what you're paying for, you're covering all the, the, you don't have to clean up any soil or any water course, because of the way we've produced it." (ST18_Farmer)

Policy stakeholders also raised farmers' livelihoods when speaking about prices at FMs, however their voices were more sceptical. For instance, one member of the LFB spoke about farmers needing to charge *"high prices" (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)* to make the travel to London worthwhile, however they did not use words such as 'fair' or 'true' to describe these prices. Another member of the LFB questioned whether farmers were adjusting prices based on what people were willing to pay, possibly resulting in extremely high profit margins for farmers:

"Well, if at a farmers' market, it is genuinely a farmer selling their produce, then, then that is a fact, that's a real price. Ehm, ehm, but I mean, slightly, what do you mean by real prices? Is the price determined by the input cost, or is it determined by what the market will bear?...you know, because if, if in [area of London] people are prepared to pay ridiculous prices for their asparagus, then that's what the price of asparagus is. Ehm, and, eh. Regardless of the fact that the farmer is making four hundred percent profit on it,…"(ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

In contrast, one member of the LMB echoed the views of FM organisers and farmers that selling at FMs provided an opportunity for farmers to charge prices *"he can afford to or she can afford to, ehm, live from" (ST8_LondonMarketsBoard).*

A second theme revolved around prices being related to the quality and type of food at FMs. The quality of products at FMs was seen by some participants as higher compared to other food retail, although participants did not usually specifically define what they meant by quality. For some, higher quality at FMs was seen as a reason for higher prices, as described by a member of the LMB:

"I suppose the quality of the produce sold there, would probably justify higher prices, if I can put it that way." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)

Also a farmer saw products at FMs as "premium" quality, with people paying *"premium prices" (ST14_Farmer).* On the other hand, FMs were seen as offering high quality for lower prices when comparing to the same quality at other food retailers. Similarly, several FM organisers and farmers did not think that products sold at FMs could be found at supermarkets, and thus a price comparison did not make sense:

"...So I think it's complete, I think it's chalk and cheese. The supermarket, the supermarkets, unless you go high-end, don't offer anything that we've got. So you can't compare the prices." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

Participants also related prices to the type of food at FMs. Several (four) participants, including one FM organiser, two policy stakeholders and one NGO representative, talked about only specific products being more expensive at FMs compared to other food retail, mostly referring to bread as an example:

"...But there is this perception about farmers' market prices being more, some produce is more, I think bread would be an example...(ST9_NGORepresentative)

Thirdly, several participants highlighted a societal perception in the UK of FMs being expensive. Three policy stakeholders mentioned FMs having this reputation, as reflected in these comments:

"And in London, I would say that there is a perception, that is grounded for me in reality, that farmers' markets are priced differently…" (ST3_LondonFoodBoard)

"...in thinking about and reflecting knowing I was coming and talking to you about this subject, ehm, it struck me as really perverse, that my default position and thinking is that farmers' markets are totally synonymous with, ehm, wealthy individuals accessing high quality, artisan food, ehm, at a premium price point, ehm, because of the provenance and quality of that food." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

"R: Do you think this is kind of based, this notion of that the vegetables and fruits are more expensive on evidence and research or is it more the idea that farmers' markets are more expensive?

ST1: Well, probably the later. Ehm, probably the later." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

Within these comments on perception, stakeholders either agreed or not, in line with their views on prices. However, as described above, participants agreeing with this perception had not referenced any evidence on prices, demonstrating that their own views were also perceptions. Participants from other stakeholder groups also mentioned this perception of FMs in UK society. Some agreed with this in line with their views that FMs were more expensive than street markets (which had been grounded in evidence):

"I'm also aware that, eh, that a lot of people see farmers' markets as expensive, and they probably, they no doubtably are relatively, because you can probably go to a, a High Street market and there will be someone selling fruit and veg. And it won't be

the producer of course, and he'll be selling it at a fraction of the price you can." (ST18_Farmer)

On the other hand, others thought this was just a "horrible label" affecting access to FMs. They hoped to explain to people that these perceptions were not based on reality:

"But ehm, you know things like going into schools and talking to children about the importance of farmers' markets and trying to speak to parents about the fact that it's not as expensive as you might believe, 'cause there's a horrible label on farmers' markets that they're crazy expensive. So people avoid them." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

6.3.3 Perspectives on and Use of Food Voucher Schemes at Farmers' Markets

One strategy to address economic inequalities in access to food, however minor, is providing food vouchers for low-income citizens. As discussed in the literature review in section 2.3.1.1, this was one of the main strategies used at FMs and supported by urban food policy in the US. Two food voucher schemes for low-income citizens exist in the UK, Healthy Start vouchers funded by the UK government and Rose vouchers run by the Alexandra Rose charity. As part of exploring the consideration of economic equality in access, participants were asked what their views were on the use of these vouchers or other subsidies at FMs to increase economic access for low-income citizens. This section first describes the historic context of the development of the Rose voucher scheme as described by interviewees to provide essential context. This is followed by participants' responses around using voucher schemes at FMs. Perspectives from FM organisers and farmers are presented first, followed by perspectives from policy stakeholders and NGO representatives.

Historical Context of Rose Voucher Scheme

Several stakeholders shared their perspective on the development of the Rose voucher scheme in the UK. The Rose voucher scheme was initiated in 2014. According to participants, the original aim was to model the voucher scheme on FM incentive schemes run by non-profits in the US (as discussed in the literature review section 2.3.1.1). A representative from a non-profit in the US offering these vouchers had visited the UK to discuss with the LFB and the Alexandra Rose charity the development of such a scheme in the UK. According to a member of the LFB, there was initial excitement at the LFB about bringing a similar scheme to the UK partnering with FMs. A food consultancy was asked to provide evidence on how the scheme could be rolled out in the UK. Findings from this

research however concluded that too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs existed in the UK to improve access to fruits and vegetables for citizens through this voucher scheme. Consequently, the LFB and the Alexandra Rose charity made the decision to roll out the scheme primarily partnering with London street markets rather than FMs. Only one FM in London was included in the pilot study. According to participants in this study, two FMs in London were offering the redemption of Rose vouchers during data collection in 2017. For street markets and FMs to be able to sign up to the scheme, local councils in London need to fund part of the scheme in their borough, demonstrating a dependency of FM organisers on local councils if wanting to offer the redemption of Rose vouchers at their markets.

Perspectives from FM organisers and Farmers

The acceptance of food voucher schemes was a strategy used among some FM organisers in London to increase economic access at their markets. According to FM organisers, only one FM organisation was accepting vouchers, while a second had offered this in the past. In addition, most FM organisers had a positive stance towards offering vouchers. For instance, one FM organiser, who had offered the use Healthy Start vouchers at their FMs in the past, still thought *"it's a really good, good thing to do" (ST4_FMOrganiser)*. Another FM organiser, who was currently accepting Healthy Start vouchers at their markets also felt it was important:

> *"…we can't change the socioeconomic conditions that prevail in this country, but we can do things to tweak some of the things we do,…, ehm, we accept Healthy Start vouchers," (ST5_FMOrganiser)*

A third participant similarly felt that it was important to provide vouchers for low-income citizens and had been thinking about how they could disseminate vouchers for FMs in schools. They saw vouchers as *"extra things to help the community" (ST2_FMOrganiser).* Slightly diverging from these views, a fourth FM organiser echoed that vouchers would be a good idea, however saw them more as something that would support markets rather than citizens, presumably by increasing the spending at markets:

> *"Well, I think anything that can be done to help and promote farmers' markets, and, and, you know, fine food markets should be done." (ST10_FMOrganiser)*

Only one FM organiser did not think that vouchers were a solution, providing the reasoning that it was beyond FMs to solve the fact that people on low incomes did not have the financial means to afford food:

"…something should be done to give low-income citizens more money so they can afford food, really. I think, I don't think it's got anything to do with us. I think it's a shame that people of a low-income can't come to a farmers' market and taste what actual real food is like." (ST7_FMOrganiser)

Participants from other stakeholder groups confirmed the initiative of FM organisers in offering vouchers at FMs. For instance, an NGO representative explained how several FM organisers in London had contacted the Alexandra Rose charity wanting to offer Rose vouchers at their FMs, however were held back in some cases as local councils were not always funding the scheme in their boroughs:

"…so we might get approached by, ehm, you know, a farmers' market in [area of London] for example or [area of London]. And they say, 'oh we've heard about your project, it would be really if it worked here' and we generally say 'yeah we would love to work in your area too but we're not funded to in this moment. The way to get that set up would be to convince your local authority to commission us to come and deliver the scheme." (ST6_NGORepresentative)

Further, two farmers also mentioned how individual FM organisers had promoted the use of the Healthy Start scheme at their markets, as reflected here:

"Well, I think I'd already signed up to [Healthy Start voucher scheme]. And then, then [FM Organisation] was sort of promoting it, promoting it as an option." (ST15_Farmer)

In spite of efforts by FM organisers to accept these vouchers schemes, several farmers stated that voucher schemes were rarely used by citizens at FMs. Although one FM organisation had accepted Healthy Start vouchers in the past, and one FM organisation was still accepting them, several farmers referred to not having seen people use Healthy Start vouchers much in recent times at these specific two FMs:

"I seem to remember at one stage there was a voucher scheme that we, we were accepting at [specific FM in London]. Ehm, whether it stopped or whether it's just become less frequent, and ehm, we would hand that in to [FM organisation] as the organiser and we got cash and they, and they, and they reimbursed it. I can't remember how and when that happened so perhaps speak to them." (ST18_Farmer)

Interview data showed that even if promoted by FM organisers, farmers ultimately decided whether to offer the use of vouchers to customers. Their views were thus relevant to

understand decisions around the use of vouchers schemes at FMs. Farmers differed in their views towards offering vouchers for low-income citizens. Some farmers had shown initiative in offering vouchers or showed an interest in this strategy. For instance, two farmers had accepted Healthy Start vouchers at different FMs, in some cases resulting from the promotion of vouchers by FM organisers and in some cases based on their own initiative. They felt vouchers were beneficial to create access for low-income citizens at FMs:

> *[speaking about a voucher scheme they had participated in at a FM] "That, that was a great idea and I would encourage it. Ehm, eh, yeah, I think it would be a nice thing for a farmers' market to be able to facilitate people who feel they can't go somehow." (ST18_Farmer)*

In contrast, some farmers were of the view that vouchers *"we not a solution as such." (ST11_Farmer)*. Others gave more neutral comments, such as that the issue of vouchers had never come up.

In spite of efforts and willingness, FM organisers and farmers spoke about multiple challenges and barriers of offering vouchers at FMs. On the hand, interviewees mentioned logistical and practical barriers. This included FM organisers speaking about farmers needing to remember to bring signs to advertise the acceptance of vouchers, which were often forgotten. Further, farmers (including both farmers who had and who had not previously accepted voucher schemes) spoke about how using the vouchers complicated the selling of their products and that it was difficult to reclaim the money, using phrases such as that it was "clunky". These views are reflected in these comments:

> *"And I have to tell you it's quite difficult to reclaim the money from Healthy Start, you know, and then there's problems with it… so I don't know whether it's because it's just so clunky that it didn't appeal to anybody or what exactly." (ST15_Farmer)*
>
> *"Anything like [vouchers] complicates the selling at markets. Whether it's tokens or whatever. Ehm, it just needs to be kept simple really. Ehm, I mean there's nothing stopping individual markets doing that I suppose if they want to…" (ST13_Farmer)*

A second challenge mentioned among FM organisers was seen in a lack of external support for offering voucher schemes at FMs. One FM organiser, who had offered the Healthy Start scheme in the past, stated that the organising body for the Healthy Start scheme had made

it difficult to offer the vouchers at FMs, which had led the FM organiser to ultimately give up accepting these vouchers, as shown in this comment:

> *"And then the [Healthy Start] vouchers, it's very bureaucratic when I first phoned them, to find out if we could you know have signs up on the stalls, you know that that's accepted here. They wanted to know where your shop is, we don't have a shop. You know, they, they're not set up for markets or for individual farmers. And then, I mean what we wanted was to be included in the kind of directories so people knew that they could redeem their vouchers with us. And again, it's just, it was painful. Really hard work and we kind of gave up on it in the end." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

The same FM organiser further spoke of a lack of support on behalf of the LFB in offering Rose vouchers at FMs. They reported that they had shown enthusiasm to the LFB in offering these vouchers at their FMs when the scheme was developed (see history above). However, the LFB was described as being unsupportive, viewing FMs as too expensive:

> *"I was in on, you know, the initial meetings with Alexandra Rose, myself, with [member of the London Food Board] and, and [FM organisation in London]. And, I mean that's when [member of the London Food Board] said to me, ehm, 'oh farmers' markets are expensive'. And I was just really, you know, I found that really annoying and unhelpful. And that's when I just thought, ok, you're not going to be interested in working with us then…I would have been really happy if they were able to have them, to pilot them on one of our markets. I think it would have been a brilliant thing." (ST4_FMOrganiser)*

A third challenge was seen in vouchers not providing enough value for use at FMs. This was expressed by an FM organiser, who was still accepting Healthy Start vouchers at their FMs. They felt that people on Healthy Start vouchers would most probably rather choose to use the vouchers at London street markets, where the produce was cheaper:

> *"R: Do you think this is a good thing to, ehm, provide subsidies or vouchers for low-income citizens?*
>
> *ST5: Yes. But it's really difficult. Because obviously if you're getting Health Start vouchers, you want to get the maximum value for those vouchers. So you would be hard pressed to be able to come here and get as much, just in sheer terms of sheer volume. So obviously logically you're going to go somewhere where you can get even cheaper produce. So people who are on a low-income, are obviously on a very low-income to the extent that they qualify for Healthy Start vouchers, are not going to*

come usually and shop at this market. Because they can get, probably by buying at street markets or other venues, ehm, where those vouchers are accepted, they can actually obviously get more produce for their money." (ST5_FMOrganiser)

Lastly, one FM organiser (who wanted to offer the use of voucher schemes but did not know which ones existed) felt hesitant to convince farmers to accept vouchers, as the market was already struggling to survive. However, it was not clear whether the FM organiser saw a challenge in farmers making extra efforts when they were already struggling or whether the FM organiser thought using vouchers meant that farmers would receive less money. In the latter case, they presumably did not know that farmers would be reimbursed for the vouchers:

"R:…and do you think anything else should be done such as you know providing vouchers or subsidies for low-income citizens?
ST2: Yes, I do. I hundred percent do…But the difficulty with that that we're having at the moment when we're planning or thinking about it is we have to have all traders and farmers on side. And they have to agree to this discount, and they're struggling here at the moment. So without them doing really well, trying to get them on board to do extra things to help the community is quite difficult. More a challenge." (ST2_FMOrganiser)

Perspectives from Policy Stakeholders and NGO Representatives

Members of the LFB, LMB and one NGO representative mostly stated critical views towards the use of voucher schemes at FMs. For instance, some interviewees stated that voucher schemes would not work at FMs or were not necessary for FMs, the latter reflected in this response:

"If we're talking about the experiential, more experiential, ehm, eh, ehm, high-welfare, high cost, high quality, eh, type of farmers' market, then no, absolutely not. I don't see any reason why, ehm, I don't see why everybody should be able to afford to go to those." (ST16_LondonFoodBoard)

A member of the LMB felt that access to FMs for low-income citizens was *"a big issue, you wouldn't just do it by you know, having a book of vouchers." (ST17_LondonMarketsBoard)*, but at same time thought it was an "interesting" idea. However in contrast, one member of the LMB was of the view that offering the redemption of vouchers at FMs was a good idea. They felt strongly about vouchers being one of several *"means of enabling things to be fairer." (ST8_LondonMarketsBoard)*.

When exploring reasons for this critical stance, a theme emerged around too many barriers existing for people using food vouchers to access FMs. Comments came mainly from one member of the LFB and one NGO representative, who both referenced the research that had been conducted during the development of the Rose voucher scheme (see historical context at beginning of section 6.3.3). A first barrier mentioned by policy stakeholders was the geographical location of FMs. Members of the LFB thought that FMs were not located in areas where people lived who were receiving Healthy Start and Rose vouchers, as reflected in these comments:

> *"R: Yeah, [Alexandra Rose vouchers are] not used for farmers' markets?*
> *ST1: Hasn't worked yet, we haven't had the mechanism, they haven't been in quite the right places…And the reason why it hasn't been done, is because they aren't everywhere. The farmers' markets aren't in the areas, where people are on Early Start [meaning Healthy Start], and that's it really." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

One NGO representative similarly referred to the geographical distribution of FMs as one of the reasons why Rose vouchers were very rarely offered or used at FMs in London. Referencing the research performed for the Rose voucher scheme (see historical context at beginning of section 6.3.3), they explained that FMs were not located conveniently for people living in low-income areas:

> *"…the findings from their research which said that farmers' markets aren't as numerous as they are in the United States, that they often, that they're not in low-income areas,…" (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

Secondly, vouchers were not seen as providing sufficient value to be used at FMs. Prices at FMs were seen as too high for it to be worth using the vouchers at FMs; a three-pound voucher would not buy very much food according to policy stakeholders and NGO representatives:

> *"…and that the vegetables themselves were like a lot more expensive so therefore your extra three quid weren't going to go very far." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*
> *"If you have three Rose vouchers a week, three pounds worth of vouchers, you're gonna get a couple of items at a farmers' market or a couple of bags at that street market stand." (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

The NGO representative added that the value of vouchers would need to at least double for them to be useful at FMs. They gave the example of the US where vouchers schemes at

FMs were successful due to their higher value, enabling citizens to purchase enough produce at FMs:

> *"Ehm, if we were to do a project with farmers' markets in the UK that was really effective, we would have to at least double the value of the, of the voucher that we give families. But possibly more. And in the United States, because the value of, the value of fruit and veg is much bigger, ehm, I think families are getting something like, I don't know exact numbers but they are getting things like 26 pounds a week in vouchers. And that makes sense, if you put 26 pounds and you go and redeem them at a farmers' market, fine. You can get a lot for 26 dollars. 26 dollars is not 26 pounds. But 26 dollars at a farmers' market in the US, yeah, you're going to walk away with a lot of produce." (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

A third barrier mentioned by policy stakeholders and NGO representatives was that they saw the space of FMs as lacking cultural and socioeconomic diversity. For instance, a member of the LFB assumed that people on low incomes, using Healthy Start vouchers, would feel uncomfortable at a UK FM, as these were spaces frequented by affluent citizens:

> *"And that, I mean it's just culturally, [a farmers' market] would not be the sort of place, they're really posh, you know, the Marylebone, you know they're full of people who drive four by fours and have a large house in the country, and probably you know live in houses that are over a million quid. You know, they're not, and they're bankers, I mean to come along as unem, you know a person who is on, you've got to be very poor in this country to be on Early Start [meaning Healthy Start], you've got to hit every single measure of poverty and deprivation. And to come along, and to try to do a deal to get an extra three quid, there's just no way. The divide is just, you just can't do it." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)*

Another participant spoke about people from different ethnic backgrounds feeling excluded. They referred to FMs as middle-class "white" environments which were not culturally accessible to families on Rose vouchers, who were to a majority from an ethnic minority background:

> *"…and farmers' markets just had, came with lots of barriers…their cultural barriers, you know, middle-class white environment, ehm, where you're trying to get predominantly working class. About 60, in London around about 60, 70% of our families are from ethnic minority communities. If you've been to a farmers' market in London, ehm, it's not a diverse environment. So there's that kind of, you know how do*

you make those places culturally well accessible to a diverse community?" (ST6_NGORepresentative)

Emphasising this point further, referencing the research conducted for the development of the Rose voucher scheme, the same participant quoted women who were on Healthy Start vouchers feeling excluded, as well as that FMs did not provide the appropriate foods for them:

"we wouldn't use farmers' markets, we wouldn't feel culturally welcomed, you know it doesn't seem like an environment that we would shop in. But we do use local street markets and it has the produce that has, that has got the cultural fit for us…" (ST6_NGORepresentative)

Due to the above described geographic, economic and cultural barriers, London street markets were seen within policy as favourable to FMs for people using food vouchers. According to a member of the LFB, people felt more comfortable shopping at London street markets and it was therefore not worth supporting and promoting the use of vouchers at FMs:

"I mean you could spend a year or two trying to persuade one farmers' market in somewhere smart to [accept vouchers], and still you might only get one person who goes. I mean is that worth it, no. […] And you know people know [specific London street market] now, and they're comfortable about coming there, and they don't feel embarrassed about it." (ST1_LondonFoodBoard)

Local councils were also described as wanting to partner with London street markets rather than FMs when funding the Rose voucher scheme in their boroughs:

"…at the moment the local authorities who are getting engaged, really, really are saying this is really a great scheme for public health outcomes of increasing consumption of healthy food. But they're driving people to use [the] vegetable markets so […] local authorities [are not] saying come here and work with us with our farmers' market. They generally say come here and work with our traditional markets and our community food projects." (ST6_NGORepresentative)

A participant further reported that people mainly used London street markets for redeeming their vouchers and that vouchers were very rarely used at the few FMs where they were offered, supporting the perspective that people found it easier to access London street markets:

"And you know, we've highlighted the possibility to redeem vouchers in these [FMs] and families still choose to go to traditional markets." (ST6_NGORepresentative)

In spite of the barriers mentioned above and that vouchers were very seldom used at FMs, the NGO representative felt that partnering voucher schemes with FMs was however desirable for the future. Their reasoning was based on the importance of addressing access to healthy food while supporting sustainable, regional production. However, they stated that this was dependent on the willingness of funders, including *"local authorities, Mayor of London, GLA" (ST6_NGORepresentative)* who, as shown above, were often focused on partnering voucher schemes mainly with London street markets. These sentiments are reflected in this comment:

> *"Ehm, so I really hope that that ehm, and farmers' markets could play a part of that, equity, especially if somebody would […] fund [Rose vouchers], you know give [Alexandra Rose charity] a lot of money to run a voucher scheme for low-income families to access a farmers' market or an organic box scheme or whatever it might be. Ehm, then that would be, that would be excellent. Because it would be one way of improving the equity of London's food system and at the same time supporting small, sustainable, ehm, rural, ehm, and sustainable healthy food production in London's rural hinterland, which is you know, that's the perfect holistic, you know, circular economy that [one] would love to be able to create." (ST6_NGORepresentative)*

Summary of Section 6.3

FM organisers and farmers stated that prices at FMs were determined by farmers, which were described by farmers as providing sufficient livelihoods. In most cases, FM organisers did not interfere in prices, however as part of aiming to increase access for lower-income citizens at their FM, one FM organiser had negotiated with farmers to lower their prices.

Views on prices at FM compared to other food retail differed among participants. Participants agreed that prices at FMs were more expensive than at London street markets, while in comparison to supermarkets views were mixed. Only two participants had conducted actual price comparisons, which showed FM prices as competitive with supermarkets. Prices were seen by FM organisers and farmers as 'true' prices, mainly related to enabling livelihoods for farmers and their employees. Participants also highlighted a societal perception in the UK of FMs being expensive; for some this was justified, for others not.

Two FM organisers in London had offered the use of food vouchers at their FMs to increase economic access. In addition, the majority was positive towards using this strategy. Both FM organisers and farmers however spoke about the challenges associated with accepting voucher schemes at FMs, which included logistical difficulties, a lack of external support by the Healthy Start scheme and the LFB, insufficient value of vouchers, as well as not wanting to ask farmers who were already struggling. Policy stakeholders and NGO representatives were mostly critical towards the use of voucher schemes at FMs. They felt that too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers for people on voucher schemes existed for vouchers to be effective. Supporting the use of vouchers at London street markets were seen as a more effective strategy to increase access to healthy food for low-income citizens in policy.

6.4 Chapter 6 Summary and Overarching Themes

Chapter 6 contributed to objective 3 and 4 of RQ2, as part of RQ2 exploring how equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs, and how was this linked to urban food policy (see table 3 section 3.1). The data were presented along general perspectives on access, as well as more specifically along geographical and economic access, while guided by a governance framework focusing on actors, their values, governance instruments and stakeholders' actions within these dimensions of access.

Summarising, this chapter began by presenting participants' general perspectives on equality in access to FMs (section 6.1). This was presented along their views on who FMs were aimed at, the diversity of clientele at FMs, the consideration of equality in access by FM organisers and in urban food policy, and whether creating equality in access was important in the context of FMs. This showed that FMs were seen to be aimed at middle-class or more affluent people across stakeholder groups. FM organisers saw their FMs as diverse spaces, often contrasting this to other FMs. Policy makers felt that FMs were not diverse spaces, and thought that economic, geographic and cultural barriers were affecting diversity negatively. By some, this was seen as dependent on individual FMs and FM organisations. Most FM organisers stated that they considered equality in access in their decision making. Farmers and policy makers were uncertain whether FM organisers considered equality in access, however assumed that economic success for markets and farmers took precedence. Policy stakeholders further spoke about how FMs were not linked to addressing inequalities in urban food policy, with reasons including their location

in affluent areas and their main purpose of supporting farmers. The majority of FM organisers expressed that creating equality in access to FMs was important, however highlighted a tension with ensuring livelihoods of farmers. Policy makers differed in their views on whether creating equality in access was important, with some seeing this as not important due to the purpose of FMs being to support farmers or that FMs in London offered mainly 'fancy' food.

Chapter 6 then presented the perspectives on and the consideration of geographical access to FMs (section 6.2). This was presented through views on location of FMs in London and around how locations for FMs were chosen by FM organisers. FMs were seen across stakeholder groups to be located mostly in affluent areas. These views seemed to be based mostly on personal perceptions; also policy stakeholders showed a lack of knowledge around the location of FMs in London. When asked what factors influenced choice around location, only one FM organiser stated that creating geographical access for low-income communities was a priority for choosing locations in their future decisions (they had not chosen their current location themselves). Other FM organisers said that main factors influencing the choice of location involved economic factors, demographics and practical drivers. Other stakeholders similarly assumed that main factors driving FM organisers were economic success of markets and needing to take scarcely available spaces. When asked directly whether equality in access was a consideration when choosing location, two additional FM organisers stated that it was an influencing factor for them. However, as they had not previously mentioned this and based on their responses, it did not seem to be a priority for them. Some FM organisers additionally differentiated themselves from other FM organisers as making more effort in creating access. Other FM organisers clearly stated that geographical access was not a consideration. Other interviewees assumed equality in access was generally not a consideration, although one farmer differentiated between FM organisations. Policy stakeholders expressed uncertainty around whether FM organisers considered equality in access when making decisions around locations for FMs.

Lastly, this chapter presented perspectives on and consideration of economic access to FMs (section 6.3). This was explored through how prices were determined at FMs, how participants compared prices at FMs to other food retail, as well as through participants' perspectives on using food voucher schemes at FMs. The data showed that farmers set their prices at FMs according to how much they needed to charge to make a sufficient

livelihood. One FM organiser stated that they had asked farmers to lower prices to create economic access for lower income citizens. Across stakeholder groups, views on prices at FMs compared to prices at supermarkets were mixed, while they were seen by most as more expensive compared to London street markets. However, only two participants had conducted comparisons themselves or provided evidence for their comments on prices. Unrelated to whether FMs were more expensive or not, FM organisers and farmers viewed prices at FMs as 'true' prices, related mainly to enabling livelihoods for farmers and farm staff. Policy stakeholders agreed that farmers received higher prices at FMs, however did not frame these prices as 'true'. Two FM organisers had at some point offered the use of food vouchers at their markets (only one was still offering this at the time of interviews). Most other FM organisers were willing to offer vouchers at their markets. However, FM organisers and farmers spoke about multiple barriers in offering vouchers, including a lack of external support. Policy stakeholders did not support these schemes at FMs as they felt too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs existed for people using food voucher schemes.

Four overarching themes emerged across the data presented in Chapter 6.

First of all, the consideration of geographical, economic and cultural equality in access was mainly dependent on individual FM organisations and differed across them. Some FM organisers employed strategies to address different dimensions of access. This was reflected in the following data: Although the majority of FM organisers stated having considered equality in access and expressed that it was important in the context of FMs (see section 6.1), only three FM organisers said they considered geographical access when choosing locations. This involved different strategies: One FM organiser stated that they aimed to prioritise reaching low-income communities when setting up future FMs. A second FM organiser reported setting up in mixed communities which included people in social housing. The third FM organiser explained that they aimed to offer culturally appropriate food for different communities in which they set up FMs, including challah bread and halal meat. Each FM organiser additionally differentiated themselves as making more effort in creating equality in access than other FM organisations (see findings section 6.2), reflecting how each FM acted independently and based on their own values and beliefs. Other stakeholder groups also thought there were differences between FM organisations in the consideration of equality in access (see section 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). Some

FM organisers employed strategies to increase economic access. One FM organiser had asked farmers to lower their prices, while another was offering the use of food voucher schemes at their FMs. One additional FM organisation had previously accepted food vouchers but was no longer providing this option. In the case of vouchers, farmers ultimately made decisions whether to accept voucher schemes for their produce, even if FMs promoted them, demonstrating a dependency on farmers as well in taking action towards economic access for low-income citizens (see section 6.3).

Secondly, creating equality in access was not a principal priority for the majority of FM organisations. A main reason provided by FM organisers was a tension between creating geographical and economic access for low-income citizens and securing economic success of markets and livelihoods for farmers. This was evidenced by the following data: The majority of FM organisers stated that creating equality in access to FMs was important, however in this context mentioned a tension between the consideration of access and ensuring livelihoods of farmers (see section 6.1). Although most FM organisers reported that they considered equality in access (see section 6.1), only few actually employed strategies to increase access. When asked about factors that influenced location, equality in access was only mentioned by one FM organiser, while others mentioned keeping markets and farmers in business as a main driver (see section 6.2). When asked more directly whether equality in access played a role in decision making around location, only two additional FM organisers stated that creating geographical access was an influencing factor. However, this seemed a priority only for the FM organiser who had mentioned it without prompting. Other FM organisers clearly stated that this was not a priority and in some cases directly contrasted setting up in low-income areas with securing economic success for markets and farmers (see section 6.2). There was also a tension seen with economic access and securing livelihoods for farmers. FM organisers and farmers referred to prices at FMs as ‘true’ prices, related mainly to enabling livelihoods for farmers and farm staff. They made clear that farmers were still struggling in spite of receiving true prices and that prices could not be lowered as they wanted to ensure livelihoods for farmers. Only one FM organiser made efforts to offer the use of voucher schemes at their FM to increase access, while others were not offering this, demonstrating that it was not a priority. Further highlighting a tension between creating access and livelihoods for farmers, FM organisers spoke about voucher schemes not providing sufficient value to pay for ‘true’ prices or not wanting to ask already struggling farmers to offer schemes (6.3).

A third overarching theme was that any consideration of equality in access to FMs was not linked to urban food policy. In practice, the LFB, LMB and local councils did not encourage or provide support in creating access to FMs for diverse populations. This was evidenced by the following data: Policy makers showed uncertainty around whether FM organisers considered equality in access, demonstrating a lack of involvement. They further spoke about how FMs were not linked to addressing inequalities in discussions or actions of the LFB and LMB (see section 6.1). Policy stakeholders also showed a lack of knowledge of the location of FMs in London in relation to access, mainly assuming that FMs were located in affluent areas. They further expressed uncertainty around whether equality in access was considered by FM organisations in the choice of location, further reflecting a lack of involvement (see section 6.2). And lastly, policy stakeholders did not encourage or support increasing economic access to FMs through food vouchers schemes (see section 6.3).

Lastly, most policy stakeholders did not see it as necessary or realistic to provide equality in access to FMs. Main reasons given were that FMs were set up to support farmers and further that too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs existed to create equality in access. Additionally, they assumed that economic success for markets and farmers took precedence for FM organisations and saw this as a tension with creating access for low-income citizens. These views seemed to be based mainly on personal beliefs and experiences rather than official strategies of the LFB or LMB. This was evidenced by the following data: Policy stakeholders saw FMs as lacking diversity, and saw the high price of food, the location of FMs in affluent and the type of food (not offering culturally diverse produce) at FMs as barriers to a diverse clientele at FMs. Although they were uncertain in how FM organisers considered equality in access, policy stakeholders mostly assumed that the need to ensure economic success for markets and farmers took precedence over creating equality in access for FM organisations. Some participants expressed directly that the main purpose of FMs was to support farmers, not to address issues of access. Some felt that creating equality in access to FMs was important, while others did not feel this was necessary, with reasons including that FMs needed to focus on farmers or that FMs provided solely ‘fancy’ food (see section 6.1). Policy stakeholders showed a lack of awareness of the location of FMs in London, however assumed FMs to be located mostly in affluent areas. Interview data highlighted that these views on location seemed to be based

mostly on personal beliefs and experiences. Further, policy stakeholders thought that FM organisers prioritised economic success of markets and farmers when choosing locations; achieving economic success was seen as a tension with locating in lower-income neighbourhoods (see section 6.2). Policy stakeholders also did not support offering vouchers at FMs as they saw too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs for people using food vouchers (see section 6.3).

PART FOUR – DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusions

This research set out to explore how and whether equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs in London and how this linked to urban food policy. This was investigated by conducting a case study of FMs in London entailing a document analysis, geographical mapping and semi-structured interviews. This chapter consists of three sections. Section 7.1 presents and discusses the core findings of this thesis and develops a series of potential policy implications; section 7.2 discusses additional implications for food policy by applying the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) to the core findings; and finally section 7.3 presents conclusions of this study.

7.1 Consideration of Equity in the Governance of Farmers' Markets

This first section presents and critically discusses the core findings of this study, which combine findings presented in chapters 4-6. These core findings that are developed through this discussion are first summarised below as a preview for the discussion. The discussion that follows entails triangulation and integration of chapter findings to present core findings, with these core findings in turn related to previous literature, and through this showing how the research contributes novel knowledge and what implications this may have for food policy. First, there is a discussion of the consideration of equity by FM organisations (section 7.1.1), followed by a discussion of links to urban food policy (section 7.1.2).

RQ1 asked what in 2017/18, was the governance related to FMs in London, and how was it linked to urban food policy on borough and mayoral level?

The document analysis presented in Chapter 4 and the overarching themes presented in Chapter 5 triangulate to answer RQ1:

1) In London, FMs were primarily governed by individual FM organisations based on their own beliefs, values and rules around FMs (Chapter 4 and 5).
2) The majority of UFSs in London mentioned the support of local and seasonal food, as well as FMs, as part of sustainable and equitable food systems they were aiming to create (Chapter 4). In practice, the governance of FMs was however not linked to urban food policy at mayoral level. Some local councils were involved or supportive in the

governance of FMs, however the evidence pointed towards this support not being based on local council or mayoral UFSs (Chapter 4 and 5).

RQ2 asked how and whether equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs, and how was this linked to urban food policy on borough and mayoral level?

The findings from the document and geographic analysis presented in Chapter 4 and overarching themes presented in Chapter 6, which built on findings from chapter 5, answer RQ2:

3) The consideration of geographical, economic and cultural equality in access was mainly dependent on individual FM organisations and differed across them. These dimensions of access were taken into consideration by some FM organisers with different strategies (Chapter 6). Geographical mapping showed that FMs were located in low-income communities in London (Chapter 4), however based on interview data this was not due to FM organisers aiming to increase geographic access for low-income citizens.

4) Although seen as important by FM organisers, creating equality in access was not a principal priority for most FM organisations (Chapter 4 and chapter 6). A main reason provided by FM organisers was a tension between creating geographical and economic access for low-income citizens and securing economic success of markets and livelihoods for farmers (Chapter 6).

5) Most UFSs in London aimed to address inequalities in access to healthy food and at the same time aimed to support local and seasonal food, including FMs; however these goals were seldom linked in these strategy documents (Chapter 4). In practice, any consideration of equality in access to FMs was not linked to urban food policy. The LFB, LMB and local councils did not promote or provide support in creating access to FMs for diverse populations (Chapter 6).

6) Most policy stakeholders did not see it as necessary or realistic to provide equality in access to FMs. Main reasons given were that there were too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to equality in access and that FMs were set up to support farmers. Additionally, they assumed that economic success for markets and farmers took precedence for FM organisations and saw this as a tension with creating access for low-income citizens. These views were not based on official discussions and

positions of the LFB and LMB, but mostly based on personal experiences, assumptions and beliefs around FMs (Chapter 6).

7.1.1 Consideration of Equity by FM organisations

A core finding in this study was that the consideration of geographical, economic and cultural access was mainly dependent on individual FM organisations and these dimensions of access were considered by some FM organisers in some cases with different strategies. This core finding builds on the core finding that each FM organisation included in this study individually governed their FMs according to their own beliefs, values and rules, which applied to the consideration of equity as well. For instance, geographical access for different communities was in most cases not considered when choosing locations for FMs. Most FM organisers had chosen locations which they felt would guarantee economic success of their markets, mostly searching for high footfall and sufficient demand. In other cases, locations were chosen based on convenience, with spaces owned by private landlords being more easily accessible than council-owned property (chapter 6). The geographical mapping in this study confirmed this, showing that many FMs were situated on private property (section 4.2.2). Only one FM organiser was planning to set up new FMs in lower-income areas to create access in these communities. No FM organisers had chosen their current locations based on wanting to create access in diverse or low-income communities (chapter 6). Thus, although the geographical mapping in this study had shown that FMs were relatively evenly located across relative deprivation in London (section 4.2.1), based on interview data, the presence of FMs in lower-income communities seemed not to have resulted from intentions to create access in more deprived areas. Economic access was considered by some FM organisers. One FM organiser had asked farmers to lower their prices at their FM to increase affordability for the local community, while many expressed an interest in offering the use of food vouchers at their FMs. However, at the time of the research only one FM organisation was accepting food vouchers at their FMs, while a second FM organiser was no longer offering the use of vouchers (chapter 6). In relation to cultural access, one FM organiser mentioned their efforts in providing foods for different ethnic communities (such as offering halal meat and challah bread), while critiquing other FMs for a lack of effort to be more culturally inclusive (chapter 6). The consideration of these different dimensions of access was for the most part dependent on the initiative of individual FM organisers (acceptance of food vouchers was also dependent on actions by farmers and for Rose vouchers on local councils as well). There was no link to

urban food policy in the consideration of equity of access (discussed in detail in section 7.2.2 below); FM organisers in London were thus individually left to decide whether to consider issues of equality in access. No other research in the UK has been found that has examined how FM organisations have considered equality in access to FMs.

In interviews, FM organisers stated that equality in access to FMs was important, however creating equality in access was not a principal priority for most FM organisers (chapter 6). This finding was supported by the document analysis that found that only one FM organisation had mentioned creating access as part of their strategy on their website (chapter 4). Participants mentioned two main factors for why they did not prioritise or even consider different dimensions of access in the governance of their FMs: 1) a tension between the consideration of equality in access and their priority of ensuring livelihoods for farmers and 2) a lack of external support from government (chapter 6). Each of these factors is discussed below.

FM organisers described a tension between securing livelihoods for farmers and considering equality in access to FMs for low-income communities in London. This will be referred to as the 'access-livelihood tension' for the remainder of this thesis. Although the majority of FM organisers stated that creating equality in access to FMs was important, in most cases securing livelihoods for farmers was seen as the equity priority. This tension was described in relation to creating geographic and economic access for low-income citizens. For example, in relation to considering geographical access to FMs, FM organisers often spoke about needing to choose locations that would guarantee economic success for markets and farmers, rather than locations that would provide access for low-income communities. Some FM organisers and other participants directly contrasted economic success of markets with being geographically based in low-income areas. Supporting this statement, one FM organiser, who ran a FM located in a lower-income area, described how their FM was struggling to survive. In relation to considering economic equality in access to FMs, the current prices charged at FMs were referred to as 'true' prices by FM organisers and farmers (even if they felt they were more expensive than some other food retail), mainly relating 'true' to enabling decent livelihoods for farmers and farm staff. Farmers confirmed that prices they charged at FMs were 'fair' and enabled them to sustain livelihoods; although even selling at FMs they still struggled to make a living. Therefore, lowering prices as a strategy for making the markets more economically accessible to

people on low incomes would have resulted in an unequitable return for farmers. FM organisers made clear they could not support this kind of strategy as one of their main aims was to provide decent livelihoods for farmers (chapter 6).

This prioritisation of farmers' livelihoods by FM organisers is in line with the originally stated goals of FMs in Europe, which focused on supporting rural livelihoods (La Trobe, 2001; Morris and Buller, 2003; FARMA, 2017). Further, the importance of supporting family farmers, and specifically small farmers livelihoods, is corroborated by a wide literature; small farmers have struggled for survival and have been disappearing in the UK and globally (Holt Giménez and Shattuck, 2011; Maass Wolfenson, 2012; United Nations Environment Programme, 2013; Marsden and Morley, 2014; Nguo, Mwangi and Melly, 2014; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Winter *et al.*, 2016; CPRE, 2017).

The access-livelihood tension for FM organisations has previously been reported in the US (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Fang *et al.*, 2013; Montri, Chung and Behe, 2020). Guthman et al. found that FM managers in California had in many cases made efforts to increase the affordability of food at FMs; one of the main strategies employed were food voucher schemes (these schemes were described in the literature review section 2.3.11) (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). The research further showed that a sufficient income for farmers ultimately took precedence for these FM managers (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). The authors concluded that 'squaring farm security and food security' at FMs was only possible with the use of food voucher schemes (discussed in more detail in section 7.2.2 below) or other types of redistribution, as people on low incomes would not be able to pay farmers fair prices (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). Thus, the finding in this study of FM organisers facing this tension is in line with previous research in the US.

The access-livelihood tension found in this research resembles that described in past research in the US, however it has not been described previously in UK literature on FMs and critical reflection is needed to understand whether the access-livelihood tension exists. Beyond statements by FM organisers and policy stakeholders highlighting this tension, other data from this study and existing literature support the existence of this tension. For instance, farmers described how the higher prices they received at FMs were allowing them to sustain their livelihoods, which was often contrasted to selling their produce in wholesale or to supermarkets. However, in spite of these 'fair' prices they received at FMs,

participants (including farmers) reported that farmers were still struggling to make a living. These findings are in line with previous evidence showing that farmers in the UK are struggling to survive due to poor farm prices (Lang and Heasman, 2015; Winter *et al.*). Therefore, according to these accounts, it would not be possible to lower prices at FMs if equity for farmers was considered.

To then understand whether a tension exists, the question is whether these 'fair' prices at FMs were affordable for people on low incomes or would need to be lowered to increase access. When comparing prices at FMs to other food retail, most participants felt that prices at FMs were more expensive when compared to street markets in London, while in comparison to supermarkets their views were mixed. However, only one FM organiser and one farmer had actually conducted price comparisons themselves; both stated that organic produce at FMs was cheaper than in supermarkets, sometimes even cheaper than non-organic food in supermarkets (these comparisons only included prices of fruits and vegetables, rather than bread, cheese, meat and dairy). Similarly to these perspectives, a report conducted in the UK in 2005 had found prices at FMs in London to be competitive with supermarkets, however more expensive when comparing to London street markets (Taylor, Madrick and Collin, 2005). A peer-reviewed UK study in 1999 also found organic produce at FMs to be cheaper than in supermarkets, sometimes even cheaper than non-organic products in supermarkets (La Trobe, 2001). Overall these data point to prices at FMs as more expensive compared to London street markets, while possibly competitive or cheaper than supermarkets (for fruits and vegetables). However, detailed and up-to-date food environment analyses of FMs in London would be needed to make definite conclusions on prices at FMs compared to other food retail. Nevertheless, these data point to a high likelihood of an access-livelihood tension in the context of FMs in London. People on low incomes who qualify for food vouchers in the UK struggle to afford food prices at supermarkets, especially for organic food (Dowler, 2008a). In line with this, existing literature from the US has also reported economic barriers to FMs for people on low incomes (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Markowitz, 2010; Johnson *et al.*, 2012; Stephanie Bell Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015). Thus, although the data suggest that FMs can be competitive or even offer lower prices than supermarkets, people on low incomes are most likely not able to pay these 'true' prices, resulting in a tension.

The access-livelihood tension has also been found beyond FMs; it has previously been described as a major issue in the food system and food policy globally (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015). The pursuit of 'cheap food' has squeezed primary producers globally (Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). Providing fair prices for producers will necessarily drive up the price of food, making it less accessible for people on low incomes (Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). It has been highlighted that addressing this tension in food policy is complex, however that it will need to be addressed to achieve change in the food system (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Parsons, Hawkes and Wells, 2019). Scholars have suggested that solutions will need to be multi-dimensional and be based on food systems and rights-based approaches (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; de Schutter, 2014; Caraher and Furey, 2018; Parsons, 2019), involving complexity at local, national and global governance levels (Parsons, 2019; Parsons and Hawkes, 2019).This previous evidence emphasises that FM organisers in London face a tension that is deeply embedded in the broader food system. Findings from the US further indicate that this tension cannot be addressed without some type of redistribution, such as food voucher schemes, if FMs are to remain economically viable for farmers. FMs in London are run by small businesses for which it would be too difficult to address these complex multidimensional problems. Thus, support would be needed from urban and wider policy, as creating economic access to FMs cannot be left to the market in this case.

A second reason (in addition to the access-livelihood tension) for limited consideration of equity in access by FM organisers was a lack of support from government; FM organisers mentioned a lack of external support in the context of their efforts to increase economic access through food voucher schemes. In spite of a willingness among several FM organisers to offer such vouchers at their markets, both FM organisers and farmers spoke about the multiple barriers in offering them, which included a lack of external initiative and support from the government department running the Healthy Start voucher scheme, as well as from the LFB and local councils. Ultimately, only one FM organisation in London was accepting food voucher schemes at the time of this research, while one had given up offering them due to a lack of support and other barriers. Others expressed interest in offering vouchers in interviews, however did not always know of existing schemes (chapter 6). In contrast, in the US the acceptance of food voucher schemes at FMs has been much more widespread, with 40% of FMs accepting SNAP in 2016 (Kellegrew *et al.*, 2018) and

more than a third of FMs accepting the WIC FMNP (n=3300) and the SFMNP (n=3600) in 2017 (USDA, 2018a, 2018b) (see literature review section 2.3.1.1). A main difference to the London case is that the acceptance of food vouchers is encouraged and supported by state and federal governments, urban food policy, as well as by non-profits (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Dimitri *et al.*, 2015; Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018; Kellegrew *et al.*, 2018). However, even with external support, FM organisers in the US still faced barriers in offering these schemes, including the extra costs and effort of implementing the programmes, an increased burden for farmers, limited knowledge on how to apply to the programmes and uncertainties around funding (Hecht *et al.*, 2019; Misiaszek *et al.*, 2020, Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Kellegrew *et al.*, 2018). In line with this, Guthman et al. suggested that FMs in the US needed even more support by federal and state policy for offering the use of food vouchers to increase equality in access (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). Thus, even though food voucher schemes are supported in the US on multiple policy levels, offering them at FMs still remains challenging. This confirms that increasing the use of food voucher schemes at FMs in London as a strategy to increase economic access would need incentive and support on multiple policy levels, which was currently not the case according to participants.

Policy support for FM organisers and farmers to accept the Healthy Start and Rose voucher scheme at London FMs could come from local councils, the LFB or LMB, from the government department running the Healthy Start voucher schemes, as well as the Alexandra Rose Charity. For instance, participants in this study had mentioned that the government department running the Healthy Start voucher scheme had in the past been unsupportive in including FMs as a possible retail space for voucher redemption on their website and had been reluctant to promote the use of these vouchers at FMs (chapter 6). This could be addressed within the government department managing the Healthy Start voucher scheme. Further, local councils, the LFB and LMB could provide financial support for implementing these schemes. For instance, financial support could go to FM organisers and farmers who needed extra time and capacity to manage the schemes, as had been mentioned by participants in interviews. Several participants had also suggested that people on low incomes would not be using food vouchers at FMs in London as long as street markets offered lower prices for food, which was confirmed by very low numbers of voucher redemptions at FMs that had been accepting them in London. Participants suggested that the value of food vouchers would need to increase to incentivise using them

at FMs. One NGO representative had similarly suggested that the Alexandra Rose charity would be willing to increase the value of vouchers for use at FMs, however that funders were solely interested in linking the vouchers with street markets rather than FMs (chapter 6). Similar strategies have been already implemented in the US, where non-profit and public policy programs have supported the use of food voucher schemes at FMs by doubling the worth of food vouchers for people using them at FMs rather than at other food retail outlets (Dimitri *et al.*, 2015; Saitone and McLaughlin, 2018). Such incentive programs could also be considered in the UK. However, it is important to highlight that food vouchers cannot act as a long-term solution to creating equality in access, as has been critiqued in the literature (D'Souza *et al.*, 2006; Black *et al.*, 2012; Miewald, Holben and Hall, 2012).

The necessity for wider policy support to enable more effort in the consideration of equality in access on behalf of FM organisations has been supported by other studies. For instance, Hodgins and Fraser saw barriers for FM organisations in addressing inequalities in access as largely influenced by policy environments and broader societal conditions (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). In line with this, some participants in this study had commented that they were not able to change socioeconomic conditions in the UK. They also mentioned how food voucher schemes did not provide sufficient monetary value to pay fair prices for farmers at FMs and that the access-livelihood tension faced by FM organisers could only be addressed if future policy supported more small-scale, sustainable agriculture (chapter 6), circumstances that would need wider policy and socioeconomic change. Scholars have suggested that a supportive policy environment for creating equality in access to FMs would need to involve joined-up food policy, which addresses both agriculture and hunger together, involving poverty reduction measures as well as greater government support for alternative production and distribution (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017); this need for a food-systems approach in policy is discussed in more detail in section 7.1.2 below. The authors however simultaneously emphasised that inequalities in access to healthy food will not disappear without efforts on business-level, combined with a societal shift and this more joined-up food policy. In addition to existing UFSs in London, an opportunity for such a joined-up approach on national level has presented itself through the development of a national food strategy for England in 2021 (Dimbleby, 2021; Lang, Millstone and Marsden, 2021); FMs are not mentioned in this strategy, so it remains to be

investigated whether local food systems and FMs will receive any support from national food policy.

Strategies (beyond food voucher schemes) to increase equality in access to FMs, which would require efforts on business and policy level have been suggested by previous research in the US. Suggestions included for example that FMs could feature farmers who were farming either for recreational purposes or for a social mission, rather than farmers who solely needed to sustain their livelihoods (Montri, Chung and Behe, 2020). However, this would sway from the purpose of supporting small farmers' livelihoods. Participants in London suggested that local councils could charge less rent for conducting FMs, which could lower prices of food at FMs without compromising livelihoods of farmers (chapter 6). However, given the politics of austerity in the UK with local councils lacking funds and needing to find additional incomes (Caraher, 2019), receiving this kind of council support could be very difficult to achieve. Other suggestions of how FMs in low-income areas could succeed included strategies relating to marketing and outreach, physical accessibility, price and quality of food sold and permits for FMs (Markowitz, 2010; Young *et al.*, 2011; Montri, Chung and Behe, 2020). In the US, FMs have been set up purposefully in lower-income areas to increase food access, however they needed to include additional strategies to address the challenges of running FMs in these communities (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Project for Public Spaces & Columbia University, 2009; Markowitz, 2010; Young *et al.*, 2011; Fang *et al.*, 2013; Montri, Chung and Behe, 2020). Such previously suggested strategies could be explored in future for increasing access to FMs in London as well, however more research will be needed to understand barriers to accessing FMs and how they manifest for different communities in London. Other possible strategies by urban food policy to increase access to FMs are discussed in more detail in section 7.1.2 below.

The evidence from this study and previous research point to a need for combined effort on business and policy level to improve access to FMs. However, findings in this research also point towards three potential barriers in implementing any future strategies that would involve efforts by FM organisations, as well as by urban food policy on mayoral and local council level in London.

Firstly, any efforts to address equality in access on behalf of FM organisations will require sufficient capacity within FM organisations, which according to interview data, FM organisations in London could be lacking. For instance, FM organisers in this study spoke

more generally, not in relation to creating access, about a lack of capacity in terms of finances, staff and time in their small businesses to engage in extra tasks (chapter 5). Further demonstrating a lack of such capacity, several participants also spoke about operational barriers to the acceptance of food vouchers, such as the extra effort and time needed by FM organisers and farmers (chapter 6). Similarly, research from the US and Canada had found major barriers to improving access to FMs for low-income citizens to include a lack of time, a limited budget and limited number of staff on behalf of FM organisations (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). Thus, the capacity of FMs would need to be considered when implementing strategies to increase access.

Secondly, any efforts would also assume willingness on behalf of FM organisations to consider equality in access. However, there was possibly a lack of will among FM organisers in London. Most FM organisers emphasised that their priorities lay with supporting farmers' livelihoods. Some FM organisers also felt hesitant in asking farmers to perform extra tasks, such as accepting vouchers, when farmers were often on low incomes themselves (chapter 6). Although most FM organisers stated that equality in access was important in the context of FMs, these comments could have been due to desirability bias; morally, they could have felt obligated to say this was an important issue in interviews. Thus, possibly some FM organisers were solely interested in supporting farmers. If this was the case, this compares to similar findings in Canada, which identified one of the main barriers for FM organisations to improve access for low-income citizens to be a lack of concern about the issue (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). Existing literature has also suggested differences in motivation between private businesses and non-profits or social enterprises; FMs run by private businesses had been found to make less effort in relation to food security than FMs run by non-profits and government institutions (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). Another study, although referring to AFNs and not FMs specifically, similarly found that social enterprises made more efforts in reaching out, such as by setting up in low-income communities (Hodgins and Fraser, 2017). FMs interviewed as part of this study were run mostly by private businesses, while one FM organisation was a social enterprise and one a community-interest company. Findings indicate that the social enterprise and community-interest company seemed more concerned about access than the regular businesses, however this study did not set out to specifically analyse differences between these types of businesses. Future studies could explore any differences in motivation between these types of FMs in more detail in the UK. It is important to understand how

willing FM organisers and farmers are to support access to FMs and how far they are willing to go.

A third barrier lies in a tension between policy support and policy control. Data from semi-structured interviews in this study showed that many FM organisers were reluctant to have rules imposed externally on their markets. For instance, some FM organisers complained about too much existing 'red tape' when dealing with local councils around running FMs, and often chose to locate on private property to circumvent this. Some said they would welcome more support from government generally, however were at the same time sceptical of additional 'red tape'. On the other hand, some participants would have fully welcomed more regulation or an 'umbrella organisation' for FMs (chapter 5). Thus, views were divided among FM organisers around the potential involvement of local councils, the LFB and the LMB in the governance of FMs. A similar scepticism towards government involvement in the governance of AFNs was recorded in a previous study in Pisa, Italy (Cretella, 2019). It found that some people running AFNs saw the development of an UFS as an institutionalisation of values of local food movements and as an interference in their governance (Cretella, 2019). In the case of Pisa this was due to a lack of trust in institutions (Cretella, 2019), while in London the scepticism on the side of FM organisers seemed to be more a case of wanting freedom to run their FMs based on their own values and beliefs, including who was allowed to sell what kind of food from how far away, as well as what kind of agricultural methods were allowed (chapter 5). Thus, wider strategies to increase access to FMs would need to consider how this tension of government involvement vs FM organisations working independently could be bridged.

7.1.2 Links to Urban Food Policy in the Consideration of Equity

The document analysis in this study showed that addressing inequalities in access to healthy food was a core goal stated in mayoral LFSs (this included the 2006 and 2018 LFS and respective Implementation Plans, the Understanding London's Markets Report and the MUFPP). At the same time, they all included local/seasonal/regional food and short food supply chains as part of a more sustainable and equitable food system. The majority of these strategies also explicitly aimed to support FMs, as well as local/small/regional farmers. The 2018 LFS included FMs as part of a more sustainable and equitable food system, however the Implementation Plan did not aim to support FMs explicitly, as the 2006 LFS Implementation Plan had (section 4.1.1). A possible reason for this was that, as stated in the 2018 LFS, the newly formed LMB would be overseeing markets in London,

which would include FMs. An additional reason could have been that there was no longer a FM representative on the LFB, as had been during the development of the 2006 LFS. The 2018 LFS and Implementation Plan showed a strong emphasis around supporting seasonal and local food (see section 4.1.1). These findings are in line with previous research. Inequalities in access to healthy food have been found to be a main focus in London food strategies (Reynolds, 2009; Cretella, 2016a; Candel, 2020), as well as an important component in UFSs beyond London and the UK (Machell and Caraher, 2012; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015; Matacena, 2016; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Vieira *et al.*, 2018; Cretella, 2019; Candel, 2020; Smaal *et al.*, 2020). The inclusion of short food supply chains, including FMs, local/seasonal food and regional/small farmers as part of sustainable and equitable food systems in UFSs was coherent with existing literature that has examined the content of the 2006 LFS; it found the strategy to be supportive of local food systems (Reynolds, 2009; Morgan and Sonnino, 2010; Sonnino, 2016) and to promote the development of FMs (Sonnino, 2016). The findings are also coherent with previous examinations of other UFSs in the UK and other countries which found that the promotion of local food, and in some cases specifically the support of FMs, was often included in UFSs as contributing to the objectives of building more sustainable and equitable food systems (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Candel, 2020). The document analysis as part of this study further found that FMs were not linked explicitly to issues of equity in any London strategies on mayoral level. However, as FMs and local food were included as part of aiming to create a more equitable food system, it was important to understand in interviews how the goals of addressing inequalities and supporting local food systems, including FMs, were linked in practice.

In practice, the consideration of equality in access to FMs in London was not linked to urban food policy on mayoral level. The analysis of semi-structured interviews in this research found that, in practice, the goals of addressing inequalities in access to healthy food and supporting local food in the strategies (see previous paragraph) were not linked in regard to FMs in London; the LFB and the LMB were not involved or supportive of the consideration of equality in access to FMs (chapter 6). This finding built on a core finding that the LFB and the LMB were generally not involved in the governance of FMs and did not provide support to FMs on any level. In the UK, no previous studies were found that have explored how the goals of supporting local food systems and addressing inequalities in

access are linked in the implementation of UFSs. Also more generally, research on the implementation of UFSs is still scarce in the UK and beyond (Hawkes, C., Halliday, 2017; Cretella, 2019). Research conducted in the US is useful for comparison to the findings in London. In contrast to the findings in this study, FPCs in the US have been found to be involved and supportive of creating equality in access to FMs in practice (Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018; Bassarab *et al.*, 2019; Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019). In the following paragraphs, the two main reasons provided by policy stakeholders for not linking FMs and issues of access to healthy food in urban food policy in London are discussed.

A main reason provided by policy stakeholders for a lack of action in creating equality in access to FMs was that they saw too many geographic, economic and cultural barriers for people from ethnic minorities and for low-income citizens in accessing FMs. A second reason was that they felt FMs had been primarily set up to support farmers. Each of these reasons are explored below.

The geographic barrier was described by policy stakeholders in that FMs were located mainly in affluent areas and therefore did not provide physical access to people on low incomes. Also participants from other stakeholder groups felt that FMs were located mostly in affluent areas. However, the geographical mapping as part of this case study showed that FMs were spread relatively evenly across all socioeconomic areas in London (section 4.2.1). Policy stakeholders found this surprising and assumed that FMs in lower-income communities were located in these areas due to gentrification and were only frequented by the affluent communities in these areas. This was possibly the case as FM organisers had reported that they had in most cases not chosen the location of FMs to exclusively create access in low-income communities. On the other hand, some FM organisers referenced how people from different ethnicities and lower incomes shopped at their FMs. Academic research in the UK has not previously examined equality in access to FMs and thus cannot provide insight into the existence of this geographic barrier in London, however research has been conducted in the US and can be used cautiously for comparison. The geographic barriers mentioned by policy stakeholders were aligned with previous research on FMs in the US. Studies there have reported geographic barriers to FMs for citizens on low incomes, with FMs located mostly in affluent areas (Friends of the Earth, 2000; Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006; Harrison *et al.*, 2010; Jones and Bhatia, 2011; Stephanie B Jilcott Pitts *et al.*, 2015; Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018).

Policy stakeholders also saw too many economic barriers to FMs to create equality in access. Members of the LFB and LMB often believed FMs to be more expensive, in some cases referring to FMs selling 'high quality' or 'posh food'. More specifically, they felt that FMs were much more expensive than street markets in London, while when compared to supermarkets, their views were mixed on whether FMs were more expensive. Whether an economic barrier for low-income citizens to FMs truly exists in London, has been explored above in section 7.1.2 as part of critically exploring the existence of the access-livelihood tension. Summarising, data from this study and existing studies supported the view by policy stakeholders that FMs were more expensive than street markets, while data indicated that FMs were either competitive or in some cases cheaper than supermarkets. Nevertheless, even if competitive with supermarkets, prices at FMs were not necessarily accessible for people on low incomes, pointing to the existence of this barrier in London.

Policy stakeholders also felt FMs were white, culturally unwelcoming spaces for people from ethnic minorities, highlighting cultural barriers to FMs. Participants from other stakeholder groups mentioned how FMs had this reputation in the UK, while they did not always agree with this. To date, research in the UK has not investigated this, while studies conducted in the US have previously described cultural barriers to FMs; some evidence has found FMs to be perceived as excluding, unwelcoming or even discriminatory places for citizens from ethnic and racial minorities (Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Wetherill and Gray, 2015; Freedman *et al.*, 2016; Lambert-Pennington and Hicks, 2016).

As laid out in the previous three paragraphs, although previous studies were mainly conducted on FMs in the US, this study points towards similar barriers existing in London as well, as suggested by policy stakeholders. Contrasting with this perspective, some participants in this study were of the view that FMs in London were already economically and geographically accessible for people on low incomes. At the same time, FM organisers spoke about an access-livelihood tension, which would again confirm economic barriers. Thus, more research on FMs in London and the UK would be needed to assess the existence of these barriers.

Although evidence from the US has found economic, geographic and cultural barriers to FMs, efforts have been made there in urban food policy to overcome these barriers. For

instance, aiming to address geographic barriers, FPCs have previously helped to establish FMs in low-income areas (Lowery *et al.*, 2016; Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018). Aiming to address economic barriers, FPCs have implemented grant programs supporting the acceptance of food vouchers at FMs (Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018). FPCs have also collected data on access to FMs (Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019). Existing geographic and economic barriers to FMs thus did not seem to be a barrier to linking equality in access to FMs, but rather as something to be addressed to create more equity; this is in contrast to views among policy stakeholders in London, who mentioned these barriers as a reason for not linking FMs to equity. The actions among FPCs in the US further demonstrate that equality in access to FMs was seen as relevant in urban food policy. Thus, as efforts have been made in the US, a fundamental question lies in why policy stakeholders in London did not make efforts to overcome these barriers, but rather saw them as a reason not to aim to create equality in access to FMs in London in the first place. Possible reasons for this are presented in the following paragraphs.

A first underlying reason for not linking FMs to equity due to these barriers in access could be based on 'pragmatism'. As demonstrated above, the geographic, economic and cultural barriers to FMs given by policy stakeholders as a reason not to take action are likely to exist in London. Thus, capacity and a budget would be needed to address this. In interviews, some policy stakeholders mentioned the LFB and LMB only having access to a limited budget, as well as having multiple projects they support (chapter 5). And further, that FMs only form a small part of the London food system, so their efforts would not have large impact on providing access to fruits and vegetables for people on low incomes. They had referred in interviews to street markets in London providing a more efficient way to increase access to fruits and vegetables for people on low incomes receiving Rose and Healthy Start vouchers as these were seen as very accessible economically, geographically and culturally (chapter 6). Therefore, making efforts to overcome the barriers to FMs might have been seen as taking too much of a limited budget or similarly that the benefits were seen not to outweigh the effort it would take to overcome these. As mentioned by policy stakeholders, the main goal of the LFB in supporting the use of Healthy Start and Rose vouchers was to increase access to fruits and vegetables for low-income citizens; supporting this at street markets rather than FMs could be viewed as the more effective, and thus pragmatic way of reaching this goal.

Secondly, not linking FMs with addressing inequalities in access to healthy food by policy stakeholders could be due to policy makers being concerned about falling into the 'local trap'. The 'local trap', coined by Born and Purcell, describes the assumption that local-scale food systems provide inherent benefits, including ecological sustainability, food security and social justice (Born and Purcell, 2006). However, as Born and Purcell argue, local-scale food systems are equally as likely to be unjust or unsustainable as national or global scale food systems; rather, outcomes depend on the agenda advanced within these scales (Born and Purcell, 2006) (see section 2.2.1 for more detail). Statements by policy stakeholders that FMs were not accessible for people on low-incomes and from ethnic minorities could be due to wanting to avoid falling into the local trap by seeing FMs as a solution to food security. This effort in urban food policy of not falling into the 'local trap' would be in line with previous research; a study had concluded that the 2006 LFS had acknowledged that providing culturally appropriate food for diverse communities in London meant that there were limits in how far local food could meet these needs (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). The researchers described the localism of the 2006 LFS as an outward-looking cosmopolitan localism and contrasted it to the 'defensive localism' as critiqued by Born and Purcell (Morgan and Sonnino, 2010). Similarly, previous research examining other UFSs in the UK and in other countries concluded that UFSs have avoided falling into the local trap by taking a nuanced understanding to the local scale (Sonnino, 2019). Thus, a critical view of policy stakeholders towards linking FMs and issues of access could be reflecting the practical implementation of these nuanced understandings of local-scale food systems, such as FMs.

Thirdly, policy stakeholders' perspectives on FMs facing too many barriers to consider equality in access could instead be due to a 'reverse local trap'. Rather than making assumptions that local-scale food systems result in outcomes such as democracy, equity and sustainability as would be the case when falling into the 'local trap' (Born and Purcell, 2006), policy stakeholders' views on FMs could be termed a 'reverse local trap' as they assumed high prices, white middle-class consumers, affluent neighbourhoods, and a lack of diverse consumers as fixed characteristics of FMs in London and the UK. These views of FMs as inextricably unequal seemed to be influenced by cultural factors in the UK: participants across all stakeholder groups in this study mentioned how FMs in the UK had a reputation of being expensive and a 'middle-class enclave' (chapter 6). In contrast to some other participants who considered this reputation unfair, several policy stakeholders agreed with this reputation and felt it was legitimate. Even the 2006 LFS referred to this

cultural reputation by stating that FMs "are seen by some as middle-class conceits; and by others as a vital component of a shift towards a healthier and sustainable food system". Whether the barriers to FMs do exist in London or not, the danger of the local trap or in this case the 'reserve local trap' lies in seeing any characteristics (e.g. high prices, affluent neighbourhoods, a lack of diversity at FMs) as intrinsic to local food systems, such as FMs. This can then result in fixed and self-perpetuating views within urban food policy about what role FMs play in the food system.

Solutions to the 'local trap', or then also the 'reverse local trap', have been suggested in not seeing the local scale as an end-goal in itself, but as a strategy which can help achieve certain equity and environmental benefits (Born and Purcell, 2006). Similarly, other authors have suggested that a 'reflexive politics of localism' is needed in food governance, which involves focusing on the process of how local food systems can become more socially just and environmentally sustainable, rather than making assumptions that they exhibit any attributes intrinsically (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005). Based on this perspective, it could be suggested that a reflexive politics of localism would be important in London urban food policy in relation to FMs, rather than having set views of FMs. This could involve acknowledging that FMs could possibly become more equitable and then strategizing on the process of how this could be achieved. Currently, policy stakeholders did not feel that this could be achieved and felt that FMs in London were inherently inequitable. A reflexive approach to thinking about how this could change would require more in-depth knowledge among policy stakeholders of how FMs are performing in light of the goals of the LFS in relation to equity; this could be achieved through assessments and academic research on FMs and equity, which is still lacking in the UK. This could then form the basis to understand and strategise how they could align with the aims of the LFS of supporting local and seasonal food, as well as addressing issues of inequality in access to healthy food. Above, strategies that have been used in urban food policy in the US for FMs to become more equitable have been presented. It is not necessarily the case that these specific actions should be part of creating equality in access to FMs in London, however they could be taken into account by policy stakeholders as options for increasing access to FMs.

In addition to economic, geographic and cultural barriers, a second reason policy stakeholders gave for not linking equality in access to FMs in urban food policy in London was that FMs had been set up primarily to support farmers, not to address access to

healthy food. This view demonstrates a separation of urban and rural equity in urban food policy in London. Although it reflects the dominant historical view of one of the major reasons for setting up FMs in the UK, which was to support rural livelihoods (La Trobe, 2001; Morris and Buller, 2003; FARMA, 2017), the question is whether the support of farmers and creating access to food can be separated in urban and wider food policy when wanting to create a more sustainable, healthy and equitable food system. Most UFSs, including the 2006 LFS and 2018 LFS, include the goals of addressing inequalities in access to food (section 4.1.1) (Machell and Caraher, 2012; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Moragues-Faus and Morgan, 2015; Matacena, 2016; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Vieira *et al.*, 2018; Cretella, 2019; Candel, 2020; Smaal *et al.*, 2020), supporting short supply chains and local food (section 4.1.1) (Marsden and Morley, 2014; Sonnino and Spayde, 2014; Cretella, 2016a, 2019; Sonnino, 2016, 2019; Candel, 2020), as well as treating farmers fairly (section 4.1.1) (Smaal *et al.*, 2020). Explicitly linking urban and rural equity, the UFS of the city of Pisa, Italy, for instance aimed to support local farmers to provide affordable food (Cretella, 2019). And further, research has concluded that one of the fundamental values informing UFSs is a food system perspective (Sonnino, 2019), which involves viewing urban and rural issues, as well as any separate aims in UFSs, as interconnected (Ericksen *et al.*, 2010; Bassarab *et al.*, 2019; Parsons, Hawkes and Wells, 2019). Separating local farmers earning a 'fair' price at FMs from access to healthy food for diverse communities and viewing these issues as not compatible reflects the lack of a food system perspective in relation to FMs in urban food policy in London.

In addition, there was an emphasis and priority in urban food policy in London on urban equity rather than rural equity. This was reflected for instance in the continual decision to actively support the acceptance of the Healthy Start and Rose voucher schemes at street markets rather than FMs, as this was seen as the most effective strategy to improve access to fruits and vegetables for families on low incomes. Whether farmers received prices that could sustain their livelihoods for produce sold at street markets in London did not seem of much importance as this was not mentioned by policy stakeholders. Although there was willingness and interest from the Alexandra Rose charity to improve voucher use at FMs to link creating access to food and the support of local farmers, they did not have support for this endeavour from their funders, the LFB or local councils. Additionally demonstrating an emphasis on urban issues, policy stakeholders mostly framed prices at FMs from the consumer perspective, seeing them as expensive, rather than framing them as fair for

farmers. This emphasis on urban issues in urban food policy has been previously described in the US, where a study found that FPCs more connected to government (compared to other forms of FPCs) put little priority on food production (Calancie *et al.*, 2018). Literature has also previously identified an urban-rural divide in food policy more generally and has emphasised the importance of linking urban and rural issues to achieve change in the food system (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). Scholars have concluded that the idea of 'cheap food' as the solution to enabling access to healthy food for low-income citizens does not take into account the full environmental and social costs of food production, including providing a fair return for primary producers (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Mason and Lang, 2017). Good governance thus needs to involve a whole food-system approach, connecting the environment, social justice and health, according to Mason and Lang (Sonnino, 2016; Mason and Lang, 2017). Taking a whole food system perspective in urban food policy in London, as is the intention of UFSs, would need to involve interconnecting urban and rural equity, rather than prioritising one over the other. Urban food policy in London will need to find ways of linking fair livelihoods for farmers and addressing issues of food access in the future in all forms of food retail. This will also need to be addressed in national and global food policy.

Interview data showed that views by policy stakeholders on access to FMs (discussed in the above paragraphs) were not based on any recent official discussions or decisions at the LFB or the LMB. Members of the LFB and LMB stated that FMs in London, and specifically equality in access to FMs had not been discussed at any meetings they could recall, except 13 years prior during the development of the Rose voucher scheme (see history of Rose voucher scheme beginning section 6.3). Instead, the data showed that policy stakeholders spoke from individual perspectives, often referring to their personal experiences and assumptions around FMs (chapter 5 and 6). Further, these individual perspectives were in most cases not shaped by evidence or robust assessments of access to FMs. Only one piece of research from 13 years prior (as part of developing the Rose voucher scheme) was referenced by one policy stakeholder that had found economic, geographic and cultural barriers to FMs for people using Healthy Start vouchers; this had clearly shaped their views. Academic research in the UK has not explored access to FMs, so policy stakeholders could not have been relying on any academic studies in the UK. Thus, although the reliance on other evidence in forming policy stakeholders' views on FMs cannot be excluded, data

suggest that their views on access to FMs were mostly formed by personal experiences, views and assumptions and were not discussed on the LFB or LMB.

These individual perspectives by policy stakeholders on access to FMs were also linked to individual and differing interpretations of FMs in London. Among policy stakeholders, there was no coherent view of what constituted a FM in London. For instance, some policy stakeholders saw FMs as selling 'posh' food, others as FMs selling mainly brownies and very little or no produce from farmers, while others assumed it was mostly farmers selling their food or that FMs were run in line with FARMA rules. Some policy stakeholders assumed that this also depended on who was running the FMs (chapter 5 and 6). At the same time, they were mostly not fully informed of how FMs were run in London, by whom exactly (beyond the larger FM organisations), how many FMs existed, what exactly defined FMs, what agendas and values were being advanced in their governance and whether equity was a consideration for FM organisers. Thus, also their interpretation of FMs were largely based on personal experiences, opinions and assumptions. These differing interpretations of FMs were partly confirmed by perspectives from other stakeholders and the document analysis. FMs were governed by individual FM organisations based on different beliefs, values and rules, leading to differences across FM organisations as assumed by some policy stakeholders. However, across these differences, FM organisers kept to core principles (although with a spectrum of beliefs within these core principles). These included beliefs that farmers' produce should form the main part of markets, contrasting views by some policy stakeholders that FMs did not feature any farmers. However at the same time, some FM organisers felt that other FM organisations undermined the concept of FMs by for instance mostly selling 'hot food' and other foods rather than mainly featuring farmers, echoing sceptical views by policy stakeholders and again emphasising differences across FMs. And further, some participants highlighted that any market in London could call itself a FM without keeping to any core principles, indicating a lack of definition of FMs (chapter 4 and 5). However, all interviewed FM organisers explained that they did keep to core principles, broadly in line with the guidelines provided by FARMA, and focused on farmers selling their produce. Thus, different interpretations of FMs by members of the LFB and LMB were partly confirmed by other data. However, they had little knowledge of FMs in London and were basing their perspectives on whether equality in access was relevant on these varied understandings, which were not discussed on the LFB or the LMB. Thus, going forward, it would be important for policy stakeholders to have a deeper understanding of

the governance of FMs in London, including using evidence to shape these understandings, and for FMs to be part of discussions on the LFB and LMB. The importance of values and beliefs in shaping urban food policy around FMs are discussed in more detail in section 7.3.

The above paragraphs have discussed the involvement of urban food policy on mayoral level. Also on local council level, the findings in this study pointed to there being no link between the governance of FMs and urban food policy in London. The document analysis had shown that local council food strategies were to a majority supportive of FMs and short food supply chains and all aimed to address inequalities in access to healthy food. Two local council food strategies specifically stated that equality in access to FMs needed to be ensured (chapter 4). However, in practice, these goals did not seem to be linked in regard to FMs. Although local councils were not directly involved in how FMs were run and had very rarely initiated FMs, local councils did play some minor roles in the governance of FMs. Interviewees described the role of councils as renting out council-owned spaces to FM organisations (this was confirmed by the geographic mapping which showed that FMs in London were located both on council-owned and private property, see section 4.1.2), as providing licences, as conducting food safety checks at FMs and as being involved in some cases in signage and promotion of FMs. Some local councils were mentioned as supportive, while others as unsupportive in relation to their role as 'landlords' and in relation to allowing signage or promoting FMs (chapter 5). The motivations behind why in some cases employees of local councils were supportive of FMs, and whether this was linked to implementing the goals of local council and London UFSs could not be explored; no local council employees were interviewed as part of this case study (see section 3.4.4.6 for why they were not interviewed).

In spite of a need for more data, findings from this study point towards supportive actions by local councils in relation to FMs as not specifically linked to their respective food strategies or the 2006 or 2018 LFS. Firstly, across the thirty-three boroughs in London, only some had developed a food strategy, and these were found to be mostly obsolete (see section 3.4). However, even if strategies were obsolete at the time of this research, supportive actions towards FM organisations could have still been a remnant of these strategies. Secondly, several interviewees, including members of the LFB, had spoken about local councils being mostly interested in receiving rent from FM organisations, rather than in the benefits FMs could offer the community. Thirdly, no participants mentioned any links

between actions by local councils and between implementing London UFSs (chapter 5 and 6). And lastly, it was challenging to find the responsible department for FMs when contacting local councils; employees in different departments either did not respond or felt they were not involved enough with FMs to be interviewed for this study (see section 3.4.4.6). If supportive actions in relation to FMs had been part of implementing local council UFSs, it would have probably been easier to find the responsible department for FMs, as this would have been the same department in which the local food strategy was located. Specifically in relation to implementing goals of addressing inequalities in access to healthy food in council-level UFSs, the data further indicated this was not linked to policy around FMs. Study participants for instance had spoken about local councils in London being mostly interested in supporting the use of Rose vouchers at street markets in their boroughs, rather than specifically wanting to create access to FMs (chapter 6). This proposed gap between the governance of FMs and council-level urban food policy could be based on different scenarios. As stated at the beginning of this paragraph, one scenario might be that UFSs on council-level were either obsolete or in some cases did not exist. This would explain why then support of FMs was not linked to urban food policy. Another possible scenario could have been that UFSs were still being implemented in some local councils, however that addressing inequalities to FMs was not part of implementation. This then could have several reasons. For instance, local council employees could have similar beliefs around FMs as members of the LFB and LMB, as discussed in detail above. Secondly, local councils lack essential funding due to austerity politics in the UK in the last decade (Caraher, 2019); the implementation of UFSs in regard to FMs might not be a priority. Thus, the governance of FMs and consideration of equality in access did not seem to be linked to council-level urban food policy, however more research interviewing local council employees would be needed to understand this link.

Ultimately, a major question lies in how far urban food policy can address the above discussed tension between equity for consumers and farmers in the food system where wider social and structural determinants clearly play a part. Both issues present multi-dimensional and wicked problems linked to underlying structures, including poverty, inequalities, low wages and a culture of ‘cheap food’ which squeezes primary producers (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). As discussed above, tackling these kinds of issues would need major changes within the current socioeconomic system (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015;

Mason and Lang, 2017). This question in how far cities can address these complex issues of equity in the food system has been raised by other researchers. For instance, examining the capacity of municipal governments to support food justice, Horst stated that although cities can make efforts to enable better food access, food-related inequities seem unsolvable by the city alone; cities would need to tackle the whole economic system to address poverty (Horst, 2017). Similarly, others have stated that achieving socially just food systems requires radical political and economic changes, as well as international, and multi-sectoral coordination, which would be beyond the capacity of cities on their own (Ilieva, 2017; Smaal *et al.*, 2020). An analysis of UFSs in the US, Canada and the UK, which included the 2006 LFS, pointed out that many UFSs acknowledged these constraints created by the wider economic context and raised the need for change in wider policy; in some cases UFSs have suggested specific actions needed in wider policy such as a reorientation of farm subsidies or tax policies to incentivise fresh food production for local markets (Sonnino, 2016). According to the author, cities thus saw themselves as "pioneers of a wider food system change" (Sonnino, 2016). In spite of a need to address underlying issues in wider policy, taking action in urban food policy is essential, including advocating for wider policy change, even if issues are not solvable by the city alone. Accordingly, in addition to above suggested strategies to address access to FMs, additional policy implications for urban food policy in London are discussed in section 7.3.3. Future research should also examine how the National Food Strategy for England aims to address these issues.

During the time period of this PhD, two major events, Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic, occurred, which have majorly impacted the global and UK food system, as well as food policy. Both have brought to light an urgent need to ensure resilient food systems and food security (Dimbleby, 2020; Lang, Millstone and Marsden, 2021; Jones, Krzywoszynska and Maye, 2022). The consequences of Brexit are still mostly unknown, however a novel agricultural policy and future trade deals will be affecting British farmers' livelihoods. The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated existing inequalities in access to healthy food globally and in the UK (UN, 2020; Goudie and McIntyre, 2021). Further, diet-related diseases, which disproportionately affect more deprived communities, form one of the top risk factors for severe Covid-19 (Dimbleby, 2020), highlighting the urgency with which inequalities in access to healthy food need to be addressed. Scholars have suggested that strategies for building resilient food systems will need to include encouraging local food systems and

addressing inequities in the food system (Lang, Millstone and Marsden, 2021). Thus, the issues explored in this study can contribute evidence towards these strategies.

Although not officially part of data collection and only observed by the researcher and a supervisor, the governance of FMs during the Covid-19 pandemic seemed to support the findings in this study. First of all, each FM organisation seemed to react differently to the policy context of the pandemic, each governing their FMs based on their own values and beliefs as found in this study more generally and in relation to equity. Some FM organisations kept all the markets open during the pandemic and took initiatives such as asking people to come alone, wear masks at the markets, keep distance in the market and in queues, and try to move through the market swiftly to avoid crowds. They also had more stewards in place to manage social distancing and asked people under forty to come to the market an hour later, in order for older people to shop first. In contrast, other FM organisations had closed all their markets due to issues with insurance and public liability. Farmers and stallholders had lost valuable business in these circumstances. Confirming this, recent evidence found that FMs in the UK were negatively affected by the Covid-19 pandemic (Jones, Krzywoszynska and Maye, 2022). Secondly, these decisions did not seem to be linked to urban food policy. There was no sign of a co-ordinated response based on support or guidance from the LFB or LMB. Again, recent evidence found that local food systems in the UK, including FMs, did not receive sufficient guidance or support from local and central governments during the pandemic; some local councils did not allow FMs to remain open as they were not seen as essential (Jones, Krzywoszynska and Maye, 2022). Support from the LFB or LMB could have ensured that farmers did not lose retail outlets for their produce due to some FM organisations closing and could have ensured continued access for citizens to fresh produce.

7.2 Implications for Food Policy based on an ACF Perspective

This section applies a policy process theory, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), to the core findings presented in section 7.1 to discuss these in relation to this emerging theoretical model. The policy process theory was applied to gain understanding from a different perspective and so suggest additional policy implications to the ones provided in section 7.2 and also to help continue to develop theory in this area. This section first provides an overview of the ACF (section 7.2.1), applies it to the core findings of this study (section 7.2.2), suggests additional policy implications from an ACF perspective (section

7.2.3), as well as provides tentative theoretical implications for applying the ACF to local food policy processes (section 7.2.4).

7.2.1 Overview of Advocacy Coalition Framework

Several theories have been developed to describe and understand the complexity of the policy process (Cairney, 2012b). The most prominent include the Multiple Streams Theory, the Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory and the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Cullerton *et al.*, 2015). Based on the findings of this study, the ACF was chosen as a useful theory to gain deeper understanding into the food policy process. First of all, this study found that values and beliefs played a prominent role in decisions around FMs in London. Belief systems form a core aspect of the ACF (Cairney, 2012a). The ACF further focuses on a variety of actors, rather than on policy makers alone (Cairney, 2012a; Clark, 2018). For this reason, Clark emphasised its appropriate use for new local policy areas, such as food policy, in which government, local institutions, private businesses and NGOs interact (Clark, 2018). Additionally, the ACF forms a flexible framework that can be adapted to local level food policy, as others have previously done (Page and Caraher, 2020). The following paragraph provides a broad overview of the ACF. The subsequent paragraphs describe some of its elements in more detail.

The ACF provides a framework for describing and explaining the policy process and policy change (Sabatier and Weible, 2014). It describes the policy process as an interaction between advocacy coalitions over time, whose members are brought together by their common values and beliefs to advocate for common policy outcomes (Sabatier, 1988). Advocacy coalitions consist of actors and networks from a variety of positions who share a distinct set of norms, beliefs and resources (Sabatier, 1988; Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a). Actors in advocacy coalitions play important roles in the generation, dissemination and evaluation of policy ideas and include actors at various levels of government, as well as journalists, representatives from the private sector, members of interest groups, researchers and policy analysts (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Advocacy coalitions are seen to interact over considerable periods of time in a policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988; Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Johnson *et al.*, 2012; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). A policy subsystem is defined by a policy topic, a territorial scope, as well as by a set of actors influencing affairs within these systems (Sabatier, 1988; Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a; Johnson *et al.*, 2012;

Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Advocacy coalitions within policy subsystems are in competition with each other to influence government institutions by advocating for policy outcomes in line with their beliefs (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a). In the ACF, policy change is described as a continuous process within a policy subsystem (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012). According to the ACF, two main sources of policy change exist: a) policy learning within coalitions or b) 'external shocks' (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a). Policy learning is seen in the ACF as leading mostly to minor change, while external shocks can lead to major change (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a). In the ACF, power plays a central role. According to Sabatier, the success of advocacy coalitions pushing policy in their desired direction is dependent on their resources, including money, expertise, the number of supporters, legal authority and skilful leadership (Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). The ACF provides a framework containing three main theoretical foci: advocacy coalitions, policy-oriented learning and policy change (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Each of these is discussed in the following paragraphs.

In most policy subsystems, usually around two to four important advocacy coalitions exist, although in some cases there might only be one (Sabatier, 1988). Advocacy coalitions are people from various positions sharing a particular belief system and who show coordinated activity over time (Sabatier, 1988). They are defined by their ideas rather than self-interest, and they show high level agreement in fundamental objectives, while they do not necessarily agree on policy solutions (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012). Their goal is to translate their beliefs into public policies (Sabatier, 1988). Advocacy coalition members meet regularly and coordinate activities (Clark, 2018), while their success is measured by their ability to translate their beliefs into specific policies (Clark, 2018). The success of an advocacy coalition in moving governmental programs towards their belief system depends on their resources, which include money, expertise, number of supporters and legal authority (Sabatier, 1988).

Beliefs form a core part of analysis in the ACF. Beliefs that motivate actors to form long-term coalitions are defined as a 'complex mix of theories about how the world works, how it should work and what we should do to bring the former closer to the latter' (Cairney, 2012a). They also include which policy problems should receive attention, what needs to be examined closely and which government institutions are most likely favourably disposed to the coalitions' point of view (Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier 1993b in Cairney, 2012a).

Sabatier distinguishes between three main types of beliefs: 1.) *Deep core beliefs* are defined as an actor's underlying personal philosophy (Sabatier, 1993 in Cairney, 2012a); 2.) *Policy core beliefs* are described as fundamental policy positions for achieving deep core beliefs and apply to a particular policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988; Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). These include for instance assessments of the overall seriousness of the problem, its basic causes, and preferred solutions to addressing it (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014); 3.) *Secondary aspects* apply to a subset of the policy subsystem or to the means of how to achieve the policy goals in policy core beliefs (Sabatier, 1988; Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). According to Sabatier, it is not expected that actors within an advocacy coalition will share exactly the same belief system. Rather, they will likely show substantial consensus on their policy core beliefs, while to a lesser extent on their secondary aspects (Sabatier, 1988). The ACF also takes into consideration how scientific and technical information is integrated in actors' belief systems (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). For instance, technical information is seen as informing actors' beliefs, although it is always filtered through their core beliefs (Clark, 2018). Among the different types of beliefs, core (both deep core and policy core) beliefs are least likely to change, as they are "largely normative issues inculturated in childhood and largely impervious to empirical evidence" (Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a quoting Sabatier, 1993), changing only in response to major external events, such as macro-economic shifts, a change in policy regime or impacts from other policy subsystems (Sabatier, 1988; Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012). Most often, a change in beliefs occurs within secondary aspects, resulting from policy-oriented learning (Sabatier, 1988; Buse, Mays and Walt, 2012; Cairney, 2012a).

In the ACF, policy-oriented learning is defined as "enduring alternations of thought or behavioural intentions that result from experience and which are concerned with the attainment or revision of the precepts of the belief system of individuals or of collectives"(Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1993, pp. 42-56 in Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). It can occur within or across advocacy coalitions (Cairney, 2012a). Three processes have been identified for policy-oriented learning *within* coalitions (Cairney, 2012a); a) individuals within coalitions using new information to inform and adjust their beliefs, b) coalitions having a turnover of members and c) members of coalitions interacting and influencing each other's views (Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Learning *across* coalitions occurs where one coalition adapts to the beliefs of another coalition, for instance when the views of the second coalition become "too important to ignore" (Cairney, 2012a quoting

Sabatier, 1993). Ultimately, policy learning is seen as a political process, rather than a search for the 'truth' (Sabatier, 1993;1998 in Cairney, 2012a), as the interpretation of evidence is shaped by existing core framings, beliefs and means of the coalitions (Cairney, 2012a). Most often, policy-oriented learning occurs in the secondary aspects of a belief system (Sabatier, 1988).

Policy change and stability forms a third theoretical focus in the ACF (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Indicators of policy change for instance can include "revisions of policy core components of governmental programs, termination of programs, or launching of new programs." (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014, p. 201). A clear distinction is made in the ACF between minor and major policy change, depending in how much alterations deviate from the previous policy (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). In the ACF, government programs are seen as translations of policy-oriented beliefs and thus can similarly change in core aspects (change in goals), referred to as major change, while change in secondary aspects (for instance the means of achieving goals) is referred to as minor change (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Minor policy change occurs more frequently, while major policy change is unlikely to occur as long as the advocacy coalition that initiated the programs remains in power (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). The ACF suggests four pathways to policy change: 1.) Major policy change due to *external* sources, such as crises, disasters or regime change (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014); 2.) Major policy change occurring based on *internal* events within the policy subsystem, such as crises, scandals and failures (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014); 3.) Policy-oriented learning, leading mostly to minor policy change, usually happening incrementally over a longer period of time (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014); and 4.) Through negotiated agreement between conflicting coalitions (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014).

The ACF was created in the 1980s and has since been updated and revised continuously, evolving over time (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). It was originally based on the US political system, however is intended to apply to all policy areas in most developed countries (Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier, 1993a in Cairney, 2012a). Extensive reviews have been conducted examining how and where the ACF has been used to understand the policy process (Weible, Sabatier and McQueen, 2009; Sotirov and Memmler, 2012). These have demonstrated that indeed many studies have been conducted in political systems outside the US, including the EU and its member states, Canada, Australia, Sweden and Japan, as well as more rarely in Africa, South America and Asia (Cairney, 2012a). The ACF has most

frequently been applied to environmental policy issues, but has also frequently been utilised to analyse health, economic, social and education policy issues (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). To date, the ACF has rarely been used in food policy.

7.2.2 Application of ACF

This section applies the concepts of the ACF to the core findings of this study. Accordingly, the below paragraphs set out the policy subsystem, the advocacy coalitions within this subsystem, policy learning and policy change as applied to the findings of this study.

The Policy Subsystem

Urban food policy in London can be viewed as the policy subsystem in this study, defined by FMs as the policy topic and Greater London as the territorial scope. The set of actors influencing this policy subsystem include the LFB, the LMB, the London Mayor's office, NGOs, the private sector, local councils and farmers (this is not an exclusive list).

Advocacy Coalitions

The policy subsystem can be viewed as consisting of three main coalitions. The LFB can be viewed as forming one coalition, referred to from now on as the LFB-coalition. The LMB forms the second coalition, referred to from now on as the LMB-coalition. Actors forming these coalitions include members of the LFB and the LMB respectively. FM organisers across London can be viewed as the third main coalition, referred to here as the FM-coalition. In line with Sabatier's definition of advocacy coalitions, both the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition consist of people from various positions sharing a belief system and who show coordinated activity over time with the goal of translating their core beliefs into public policy (see following paragraphs for their shared beliefs). In line with the definition of advocacy coalitions, LFB-coalition members and LMB-coalition members meet regularly within their coalition to discuss and define policy goals for the London food system and London markets. Each of these coalitions also contains their own resources. The proposed FM-coalition does not fit into this typical definition of an advocacy coalition. Although the actors in this advocacy coalition could be sharing parts of their core belief system (see following paragraphs for their shared beliefs), they do not show coordinated activity over time with the aim of translating their beliefs into public policy and do not have shared resources. They could therefore be considered an advocacy coalition of shared thought rather than of shared action. Further, in contrast to traditional definitions of advocacy

coalitions within a subsystem, the three main coalitions in this study were not in competition.

In line with the ACF, each of the three proposed advocacy coalitions shared some policy core beliefs within coalitions. Actors' core policy and secondary beliefs were reflected in analysed documents (section 4.1), as well as in interview data (chapter 5 and chapter 6). Within the policy subsystem of urban food policy, policy core beliefs can be seen as beliefs around the global, UK and London food system. This would include for instance participants' beliefs around major problems in the food system, causes of these problems, as well as what the goals of food policy should be to address these problems. Secondary aspects can be seen as actors' beliefs around FMs in London, a subset of the policy subsystem. As this study explored and analysed mainly participants' secondary beliefs, the following statements about their policy core beliefs need to be viewed with caution. As members of the LFB-coalition come together to develop and implement the LFS, it can be assumed that they share policy core beliefs around the food system as stated in the 2006 and 2018 LFS. Their beliefs around the food system were also reflected throughout interviews. These beliefs include for instance seeing the current global, UK and London food system as unsustainable. And further, acknowledging structural factors as problems in the food system, with equity, environmental protection and health being core issues needing to be addressed in the food system. Similarly, the LMB-coalition comes together to improve London markets, and according to the 'Understanding London's Markets Report' aims to improve health and equity in London through markets. Also the 2018 LFS states that action of the LMB should be aligned with the LFS, implying similar core beliefs as the LFB-coalition. Interviews with FM organisers also provided insight into their core beliefs in relation to the food system, which included the need to improve equity for farmers, as well as improve environmental sustainability and health. The policy core beliefs of members of all three coalitions show similarities, indicating that some important policy core values seem to be shared across coalitions as well as within coalitions. This stands in slight contrast to the ACF hypothesis that policy core beliefs were only shared within coalitions (Cairney, 2012a). Potential theoretical implications of this are discussed in section 7.2.4 below.

Actors' beliefs around equality in access to FMs in London, their secondary aspects, diverged across the three proposed coalitions, less so within coalitions. In addition,

secondary beliefs were similar between members of the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition. Actors' beliefs around equality in access to FMs have been discussed in detail in section 7.1 of the discussion, however will be very shortly summarised here. Interviews demonstrated that the majority of members in the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition believed that FMs were middle-class, white spaces, where people on low incomes and from ethnic minorities faced physical, economic and cultural barriers in access. Further, most members did not see creating equality in access to FMs as part of the solution to addressing inequalities in access in London, due to these geographical, economic and cultural barriers. These beliefs were not officially discussed among members and were to a large extent based on personal assumptions, beliefs and experiences, as well as seemingly shaped by dominant cultural beliefs around FMs in the UK. Members of the FM-coalition on the other hand expressed that equality in access to FMs was important; in practice, only some had employed different strategies to improve geographic, economic and cultural access. Most members of the FM-coalition stated that creating access was not a priority as they reported that the consideration of access formed a tension with securing a fair income for farmers, which they saw as their main priority.

The capacity for coalitions to influence policy subsystems is partly shaped by their resources, which include formal legal authority for decision making, public opinion, information, mobilisable supporters, financial resources and skilful leadership (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). This research has shown that the FM-coalition lacks several of these resources. For instance, actors in the FM-coalition were already stretched with time and economic resources, and often commented on how they did not have the capacity to reach out to other FM-coalition members. The coalition did also not have a leader or any formal legal authority for decision making over policy on FMs on mayoral level. Further they did not exchange any information. On the other hand, the other two coalitions seemed to have more resources comparably. As these coalitions advise the Mayor of London on urban food policy, they contain more formal legal authority than the FM-coalition. Further, they have access to more information, more financial resources and feature two skilful leaders, the chair of LFB and the chair of the LMB respectively.

Policy Learning

No change in beliefs in secondary aspects due to policy-oriented within or across coalitions seemed to have occurred in the last 13 years. Within the LFB-coalition, policy learning had

taken place 13 years prior due to a new piece of information. A consultancy conducted for the Alexandra Rose charity had shown that people using Healthy Start vouchers in London preferred the use of street markets over FMs in London as they described geographical, economic and cultural barriers. This piece of research prompted the LFB-coalition and the Alexandra Rose charity to promote the use of Alexandra Rose vouchers at street markets rather than FMs. Since then, according to participants no new information or data were collected that could have led to policy learning. Further, although the LFB has experienced a turnover of members and leadership, who interact with each other in meetings, which could have facilitated learning, FMs and equality in access to FMs had not been discussed. According to participants, FMs had not been discussed within the LMB-coalition, and thus no policy learning had taken place. Also within the FM-coalition, policy-oriented learning had not taken place. In this case, the reason was that actors within this coalition did not communicate, meet or coordinate activities at all, thus lacking a space where policy-oriented learning could have taken place. No cross-coalition learning took place either. The LFB-coalition and LMB-coalition did not come together to discuss FMs. The three main coalitions did not participate in joint meetings to discuss FMs. Some members of the FM-coalition had been previously on the LFB, which could have been a place for policy learning. However, this was no longer the case. Participants in this study did not speak about any instances in which they had been in touch with members of other coalitions since then, even though there was at the time of this study some cross-membership of the LFB and LMB.

There could be several explanations why policy-oriented learning had not taken place in secondary aspects in this study. The ACF features several hypotheses around policy-oriented learning. One of these suggests that policy-oriented learning usually occurs in intermediary levels of conflict between coalitions (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). As the coalitions in this study were not in conflict, this could have been a hindrance in policy-oriented learning. Further, the ACF originally suggested that policy-oriented learning is most likely when a forum exists bringing together professionals from different coalitions (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). The three coalitions did not come together in such a forum. A third hypothesis in the ACF suggests that policy-oriented learning across belief systems is more likely for problems for which quantitative data and theory exist, compared to problems where data are qualitative or theory is lacking (Sotirov and Memmler, 2012;

Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). There has been only one quantitative study and one qualitative study on FMs in London, however not in the last decade.

Policy Change

No minor change, meaning no change in secondary aspects, had seemed to have taken place in urban food policy since the consultancy performed before the implementation of the Alexandra Rose vouchers. Neither through policy-oriented learning nor through negotiated agreement between coalitions. Policy around FMs had not changed.

7.2.3 Policy Implications

The application of the ACF to the core findings of this study (section 7.2.2) shows that minor policy change would be needed to support the consideration of equality in access in the governance of FMs in London. This is discussed in the following paragraphs.

To support FM organisers to consider equality in access to FMs in London, minor policy change would be necessary in urban food policy. As presented throughout section 7.1 of the discussion, the LFB and the LMB did not support FMs in London in general nor in creating equality in access. Some FM organisers made efforts to create equality in access, such as offering the use of food voucher schemes, however most ultimately prioritised farmers' livelihoods, which formed a tension for them with creating equality in access. Section 7.1 showed that effort and support would be needed from policy to bridge this tension. According to the ACF, this would require policy change in secondary aspects of the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition.

A pathway to minor policy change, which requires a change in secondary aspects, includes policy-oriented learning within and across coalitions. As suggested in section 7.2.2, no policy learning was taking place within or across coalitions in relation to FMs in urban food policy. Thus, policy learning would be necessary in London. One way to achieve policy learning involves members of coalitions interacting and influencing each other's views (Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). For this scenario, the FM-coalition would first of all need to coordinate within the coalition and advocate for their beliefs. The LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition would need to discuss FMs, as well as access to FMs, in their respective meetings for members to influence each other's secondary aspects. Across coalitions, policy-oriented learning occurs where one coalition adapts to the beliefs of

another coalition (1993b: 43 in Cairney p 208). Again, this would need to involve the FM-coalition acting as one coalition and making their beliefs known to the other two coalitions. A second pathway to policy learning within and across coalitions is the use of new information to inform and adjust beliefs (Cairney, 2012a; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). For this to occur, more scientific/technical evidence on FMs in London, including who is accessing them and why or why not, as well as what is already being done to increase access, would be important to inform discussions on FMs. There is to date no academic research which has explored access to FMs in the UK (see section 2.3.2) which could have been used to inform beliefs. Also policy stakeholders did not mention any evidence which was informing their beliefs except one piece of evidence produced more than a decade ago. The ACF also hypothesises that policy-oriented learning is most likely when a forum exists bringing together professionals from different coalitions (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Thus, it would be useful for all three coalitions to come together in meetings or a forum where FMs in London would be discussed. These multiple pathways to policy-oriented learning would be needed to find solutions of how to increase access to FMs, as well as to understand what kind of support would be needed on behalf of FMs from policy and what instruments could be used to address existing tensions.

Based on the findings in this study, several possible barriers to the above pathways to policy-learning exist in London. A first barrier could lie in a lack of resources. The LFB-coalition only has limited financial resources and few meetings a year. A reason given by a member of the LFB for why FMs were not on the agenda in the LFB-coalition was that there were more urgent issues that needed investment of limited public money. Focusing attention on a small part of the food system, such as FMs, might be difficult to achieve for this coalition. However, with the creation of the LMB, a focus on FMs in the LMB-coalition might be more realistic due to the more limited focus on markets in London. Resources could also be a barrier for the FM-coalition. Many FM organisers explained that money and time for additional tasks, such as communication with other FMs or the LFB, were very limited. They also lacked other resources that affect a coalition's capacity to influence a policy subsystem, such as skilful leadership and formal legal authority. To have more influence, they would need more economic resources and possibly a leader to coordinate or share their beliefs around FMs. A second barrier could lie in a lack of interest on behalf of the FM-coalition in communicating within their own coalition, as well as with the other two coalitions. Findings in this study showed that many FM organisers were not interested

in communicating with other FM organisers as they wanted to run their FMs based on their own values and beliefs and did not see a point in communicating with other FMs. They were further afraid of additional red tape if the LFB-coalition or the LMB-coalition were involved in the governance of FMs. These barriers would likely need to be overcome for change in secondary aspects among policy stakeholders to occur.

Although minor policy change would be necessary to promote or support the consideration of equality in access to FMs in urban food policy, this change might not be achieved in spite of policy-learning. It could for instance be the case that policy-learning would not change secondary aspects of the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition, which included that the tension between creating equality in access and ensuring farmers' livelihoods cannot currently be bridged in relation to FMs. The coalitions might conclude in spite of more evidence, and learning within and across coalitions, that addressing this tension need not be a goal in urban food policy in London. As discussed in section 7.1.1, this tension is extremely complex and deeply embedded in the broader food system. Addressing the roots of this tension would require wider policy and socioeconomic change alongside efforts from all three coalitions, however will be necessary to move towards a more sustainable, equitable and healthy food system.

7.2.4 Theoretical Implications

Scholars have stated that the ACF has previously been used only in a few studies to specifically understand food policy processes (Smith, 2014 in Page and Caraher, 2020). Accordingly, as part of this literature review only several studies were found which have applied the ACF to food policy, however this search was not exhaustive (Johnson *et al.*, 2012, 2013; Freudenberg and Atkinson, 2015; Hawkes *et al.*, 2016; Clark, 2018; Cullerton *et al.*, 2018; Page and Caraher, 2020). Within this group of studies, only two had examined local food policy processes (Clark, 2018; Page and Caraher, 2020). As has been stated previously, the ACF allows for methodological flexibility, allowing this theoretical framework to be applied to various research approaches and policy topics (Smith, 2014 in Page and Caraher, 2020; Weible and Sabatier 2018 in Page and Caraher, 2020). Thus, applying the ACF to the findings in this study shines a light on how the ACF is useful and applies to local food policy. The potential theoretical implications emerging from applying the ACF in local food policy are highlighted in the following paragraphs. However, these need to be considered with caution as the framework has only been applied to findings and

was not used in the analysis of data. More research will be necessary to explore these potential theoretical implications.

The characteristics of the advocacy coalitions in this study did not meet all original hypotheses on advocacy coalitions in the ACF. First of all, the three proposed coalitions were not in opposition to each other, although historically the ACF identifies two or more opposing coalitions within a policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988; Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). Rather, actors in the FM-coalition did not coordinate within their coalition to advance their policy goals and could thus not be in opposition to the LFB-coalition or the LMB-coalition. The LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition were also not in conflict, and according to the 2018 LFS, would both be working towards policy goals stated in the strategy. A similar divergence from historically two or more opposing coalitions was found in two previous studies examining local food policy processes (Clark, 2018; Page and Caraher, 2020). For example, Page and Caraher applied the ACF to urban food policy (Page and Caraher, 2020). They defined five local level food policy groups as one large coalition formed of civil society and local authority actors working in low-conflict partnerships to achieve policy goals (Page and Caraher, 2020). A similar pattern was also found in the US in a study examining a FPC (Clark, 2018). It defined only one larger coalition with very little conflict among members, which the author suggested was due to urban food policy being a new and niche policy area (Clark, 2018). The findings in this study and alignment with these existing studies could indicate that the ACF would need to be adapted slightly in local food policy. Coalitions within local food policy systems could be collaborative or in low conflict, or rather be forming large coalitions to achieve their joint policy core beliefs. As policy core beliefs seemed to be partly shared across coalitions in this study, they could potentially be viewed as one large coalition rather than three coalitions, although this would have required communication across the coalitions, as well as shared resources. More research will be needed applying the ACF to local food policy processes to test this hypothesis of either multiple coalitions in low conflict or collaboration or one larger coalition existing in local food policy. As Page and Caraher have suggested, the ACF could offer a path forward for analysing food policy and specifically could evolve to examine the "micro-level of food policy partnership" (Page and Caraher, 2020, p. 381).

The sharing of policy core beliefs across all three coalitions in this study could also potentially have a different explanation. ACF scholars have suggested variation in the

conceptualisation and measurement of belief systems when defining coalitions, calling for future research to clarify the distinction between policy core beliefs and secondary aspects, as well as for methodological guidelines for measurement (Jenkins-Smith *et al.*, 2014). This could have been the case in this research; questions did emerge for the researcher in this study around the boundaries of policy core and secondary aspects. However, as described in the previous paragraph, sharing core beliefs across coalitions could be typical for coalitions in local food policy.

7.3 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore how and whether equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs in London, and how this was linked to urban food policy. To investigate this, this study answered the following research questions, 1) What in 2017/18, was the governance related to FMs in London, and how was it linked to urban food policy? and 2) how was equality in access considered in the governance of FMs and how was this linked to urban food policy? These were explored by conducting a case study of FMs in London in 2017/2018. Data were gathered through conducting a document analysis of UFSs and web content of FM organisations in London (see findings chapter 4); through geographical mapping of the distribution of FMs in London according to relative deprivation (chapter 4) and by conducting semi-structured interviews with members of the LFB and the LMB, FM organisers, farmers, and NGO representatives (see findings chapter 5 and 6).

By triangulating and integrating findings from all methods, two core findings emerged in answering RQ1: 1) In London, FMs were primarily governed by individual FM organisations based on their own beliefs, values and rules and 2) The majority of UFSs in London mentioned local and seasonal food, as well as FMs, as part of sustainable and equitable food systems they were aiming to create. In practice, the governance of FMs was not linked to urban food policy on mayoral or council level. Four core findings emerged in answering RQ2: 3) The consideration of equality in access was mainly dependent on individual FM organisations. Some FM organisations took geographical, economic and cultural access into consideration using different strategies; 4) Creating equality in access was not a priority for the majority of FM organisers. A main reason provided was a tension between securing livelihoods for farmers and creating access for low-income citizens; 5) Although addressing inequalities in access to healthy food and supporting local food were goals in London food

strategies, in practice, the LFB and LMB did not link equality in access to FMs; and 6) Main reasons provided by policy stakeholders for not linking FMs to equality in access was that FMs were set up to support farmers and came with too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers for different communities. Based on the discussion of these core findings, the following conclusions can be drawn relating to the contribution to knowledge (section 7.3.1), implications for policy and practice (section 7.3.2) and future research (section 7.3.3).

7.3.1 Contribution to Knowledge

This study explored how equality in access was considered in the governance of FMs in London and how this linked to urban food policy. No previous research on FMs in the UK was found that had explored the consideration of access in the governance of FMs, nor explored how this was linked to urban food policy. Further, only one study on FMs has been published since 2012. This study has therefore provided up-to-date and novel insight on FMs in London from a governance and equity perspective, adding to the still scarce body of literature on FMs in the UK. The findings have also added to a body of literature on urban food policy. Research on UFSs, and specifically the implementation of UFS, is still scarce in the UK (Cretella, 2016a; Ilieva, 2017 Hawkes, C., Halliday, 2017; Cretella, 2019). Previous literature had not explored how the goals in UFSs of addressing inequalities in access and supporting local food systems are implemented in practice in relation to FMs. This study has therefore added new insight into urban food policy in the UK. The more precise contributions are laid out in the following paragraphs.

A core finding in this study was that creating equality in access was not a priority for the majority of FM organisers, mainly due to an access-livelihood tension. A similar tension facing FM organisers had previously been found in studies in the US (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). Scholars had concluded that this access-livelihood tension could not be bridged without redistribution, such as voucher schemes, as low-income citizens would not be able to pay farmers fair prices (Guthman, Morris and Allen, 2006). This tension has also been described as a major issue in the food system more generally (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017), requiring complex policy change on local, national and global governance levels involving a food systems approach (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Parsons, 2019). This tension has not been previously described in UK literature on FMs. This study points to FM organisers in London facing a tension that is deeply embedded in the food system and cannot be addressed on the level

of FMs alone, providing novel insight into the consideration of access in the governance of FMs.

Addressing inequalities in access to healthy food, as well as supporting local food formed main goals in London food strategies, however these goals were not linked in practice in regard to FMs in London; the LFB and the LMB were not involved or supportive in creating access to FMs. A first reason policy stakeholders gave for not linking FMs to issues of equity was the existence of too many geographical, economic and cultural barriers to FMs. In contrast, in the US, FPCs have made efforts to overcome existing barriers and improve access to FMs (Lowery *et al.*, 2016; Horst, 2017; Calancie *et al.*, 2018; Prové, de Krom and Dessein, 2019), demonstrating that policy can support these goals. This study hypothesised that factors potentially influencing policy stakeholders' views of not aiming to overcome these barriers included pragmatism, wanting to avoid the 'local trap', and as coined in this discussion, falling into a 'reverse local trap' making assumptions about FMs in London as being white, middle-class spaces. A second reason policy stakeholders gave for not linking FMs to equality in access in urban food policy, was that FMs were meant to support farmers. This view reflected a separation of rural and urban equity in relation to FMs in urban food policy in London; further, the data showed that policy stakeholders prioritised urban equity over rural equity. The reasons given by policy stakeholders were not based on official positions of the LFB and LMB, but were rather based mainly on personal experiences, beliefs and assumptions. Thus, this study has shed light on why creating equality in access to FMs has not been promoted and supported by the LFB and the LMB. And through this, has contributed first insight into how the goals in London food strategies of addressing inequalities in access to healthy food and supporting local food systems, including FMs, are linked in practice.

This study has also offered a tentative theoretical contribution to the ACF literature. It is one of the few studies that has applied the ACF to local food policy processes and has therefore contributed novel evidence to understand how the ACF applies to local food policy processes. It has hypothesised that in contrast to traditional definitions of several advocacy coalitions conflicting in a policy subsystem (Sabatier, 1988; Cairney, 2012a), advocacy coalitions within local food policy processes could be in low conflict or could potentially be acting as one large coalition sharing policy core beliefs aiming to build more sustainable, healthy and equitable food systems.

7.3.2 Implications for Policy and Practice

Evidence from this study, supported by previous research, points to a need for change and support on multiple policy levels if equality in access for different populations was to be considered by FM organisations in London. On urban food policy level in London, several policy implications could be recommended based on the findings in this study and existing literature in the US. Strategies to increase equality in access to FMs could include for instance supporting the acceptance and promoting the use of the Healthy Start and Rose voucher schemes at FMs in London. This could involve financial and logistical support to FM organisations from local councils, the LFB and LMB to implement the schemes. Additionally, this could include initiating (possibly collaborating with non-profits and government departments running voucher schemes) and promoting incentive schemes as they exist in the US, which increase the value of existing vouchers when used at FMs. Participants had also suggested that local councils could charge less rent for FM organisations, which could lower food prices at FMs in lower income communities. Other strategies employed in the US could be considered, however the London context would need to be taken into account (see future research section 7.3.3 below). To address the underlying structural and social determinants of the access-livelihood tension, urban food policy stakeholders would need to advocate for wider policy change, such as ensuring fair prices for farmers at all food retail or developing subsidies for small farmers to grow healthy food in environmentally friendly ways, as well as addressing wider issues of poverty and inequalities.

However, findings in this study also point to barriers to a scenario in which FM organisers would receive such support from urban food policy to address the access-livelihood tension. First of all, FM organisers were reluctant to interference in their governance of FMs by policy and were sceptical of additional ‘red tape’; several FM organisers had stated how they wanted to run their FMs according to their own beliefs and values. Further, FM organisations might not be particularly interested in creating equality in access, as they were mainly concerned with creating opportunities to ensure livelihoods for small and local farmers. And lastly, FM organisers did not necessarily have additional capacity and resources for these types of efforts. These barriers would need to be taken into account when considering strategies in urban food policy for increasing access to FMs.

It will also be important for urban food policy in London to address urban and rural equity holistically in future to implement the goals of London food strategies. London food

strategies and food strategies in the UK aim to tackle issues in the food system taking a food systems approach (Sonnino, 2019), which will need to involve providing decent livelihoods for farmers, as well as ensuring access to healthy food. Policy stakeholders separated issues of urban and rural equity in relation to FMs and beyond; FMs were seen as supporting farmers while street markets were mentioned as providing affordable food, however whether farmers had received a fair income at these street markets was not mentioned as important. Taking a food systems approach in relation to FMs will require bridging this tension between farmers' livelihoods and access to food for low-income citizens rather than separating these issues. Otherwise a danger exists that FMs increase equity for farmers whilst perpetuate existing inequalities in access. Linking rural and urban equity will be necessary in urban food policy more generally. A sustainable food system cannot be achieved if 'cheap' food, which is inequitable for farmers, is seen as a solution to access for low-income citizens (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Mason and Lang, 2017). Although this holistic approach is crucial on urban food policy level, it will require broader policy change (Horst, 2017; Ilieva, 2017; Smaal *et al.*, 2020). Inequities in the food system will require major changes in national and international policy, as well as the current socioeconomic system to tackle underlying issues of poverty, low wages, inequalities and the culture of 'cheap food' squeezing primary producers (Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017).

Policy stakeholders' views on FMs, including their views on equality in access, were not based on official positions of the LFB or LMB but rather mostly on personal experiences, beliefs and assumptions. At the same time policy stakeholders had limited knowledge of the governance of FMs and the consideration of access within this. Thus, these values and beliefs could be a focus for change in the future. Policy stakeholders will need a deeper understanding of the governance of FMs in London, based on robust assessments and evidence, in order to make policy decisions around FMs as part of implementing UFSs. As summarised in the next paragraph, the ACF was useful to explore more in depth how these beliefs and values could be changed.

Based on the application of the ACF to the findings, minor policy change (which would need to involve a change in secondary aspects of policy stakeholders) would be needed for urban food policy to promote and support equality in access to FMs. This would require policy learning within and across the LFB-coalition, the LMB-coalition and the FM-coalition in

order to address issues of access to FMs. This would need to involve coordination and communication within the FM-coalition. It would also need to involve the LFB-coalition and the LMB-coalition discussing FMs and equality in access to FMs at their meetings, including for instance how the goals of UFSs could be implemented in regard to FMs. Ideally, the coalitions would need to come together at a forum to learn from members of other coalitions. Up-to-date assessments and evidence on FMs in London and the UK would be needed (as discussed in future research below) to inform these discussions and decisions. However, individual coalitions might decide that capacities are lacking (time and resources) to implement any strategies that would result from policy learning.

7.3.3 Future Research

This study has provided a first exploration into how equality in access is considered in the governance of FMs and how this is linked to urban food policy in London. To deepen our understanding of what role FMs play in urban food systems in the UK, how equality in access is considered in their governance, and how their governance is linked with urban food policy, more research will be needed. This case study has raised the following questions for future research to explore: What barriers currently exist in accessing FMs for different populations in London and other cities in the UK? How is equality in access considered in the governance of FMs in other cities in the UK? How is the governance of FMs in other cities in the UK linked to urban food policy and aligned with goals stated in UFSs? And beyond FMs, is rural and urban equity linked in other areas of urban food policy in London; and are they linked in relation to FMs in other areas in the UK? And further, how can the ACF be useful in analysing local food policy in the future? The following paragraphs discuss these questions in more detail.

Up-to-date evidence is needed on access to FMs in London and other cities in the UK. Policy stakeholders in this case study made statements on access to FMs, however did not mention any recent research these views were based on. No studies on FMs in the UK have focused on issues of access for different populations. If to be used in UFSs as instruments as part of a more sustainable and equitable food system, up-to-date evidence is needed on the current role of FMs in the UK food system, including who is accessing them and why or why not. This study has explored the policy process around equality in access to FMs, and it will be important to triangulate these findings with detailed understanding, that is up to date, of equality in access to FMs and how that is evolving. This would also be necessary to

understand the access-livelihood tension more in-depth. Understanding exactly whether barriers in access exist, and how they manifest for low-income populations and ethnic minorities, and how this relates to the governance of FMs, would be needed to find strategies on how these issues could be addressed.

It would also be important for future research to explore how equality in access is considered in the governance of FMs in other cities in the UK. To date, the findings in this study could only be compared to research from the US, where research had also found an access-livelihood tension. Evidence on what kind of strategies FM organisers in other cities in the UK employ to consider access, whether they too prioritise farmers' livelihoods and whether they face a similar access-livelihood tension will provide an opportunity to explore the findings from this study further, as well as understand for instance whether FMs in smaller urban areas face different issues or tensions in the consideration of access. Ultimately, more understanding of how equality in access is considered in the governance of FMs in other cities, and what tensions and barriers exist, will form an important evidence base for supporting FMs to align with goals stated in UFSs in the future.

Future research should further investigate how the governance of FMs is linked to urban food policy in other cities in the UK. More specific questions should include: How is urban food policy involved in the governance of FMs? Is equality in access to FMs a goal and supported in urban food policy? This case study has shown that the governance of FMs in London is not linked to urban food policy and that equality in access to FMs is not supported on urban food policy level. Understanding the situation in other cities would provide deeper understanding of how UFSs are being implemented in relation to FMs. It would further reveal whether urban food policy in other cities in the UK employs strategies to support access to FMs, as is the case in cities in the US, or whether policy stakeholders have similar views to policy stakeholders in London. Comparing the findings in this case study to such evidence from other cities would be useful to understand wider views and barriers around implementing goals of UFSs around addressing inequalities in access to food and supporting local food and farmers in relation to FMs. These insights could be used for development of future urban food policy.

Related to the previous point, it would be important to examine whether a separation of rural and urban equity in urban food policy, as found in this case study, is reflected in other

areas of urban food policy in London. And further, whether this is also the case in relation to FMs and other areas of urban food policy in other cities in the UK. A food systems approach, in which urban and rural equity are linked will be necessary for transitioning to a sustainable food system (DuPuis and Goodman, 2005; Lang, Barling and Caraher, 2009; Lang and Heasman, 2015; Mason and Lang, 2017). More evidence on barriers to and strategies for linking urban and rural equity in urban food policy in London and other cities in the UK will be able to build a foundation for more effective food policy.

It would also be important to further the understanding of applying the ACF to local food policy processes. This research has raised potential questions that could be explored to better understand local food policy processes. These include for instance whether it is common in local food policy processes for advocacy coalitions to share policy core beliefs, rather than differ, as has been historically described in the ACF (Sabatier, 1988; Cairney, 2012a). And then further, whether these advocacy coalitions then exist in low conflict or rather form one large coalition with members within working in low conflict. This can be explored by applying the ACF to local food policy processes in other cities and regions in the UK. Further studies using the ACF to understand local food policy processes in London and beyond could ultimately provide theoretical insights into the ACF, as well as contribute to more effective food policy processes in the future.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Example Interview Schedule for FM Organisers

General
Could you tell me about what motivated you to become part of this organisation and what your role is currently?
And your organisation currently runs x farmers' markets in London, is that correct?
How do you see farmers' markets as important?
What are the benefits?

Small Farmers and Local Food
Can you tell me about your views on how your farmers' markets support farmers?
Are they all small farmers?
How important do you think bringing local food into London is for the London food system? Why?

Governance and Equality
Do you think there is a trend in the number of farmers' markets across London?
How is this felt in your organisation? Are you still setting up new markets?
Could you tell me about how you have decided in the past or generally decide where to set them up?
Who is traditionally involved in these decisions?
What other agencies or organisations are involved?
What do you think are your main considerations when setting up a farmers' markets somewhere?
Have these above factors changed over time?
Are and if how local borough councils involved? Have they ever contacted you asking to set up a market somewhere?
Who else has approached you for setting up farmers' markets?
Have communities initiated setting up of farmers' markets or been involved in some way in the decisions?

What in your opinion are benefits to the urban community?
Who are your farmers' markets aimed at?
Do you think that farmers' markets across London serve diverse communities? Why or why not?
When setting up farmers' markets, how is equality in access considered in your case?
Do you set up mostly in higher or lower socio-economic areas? Why?
Have the development of urban food strategies in London influenced your decision making on where to set up farmers' markets?
How have urban food strategies in London influenced your organisation in general?
What factors have influenced your decisions in reaching different groups?
What have been the biggest barriers you have encountered in setting up in different neighbourhoods in London?
What are the biggest barriers in in setting up in low-income communities?
Where do you advertise for your farmers' markets?
Why do you think equality in access is or is not considered in your organisation?
In how far do you think equality in access is important in the context of farmers' markets?

Prices
How are prices at the farmers' markets determined?
What factors are considered when setting prices?
Do they differ between affluent and less affluent neighbourhoods?
How do you think they compare to supermarket prices?
Do you accept Healthy Start vouchers? Why or why not?

Health
How are decisions made on what to sell at the market?
Do you first recruit farmers or first decide what should be sold?
What main factors are considered when deciding what to sell?
In how far are decisions on what to sell linked to promoting a healthy diet? Is this a consideration?
How is public health and sustainable diets a theme in relation to farmers' markets in your organisation? Is this one of your goals?
Do you consider healthy food important in this context?

Sustainability
What are the main production methods farmers use at your markets?
According to your rules and regulations, what kind of production methods or standards are allowed or encouraged?
Do you think production methods are important in this context? Why or why not?
Do production methods differ across your different farmers' markets across London, and why?
Are certain production methods more demanded in certain neighbourhoods?
Niche markets, such as organic, niche products, how do you think equality in access fits into this?

Concluding Questions
If anything, what do you think would need to change in the organisation of farmers' markets to best fit into a healthy, sustainable and equitable urban food system?

Appendix 2: Ethical Approval

Undergraduate, Postgraduate & Research Programmes
Economics
International Politics
Psychology
Sociology
Northampton Square
London EC1V 0HB
Tel +44(0)20 7040 8508
Fax +44(0)20 7040 8580
www.city.ac.uk/social

15th November 2017

To whom it may concern:

Reference: Soc-REC / 150048378 / 31-10-17
Principal Investigator: Natalie Neumann
Project Title: Urban Food Governance and Equity: A Case Study of Farmers' Markets in London
Position(s): PhD Candidate
Start Date: 1st January 2017
End Date: 30th September 2019
Approval Date: 15th November 2017

This is to confirm that the research proposal detailed above has been granted formal approval by the Sociology Research Ethics Committee. Please note the following:

Project amendments

You will need to submit an Amendments Form to the Chair/Secretary if you wish to make any of the following changes to your research:

(a) recruit a new category of participants;
(b) change, or add to, the research method employed;
(c) collect additional types of data;
(d) change the researchers involved in the project.

Adverse events

You will need to submit an Adverse Events Form to the Chair of the Committee, copied to the Secretary of Senate Research Ethics Committee (Anna.Ramberg.1@city.ac.uk), in the event of any of the following:

(a) adverse events;
(b) breaches of confidentiality;
(c) safeguarding issues relating to children and vulnerable adults;
(d) incidents that affect the personal safety of a participant or researcher.

Issues (a) and (b) should be reported as soon as possible and no later than 5 days after the event. Issues (c) and (d) should be reported immediately. Where appropriate, the researcher should also report adverse events to other relevant institutions, such as the police or social services.

Should you have any further queries relating to this matter, then please do not hesitate to contact me. On behalf of the Sociology Research Ethics Committee, I hope that the project meets with success.

Kind regards

Dr Simon Susen
Reader in Sociology
Chair of the Sociology Research Ethics Committee
Department of Sociology
City, University of London
Rhind Building, Whiskin Street
London EC1R 0JD, UK
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7040 4555
Email: Simon.Susen@city.ac.uk

Appendix 3: Purposive Sampling of Farmers for Semi-Structured Interviews

This table shows a compilation of farms selling at FMs at London. An 'x' indicates that farms are selling at FM organisations 1-9 (indicated by FM 1-9 in the table).

	FM 1	**FM 2**	**FM 3**	**FM 4**	**FM 5**	**FM 6**	**FM 7**	**FM 8**	**FM 9**
Farm 1	x			x (10 sites)		x			
Farm 2	x		x (4 sites)	x (10 sites)			x		x
Farm 3	x								
Farm 4	x	x		x (19 sites)	x				x
Farm 5		x	x (5 sites)	x (2 sites)					
Farm 6		x		x (2 sites)					
Farm 7		x		x (9 sites)					
Farm 8		x		x	x				
Farm 9		x	x (3 sites)	x (15 markets)				x	
Farm 10		x		x (4 sites)					
Farm 11		x	x (3 sites)	x (6 sites)			x		
Farm 12		x		x					
Farm 13			x (4 sites)		x				
Farm 14			x	x					
Farm 15			x (2 sites)						x
Farm 16			x		x				x
Farm 17			x	x (9 sites)					
Farm 18			x (4 sites)	x (6 sites)		x			x
Farm 19			x	x					
Farm 20			x (2 sites)	x (2 sites)					
Farm 21				x (6 sites)			x		
Farm 22				x (5 sites)					
Farm 23				x					
Farm 24				x (9 sites)				x	
Farm 25				x (18 sites)					x
Farm 26				x (14 sites)		x			
Farm 27				x (3 sites)		x			x
Farm 28				x (3 sites)				x	
Farm 29				x (6 sites)					x
Farm 30				x (4 sites)				x	

Appendix 4: Example of Coding Scheme for Interview Data

Name Nodes			
Access		0	0
Choosing locations		15	53
based on demographics		2	2
based on driving or walking by		3	3
Brexit		1	1
coincidence		1	1
Costs		1	1
do community consultation		1	1
easily visible		2	2
Farmers choosing after location is given		1	1
Farmers feeding back to organisation		1	1
market-driven		6	12
not in low-income areas		2	5
private landlords or councils		8	11
surrounding shops		1	1
trying to achieve equality in access		2	2
Cultural Appropriateness		9	19
Demographics		15	48
Diversity		16	45
Economic Access		15	50
Food Desert		3	7

Name Nodes			
General Equality in Access		14	55
Location		16	65
catering to local communities		1	1
Difficult getting spaces		3	3
enough in London to be accessible		1	1
Farmers' markets should be in more locations		2	2
Footfall and space		3	3
Located mainly in affluent areas		5	8
location as affecting financial success		1	1
location as barrier to access		3	4
Location as important		4	4
Location as not good		1	1
Location determining who accesses		5	6
location does not determine if it works necessarily		5	6
London being very mixed		4	4
Not an issue concerning equality		2	4
Not in low-income areas		5	11
Too many farmers' markets in too close proximity		1	1
Traffic		2	4
Wider efforts to find locations		1	1

Name Nodes			
Reasons for going		1	1
Solutions to Access		9	21
AddtionalNodesforChapter2		0	0
Consideration of Equality	Putting together overall if they consider equality in access in governance....doing it by going through each interview again to the equality section because the quotes are often dispersed	13	23
DiverseCommunities		15	17
Farmers_Location_consideration	based on what do farmers choose locations	7	9
Importance_of_Equality	Going through interviews checking in equality section if equality in access is important in the context of farmers' markets	15	17
Location_Consideration of Equality	Only when I asked specifically about if equality in access is considered with location	14	24
Location_CurrentLocations	This node shows where people think farmers' markets are currently located in London	10	27
Who are they aimed at		15	15
Advertising		0	0
Media		3	5
Promotion		9	21
Signage		2	7
Social Media		2	5
Agriculture		0	0
Biodynamic		2	6
Conventional Farming		3	5
Ethically produced		1	1
Good Production Methods		3	4
Organic		14	46
Critique of organic		4	9

Name Nodes			
Definition of organic		4	12
Linking organic to access		11	16
organic as a choice		1	1
Organic Produce at Farmers' Markets		2	2
assumption that FMs are organic		3	3
depends on governance		4	7
dont need to be organic		3	3
Farmers’ markets are mainly organic		3	4
farmers' markets as not organic		5	6
farmers' markets should aim to be more organic		7	11
lack of education of customers		1	1
minimum fertilisers and pesticides at farmers' markets		3	3
mix of conventional and organic		1	1
more organic produce at FMs than other places		1	1
no knowledge if organic		1	1
Production Methods		7	8
Alternatives to Farmers’ Markets		0	0
Box schemes		3	5
Doorstep Delivery		2	3

Name Nodes			
Food Assembly		2	3
Hubs		1	4
Individual Stalls		2	3
Internet		2	4
Urban Growing		1	2
Wholesale		2	2
Cultural Aspects		1	1
Cultural Norms		10	19
Farmers’ market culture doesn’t exist much		3	3
people feeling culturally comfortable		3	3
speaking of farmers' markets as posh		3	6
this is what they are in the UK		3	5
trendy		2	2
Customer Motivations		2	2
Demand		11	32
Education		6	14
Cooking lessons		2	3
How to use british produce		0	0
on different types of agriculture and food system		0	0
Gentrification		7	22
Hot or street food markets		5	6
Mass-produced		1	2

Name Nodes			
Street markets		9	41
Supermarkets		0	0
Can’t trace origin of food at supermarkets		2	2
difficult to compete with supermarkets		4	5
instant access		1	1
open every day		1	1
people who don’t care go to supermarkets		1	1
produce from around the world		3	3
provide cheap food		4	5
provide good food in UK		1	1
sterile and bad for the environment		1	1
supermarket culture as dominant		4	6
supermarkets as complementary		1	1
supermarkets as exploitative		8	16
supermarkets selling local food		2	2
ubiquity of supermarkets		1	1
Trust		2	5
Economic Aspects		1	1
capitalism		1	1
Competition from other markets		5	11
Economic Viability		13	19

Name Nodes			
Costs		4	6
Recession		1	1
Rent		5	8
Entrepreneurs		2	4
Footfall		7	14
Growth of Markets		15	32
History of Markets		5	6
Livelihood		13	45
Local Economy		5	7
Prices		0	0
Comparison between different farmers' markets		8	14
General on prices		10	19
Making of prices		7	15
Price negotiations		1	1
Prices as cheaper		5	11
Prices as equal		5	8
Prices as fair for farmers		12	25
Prices as more expensive		17	62
Relating price to access		4	5
Subsidies		7	19
Successful Markets		4	5
Viability		7	15
Know-how		2	2
Vouchers		15	35
Healthy Start		9	17

Name Nodes			
Rose Vouchers		7	47
General on FMs		0	0
Benefits		0	0
Benefits for community		18	28
Benefits for farmers		13	26
Benefits for the environment		3	3
Benefits of London		5	9
other benefits		4	7
Critiques of farmers' markets		5	5
Definition		17	145
aimed at farmer		4	5
Amount of hot food		11	17
Artisan food		2	3
as different to supermarkets		1	1
Basics of Food		3	6
Business-like		1	2
Comparing to American Farmers' Markets		3	7
Defining farmers' markets in London Food Strategy		2	5
Differences between MF organisations		1	1
Distinction to other markets		11	27
distinction to food markets		7	11
distinction to produce market		2	3

Name Nodes			
distinction to street markets		3	3
Don’t need help compared to street markets		1	1
farmers' markets as same as Waitrose, Fortnum and Masons		1	1
farmers' markets don’t sell ethnic food		1	1
good or fine food markets		1	4
people on poorer areas go to street markets		1	1
street food market		1	1
Who selling at other markets		1	1
Diversity of Markets		3	3
Exclusive		5	15
Farmers’ market as a name		1	1
Farmers selling food		7	7
Food Sold		6	14
Local Food		3	4
as good way to bring in local food		7	7
definition of local		4	4
How local the food is		8	10

Name Nodes			
importance of local food		8	9
supporting local food		3	6
we need to eat more local food		1	1
Quality		11	24
Markets that are conceived as good		1	2
Real vs not real		2	2
small vs large farmers		4	5
Trusting customers		2	3
what farmers' markets should be		2	2
What should be offered		5	7
Development of FMs in London		2	2
Purpose		7	16
Why they are not a priority		1	1
Governance		0	0
Aspirations		5	7
Charity		4	5
Collaboration		7	15
Considerations when setting up		11	22
Debate.Dialogue		6	9
Decision making		1	1
Effectiveness		11	13
Ethos		2	2
Informal Communication		5	6

Name Nodes			
Knowledge of Organisation		13	61
Views on Organisation		6	15
Local Knowledge		4	9
Motivations		6	8
Passion,Effort		3	7
Political Will		4	12
Private Companies		6	13
Greed		2	3
Recruitment		11	20
Rules		11	46
Strategies		2	2
Support for farmers' markets		3	5
Views on how it should work		2	2
Logistics		2	2
Access to London		1	6
Staff to sell		2	3
Transport		9	20
Other countries		0	0
US		3	9
Policy		0	0
Borough Food Strategies		7	16
Brexit		7	10
London Food Strategy		17	47
Milan Urban Food Policy Pact		2	2
New London Food Strategy		8	24
Wider Policy		10	22

Name Nodes			
Public Health		3	5
Access to healthy food		7	16
Diet		4	4
Obesity		3	3
Referencing the whole food system		2	6
Reflection on interview		4	12
Running Markets		1	1
Stakeholders		0	0
Community		12	36
community complaining		1	1
Community Consultation		10	21
Community Involvement		7	16
Community surveys		2	3
FARMA		9	22
FARMA certification		5	10
FARMA rules		7	12
Farmers		0	0
all the same farmers at London farmers' markets		5	6
choosing markets		1	1
difficult for farmers to come into London		2	2
farmers as core part of farmers' market		2	2
farmers considering access		8	8
Farmers needing help to get access to public		1	3

Name Nodes			
involvement in governance		6	12
leave when market is bad		1	1
researching FMs before joining		1	1
selling in London and outside of London		2	2
small farmers should be supported		1	1
there is a lack of farmers for markets		9	12
FM Organisations		11	48
[FM organisation a]		5	11
[FM organisation b]		3	4
[FM organisation c]		8	29
[FM organisation d]		9	16
Funders		1	2
Local Councils		0	0
communication		6	9
council lacking skills of how to run a market		3	8
environmental health and food safety		2	3
farmers' markets as business that brings in money		3	5
getting planning permission		4	4
implementing vouchers		1	4
knowledge that councils are involved		10	14
more partnership needed		4	7

Name Nodes			
no support		9	34
out of touch with the community needs		1	9
positive attitude towards farmers' markets		4	4
supportive council		6	13
trying to get rid of street markets		2	2
working with community		3	3
would need joint effort to push farmer's markets		1	1
London Food Board		16	83
Support by London Food Board		7	33
London Markets Board		14	67
Support by London Markets Board		4	7
Missing Stakeholders		13	27
NGO		3	5
Private Landlords		6	12
Stallholders		2	2
Sustainability		6	16
Environment		6	7
Packaging		6	7
What would need to change		18	27

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