Department of Marketing and Hunter Centre for Entrepreneurship

Community Food Providers as a Response to Food Poverty: An Institutional Theory Perspective

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Abstract

Food poverty contravenes the human right to food. Its existence in the UK has led to emotive calls for interventions to address this pressing social issue.

It is widely recognised that the State bears the duty to ensure households have adequate income to protect them from food poverty. However, alongside the State a network of other actors may play a role in tackling food poverty. Third-sector community food providers are one such actor however their place, efficacy, and role in a response to food poverty is debated within and outside the field.

Therefore, this study aims to explore the role of community food providers as a response to food poverty. A quasi-ethnography is undertaken with 16 grassroots organizations, operating in the central belt of Scotland, and 5 meso level support organizations. Data collected from June 2018 to March 2019 are analysed using institutional theory.

Insight on the forms, functions, and services of these organizations highlights that the name 'community food providers' belies both their heterogeneity and scope. Many offer services that extend beyond the provision of food. The heterogeneity, in part, arises from the multiplicity of logics instantiated in their day-to-day practices. Some of these practices incorporate institutional work, a means of achieving institutional change. This includes several forms of advocacy, targeted at different audiences.

The thesis contributes to knowledge on community food providers and adds to debates on their efficacy and appropriateness in a response to food poverty. It also highlights two institutional orders that are largely omitted from existing third sector scholarship and responds to calls to explore how multiple logics are instantiated within organizations. The thesis also challenges dichotomous presentations of services provision and advocacy, adding to a small body of literature that suggests the two can occur concurrently. These contributions are relevant for theory, policy, and practice.

1 Introduction

1.1 Research background, aim and justification

The existence of food poverty in the UK has received growing attention in recent years from public, political and academic audiences. Recently published data, available on a UK-wide basis for the first time in 2021, reported that 8% of households experienced food insecurity in the year 2019/20. Half of these households reported reducing the quality, variety, and desirability of their diets, and half reported disrupted and reduced food intakes due to a lack of money and other resources for food. A further 6% of households reported experiencing anxiety about accessing adequate food but the quality, variety, and quantity of their food intake were not substantially reduced (Department for Work and Pensions, 2021). This existence of food poverty in the UK has attracted emotive comments from academics, leading health professionals, and civil society. Such commentary cites growing concern and anger at the existence of food poverty and makes loud calls for the need to address the underlying causes. These calls echo the wider Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations. The first of these goals is to 'end poverty in all its forms, everywhere' and the second is to 'end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture' (FAO, 2016).

These calls to address food poverty are necessary given its stark consequences for individuals, communities, and society. These consequences include a negative impact on both physical and mental health and wellbeing (Berkowitz et al., 2018, Collins, 2009, Gundersen et al., 2018, Gundersen and Ziliak, 2015, Maynard et al., 2018) with a higher likelihood of negative health outcomes with increasing severity of food poverty (Gregory and Coleman-Jensen, 2017, Tarasuk et al., 2015). Being unable to afford food can lead to restricted social participation in usual activities such as children inviting their friends 'round to play' or eating out on special occasions (O'Connell et al., 2019a). Furthermore, as food poverty disproportionately affects some population groups (Loopstra et al., 2019b) it contributes to health inequalities, being unjust differences in health between different population groups. For these, and many other reasons, leading thinkers on food poverty recently articulated seven key reasons, which they called 'cases', as to the need to tackle the root causes of food poverty: the moral case, the child's case, the health case, the secure income case, the human rights case, the political case, and the public opinion case (End Hunger UK, 2019).

Recognition of the need to tackle food poverty is accompanied by debate as to where the responsibility for doing so sits and what are the most effective 'tools' for doing so. Such discussions require recognition of poverty, of which food poverty is one manifestation, as a grand challenge. Grand challenges are complex, affect large populations, adversely affect human wellbeing and are resistant to easy fixes (Ferraro

et al., 2015). Accordingly, addressing food poverty in the UK requires a network of actors (Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Riches, 1997b).

One set of actors that have come to the forefront of responses to food poverty are third sector-based organizations loosely grouped as 'community food providers'. Community food providers encompass a wide range of community-based organizations working with food in local communities. They provide practical, grassroots support and are often located in low-income communities and areas of multiple needs, facing high rates of unemployment, poor housing, and other social and structural problems (McGlone et al., 1999). Community food providers provide a range of services. These may include; provision of emergency food parcels to households in crisis; running food co-ops, creches, shopping transport, and mobile shops to improve accessibility; hosting cookery courses and demonstrations to improve skills and confidence; subsidising food prices to promote healthier foods and improve affordability; running community cafes to increase local food provision and provide a social space; and hosting community meals and shared eating to embrace the social side of food (Craig and Dowler, 1997).

Arguably, the central position of these third sector actors in a response to food poverty was exemplified during the COVID-19 pandemic that saw levels of food insecurity in the UK quadruple in the first three weeks of the national lockdown (Loopstra, 2020). At this time and throughout the pandemic, significant Government funding was made available to third sector community food providers, and staff and volunteers were designated as 'key workers' due to caring for the vulnerable (Lambie-Mumford et al., 2020). Such organizations, therefore, took a leading role in supporting people with food access during the pandemic. This built on pre-pandemic times when they were playing a seemingly increasing role in supporting people experiencing food poverty. Food banks are one example of a third sector community food provider. These organizations have documented year-on-year growth in the number of emergency food parcels provided to households over the last 20 years. This growth remains unabated with data from the main food bank network in the UK showing a 71% increase in the number of emergency food parcels provided by food banks in the network between 2015/16 and 2019/20 (Trussell Trust, 2021).

However, the role, appropriateness, and efficacy of third sector organizations as an actor in tackling food poverty is subject to debate. The debate is fuelled by a growing body of evidence that asserts the many of the underlying determinants of food poverty and the need for charitable food aid emanate from austerity informed policies introduced by the UK Government from 2008 (Dowler and Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Garthwaite et al., 2015, Human Rights Watch, 2019, Lambie-Mumford, 2018, Lambie-Mumford and Loopstra, 2020, Long et al., 2020, Loopstra et al., 2015b, MacLeod et al., 2019, Perry et al., 2014, Power et al., 2017, Reeves et

al., 2017, Strong, 2020). These findings signify the critical role of the State in addressing food poverty through utilisation of policy tools that reverse the trends seen since the implementation of austerity (Fabian Society, 2015, Lambie-Mumford, 2015). Recognising this, commentators assert longstanding concerns that the efforts of the third sector allow the State to 'look the other way' and shift the responsibility for addressing food poverty from themselves to the third sector (Cloke et al., 2016, Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, Poppendieck, 1999, Riches, 1997a, Tarasuk et al., 2020). Such commentary touches on debates as to the sometimes destructive role that third sector organizations may play in solving societal problems (Will and Pies, 2017).

Within this context of food poverty in the UK, evidence on the determinants, and debates regarding the role of different actors in responding to the issue, this thesis aims to explore the role of community food providers as a response to food poverty. Within this broad aim, the thesis seeks to add to existing scholarship in three key ways.

Firstly, it seeks to provide up-to-date insight into the forms, functions, and services of third sector community food providers. McGlone et al. (1999), in the aptly titled 'Food Projects and how they work', provided some of the first insights into how such projects operate. They noted that what they term 'local food projects' adopt a variety of approaches and differ in terms of management and organization structures. Later studies reiterate the variety of community food projects, which makes them hard to categorise (Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti, 2020). Perhaps because of this, existing scholarship that explores the organizational characteristics of community food providers often adopts an in-depth case study or ethnographic approach, drawing on data collected from one or two such organizations. Therefore, given the seemingly increasing role of third sector organizations in the response to food poverty, the study seeks to provide up-to-date insight into the 'what' and 'how' of community food providers. It seeks to do so by drawing on data collected from a range of these types of organizations.

Secondly, and relatedly, the thesis then seeks to understand the 'why' of the community food providers. Loopstra et al. (2019) evidence that operational characteristics of community food providers impact their accessibility. This highlights how factors such as modus operandi, ethos, and politics impact the extent to which they can support households experiencing food poverty (Cloke et al, 2016). This study, therefore, seeks to provide insight into the underlying logics that inform activities and decisions of community food providers on a day-to-day basis. It will also explore how these logics manifest and interact. Understanding the 'why' of these organizations provides insight, from their internal perspective, into their role in the diverse and contested space in which they operate (Tarasuk et al., 2020).

Thirdly, the study considers the extent to which community food providers have agency for change, the change of interest being that which contributes to tackling food poverty in the UK. Despite community food providers inarguably being a response to local concerns about food poverty their efficacy in tackling the problem is highly contested given the socioeconomic and political determinants of food poverty (Dowler and Caraher, 2003, Loopstra, 2018, Tarasuk et al., 2020). Recognising these determinants, the study seeks to further interrogate the day to day 'how' and 'why' of community food providers for evidence of agency that extends beyond the immediate focus on supporting the individual (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Loopstra, 2018) and transcends into the upstream structural drivers of food poverty. The study, therefore, seeks to provide further evidence to inform the debate of the role of third sector community food providers in tackling food poverty in the UK.

Alongside these contributions to the body of scholarship on third sector actors working in the context of food poverty the study seeks to concurrently add to the theoretical lens that was chosen for the study, namely institutional theory. Whilst the concepts of institutional logics and institutional work (Friedland and Alford, 1991, Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, Thornton et al., 2012) were chosen to achieve the overall aim additional contributions arise from the application of the theory to this current and topical context. Whilst it is recognised that institutions shape poverty and inequality (Beckfield et al., 2015, Brady et al., 2017) there is limited, if any, scholarship, that utilises the theory in the context of food poverty. This opens up the possibility of new insights to be added that expand this theoretical lens.

The four objectives of the study are, therefore:

1. Provide an up-to-date view of the forms, functions, and services of community food providers – detailing the 'how' and 'what' of these third sector organizations.
2. Investigate the underlying logics that inform community food providers on a day-to-day basis – providing insight into the 'why' of these third sector organizations.
3. Using the lens of institutional work, explore the extent to which community food providers have agency to contribute to the change required to tackle food poverty in the UK.
4. Provide more nuanced insights on logic multiplicity and organizational hybridity.

1.2   Food poverty in the UK: the fundamentals

Having articulated the objectives and justification this introductory chapter continues with a presentation of some fundamental knowledge that provides the foundations for

the subsequent chapters. The first 'fundamental' discussed is the definition of food poverty. Secondly, it details the prevalence of food poverty in the UK, and the development of this data in recent years. Finally, given the location of study is Scotland, the Scottish political context is explored.

1.2.1 Defining food poverty

The first 'fundamental' to be discussed is the definition or definitions of food poverty.

Two terms are commonly used in the UK on this subject. These are food poverty and food insecurity. These two terms are often used synonymously (Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, Long et al., 2020), resulting in ambiguity and a lack of conceptual clarity (Lambie-Mumford and O'Connell, 2015). It is useful to start with an understanding of food security.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) suggests that food security is achieved,

> "*when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life*" (FAO, 2015).

This definition recognises four food security pillars: availability, accessibility, utilization, and stability. The food availability pillar focuses on having sufficient quantities of a variety of affordable, healthy food available via either commercial routes or own production. The accessibility pillar focuses on having the financial and physical resources to obtain appropriate nutritious foods including financial resources, transport, time, and mobility. The utilization pillar focuses on the ability to use, store and process available food. This includes knowledge to make healthy food choices, awareness of food safety issues, skills to prepare healthy meals, and access to food preparation, cooking, and storage facilities such as an oven, fridge, and freezer. Finally, the stability pillar focuses on the stability of the other dimensions over time (Capone et al., 2014, Renzaho et al., 2011, Zivkovic, 2017). Alongside these dimensions, food security as cited by Anderson (1990 pg. 1560) requires "*the assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g., without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, and other coping strategies).*"

The USDA (2019) suggests food security at a household level exists on a spectrum. They describe decreasing security from high to very low:

- High food security: no food access limitations.
- Marginal food security: anxiety over food sufficiency or shortage of food in the house

- Low food security: reduced quality, variety, or desirability of diet but with little or no reduced food intake.
- Very low food security: disrupted eating patterns and reduced food intake

The term food insecurity is often used to describe marginal, low, and very low food security. It occurs when food availability, accessibility, utilization, stability, and social acceptability are compromised. These elements are captured in the following, commonly cited definition of food insecurity,

> *"The inability to acquire or consume an adequate quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so"* (see Dowler et al. 2001 pg. 2 and taken from Radimer et al. 1992 cited in Riches 1997a).

O'Connor et al. (2016) suggest the distinction between such definitions of food insecurity and food poverty is that the latter should have an emphasis on economic access. They, therefore, define food poverty as,

> *"insufficient economic access to an adequate quantity and quality of food to maintain a nutritionally satisfactory and socially acceptable diet"* (ibid, pg. 2).

However, this definition seems to omit their observation that economic access is not the sole characterising element.

Recognising a continuing lack of conceptual clarity this thesis will primarily use the term food poverty but similar to Long et al. (2020) will treat food poverty and food insecurity as inseparable concepts. However, it will also utilise alternate terms as used in the source, either the literature or the primary data.

1.2.2   Prevalence and measurement of food insecurity in the UK

The second 'fundamental' to be discussed is the prevalence of food insecurity in the UK. It is only very recently that a UK-wide systematic measurement of food insecurity was undertaken. For the first time in 2019, a 10-item Adult Food Security Survey Module was included in the annual, UK-wide Family Resources Survey. The inclusion of the measure was a major development for research and policy on UK household food insecurity which had been, until now, partly hampered by this lack of regular measurement across the four countries of the UK (ENUF, 2019, Lambie-Mumford and Dowler, 2015).

As described in the opening of this chapter the data from the survey, published in March 2021, reported that 8% of households in the UK experienced food insecurity in the year 2019/20. Half of these households reported reducing the quality, variety, and desirability of their diets whilst the other half reported disrupted and reduced food intakes due to a lack of money and other resources for food. A further 6% of

households reported experiencing anxiety about accessing adequate food but the quality, variety, and quantity of their food intake were not substantially reduced (Department for Work and Pensions, 2021). Together, and with reference to the definition of food insecurity cited above, this suggests that 14% of households experienced food insecurity across a spectrum of mild, moderate to severe. As this is the first year of data collection in this way, insight into trends of food insecurity prevalence is not available.

Before the decision to measure food insecurity in the UK wide Family Resources Survey the annual Scottish Health Survey included a measurement of food insecurity. The survey drew from the 'Food Insecurity Experience Scale' developed by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. This has provided insight into the prevalence of food insecurity on an annual basis in Scotland since 2017. Three years of data are currently available, from 2017 to 2019. In 2019, 9% of all adults reported that they had been worried they would run out of food at some time during the previous 12 months due to a lack of money or other resources. This was consistent with levels in previous years, 9% in 2018 and 8% in 2017. Six percent of these respondents, in 2019, went on to say that they had eaten less than they should because of a lack of resources and 4% said that they had run out of food during the previous 12 months due to a lack of resources (Scottish Government, 2020b).

1.2.3 Addressing food poverty – the political context in Scotland

The third 'fundamental' to be detailed is the Scottish political context, recognising that this is an important consideration when discussing food poverty.

In October 2015, at the request of Government Ministers, the Scottish Government established the Independent Short Life Working Group on Food Poverty. The group comprised people and agencies from across Scottish society with a critical interest in addressing food poverty. The Cabinet Secretary asked the group to consider,

> "*how best to create a dignified and sustained food strategy which supports vulnerable people, how best to address the often complex set of issues which lead people into food poverty and how a strong partnership approach to eradicating food poverty can be developed and how collective resources and assets can be best aligned*" (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016 pg. 8).

The group published a report titled 'Dignity, ending hunger together in Scotland' in June 2016. It is commonly referred to as the 'Dignity Report'.

The Dignity Report provides several recommendations for tackling food insecurity. Appendix 1 details the full recommendations of the report. The recommendations that are of most relevance to this study can be grouped into three key areas of work:

income maximisation and 'cash first', adopting a rights-based approach, and providing dignified responses (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016).

Four recommendations are made around income maximisation and 'cash first'. These are ensuring work is a reliable route out of poverty, improving the value of social security support, prioritising investment in benefits advice and information services to maximise people's incomes, and responding to incidences of food insecurity through use of the Scottish Welfare Fund. The latter is administered by local authorities and provides crisis grants to eligible applicants. These recommendations focus on increasing household income. Subsequent Government activity contributes towards achieving some of these recommendations. For example, in March 2017 the Scottish Government announced funding to mitigate the impact of the UK Government's welfare cuts (Scottish Government, 2017), they introduced the Scottish Child Payment of £10 per week per child for eligible, low-income families from February 2021 (Scottish Government, 2021) and provided £37.8 million funding to local authorities for the Scottish Welfare Fund in 2019/20 (Scottish Government, 2019b). Whilst this information alone is not sufficient to assess the impact of such policy activity on food insecurity it provides high-level insight into some relevant changes targeted towards increasing household income.

The report also recommended exploring how the right to food can be enshrined within Scots Law. This would mean the Scottish Government and other public bodies would have a duty to ensure that all individuals have secure access to adequate and affordable food including the means to purchase it (Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). Underpinning policy with the law makes policy more resilient and durable in light of government change and allows legal challenge as to how well the right is being met (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). There is some indication that this recommendation may be realised. A proposal for a bill to incorporate the human right to food into Scots law was open for public consultation. This closed in September 2020 (Scottish Parliament, 2020). More recently, campaigners hope progress will be made through the Good Food Nation Bill that is expected to be introduced following the formation of the new Parliament in May 2021 (Ritchie, 2021).

Finally, two recommendations directly applicable to community food providers are made in the report. The first is that organizations working on tackling food poverty should promote a dignified response. The second is that organizations securing Government funding must demonstrate how their approach promotes dignity and is helping to transition away from emergency food aid as the primary response. This transition away from emergency food aid is encapsulated in statements on removing the need for food banks, one particular type of community food provider, through the income-based recommendations noted above. The report purports that implementing these income based recommendations would allow food banks to cease operating or

shift to an alternate community food provision approach. This is captured in the following statement from the report,

> *"However, action is needed now, and our recommendations focus on reducing and removing the need for foodbanks in the lifetime of the current Parliament and of transitioning to other models involving increasing income and developing community food initiatives."* (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016 pg. 4)

This recommendation informed the introduction, in 2016, and the operation of the subsequent Fair Food Transformation Fund. The purpose of this fund was to,

> *"support projects that give a more dignified response to food poverty and help to move away from emergency food aid as the first response"* (Scottish Government as cited by Hammond, 2018 pg. 2).

A review of the Fair Food Transformation Fund, commissioned by the Scottish Government in 2017, clearly demonstrates the incorporation of these recommendations in the funding decisions made. Between 2016 and 2018, two types of organizations received funding. The first were 'food justice' projects, being community organizations that have historically embraced the social value of food. The second were 'transition' projects, being food banks that wished to modify their current approach to emphasise the dignity of the service users (Hammond, 2018). In addition, the Government awarded part of the 2016 tranche of funding to the organization Nourish to complete research and develop a framework to further inform the meaning of dignified food provision and share best practices (ibid). In partnership with the Poverty Truth Commission, Nourish undertook the 'Dignity in Practice' project. This project explored what the Dignity Principles mean in practice for community food provision and supported community food providers to reflect on and transition their practice towards a more dignified response to food insecurity (Nourish and Poverty Truth Commission, 2018). One output of the project is the report, 'Dignity in Practice – Learning Tools and Guidance for community food providers' that:

> *"...is designed to support community food providers, including those providing emergency food aid, to consider the practical ways their projects can promote the dignity of those experiencing food insecurity and help to transition away from emergency food aid as the primary response."* (Nourish and Poverty Truth Commission, 2018 pg. 1)

Thirty-two food banks applied to receive funding in the first tranche of the Fair Food Transformation Fund. Four of these food banks were initially successful. Nourish and the Poverty Truth Commission, through the Dignity in Practice project, subsequently supported the unsuccessful applicants to better understand the dignity principles and modify their services accordingly. Following this support and

modification, 15 of the original applicants were awarded funding in January 2017, classified as 'transition projects' (Hammond, 2018).

The direction provided by the Scottish Government, as demonstrated by the provision of funding, therefore highlights community food providers as an actor in the response to food poverty. However, it also clearly articulates a desire for these organizations to transition away from the typical food bank model of distribution of emergency food parcels. However, this transition can only occur amongst the broader suite of policy recommendations of the report, detailed above.

1.3   Chapter overview

Having detailed the research background, objectives, and justification as well as three 'fundamental' factors of understanding this introductory chapter continues with a brief overview of each of the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2: Extant literature on food insecurity

Chapter 2 explores the extant literature on food insecurity. This literature documents the demographics and socioeconomic characteristics associated with food poverty, a subset of which explores this topic through data collected at food banks in the UK. This literature provides insight into who experiences food poverty in high-income countries. It then focuses on available evidence around household income, which studies indicate is of central importance to the risk of food insecurity. Finally, the first half of the chapter looks at a more macro level, exploring literature on associations between neoliberalism, austerity, and food poverty. It presents evidence on four characteristics of these impacting food poverty: welfare, the job market, individualism, and the 'Big Society'.

The chapter then turns its attention to the literature on possible responses to food poverty. Evidence on the efficacy of state-led policy interventions highlights the key role that the State must play in interventions to reduce food poverty. However, community food providers may also be an actor in the response, and the limited evidence on their efficacy to do so is explored. Finally, the chapter closes with a summary of the trends and gaps in the literature highlighting how studies that look inwards at the community food providers would strengthen the existing evidence base. Such insight would provide a current understanding of the forms and services of community food providers, understanding of why they do what they do, and the agency they have to support wider change.

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspective: Institutional Theory

Chapter three introduces the theoretical framing for the study. At a high-level institutional theory is a highly applicable lens for this study. Firstly, it is necessary to approach food poverty from an institutional perspective, given the root causes and

the entrenched and deep-seated systems that lead to its existence. Secondly, to address these root causes it is necessary to consider the institutional level change.

After a brief overview of sociological institutionalism Chapter 3 explores two streams of institutional theory: institutional logics and institutional change. Institutional logics underpin institutions, defining their content and giving them meaning. Organizations use logics to make sense of and evaluate their everyday activities and organize those activities in time and space (Friedland and Alford, 1991, Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017, Thornton et al., 2012). The chapter discusses how multiple logics can manifest in organizations, and organizational heterogeneity can arise from the different instantiations of the logics. These different instantiations influence the form, function, and services provided by organizations and therefore provide a useful lens with which to consider community food providers. Furthermore, the institutional logics perspective posits a duality of structure and agency: whilst actors are embedded within the prevailing interinstitutional system they also have agency for change. The chapter discusses the literature on two mechanisms of this institutional change: institutional entrepreneurship and institutional work. Finally, the chapter closes with a summary that identifies relevant areas of debate within the literature.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

Chapter four sets out the methodology of the research. Starting with the research objectives the chapter then discusses the underpinning research philosophy that informs the subsequent research strategy. Adopting a qualitative, interpretive approach the study utilises a quasi-ethnographic approach. This involves immersion in the wider community food sector to provide a detailed understanding of the prevailing context in which community food providers operated at the time of the study. In addition, and at the heart of the data collection is 16 semi-structured interviews with grass roots community providers and 5 with meso level support organizations. This was complemented with observations and review of relevant organizational secondary data. Following a detailed account of data analysis, the chapter closes with a section on reflexivity. It acknowledges both prospective reflexivity, the effect of the researcher on the research, and retrospective reflexivity, the effect of the research on the researcher.

Chapter 5: Community food providers - forms, functions, and services

The first findings chapter provides the analysis of the forms, functions, and services of the interviewed community food providers. The community food providers in the study adopted one of three different organizational forms: charity, 'add-on' project, and social enterprise. Drawing on these findings the heterogeneity of community food providers is discussed. Three key functions of community food providers are then identified: enhanced food security, direct food provision, and non-food

outcomes. Functions were operationalised through the provision of a range of different services, each described in detail in the chapter. Following this description of the functions and services the chapter argues that community food providers are 'more than food' and organizations channel their efforts into ensuring a social opportunity is provided both directly and by the creation of pathways between other internal and external opportunities. The five participating meso level actors are then discussed. The chapter closes with a summative discussion on the findings presented including an analysis of the heterogeneity of community food providers, the centrality of the non-food functions, and the influence of two key factors impacting the landscape in which the community food providers operate. These factors are the impetus for the wider third sector to be more enterprising and the dramatic growth of food banks in the UK in the last 20 years.

Chapter 6: Community food providers - institutional logics

The second findings chapter builds on the detailed insight of the community food providers provided in Chapter 5 and firstly explores the institutional orders that are instantiated in the organizations. The data provides evidence of instantiation of five of the seven institutional orders: community, family, market, religion, and State. An in-depth discussion of each of the institutional orders is provided. Comparison of these findings with the extant literature on the institutional orders informing the third sector firstly corroborates existing understandings of the role of three of the institutional orders, community, market, and State. However, it also highlights the instantiation of two orders, religion and family, that are largely neglected in the existing literature. Strong evidence of logic multiplicity allows the chapter to explore the different types of hybridity that result from this logic multiplicity. These sections add to debates about the tendency for dichotomous presentations of hybridity as well as the implicit assumption of the incompatibility of multiple logics.

Chapter 7: Community Food Providers – agency for change

The final findings chapter employs the lens of institutional change, to explore the work of the community food providers in contributing to the change necessary to tackle food poverty. The mechanism for change is primarily institutional work in the form of advocacy. The chapter discusses the perceived target of change that the data identified. The chapter then explores three forms of political advocacy undertaken by the community food providers. These are calling for policy change, 'influencing' relationships/ advising policy makers, and collecting and providing data. Three forms of advocacy aimed at public opinion are also discussed. These are education campaigns, challenging othering, and challenging organization stereotypes. The chapter then discusses the concept of everyday advocacy to argue that there may be some institutional work imbued in the day-to-day practices of the organizations. This may be the cumulative effect of day-to-day case advocacy for service users or an implicit consequence of the organizations' existence. This chapter, therefore,

challenges dichotomous presentations of service provision and advocacy, highlighting a spectrum of social change work with varying levels of intentionality, explicitness, and activeness. It, therefore, suggests the agency of community food providers should be considered with reference to a cumulative and collective impact.

Chapter 8: Contributions, limitations, and future research

The concluding chapter brings together the preceding chapters and states the contributions of the research that were made in achieving the aim and objectives of the study. Several contributions to theory and the extant literature are made. The theme of these contributions is an amended typology of community food provision, insights on social enterprise in the community food sector, the identification of the institutional orders instantiated by community food providers including discussion of the family and religion order that are currently largely omitted from existing scholarship, the agency of community food providers as an actor in efforts to address food poverty, discussion on the dichotomous presentation of service and advocacy within current third sector literature, and the relationality and temporality of logic multiplicity. Further contributions to both policy and practice are then highlighted. These contributions include insight that may be used to support future funding decisions relevant to the Scottish Government's directive to transition away from emergency food aid and identification of the potential of distributed agency. This latter contribution may inform community food providers advocacy work. Following a discussion of the limitations of the study, the chapter closes with suggestions for future research to address the limitations and build on the findings of this study.

2 Extant literature on food poverty

2.1 Introduction

The first half of this chapter explores the literature that sheds light on who experiences food poverty in high-income countries such as the UK. This literature documents the demographics and socioeconomic characteristics associated with food poverty. A subset of this literature explores this topic through data collected at food banks in the UK. It then focuses on available evidence around household income and food affordability, two factors that may influence food poverty at a household level. Finally, the first half of the chapter looks at a more macro level by exploring the literature on associations between neoliberalism, austerity, and food poverty.

With this knowledge of factors that may contribute to food poverty, the second half of the chapter explores the literature on possible responses that tackle food poverty. It has a particular focus on third sector community food providers, recognising that they may be one actor in the response. The limited literature on the role and efficacy of community food providers in responding to food poverty is discussed. The chapter concludes with a summary of trends and gaps in this body of literature.

2.2 Who experiences food insecurity?

2.2.1 Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food insecurity

A growing body of research has sought to identify the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food insecurity.

Two sets of evidence are available that collectively provide some insight into demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food insecurity across the UK. Loopstra et al. (2019b) did a secondary analysis of data collected on food insecurity in the 2016 Food and You survey. Food and You is a cross-sectional survey of 3,118 adults aged 16+ living in private dwellings in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The analysis by Loopstra et al. (2019b) explored how demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to the severity of food insecurity in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In addition, combined data on food insecurity from the 2018 and 2019 Scottish Health Survey provided analysis of household food insecurity by household type in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2020b). However, this second analysis is limited to household type and therefore provides less insight than the Loopstra et al. (2019) study.

Loopstra et al. (2019b) found that younger people (aged 16-34), and adults who did not identify as white, had significantly higher odds of food insecurity. The odds of experiencing any level of food insecurity were significantly higher if there were children in the home. Socioeconomic variables that increased odds of food insecurity were lower levels of education, unemployment, and long-term health problems or

disability, particularly conditions that reduced daily activities a lot. Higher odds for more severe forms of food insecurity were associated with unemployment and lower levels of education (Loopstra et al., 2019b).

The Scottish data showed single parents and those aged under 65 living alone experienced higher levels of food insecurity (Scottish Government, 2020b). In addition, the 2017 survey reported a significant association between area deprivation and food insecurity. Nearly one in five (18%) people living in the most deprived areas reported having been worried about running out of food due to a lack of money or resources in the previous 12 months. This compares with 3% of those living in the least deprived areas (Scottish Government, 2018).

Other smaller studies have explored the factors associated with food insecurity in selected population groups. Two studies, set in different English cities, explored food insecurity in pregnant women. Food insecurity was more common in families where the mothers were younger, smokers, of lower social class, in receipt of financial benefits, and who had a higher deprivation score (Pilgrim et al., 2012). In addition to the receipt of means-tested benefits Power et al. (2018) found a strong association between a woman's perception of her financial security and food insecurity. A study in the city of York found the risk of food insecurity in private and social housing/council renters was higher than for homeowners (Pybus et al., 2021).

These findings are replicated in studies outside of the UK that also highlight the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of households who are at increased risk of food insecurity. For example, studies have shown household characteristics that increase risk include reliance on social assistance, lower education, being a lone parent female-led family, renting, and Aboriginal status (Che and Chen, 2001, Li et al., 2016, Willows et al., 2009).

2.2.2   Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food bank use

Another source of data that provides some insight into who is experiencing food insecurity comes from research of food banks. However, it is important to note that many households experiencing food insecurity will not attend a food bank (Caplan, 2016, Loopstra and Tarasuk, 2015, Tarasuk et al., 2020). This is because food banks are usually used as a last resort strategy for coping with food insecurity (Lambie-Mumford et al., 2014). Therefore, findings on studies of food banks cannot be extrapolated to represent the food insecure population. However, a high proportion of people using food banks are food insecure (Loopstra et al., 2018b, Sosenko et al., 2019). Therefore, in the absence of systematic measurement of food insecurity across the UK prior to its inclusion in the 2019 Family Resources Survey (see section 1.2.2) characteristics related to food bank use provided a useful, albeit caveated, source of data. Accordingly, UK food banks are a cite of several research studies. Table 2-1 details UK studies relating to food bank users, providing some insight into the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food bank use.

Table 2-1: Extant UK based research on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics related to food bank use

Author + date	Aim	Method	Findings
Loopstra and Lalor (2017)	Identify the characteristics of people using food banks and the nature of their financial circumstances (pilot study)	From October to December 2016, a total of 413 people using one of eighteen Trussell Trust food banks completed a survey questionnaire during their visit to the food bank.	The most common type of household using the food banks were single males, followed by lone mothers with children. People with disabilities, adults with low levels of education, and adults seeking asylum were over-represented compared to the general population. 69% of food bank users were in receipt of benefits and 39% were waiting for a benefit decision or payment. About 1 in 6 households contained working adults.
Loopstra et al. (2018b).	As above	As above	With specific reference to sociodemographic characteristics of families, data showed single-parent families and families with three or more children are more likely than other family types to use food banks.
Sosenko et al. (2019)	A three-year research project designed to provide the Trussell Trust, and the wider sector of stakeholders, with the evidence base required to make recommendations on how to address hunger in the UK (follows the pilot study by Loopstra and Lalor, 2017).	The first report included data from the first annual survey of food bank users with data from over 1,000 service users of 42 Trussell Trust food banks, 10% of the total network.	People aged 25-54 were considerably over-represented among people referred to food banks compared with the national age profile. Those of pension age were strongly under-represented and other age groups were similar to their national share. People living on their own were strongly over-represented, particularly males. Lone parents were significantly over-represented whilst couples were strongly under-represented. A substantial proportion of households referred to food banks were homeless and only a small proportion were homeowners. Private renters were considerably overrepresented and social renters were hugely overrepresented.

Across all households referred to food banks, 14% had someone in employment, 83% were not in work and the remaining 3% were retired. People referred to food banks tended to be either jobseekers or unable to work due to disability or illness. The majority of those who worked were in part-time employment. Benefits were the most common source of income for households referred to food banks with 86% indicating that benefits were one of their 'current sources of income' for the |

			household, most commonly Universal Credit. A third of people referred to food banks were in arrears with three or more bills.
Loopstra et al. (2019a)	Provide insight into socio-economic characteristics of users of 'independent' food banks (those not part of the Trussell Trust Network).	Telephone interviews with representatives of 114 independent food banks. Representatives were someone who had sufficient knowledge about the food bank, most commonly the manager.	The following percentages of food banks reported each of the following groups made up a significant proportion of their clients: unemployed – 96.5%, people with benefits issues – 96.5%, people unable to work due to illness or disability – 93%, single-parent families – 93%, people with poor mental health – 90%, people who had their benefits sanctioned – 85%. Other responses included 71% identifying people in part-time work as a significant proportion of clients, 62% people on zero-hour contracts, and 36% people in full-time work.
MacLeod et al. (2019)	Understanding the prevalence and drivers of food bank use in deprived communities in Glasgow	Survey of 3,614 households across 15 deprived communities in Glasgow. Comparisons made between households who had accessed a food bank and those who had not, termed 'non-users'	Food bank users were four times more likely to have been a victim of a crime than non-users, and three times more likely to have experienced a reduction in employment, including unemployment, redundancy, or reduced working hours. Approximately twice the proportion of food bank users had experienced a serious health event, illness, or disability compared with non-users. Over twice as many food bank users as non-users had experienced relationship breakdown. Furthermore, welfare reforms had impacted more food bank users than non-users.
Prayogo et al. (2017)	Explore who uses food banks, and the factors associated with increases in the severity of food insecurity among low-income households seeking frontline emergency-type services.	Surveyed those seeking help from front-line crisis providers either foodbanks (N = 270) or a comparison group from Advice Centres (N = 245) about demographics, adverse life events, financial strain, and household food security.	Food bank users were experiencing financial strain and reported more adverse life events over the past 6 months, especially relationship and financial events, than people attending the advice centres.

Qualitative data on food bank use adds to the insight provided by the quantitative studies in Table 2-1. Perry et al. (2014) undertook 40 in-depth interviews, alongside other methodological approaches, with clients at 7 food banks in a diverse range of areas across the UK. They found that most food bank users were facing an immediate, acute financial crisis. The interviews revealed several specific factors that appeared to make individuals or families either more likely to experience significant life-shocks or less likely to be able to cope with them, leading to attendance at the food bank. These were living in a local area characterised with a lack of access to jobs, shops, and services; the impact of physical and mental illness on individuals and the wider household, with illness and/or caring responsibilities affecting not only ability to work but also capacity to deal with other crises; difficulty obtaining or proving educational qualifications or skills; problems with housing; isolation or lack of family support; and large debt repayments which reduce disposable income at source and potentially lead to spiralling financial problems (Perry et al., 2014).

Across these studies, evidence is emerging on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics associated with both food insecurity and food bank use. Furthermore, following the inclusion of measures in the Family Resources Survey from 2019 (as detailed in section 1.2.2), more data will become available to further strengthen this currently limited evidence base in the UK. Funnelling in from these studies on demographic and socioeconomic characteristics other evidence exists on the relationship between household income and, to a lesser extent, food affordability and food insecurity.

2.3   Household income and food insecurity

A further finding of studies, some of which have been already cited above, is the relationship between household income and food insecurity. Loopstra et al.'s (2019b) analysis of the 2016 Food and You survey found that people in the lowest quartile of the income distribution were far more likely to experience any form of food insecurity. In their smaller study, Pybus et al. (2021) found a clear association between lower annual household income and increased risk of food insecurity. For example, households in the middle-income bracket (£21,250–£27,999 per annum) were four times less likely to be food insecure than those with an annual household income of £16,100 or less. Researchers in Canada used the receipt of publicly funded pensions to demonstrate that stable, guaranteed income provides protection from food insecurity for low-income seniors. Their findings showed that the rate of Canadians aged 65 to 69 receiving state pensions who were experiencing food insecurity was half the rate compared to those aged 60-64 who were not yet eligible (McIntyre et al., 2016). The study showed when people leave low-paying, often unstable jobs and start receiving these pensions the guaranteed and stable income protects them from low income or crises that can cause food insecurity (Emery et al.,

2013, McIntyre et al., 2016). Other studies from North America provide further evidence of this relationship between income and food insecurity across several population groups (Bhargava et al., 2008, Coleman-Jensen et al., 2012, Heflin et al., 2007, Huang et al., 2010, Huisken et al., 2017, Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2011, Li et al., 2016, Sriram and Tarasuk, 2016). Finally, Loopstra and Tarasuk's (2013) longitudinal survey of 331 low-income families in Toronto showed that the relationship between income and food insecurity is dynamic. They found a significant association between income change and change in the severity of food insecurity: greater income losses led to increases in the severity of food insecurity experienced.

Other studies highlight the impact of income shocks that Leete and Bania (2010) define as positive or negative deviations from the mean of predicted monthly income. These authors, analysing data from a nationally representative stratified sample of U.S. households, found that the level of income and negative income shocks had a statistically significant effect on the probability of 1-month food insecurity among non-elderly U.S. households. Utilising data collected at food banks Perry et al. (2014) found that most food bank users were facing an immediate, acute financial crisis. Waiting for benefit payments, benefits sanctions, or reduction in disability benefits, or tax credit payments was the cause of the crisis for between half and two-thirds of participants. A sudden loss of earnings was another cause of the crisis. Garthwaite's (2016a) ethnographic study, volunteering in a food bank provides detailed narrative data of service users' stories. Similar to Perry et al. (2014), the study finds evidence of immediate income shocks that tip people living on a low income into crisis. Such income shocks may be more acutely felt by low-income households who have fewer assets, such as savings or property, that could buffer unexpected expenses or income shocks (Guo, 2011, Li et al., 2016).

As well as the level and stability of income, researchers have found that a household's other demands on this income are associated with food insecurity. Such demands include housing costs (Fletcher et al., 2009, Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2011, Sriram and Tarasuk, 2016) and, although not as substantial as housing costs, heating costs (Emery et al., 2012).

2.4   Food affordability and food insecurity

Another relevant factor to food insecurity may be the cost of the food itself. There has been a limited number of studies of the relationship between food prices and food insecurity. Three studies from the US suggest an association. Gregory and Coleman-Jensen (2013) matched low-income households to 'market groups' which captured regional variations in food prices. The prevalence of food insecurity for low-income households was higher in areas where food prices were higher. Nord et al. (2014) found an increased annual relative price of food, across 2001-2012 was associated with an increase in the prevalence of food insecurity. Zhang et al's (2013)

study in the US found that higher food prices generally increased the risk of food insecurity among low-income households with children. However, this was not consistent across food types: higher fast food and fruit and vegetable prices contributed to a higher risk of food insecurity whilst higher beverage prices had a protective effect on food insecurity. Price differences across either time or geographical area in the US have, therefore, allowed researchers to provide evidence of an association between food price and food insecurity, albeit from a small number of studies.

Arguably, proportionate increases in household income could protect households from food insecurity despite changes in food prices. Noting increasing food prices but stagnating wages Reeves et al. (2017) analysed existing EU-wide surveys in 21 countries between 2004 and 2012. They did so to explore the association between food deprivation and this disconnect between food price inflation and wage inflation. They found that rises in food price inflation above wage inflation were strongly associated with an increase in food deprivation, with food deprivation being self-reported inability to afford a meal containing protein-rich food every other day. For example, in the UK food prices rose by 5.9% over and above wages from 2009 to 2010 and this corresponded to an 0.353 percentage point increase in food deprivation. However, this was not consistent across EU countries. There was no association with food deprivation in countries with a Social Democratic welfare regime (Denmark, Sweden, and Finland): the more generous welfare system mitigated the extent of the impact on food deprivation of the growing gap between prices and wages (Reeves et al., 2017). This study was more methodologically limited in the extent to which the data could ascertain associations between food insecurity and food prices, as was done in the US studies. However, it does highlight that increasing food prices do impact diet quality when income sources do not also increase proportionately. Diet quality is one marker of food insecurity,

Alongside this small number of studies exploring associations between food affordability and food insecurity is a range of evidence on household food expenditure. Lower-income households spend less on food than other households, but this requires a bigger proportion of their total weekly income (Douglas et al., 2015a, O'Reilly et al., 2017). In addition, evidence shows that some households are not spending enough to achieve the recommended healthy balanced diet, and this was associated with the working status of the household 'head' (Scott et al., 2018). Furthermore, the proportion of families spending less than the amount needed to reach a socially acceptable diet rose from 41% to 52% in the UK between 2005 and 2013 (O'Connell et al., 2019b). Although the studies did not explore the reasons why, the evidence showed that almost half of UK households do not spend enough to achieve a socially acceptable, nutritious diet.

Collectively, the evidence shows a clear association between household income and food insecurity, including levels, stability, and competing demands. Evidence also suggests food prices can impact food insecurity. This evidence, alongside that on the demographics and socioeconomic characteristics associated with food insecurity has led researchers to consider the structural level conditions that are resulting in these circumstances in which households find themselves experiencing food poverty. Structural conditions under scrutiny include those relating to neoliberalism and austerity. These will now be discussed.

2.5   Neoliberalism and austerity in the UK and Scotland

Neoliberalism became prominent in the UK following the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government in 1979 which bought in the New Right Economic Agenda. The free market, individualism, and private enterprise have dominated policy ideas in the Conservative party since (Taylor-Gooby and Stoker, 2011). Harvey (2005 pg. 2) summarizes neoliberalism as,

> *"A theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices".*

Neoliberalism purports that the market will allocate resources correctly and efficiently and does so more effectively than State intervention (Harvey, 2005). It therefore harbours "*a profound antipathy to progressive redistribution*" (Dale, 2019 pg. 1049). Neoliberal informed policy reforms include deregulation of labour markets, privatisation and marketisation of previously state-funded public services, reducing social welfare programmes, and increasing conditionality of social welfare based on efforts to participate in the labour market (Farnsworth and Irving, 2018, Stiglitz, 2008).

This neoliberal agenda informed the political response to the Great Recession. Following the financial crash in 2007 the UK, alongside many other countries, experienced the Great Recession. This refers to the economic downturn between 2008 and 2013. It is referred to as the Great Recession as it was "*longer, wider and deeper than any previous economic downturns including the Great Depression of the 1930s*" (Bambra, 2019 pg. 10). The recession had a significant impact on the labour market. As the economy shrunk, unemployment rose when people lost their jobs and employers stopped hiring: in the UK by the end of 2011 almost 2.7 million people were looking for work and the quarterly unemployment rate reached 8.4%, the highest rate since 1995 (ONS, 2018). Alongside high unemployment rates, private sector wage growth was slow and public sector wage rises were below inflation due to pay freezes and caps (ibid).

Although neoliberalism was the catalyst for the global economic crash Farnsworth and Irving (2018 pg. 462) observe that *"neoliberalism survived, reinvigorated through an alliance with a new form of austerity"*. The 'age of austerity' was ushered into the UK by the new Conservative-led coalition, elected in May 2010. The Prime Minister presented austerity as a necessary and inevitable action with public spending cuts being the solution to the financial crisis and the means to cut the budget deficit (Evans and Walker, 2019, Lupton et al., 2015, Reeves et al., 2013). Accordingly, the UK austerity package was the third largest in Europe with public expenditure cut by 2.2% (Reeves et al., 2013). Neoliberal characteristics informed this response to the recession in several ways. Firstly, it brought changes to social welfare and the labour market, secondly it brought cuts to spending on public services and thirdly it shifted responsibility for social issues from the State to other actors. Cumulatively, these impacts of austerity were not evenly spread. Austerity disproportionately affected persons with disabilities and the unemployed (Reeves et al., 2013), lone-parent families, large families, and families with younger children (De Agostini et al., 2018), and the most deprived local authorities (Beatty and Fothergill, 2014).

Here, it is worth noting the different governance systems between the UK and the devolved nations. Whilst the central State determines the policies on reserved areas, devolved Governments have the power to develop distinctive policies on devolved policy areas. The Scottish Government has power over devolved matters including health, education, local government, law and home affairs, environment, sports and the arts, social security, and taxation. However, the devolved administrations have limited revenue-raising powers of their own. Funding available to the devolved administrations is determined by the Barnett formula. This formula adjusts the amount of public expenditure allocated to the devolved administrations so that it is reflective of spending levels allocated to comparable services in England. Therefore, despite their criticism of austerity, and calls for the use of a public expenditure approach to stimulate recovery, the Scottish Government also had to administer cuts locally (MacKinnon, 2015).

However, whilst the overall amount received from the central State is centrally determined, devolution allows the Scottish Government to make its own budget choices and allocate funds to different policies (Adams and Schmuecker, 2005). As previously noted in section 1.2.3 the Scottish Government has, therefore, to the extent that they are able, tried to mitigate some of the impacts of austerity. This is more aligned to their Social Democratic approach (MacKinnon, 2015). At the end of 2019, the Scottish Government announced they had spent more than £100 million a year aimed at mitigating the *"worst effects of UK government austerity"* including policies to bolster household income. These include, for example, the 'Scottish Child Payment' introduced in February 2021 which provides low-income families with a child under six £10 per child, per week; the 'Discretionary Housing Payment'

available to people who cannot afford their housing costs subject to eligibility criteria; and 'Universal Credit Scottish Choices' which provides options of being paid twice a month rather than monthly and to have the housing element paid directly to landlords (Scottish Government, 2019a).

2.6 Neoliberalism, austerity, and food insecurity

The cumulative impact of these consequences of the recession and the age of austerity has been associated with food insecurity (Blake, 2019a, Dowler and Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Human Rights Watch, 2019, Jenkins et al., 2021, Long et al., 2020, Reeves et al., 2017) and food bank use (Beck, 2020, Garthwaite et al., 2015, Lambie-Mumford, 2018, Lambie-Mumford and Loopstra, 2020, Loopstra et al., 2015b, MacLeod et al., 2019, Perry et al., 2014, Power et al., 2017, Strong, 2020) as well as contributing to poorer health and growing health inequalities (Bambra, 2019, Stuckler et al., 2017).

Four key components of neoliberalism and austerity are detailed in this body of work: welfare; the job market; individualism and the 'Big Society'.

2.6.1 Welfare

Reducing welfare costs was a key focus of austerity (HM Treasury, 2010). These cuts manifested in changes to social security payments including reductions to the amounts of benefits and increased conditionality to eligibility (Beatty and Fothergill, 2014). The latter includes benefit sanctions that result in cessation or reduction of benefits payments if certain conditions are not met, such as attending appointments or failing to make efforts to find employment (BBC, 2018). The welfare reforms also included the introduction of Universal Credit. This aimed to simplify the welfare system by bringing six separate benefits into one integrated payment for working-age households (HM Treasury, 2010, Schmuecker, 2017). These aspects of welfare reform have been associated with food bank use.

Loopstra et al. (2018a) provide quantitative evidence of the impact of benefit sanctioning on food bank use. The authors combined food parcel data from the Trussell Trust with local authority data on rates of sanctions. Findings showed that as the quarterly rate of sanctions rose in local authorities, the instances of adults receiving food assistance from the Trussell Trust also rose. Similarly, Reeves and Loopstra (2020) analysed the number of households receiving Universal Credit in postcode districts alongside the total number of food parcels distributed by the Trussell Trust to households by postcode district. They found an increased prevalence of Universal Credit was associated with more food parcel distribution. The Trussell Trust themselves have also researched the impact of Universal Credit. They have reported above-average increases in referrals for food parcels in areas of full Universal Credit rollout to single people, couples, and families (Jitendra et al., 2017). They also report on the '5-week wait', whereby each claimant moving onto

Universal Credit must wait at least five weeks before receiving their first payment. The Trussell Trust report that this wait is pushing people into financial insecurity, leading them to seek support from food banks (Thompson et al., 2019)

Lambie-Mumford (2018) has also evidenced the impact of welfare changes on food bank use. The qualitative study included interviews with 51 people from the head offices of the Trussell Trust and FareShare as well as organizations in these networks involved in providing emergency food aid. (FareShare is an organization that redistributes surplus food from the food industry to frontline charities and community groups across the UK). Interviewees discussed how service users were experiencing reduced household income because of a range of policy changes. The first was the introduction of the 'bedroom tax', which reduced housing benefits for council or housing association tenants who are working age and classed as having a spare bedroom (Shelter, 2019). The second was changes to council tax benefits which were implemented following a 10% cut in central Government funding. This cut was absorbed by local authorities many of which made up the shortfall by introducing 'minimum payment' schemes, requiring all working-age claimants to pay some council tax (Ashton, 2014). The third was extended sanction lengths.

2.6.2   The labour market

Neoliberalism purports that employment is the best form of welfare, with people rewarded for their hard work (Swales et al., 2020, Taylor, 2017). However, the UK has seen the rise of insecure, precarious, low wage and part-time employment during the age of austerity (Coulter, 2016, Taylor, 2017). A new group in the UK labour market has emerged, the 'precariat', characterized by non-standard work patterns that are underpinned by job insecurity, such as gig work and zero hour contracts (Danson and Trebek, 2011, Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, MacDonald and Giazitzoglu, 2019). The consequence of this is that being in employment no longer offers protection from poverty: the number of people in poverty in working families rose by over one million in the three years to 2016/17 (Schmeucker, 2018).

There is limited data on the association between changes in the labour market and food insecurity in the UK although some of the previously cited studies note a cohort of food bank users who are employed. The Trussell Trust network report that 14% of households referred to food banks in 2018 had someone in employment (Sosenko et al., 2019) and managers of independent food banks report a proportion of their clients are in part-time work, on zero-hour contracts, and, less commonly, in full-time work (Loopstra et al., 2019a). McIntyre et al. (2014) explored factors associated with food insecurity specifically in working households in Canada. For the period 2007-2008 four percent of working households reported food insecurity. Households reliant on primary earners with less education and lower incomes were more likely to experience food insecurity. The working households experiencing food insecurity were more likely to include earners reporting multiple jobs and higher job stress.

Minority workers with comparable education levels experienced higher rates of food insecurity than European-origin workers. Other studies from North America have similarly evidenced the prevalence of food insecurity in the 'working poor', highlighting that employment does not guarantee household food security (Sattler and Bhargava, 2016, Tarasuk et al., 2014).

2.6.3   Individualism

Neoliberalism promotes competitive individualism where individuals are responsible for their fate. By extension individuals are also culpable for their own 'failure', such as experiencing poverty. Accordingly, when people need to ask for help with everyday life they are subject to framing, blaming, and shaming (Braedley et al., 2010, de Souza, 2019). Seeking help with the basic and everyday need for food can lead to this shame. Evidence of this comes from several studies that have shown that food bank users feel a sense of shame and stigma at requiring assistance with food. Reasons for this shame included not being self-sufficient, needing the help of others, not being able to stand on their own two feet, and not being able to provide for their family (Caplan, 2016, Douglas et al., 2015b, Garthwaite, 2016b, Graham et al., 2016, Purdam et al., 2015, Swales et al., 2020, van der Horst et al., 2014).

2.6.4   The 'Big Society'

Alongside austerity the 2010 election of the Conservative-led coalition Government brought with it a systemic restructuring of State services. This restructuring shifted the responsibility for many functions that the State historically held to private providers, citizens, and the community (Alkon, 2014, Rose, 1999, Taylor-Gooby and Stoker, 2011). This manifested in the 'Big Society', a key part of the Conservative Government 2010 manifesto. The manifesto suggested that the level of State intervention had reached a point where it was inhibiting, rather than advancing, aims to reduce poverty and inequality and improve wellbeing. Instead, the manifesto proposed that people and communities, the 'Big Society', are better able to solve such problems. Included in this new approach was a reform to public services that would *"enable social enterprises, charities and voluntary groups to play a leading role in delivering public services and tackling deep-rooted social problems"* (Conservative Party, 2010 pg. 37).

However, it is worth noting that the 'Big Society' rhetoric did not feature in the subsequent elections in the devolved administrations. Even the Conservative Party in Scotland did not adopt it as a high-profile campaigning issue (Alcock, 2012). However, whilst the 'Big Society' itself may not have featured heavily in political discourse in Scotland there has still been relative convergence in third sector policy and practice development across the four UK nations over this time (ibid).

This political narrative suggests that community food providers are an exemplar of the 'Big Society' (Caplan, 2016, Lambie-Mumford, 2016, Ronson and Caraher,

2016, Silvasti and Riches, 2014). However, out with political narrative this suggestion is contentious. There are two key reasons for concern amongst food poverty scholars. Firstly, situating the response to food poverty in the third sector distracts from the underlying problem of poverty (Poppendieck, 1999, Riches, 1997a). Secondly, the existence of third sector responses allows the State to look the other way, as it appears that something is being done: well-meaning and charitable endeavours are addressing the difficult issue and helping people in need (Caplan, 2016, Ronson and Caraher, 2016, Seibel, 1996, Silvasti and Riches, 2014). But, in reality, the socio-economic structural factors leading to the existence of food poverty remain the same (Lambie-Mumford, 2018). Referring specifically to food banks, Riches (2011 pg. 772) summarises,

> *"As food banks continue to prop up under-funded social safety nets, they reinforce in the public mind the 'Poor Law' model of Victorian welfare charity. Charitable food banking permits governments of rich countries to look the other way, falsely assuming that charitable food relief is an adequate response to food insecurity."*

To this point, the chapter has explored the evidence on who experiences food insecurity and discussed the household level factors of income and food affordability. These factors were then situated in the broader macro-level context of neoliberalism and austerity. The growing body of literature that associates this context with food insecurity primarily explores four key components: welfare, the labour market, individualism, and the 'Big Society'. With this knowledge, the chapter now turns to an exploration of interventions that may target reductions in food poverty.

2.7 Interventions to tackle food poverty

Before the exploration of the literature on third sector community food providers, as the key focus of this study, a brief discussion of evidence on State-driven policy interventions is provided. This recognises that the State must take the leading role in a response (Lambie-Mumford, 2015). This is followed by a review of the literature on community food providers.

2.7.1 Policy interventions

There is some evidence from Canada on the effectiveness of State led policy interventions. When there has been a relevant change in policy or strategy, researchers have used the opportunity to measure the impact on household food insecurity. This evidence is presented in Table 2.2.

Author and date	Policy Change	Findings
Brown and Tarasuk (2019)	Child Tax Benefit and Universal Child Care Benefit was replaced with a more generous, income-tested program, the Canada Child Benefit. The average amount issued to eligible families increased by approximately $2,300 a year.	Overall food security status improved among households with children across the income spectrum. The decreases in the probability of experiencing severe food insecurity were most significant, suggesting the change disproportionately benefited the most vulnerable families.
Ionescu-Ittu et a (2015)	As above	As above plus in addition, food insecurity declined more for single-parent families.
Li et al. (2016).	Two policy changes in British Columbia between 2005 and 2012 sought to increase household income: one was an increase of welfare benefits and the second was financial support for low-income families in private market rental accommodation.	Whilst overall food insecurity rose significantly among households in British Columbia during this time, this was not the case for households in receipt of social assistance: food insecurity and 'moderate and severe' food insecurity for these households declined. However, severe food insecurity remained unchanged and there was no association between food insecurity and the rent support programme.
Loopstra et al. (2015a)	Implementation of a poverty reduction strategy in Newfoundland and Labrador. Core goals of the strategy were: (a) Improved coordination of services for those with low incomes; (b) a stronger social safety net; (c) improved earned incomes; (d) increased emphasis on early childhood development; and (e) a better-educated population	This study explored the "unprecedented" decline of household food insecurity in Newfoundland and Labrador, from 2007 to 2011, where prevalence reduced from 15.7 to 10.6 percent. The study found economic drivers did not fully explain the decline in food insecurity over this time. The vulnerability of households receiving income from social assistance to food insecurity significantly decreased. The authors suggest *"the diversity of targeted interventions in the poverty reduction strategy appears to have improved the material wellbeing of these households"* (pg. 201).

As Table 2.2 shows, the studies provide indications of the effects of income-based policies and poverty reduction interventions on household food insecurity. The introduction of more generous income-tested benefits studied by Brown and Tarasuk (2019) and Ionescu-Ittu et al. (2015) brought reductions in food insecurity. However,

the studies also highlight differing sensitivity for different levels of food insecurity and different types of intervention. In the papers, the authors suggest the impact of other macro-economic factors may explain some of the variability in the results across time and between the studies.

2.7.2 Third sector interventions – Community food providers

As previously noted, other potential actors in efforts to tackle food poverty are community food providers based in the third sector. Broadly defined, community food providers are organizations working in local communities with food. They provide practical, grassroots support and are often located in low-income communities and areas of multiple needs, facing high rates of unemployment, poor housing, and other social and structural problems (McGlone et al., 1999).

Whilst there is recognition of the need for a network of actors necessary to address food poverty, the role of community food providers as an intervention to tackle food poverty is debated (Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2009, Loopstra, 2018, Tarasuk et al., 2020). However, in Scotland, they are often identified as a relevant actor in a response to food poverty. As noted in section 1.2.3 the Dignity Report recognises community food providers as one set of actors who currently respond to food poverty in Scotland. The report recommends investment in and continuation of 'community food hubs' developed by the community and social enterprise sector (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). Furthermore, Community Food and Health Scotland, a key public health organization in Scotland state,

> *"Addressing food poverty in a sustainable way is the nub of what community food initiatives do, in supporting access to healthy affordable food and teaching food-related skills."* (Community Food and Health (Scotland), unknown)

Similarly, Nourish, a leading social justice organization in Scotland with a focus on food state,

> *"Communities cannot be held responsible for, or bear the disproportionate burden of, food insecurity in Scotland, but, with appropriate support, the community food sector is well placed to respond to current crises and promote and restore dignity at a local level."* (Nourish and Poverty Truth Commission, 2018 pg. 1)

Whilst neither organization is suggesting that community food providers are the solution to food poverty, they recognise them as one potential actor amongst others.

2.7.3 The number of community food providers in Scotland

A recent mapping of organizations responding to food insecurity in Scotland was commissioned by the Scottish Government. The research was conducted between June and September 2019. Data included a survey completed by 612 organizations

(returns of 59 organizations were removed as they did not provide free or subsidised food) and desk-based research that identified a further 185 organizations, making a total of 744 organizations in Scotland providing free or subsidised food. The organizations mapped included food banks, community meals, school breakfasts, soup kitchens, residential facilities for vulnerable adults where food is provided for free, lunch clubs for vulnerable adults, organizations that provide holiday clubs or activities with meals for children and families throughout the year, community cafes where the food is affordable for vulnerable people, and cooking clubs and classes where food is eaten for free. Among the 559 organizations that completed the survey and stated that they provided free or subsidised food, 512 reported providing free food (92%) and 161 reported providing subsidised food (29%). Of these, 114 organizations were providing both free and subsidised food (20%) (Scottish Government, 2020a).

As well as this mapping of community food providers data on the number of food banks, as one type of community food provider, is available. Data comes from two sources, firstly the Trussell Trust network which collects data from network members, and, secondly, from the Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN) which collects data from food banks independent from the Trussell Trust network. Data for Scotland across the six months, April 2017 to September 2018, reported by IFAN, is shown in Table 2.3 (Independent Food Aid Network, 2019). These data are likely to be a small underestimate as not all independent food banks surveyed by IFAN provided data on the number of parcels distributed and the data does not include Salvation Army food distribution or, potentially, other unidentified independent food banks.

Table 2-3 Number of food banks and food parcels distributed in Scotland over the 6 months April 2017 to September 2018

	Trussell Trust affiliated food banks	Independent food banks	**Total**
Number of food bank venues	118	94	**212**
Number of food parcels distributed	258,606	221,977	**480,583**

These data provide insight into the number of community food providers and the scale of support provided by food banks. Less quantitative data is available on the scale of provision of the other types of community food providers identified in the Scottish Government mapping. This is likely to be because they are not affiliated to nationwide networks to the same extent that food banks are (Blake, 2019a). Many individual community food providers will, however, produce data on their activities and scale of support (Caraher and Dowler, 2007)

In addition to this mapping, Douglas et al. (2015a) undertook interviews with ten informants representing community food initiatives and 15 informants from organizations concerned with the care and support of vulnerable groups in Scotland. Interviewees were asked about organizational actions to mitigate household food insecurity. Services included offering a food bank service, providing cooking and budgeting skills training, linking food bank clients with agencies that can help to maximize their income and deal with debt, setting up and managing local food growing schemes, and enabling clients to get easier access to low-cost fruit and vegetables. They also reported that some of the organizations had added a food bank type service to their existing operations in recent years. This was following requests for this service from people using their other services and local health and social care professionals.

2.7.4   Community food providers and food poverty

Whilst there are many community food providers in Scotland undertaking a range of activities to support people experiencing food poverty the role of such organizations in the response to food poverty is contested.

Some activities of community food providers focus on 'self-help' (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Dowler and Caraher, 2003) such as providing cooking, budgeting, and shopping sessions to support people with skills and knowledge in these areas. However, evidence shows that these personal level factors are not associated with food poverty. Research has shown that low-income households are confident at cooking, are no less able to do so than other households and are no less informed about healthy eating than the general population (Adams et al., 2015, Craig and Dowler, 1997, Nelson et al., 2007). Using data from national surveys in Canada Huisken et al. (2017) were able to tailor their study to food-insecure households, as opposed to the broader population of low-income households. They found that the probability of household food insecurity was not associated with individuals' skills in grocery shopping, food preparation, or cooking (Huisken et al., 2017). Other research has shown that people accessing food banks are resilient and resourceful in managing the food items they receive in their food parcel, they do not lack knowledge of or desire for a healthy diet, and they do not lack knowledge on cooking skills (Caplan, 2016, Douglas et al., 2015b, Garthwaite et al., 2015). These studies highlight that food poverty is not a result of a lack of personal skill or knowledge.

Loopstra (2018) reviewed the existing evidence on a range of community food providers. Firstly, summarising the available evidence on food banks the author highlights such interventions have limited effectiveness in addressing food insecurity. Several reasons for this assertion are provided: the limited amount and regularity of food provision; assistance being variable and unresponsive to users' needs; limited accessibility; nutritional inadequacy; and feelings of stigma and shame in having to access this support (Fallaize et al., 2020, Gany et al., 2013, Garthwaite,

2016b, Irwin et al., 2007, Purdam et al., 2015, Tarasuk and Eakin, 2003, Tarasuk and Eakin, 2005, Tarasuk and Beaton, 1999). Secondly Loopstra (2018) reviewed the evidence on other types of community food providers including a food pantry, a community kitchen, a fruit and veg box scheme, and a lifestyle programme. Table 2-4 summarises this review including the methodological limitations of the studies as identified by Loopstra (2018).

Table 2-4: Summary of evidence on the impact of community food interventions on food insecurity reported by Loopstra (2018)

Author, year, and country	Type of community food provider	Findings	Method limitations
Martin et al. (2013) America	'Food Pantry': pantry members can choose their own fresh and perishable food, and receive motivational interviews with a project manager, and additional services and referrals.	Compared to people receiving the support of a food parcel only (control group) people accessing the pantry were less than half as likely to experience very low food security, had higher self-sufficiency scores, and increased fruit and vegetable consumption by one serving per day.	Unclear what aspect of the intervention was most effective, drop-out rates were not reported, participants were allowed to switch group (intervention or control) meaning randomisation was not perfectly achieved.
Iacovou et al. (2013) Systematic Review of international community kitchens	Community Kitchens: Communal preparation of large amounts of food which is taken home to eat. Often combined with budgeting and cooking skills.	Evidence synthesis suggested that community kitchens may be an effective strategy to improve participants' cooking skills, social interactions, and nutritional intake. Community kitchens may also play a role in improving participants' budgeting skills and address some concerns around food insecurity.	Most studies were small and descriptive.
Engler-Stringer and Berenbaum (2007) Canada	Community Kitchens	Participants in groups that cooked large quantities of food (upwards of five meals monthly) reported some increases in their food resources. Participants also reported increased dignity associated with not having to access charitable resources to feed their families. Some participants reported decreased psychological distress associated with food insecurity. However, benefits were tenuous as programme availability was subject to holiday schedules, funding constraints, and staff time.	Research only included people who continued to engage with community kitchens, not those who had discontinued their involvement.

Rivera et al. (2016) America	'SNAP-ED' which offers nutrition, budgeting, and lifestyle intervention education programme	Randomised controlled trial. 10 weeks after baseline, the reduction in food insecurity was the same for both the control and intervention groups. After 1 year, food insecurity scores were significantly lower in the intervention group, though this was driven by a greater rate of rebound to baseline scores for the control group rather than a further reduction in food insecurity for the treatment group.	Dropout rate was 43%.
Miewald et al. (2012) Canada	Provision of a subsidised fruit and vegetable box	A non-significant increase in food insecurity among those who discontinued the programme over the follow-up period was reported. The prevalence of food insecurity in retained participants who remained in the programme was unchanged.	Provided limited insight into the effectiveness of the programme.

Reflecting across these studies Loopstra (2018) concludes,

> *"While programme benefits can be documented among participants, how programmes impact the prevalence and incidence of food insecurity in communities is often not discussed. Even if a large effect size is observed, if only a small subset of the food-insecure population is ever inclined or able to maintain sustained participation in these programmes, a wide-scale reduction in food insecurity at the population will not be achieved."*
> *(Loopstra, 2018 pg. 276)*

Whilst Loopstra (2018) did not conduct a systematic review, the small number of studies available provide little evidence of the efficacy of community food providers in addressing food insecurity.

Notably, none of the studies were situated in the UK. Two more recent studies in the UK start to address this gap. Both, similar to what Loopstra (2018) observed as common to these types of studies, have no objective, pre-and post-test evaluations of food insecurity. However, as qualitative studies, they seek to evidence association with reduced food insecurity in a different way.

Purdam and Silver (2020) undertook a study to assess the impact of a food insecurity project in the UK. The intervention was a series of cooking and budgeting classes that aimed to help participants develop these skills and so help them reduce the risks of food insecurity. The project was a partnership between three food bank charities, a homeless charity, and a food-sharing charity. Participants in the classes reported having a low income and many were food bank users. The findings suggest several

positive outcomes for participants: re-engagement with food and cooking; feeling more confident about cooking; having improved skills; being able to take food home to share with family and friends; increased confidence and a sense of empowerment from the experience of cooking and sharing food with others; reduced feelings of social isolation; providing means for connecting with wider society in a positive way; and a means for the participants to connect with other frontline services and support (Purdam and Silver, 2020).

Blake (2019a) undertook in-depth case studies with two community food providers. One undertook a range of food activities, including social cooking and eating activities, an emergency food parcel service, a free food table, and a food pantry membership scheme. The other ran five 'community hubs' consisting of a discount food shop, a kitchen, a café, a learning centre, and a garden. From this study Blake (2019a) asserts that community food providers may support communities to enact resilience in the face of trouble and difficulty, and they may increase community capacity for self-organization. How the food support is offered has implications for these impacts. The author also concludes that a multi-scale approach to food insecurity is required asserting that solutions that focus only on financial aspects are needed but are not wholly sufficient.

As well as these more recent studies previous research conducted in food banks, in particular, explored the alternative role such organizations may play in impacting the change required to tackle food poverty. Cloke et al. (2016 pg. 719) ask to what extent food banks "*provide welfare and care in new and small ways that await, and may be connected to, larger scale anti-capitalist changes*". Denning (2020) argues that voluntary sector responses can respond to need in the short term and facilitate a response that also works for longer-term change, by engaging with the state and the causes of food poverty. Finally, although the focus of study was not on food poverty specifically, Kneafsey et al. (2008), undertook research with two organizations involved in growing and cooking food. They found those engaging with the project did not see themselves as playing a transformational role in the food system. The benefits of the projects for service users were increasing enjoyment, community cohesion, empowerment, and capacity building. However, the authors recognised that the projects may still contribute to transformations, *"but in a more gradual and depoliticised way"* (ibid pg. 629).

These studies, therefore, suggest an alternative role for community food providers as a response to food poverty, but in a more indirect way.

2.8   Summary: research trends and gaps

Taking stock of the literature that has been discussed in this chapter highlights some trends and gaps.

There are relatively few studies on community food providers in the context of food poverty, although this evidence base is growing. Where it is available, the evidence suggests a limited impact of community food providers on food poverty. Rather shifts in social welfare policies on housing, childcare, healthcare, income security, and job security are needed (Lambie-Mumford, 2018, Loopstra, 2018). However, there are reasons as to why the role of community food providers in responses to food poverty remains a necessary topic for further study and evidence. Firstly, the recognition of the need for a range of actors in a response to food poverty (Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Riches, 2011). Secondly, the potential of community resilience and self-organization introduced in this context by Blake (2019a). Thirdly, the recognition of community food providers as relevant in the discourse around food poverty in Scotland as articulated in the Dignity Report (section 1.2.3) (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). For these reasons, this study seeks to add to the limited evidence base.

More UK-based scholarship is available on food banks, as one type of community food provider. These studies focus on the demographics and characteristics associated with food bank use or their growth in the UK in the context of austerity and neoliberalism. The attention that has been paid to food banks is necessary and unsurprising, given their unprecedented growth in the UK in the last 20 years. This is most explicitly demonstrated by the Trussell Trust network: the first food bank in the network opened in 2000, in 2020 there are 1,300 food bank centres in the network across the UK (Trussell Trust, 2020). However, this predominant focus on food banks may have led to omissions in studies on the other types of community food providers in the UK, except for some of the studies discussed above (Blake, 2019a, Douglas et al., 2015a, Lambie-Mumford, 2014, Purdam and Silver, 2020). This is despite early concerns raised by Dowler and Caraher (2003), reported before the huge growth in food banks, around the utilisation of local food projects as a response to food poverty by the State. Furthermore, a clear demarcation between food banks and other community food providers is misleading. Often community food providers provide some form of emergency food provision, although they are not a food bank and community food providers may increasingly be adding some form of food bank operation to their suite of services (Douglas et al., 2015a). The scholarship would therefore benefit from studies that include a full range of community food providers.

The international evidence base on community food providers and food poverty, as identified by Loopstra (2018) focuses on the outcomes of engagement with community food providers (Table 2-4). This focus is necessary to evaluate their effectiveness as an intervention on food poverty. However, accordingly, little recent research has been directed inwards, on the community food providers themselves. Whilst there are some exceptions to this (Douglas et al., 2015a, Lambie-Mumford, 2014) current inward-looking research with a range of community food providers would strengthen the current evidence base in several ways.

Firstly, there is little exploration of the organizational forms of community food providers. Early work, before the introduction and rapid growth of food banks in the UK, provided some insight into the forms of community food providers (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, McGlone et al., 1999). At that time, Caraher and Dowler (2007 pg. 194*)* noted *"a new breed of food project emerging based on social enterprise lines".* Since then, social enterprise has gained prominence in discussion on social and economic policy and the third sector has been encouraged to be more enterprising (Dey and Teasdale, 2015, Sepulveda, 2015). Sector literature has also encouraged community food providers to consider social enterprise whilst recognising *"that it is not the answer for every organization running community food and health activities."* (Community Food and Health (Scotland), 2009 pg. 1, Sustain, 2005). Furthermore, in the study that was a precursor to the research presented in this thesis, Tonner et al. (2019) undertook case study research with two community food providers. The two studied organizations evidenced a strong allegiance to charitable origins and a reluctance to fully embrace a social enterprise model. This study, therefore, seeks to provide an up-to-date insight into the organizational forms of community food providers. This insight may then inform how community food providers are supported and the resources, particularly funding sources, they require to operate. This insight is necessary when considering the role of these actors in a response to food poverty.

Secondly, early research documented the range of services and activities provided by community food providers (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, McGlone et al., 1999). More recently the Scottish Government survey of organizations responding to food insecurity (see section 2.7.3) found that over three quarters of respondents were providing activities and services alongside the provision of food. These activities included social activities, advice and support (e.g., money or housing), services for children, training and life skills, employment support, mental health support, cookery and healthy eating, and recovery and addiction support (Scottish Government, 2020a). However, due to the nature of the survey the data was limited to these broad headings. Furthermore, as noted above, Douglas et al. (2015a) found evidence of community food providers changing their suite of services in light of growing requests to support people with emergency food provision. The range and changes in services offered may not be captured by the recent in-depth case studies with one or two community food providers. In order to effectively explore the agency of community food providers as a response to food poverty the evidence base would, therefore, benefit from an updated insight into the suite of services offered by community food providers, drawing from a range of providers. Furthermore, developing an understanding of why organizations provide support in the way that they do would provide insight into the role that they see their services playing in a response to food poverty.

Thirdly, there has been little scholarship that explores whether the community food providers see themselves as having a role in addressing food poverty and whether they have the agency to do so. This is surprising given that many community food providers are aware and frustrated by their limitations as a response to a social issue that is primarily structural (Douglas et al., 2015a, Poppendieck, 1999). Whilst advocacy is recommended as a means by which community food providers could contribute to wider change (Dowler and Caraher, 2003, Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Riches, 2011) what this might be, and whether they do so, is largely unstudied. This is despite some indication that grassroots community food providers value an opportunity to reflect on wider issues of food insecurity, and have some appetite for collective advocacy (Macleod, 2015, Marshall and Cook, 2020).

3 Theoretical perspective: Institutional Theory

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical framing of the study. Theoretical frameworks provide an explanation of how things work and aid understanding of a phenomenon (Collins and Stockton, 2018). They connect pieces of research data to generate findings that fit into a larger framework of other studies (Stewart and Klein, 2016). Institutional theory was identified and utilised as an appropriate theoretical framing for this study. The applicability of institutional theory for this study, in particular institutional logics and institutional work, is threefold.

Firstly, Chapter 2 highlighted the need for current scholarship that looks inwards to get an up-to-date understanding of the 'what', 'how', and 'why' of community food providers. Institutional theory is often used to explain the adoption and spread of formal organizational structures, including written policies, standard practices, and new forms of organization (David et al., 2019). In particular, the lens of institutional logics allows this interrogation. Institutional logics inform organizations. They inform how they make sense of and evaluate their everyday activities and organise those activities in time and space (Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017, Thornton et al., 2012). Logics are ingrained in the formal organizational structures, procedures, informal cultures, and power distributions (ibid). Viewing organizations through an institutional logics lens, therefore, allows analysis of the more descriptive 'what' and 'how' to get to the heart of the 'why' organizations do what they do.

However, community food providers are not isolated from the context in which they operate. This context is imperative to the study in two ways. The landscape in which they operate has been subject to the huge growth in food banks, contestation as to whether they should and can respond to food poverty and, as part of the third sector, a general impetus for becoming more enterprising (Dey and Teasdale, 2015, Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, Sepulveda, 2015). Furthermore, food poverty, and its association with neoliberalism and austerity, means that the community food providers are operating in a field that cannot be disassociated with the structural level factors to which they are responding. This need for a multi-layered lens is the second reason for the applicability of institutional theory. Institutions are social structures that have an enduring and profound effect on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviour of individual and collective actors (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). By its very nature, the theory requires a researcher to consider and explore the macro societal level.

Thirdly, there is a pressing need to address food poverty in the UK, but this requires change. The lens of institutional theory allows for different pathways of change and bestows actors with some agency for this change (Dillard et al., 2004, Micelotta et al., 2017, Scott, 2008). One mechanism of change is institutional work which, in one

form, considers the day-to-day actions of small groups of homogenous actors with similar interests (Hampel et al., 2017, Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). It gives agency to less powerful actors (Marti and Mair, 2009). Viewing the day-to-day 'what' and 'how' of the community food providers through the lens of institutional work may add new insights into their role in efforts to tackle food poverty in the UK.

Having articulated the relevance of the chosen theoretical lens, Chapter 3 continues with a brief overview of the fundamentals of the theory and then explores institutional logics and institutional change in more detail.

3.2 Institutional theory

The institutionalist perspective suggests that there are enduring elements of social life that have a profound effect on the thoughts, feelings, and behaviour of individual and collective actors (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). Scott (1995 pg. 33), a leading sociological institutionalist, defines institutions as,

> *"cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life".*

Institutions are the social structures that involve more strongly held rules supported by stronger relations and more entrenched resources (Scott, 2008). They provide implicit scripts and templates that guide both recognition of a situation and the appropriate response. As these templates are passed from one set of actors to another, they acquire a rule like, authoritative and taken for granted status and become embedded in the formal structures that are not tied to individual actors (Zucker, 1977). Human behaviour and interactions produce and reproduce the institutions (Hallett and Ventresca, 2006). Institutional theory explores how these institutions become established as authoritative guidelines, questioning how they *"are created, diffused, adopted and adapted over space and time; and how they fall into decline and disuse"* (Scott, 2004 pg. 408).

Different branches of institutional theory suggest different drivers of human behaviour and bases on which individuals and organizations make decisions (Bruton et al., 2010). Key to sociological institutionalism is the inclusion of a regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillar (Scott, 2008). Conceptualising these three elements differs from the rational choice approach which suggests people and organizations act in a way that confers the most efficiency (Hall and Taylor, 1996, Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017). In contrast, what scholars often refer to as 'the new institutionalism' emphasises legitimacy as an explanation for the structure, success, and survival of organizations (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Legitimate organizations are those that are perceived as appropriate to a social system in terms of rules, values, norms, and definitions (Deephouse et al., 2017). Legitimacy enhances the stability, comprehensibility, and survival of an organization (Suchman, 1995). This was

demonstrated in an early study by Tolbert and Zucker (1983) who explored the diffusion of civil service reform from 1880-1935. As an increasing number of organizations adopted the reforms, they became progressively institutionalised and, therefore, widely understood as being necessary. The legitimacy of the reforms subsequently served as the impetus for late adopters.

The focus of institutional studies has evolved. By adopting a social construction perspective to institutions, early institutional work suggested that institutions can both arise from and constrain social action (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, Zucker, 1977). Barley and Tolbert (1997 pg. 95) note this early work postulated that "*institutions exhibit an inherent duality*". However, most commonly, the institutional scholarship that followed concentrated on the constraint (Barley and Tolbert, 1997, DiMaggio and Powell, 1991, Leca et al., 2009). Accordingly, early institutional studies predominantly sought to explain how cultural rules and cognitive structures resulted in organizational isomorphism: the adoption of similar behaviours by members within an organizational field over time (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

However, rather than the focus on isomorphism, which dominated early work, more recent scholarship has shifted attention to institutional change and agency. This recognises that although institutions are relatively enduring and difficult to dislodge, they do also undergo both incremental and revolutionary change (Giddens, 1984, Jepperson, 1991, Pierson, 2000). Accordingly, institutional change became a core focus of organizational research in the 1990s (Micelotto et al, 2017). Subsequently, there has been an increase in change focussed articles in organizational journals and several special issue journals have been published on the topic (see: Garud et al, 2002; Kalantardis and Fletcher, 2012; Dacin et al, 2002; Bruton, Ahlstrom and Li, 2010).

To reintroduce agency some scholars have drawn on other theories that propose structure and agency are mutually constitutive, such as Giddens's (1984) structuration theory (Sewell, 1992). Structuration theory suggests a duality of structure and agency, recognising social structures to be both the product and platform of social action. It seeks to balance structure and agency, suggesting an interdependent and dynamic relationship between the two. Agents are *"neither powerless nor omnipotent relative to the social context in which they operate"* (Nicholls and Cho, 2006 pg. 110). Arguing for a fusion of these ideas with institutional theory Barley and Tolbert (1997 pg. 94) note,

> *"Rather, institutions set bounds on rationality by restricting the opportunities and alternatives we perceive and, thereby, increase the probability of certain types of behaviour. However, just as perfect rationality is rare, so too is completely bounded rationality. Through choice and action, individuals and organizations can deliberately modify, and even eliminate, institutions."*

Therefore, whilst institutional foundations cascade down from the institutional level and actions at the lower levels produce and reproduce the institutions (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) individuals and organizations also have agency to invert this cascade: actions taken by knowledgeable, reflexive agents at the organization level flow upwards. This is a continual, recursive process whereby changes flow upwards and downwards and norms, values, beliefs, and assumptions are continuously revised at the organization, field, and institutional levels (DellaPosta et al., 2016, Dillard et al., 2004, Scott, 2008). One of the branches of institutional theory that allows actors agency for change is that of institutional logics which Friedland and Alford proposed in 1991.

3.3 Institutional logics

The institutional logics perspective suggests that logics underpin institutions, defining their content and giving them meaning. Friedland and Alford (1991) first introduced institutional logics in their seminal book 'Bringing Society Back In' to counter what they considered a retreat of the social sciences from society. They view institutions as supraorganizational patterns of activity by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material lives and render their experiences meaningful. They propose five orders of contemporary Western Societies: capitalism, state, democracy, family, and religion. Each of these has a central logic that constitutes the organising principles. More recently, Thornton et al. (2012) proposed seven institutional orders with associated logics: family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation. The influence of these orders is likely to be felt across organizations and fields although their relative influence will vary in each setting (Greenwood et al., 2009).

Building on the early work of Friedland and Alford (1991) different scholars have articulated definitions of institutional logics. Thornton et al. (2012 pg. 51) define logics as,

> *"socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, assumptions, values and beliefs by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their daily activity."*

Haveman and Gualtiere (2017) provide a narrower definition suggesting institutional logics are systems of cultural elements by which people, groups, and organizations make sense of and evaluate their everyday activities and organize those activities in time and space. Expanding on their definition Haveman and Gualtiere (2017) provide a useful clarification of its constituents. They explain how logics are connected in a coherent and discernible pattern (systems) and include values, beliefs, and normative expectations (cultural). Sense-making involves creating a coherent account of the world around us by categorizing the things we see, do, and feel, and applying

patterns to connect this to both past and future experiences. Evaluation involves judging the worth of the individuals, groups, organizations, actions, symbols, and material objects. People, groups, and organizations also use institutional logics to order their activities in time and space. This encompasses creating, maintaining, evaluating, and adjusting formal organizational structures, procedures, informal cultures, and power distributions (Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017).

Fields, organizations, and individuals can draw from the associated logics that are nested in the societal level orders and use them as bases for action and to inform organizational forms and practices (Besharov and Smith, 2014, Friedland and Alford, 1991, Greenwood et al., 2009, Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, Thornton et al., 2012). However, the institutional logics perspective suggests that, whilst society consists of distinct orders, the orders often overlap and logic multiplicity prevails to some degree in all fields (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Therefore, organizations can choose from a menu of available identities and commitments from these multiple logics that are simultaneously available and legitimate (Kraatz and Block, 2017). Literature explores the consequences of logic multiplicity for organizations, two streams of which are relevant for this study: organization hybridity and institutional change. The following sections discuss each of these.

3.3.1   Logic multiplicity and organizational hybridity

The institutional logics perspective seeks to understand differences in how organizations respond to the institutional context (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). As organizations respond to logic multiplicity differently, and to different degrees, organizational heterogeneity results (Battilana et al., 2017, Besharov and Smith, 2014, Greenwood et al., 2009, Greenwood et al., 2011, Ocasio and Radoynovska, 2016). This heterogeneity may manifest in organizational hybridity (Battilana et al., 2017, Greenwood et al., 2011, Skelcher and Smith, 2015). By their very nature hybrid organizations draw on at least two different sectoral paradigms, logics, and value systems (Battilana et al., 2017, Doherty et al., 2014). Battilana et al.'s (2017) systematic review of hybrid studies in the management and organization literature identified three key themes. The first emphasising hybrid organization identities, the second focusing on hybrids as distinct forms, and the third conceptualising hybrids as the combination of multiple societal level rationales or logics. The institutional logics perspective is in this third category.

Across these three categories, the hybridity literature often explores the challenges, both internal and external, that hybrid organizations face (Battilana et al., 2017). Much of the hybridity literature explores organizations that combine market and social welfare logics, which are often presented as being inherently in opposition (Mars and Lounsbury, 2008). External challenges for these organizations may include the need to meet divergent expectations to be perceived as a legitimate organization by the different organizational audiences, some of whom value financial

performance and others social impact (Pache and Santos, 2013). Internal challenges include mission drift, where market logics dominate social logics, potentially compromising the original aims of the organization (Cornforth, 2014, Ebrahim et al., 2014). Accordingly, such literature streams focus on the contest and tension between multiple logics in an organization.

Recognising the challenges of hybridity, literature has also explored how organizations manage this. This literature suggests hybrids manage multiple logics by either integrating or differentiating them (Battilana et al., 2017). Integrated hybrids amalgamate the different components, "*creating a unified blend*" (Battilana et al., 2017 pg. 144, Greenwood et al., 2011, Tracey et al., 2011). Differentiated hybrids keep the elements separate, partitioning logics into separate segments or units (Pache and Santos, 2013). These management approaches span across the organizations' formal structures, practices, and people (Battilana et al., 2017). Battilana et al. (2017) note some more recent work that describe management strategies that appear to combine integration and differentiation.

However, across the body of literature on hybridity Litrico and Besharov (2019 pg. 343) note that many studies treat hybridity as binary, "*operationalizing organizational forms as hybrid or not and leave variation within hybrid forms unexplained*". Battilana et al. (2017) suggest, to move the scholarship forward researchers should focus on hybridity as a matter of degree, rather than type. Besharov and Smith (2014) and Litrico and Besharov (2019) provide two mechanisms to consider the degree of hybridity, rather than presenting it as a binary distinction. Each of these is described.

Litrico and Besharov (2019) highlight two key dimensions on which hybridity can vary. Their findings came from a longitudinal study of the emergence of hybrid social-business forms among Canadian non-profits. In the study they analyse 1,198 grant applications submitted to a prominent foundation that funds social enterprise organizations. Their findings assert that the first dimension on which a hybrid can vary is the locus of integration. This refers to how the multiple logics are combined. The locus of integration of the social mission of the studied organizations was in one or more of the following: type of customers served ('benefit model'), the type of people employed ('employment' model), and the product or service sold ('sales model'). Organizations with the highest degree of integration were those that integrated the social mission in all three loci. The second dimension on which a hybrid can vary is the scope of logics. This refers to the breadth of enactment of the multiple logics. This differed by the breadth of the beneficiary group and the customers. The authors suggest four types of social enterprise:

> ""*focused" projects in which both beneficiaries and customers were a specific group, "channelled" projects in which beneficiaries were a specific group while customers were the public at large, "generalist" projects in*

which both beneficiaries and customers were the public at large, and "leveraged" projects in which beneficiaries were the public at large while customers were a specific group" (Litrico and Besharov, 2019 pg. 349).

Besharov and Smith (2014) theorise about the heterogeneous ways in which multiple logics manifest within organizations and their implications for organizations and institutional fields. They encourage future scholarship on hybridity to consider their framework, using it to specify how multiple logics relate to one another. Their framework asserts that *"implications of logic multiplicity depend on how logics are instantiated within organizations"* (Besharov and Smith 2014 pg. 365). They suggest two key dimensions of logic multiplicity in organizations: compatibility, *"the extent to which the instantiations of logics imply consistent and reinforcing organizational actions"* (pg. 367); and centrality, *"the degree to which multiple logics are each treated as equally valid and relevant to organizational functioning"* (pg. 369). These are continuous dimensions on which an organization can be located. Both dimensions can be influenced by features of the field, organization, and individual members. The authors use these two dimensions to propose four ideal type organizations, shown in Figure 3-1.
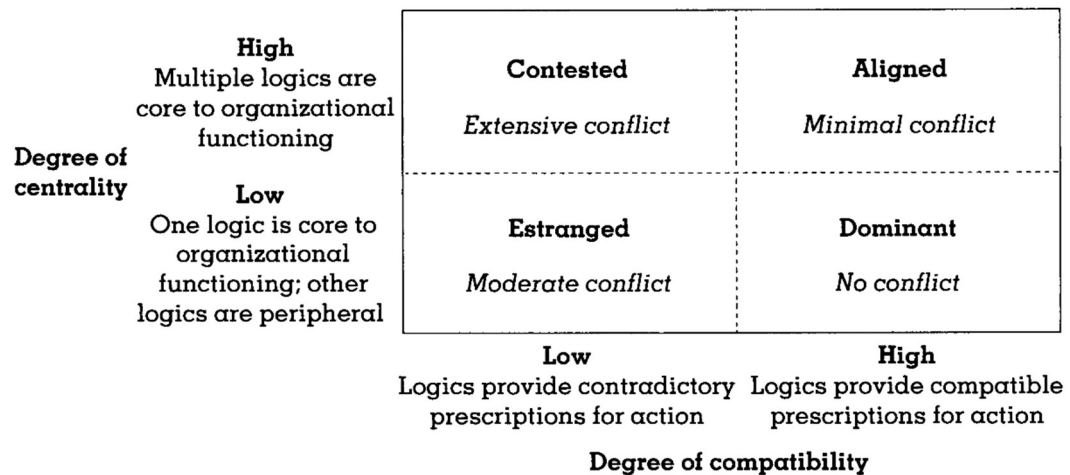
Figure 3-1 Types of logic multiplicity within organizations from Besharov and Smith (2014 pg. 371)

These two studies have, therefore, highlighted the need for scholars to engage more deeply with the consequences of logic multiplicity on organizational hybridity. The second consequence of logic multiplicity for organizations that is of interest to this study is the potential for institutional change.

3.3.2 Logic multiplicity and institutional change

A multiplicity of logics also offers the potential for institutional change with scholars exploring how competing, contradictory, and different logics provide an impetus for this institutional change (Battilana et al., 2009, Clemens and Cook, 1999, Friedland

and Alford, 1991, Lounsbury and Crumley, 2007, Marquis and Lounsbury, 2007, Rao et al., 2003, Reay and Hinings, 2005, Thornton et al., 2012). Heterogenous logics are an enabling field condition for change (Battilana et al., 2009, Hoogstraaten et al., 2020) as they expose actors to contradictory institutional arrangements. This may potentially trigger reflection and critical thinking (Battilana et al., 2009, Emirbayer and Mische, 1998, Seo and Creed, 2002). Individuals and organizations can manipulate and reinterpret the multiple logics and use them strategically to bring about change (Gawer and Phillips, 2013, Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017).

Dacin et al. (2002 pg. 48) discuss institutional change:

> *"Institutional change can proceed from the most micro interpersonal and sub organizational levels to the most macro societal and global levels. It can take place in relatively brief and concentrated periods or over time measured in decades or centuries. And it can take place incrementally, so that observers and participants are hardly aware of any change, or abruptly, in dramatic episodes that present large discontinuities with former patterns."*

Central to these arguments is the extent to which actors, such as organizations, have agency for change. The extent to which agency is granted to actors in existing institutional logics scholarship varies. Despite the integral role of the three levels, individual, organizational, and societal, in Friedland and Alford's (1991) original conceptualisation of institutional logics the authors emphasise the societal level. This, therefore, accommodates some agency but prioritises structure (Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017, Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Alternatively, Thornton and Ocasio (2008) suggest that logics are not just societal-level phenomena. They discuss the meta-theory that has emerged that allows institutional logics to develop at a variety of different levels including organizations, markets, industries, inter-organizational networks, geographic communities, and organizational fields. This conceptualisation, therefore, places greater emphasis on agency. In this account, agency is always possible although it is increasingly more constrained depending on the level of institutionalisation of the logics (Battilana et al., 2009, Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017). Building on this accommodation of agency, further institutional scholarship explores processes of institutional change.

3.4 Process of institutional change

The process of institutional change has been the focus of both conceptual and empirical research. It is commonly depicted as a staged, cyclical process. This process starts with some pressure for change that initiates the introduction of new practices that trigger de-institutionalization of the old and then re-institutionalisation of the new (Greenwood et al., 2002, Hinings et al., 2003). Micelotta et al. (2017) observe that change triggered by jolts or external shocks dominated early articles exploring institutional change, with organizations responding to exogenous

disturbances in the institutional context. Exogenous pressure for change may be functional, such as perceived problems in performance or utility. It may be political, such as shifts in resource flows and underlying power distributions. Finally, it may be social, such as changes in laws, values, or social expectations (Oliver, 1992).

More recently Micelotta et al. (2017) developed a framework that charts pathways of institutional change based on their review of 119 empirical articles between 1990 and 2015. The authors classify change processes according to two dimensions. The first dimension is the scope of change which ranges from developmental to transformational. The second dimension is the pace of change which can range from evolutionary or revolutionary. Potent macro-level dynamics trigger revolutionary change processes, driven by external shocks or the purposeful and effortful actions of change agents. They happen quickly and unfold through conflict. Evolutionary changes, on the other hand, are slower, driven by slow societal changes, modest innovations by change agents, or micro-level acts of agency. Transformational change results in significantly altered understandings of what is acceptable and valued in a field. Developmental change brings about institutional alterations that are relatively narrow, *"and involves stretching rather than discarding institutionalized arrangements"* (Micelotta et al 2017 pg. 1897).

The inclusion of evolutionary change in this model encapsulates the increasing attention being paid to endogenously driven, slow and piecemeal institutional change. This change can be equally consequential for patterning human behaviour (Colyvas and Powell, 2006, Mahoney and Thelen, 2010, Wijen and Ansari, 2007). This stream of research explores change that results from micro-processes and practices such as the day-to-day activities of individuals and organizations (DellaPosta et al., 2016, Micelotta et al., 2017, Powell and Colyvas, 2008, Smets et al., 2012). This micro-level change work is,

> *"nearly invisible and often mundane, as in the day-to-day adjustments, adaptations, and compromises of actors attempting to maintain institutional arrangements"* (Lawrence et al., 2009 pg. 1).

Such conceptualisations have initiated discussions about the intentionality of the actors who have triggered a change. Micelotta et al. (2017 pg.1895) note,

> *"more recently the theorizing of substantial field level change driven by micro acts of agency has shifted the focus from purposeful and effortful ("projective") form of agency to more "pragmatic" ones"* (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998).

Whilst some actors may be motivated by the potential institutional effects of their actions, others may undertake actions that have institutional effects without this being the intention (Lawrence et al., 2009). Institutional change may be unplanned, emerging organically from the strategies enacted by actors (DellaPosta et al., 2016,

Hwang and Powell, 2005, Lounsbury and Crumley, 2007, Mahoney and Thelen, 2010). In their study of the development of commercial whale-watching on Canada's west coast Lawrence and Phillips (2004 pg. 705) find evidence of,

> *"actions of an institutional entrepreneur whose strategies were emergent, contingent and reactive and yet also highly influential in shaping the field."*

Yet, the consequences of these actions were *"largely unintended".*

3.5   Mechanisms of change

Capturing this spectrum of intentionality, literature proposes different mechanisms of change. Two such mechanisms of change are institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988) and institutional work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006).

3.5.1   Institutional Entrepreneurship

DiMaggio (1988) first introduced the concept of institutional entrepreneurship in 1988 and literature on this topic in both management and sociology fields has grown considerably since (Leca et al., 2009). DiMaggio (1988) introduced the concept to better understand how actors can shape institutions despite their inherent resistance to change (Holm, 1995, Seo and Creed, 2002). This built on earlier work by Eisenstadt (1980) who, in exploring social change in major and political systems, viewed institutional entrepreneurs as catalysts for and leaders of change. DiMaggio (1988 pg. 14) argued,

> *"new institutions arise when organised actors with sufficient resources (institutional entrepreneurs) see in them an opportunity to realise interests they highly value".*

Institutional entrepreneurship, therefore, refers to the activities of actors who have an interest in particular institutional arrangements and who leverage resources to create new institutions or to transform existing ones (Maguire et al., 2004).

Research has sought to identify conditions that enable institutional entrepreneurship. Much of this scholarly work has explored two enabling conditions: field-level conditions and actors' position in the organizational field. The latter stream of research is more relevant to this research. Scholars debate as to which organizational social position is the most conducive to institutional entrepreneurship (Battilana et al., 2009, Leca et al., 2009).

Some scholars argue that occupying lower social positions enables actors to become institutional entrepreneurs. This work provides evidence of low status, peripheral organizations, and those on the margins of society undertaking institutional entrepreneurship despite not being in stereotypically powerful positions (Garud et al., 2007, Haveman and Rao, 1997, Maguire et al., 2004, Marti and Mair, 2009). Peripheral actors may initiate change as they are less aware of institutional norms

(Hardy and Maguire, 2008) and may be motivated to bring about change as they are disadvantaged by the current status-quo and have more to gain from change (Hardy and Maguire, 2017, Leblebici et al., 1991). Leblebici et al. (1991) suggest central players are less likely to sanction the smaller peripheral actors who face lower costs of experimentation. If the new practices of the periphery organizations become increasingly legitimised the pattern of the organizational field may change with previously central organizations diminishing in status. However, to do so, periphery organizations may need to mobilise support from key constituents, professionals, and experts who operate at the centre of the field (Hwang and Powell, 2005, Lawrence et al., 2002).

Other research shows those at the centre of a field may act as institutional entrepreneurs (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Zilber, 2002). Established, powerful, and dominant central actors may be more able to act entrepreneurially as they already have legitimacy, prestige, resources, and networks (Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Hardy and Maguire, 2017, Hinings et al., 2003, Sherer and Lee, 2002). They may also have access to alternative practices from other fields which makes them less embedded in a single field (Boxenbaum and Battilana, 2005, Greenwood and Suddaby, 2006, Rao et al., 2003).

Although the concept of institutional entrepreneurship was intended to reintroduce agency some critics suggest the scholarship that followed has overemphasised agency and lacked consideration of the constraining effects of institutions (Cooper et al., 2008, Garud et al., 2007). Lounsbury and Crumley (2007 pg. 993) observe how,

> *"the notion of 'institutional entrepreneur' too often invokes 'hero' imagery and deflects attention away from the wider array of actors and activities".*

To counter this critique recent studies have explored the collective, incremental, and multilevel elements of institutional entrepreneurship recognising that institutional change may be beyond the capacity of individual actors (Dorado, 2005, Hardy and Maguire, 2008, Hoogstraaten et al., 2020, Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, Leca et al., 2009, Wijen and Ansari, 2007). Child et al's (2007) study of institutional change in the field of environmental protection in China provides a useful example of collective institutional entrepreneurship. Whilst the State initiated the change the field rapidly extended to include a range of associations. These actors included the media and environmental non-governmental organizations who,

> *"had become increasingly influential and were extending the scope of institutional entrepreneurship"* (ibid pg. 1025).

They contrasted this with similar institutional change outcomes in the US that, conversely, were initiated by non-governmental organizations. This led to a change in public perception, subsequently leading to regulatory change. This collective of

actors gives access to varying kinds and levels of resources in one change project (Battilana et al., 2009).

Doroda (2005) suggests two forms of collective institutional entrepreneurship. 'Partaking' is the accumulation of countless autonomous institutional entrepreneurs partaking in coordinated or uncoordinated actions which converge over time to generate institutional change. 'Convening' is organizations and individuals working collaboratively to bring about change. These two forms are reflected in recent literature. Hoogstraaten et al's. (2020) review of institutional entrepreneur literature highlighted two themes around collective institutional entrepreneurship. One being a unified collective of actors working consciously together to achieve a common goal and the other being a more dispersed form of collective agency where groups of actors sometimes unknowingly, contribute to the same process of institutional change. The latter is a more recent emerging theme.

3.5.2   Institutional Work

The second mechanism of institutional change is institutional work. In their seminal chapter, published in 2006, Lawrence and Suddaby define institutional work as,

> *"the purposive actions of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions"* (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006 pg. 219).

In exploring institutional work, the authors adopt a practice perspective This perspective considers the *"world inside the process",* which describes the activities of individuals and organizations to create, maintain and disrupt institutions (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006 pg. 219, Hampel et al., 2017, Smets et al., 2012). They suggest it is the activities, rather than the accomplishment that should be at the core of studies of institutional work. The interest of institutional work is:

> *"the myriad, day-to-day, equivocal instances of agency that, although aimed at affecting the institutional order, represent a complex mélange of forms of agency—successful and not, simultaneously radical and conservative, strategic and emotional, full of compromises, and rife with unintended consequences"* (Lawrence et al., 2010 pg. 52)

In their 2006 chapter, Lawrence and Suddaby, reviewed existing literature to provide insight into the constituent elements of institutional work. They identified a total of 17 forms of institutional work, split across the three categories of creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions. These 17 forms are shown in Table 3-1. Reflecting on their framework the authors suggest scholars should not treat the mechanisms outlined as definitive and later work has sought to adjust the original framework (Zvolska et al., 2019), reflecting the wide range of forms of institutional work observed in empirical research (Hampel et al., 2017).

Table 3-1 Forms of Institutional Work (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006)

Creating Institutions	Advocacy	The mobilization of political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion
	Defining	The construction of rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field
	Vesting	The creation of rule structures that confer property rights
	Constructing identities	Defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which that actor operates
	Changing normative associations	Re-making the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for those practices
	Constructing normative networks	Constructing of inter-organizational connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned and which form the relevant peer group with respect to compliance, monitoring, and evaluation
	Mimicry	Associating new practices with existing sets of taken-for-granted practices, technologies, and rules in order to ease adoption
	Theorizing	The development and specification of abstract categories and the elaboration of chains of cause and effect
	Educating	The educating of actors in skills and knowledge necessary to support the new institution
Maintaining Institutions	Enabling work	The creation of rules that facilitate, supplement, and support institutions, such as the creation of authorizing agents or diverting resources
	Policing	Ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing, and monitoring
	Deterring	Establishing coercive barriers to institutional change
	Valourizing and demonizing	Providing for public consumption positive and negative examples that illustrate the normative foundations of an institution
	Mythologizing	Preserving the normative underpinnings of an institution by creating and sustaining myths regarding its history
	Embedding and routinizing	Actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution into the participants' day to day routines organizational practices
Disrupting Institutions	Disconnecting sanctions	Working through state apparatus to disconnect rewards and sanctions from some set of practices, technologies, or rules
	Disassociating moral foundations	Disassociating the practice, rule, or technology from its moral foundation as appropriate within a specific cultural context
	Undermining assumptions and beliefs	Decreasing the perceived risks of innovation and differentiation by undermining core assumptions and beliefs

Hampel et al. (2017) 'took stock' of institutional work research, drawing from a set of 53 empirical studies that were explicitly framed in terms of institutional work and published in major organization studies journals. They did so to identify the 'what',

'who' and 'how' explored in the body of empirical research. This overview provides an excellent insight into research in the field to date.

Their review of the 'what' finds that research on institutional work has tended to focus on middle-range institutions which are those specific to particular fields. Field level practices were the most common field institution explored, followed by roles, organizational forms, and standards. Although less common research also explores work targeted at organization-level institutions including organizational practices, logics, values, and rules. A small amount of research on individual-level institutions is available. Finally, the authors suggest that institutional work designed to shape societal institutions "*has been a distinct blind spot*" (Hampel et al., 2017 pg. 21).

Next, their review of the 'who' finds that early studies explore the work of individual people and organizations, especially those conceived as institutional entrepreneurs. Later work examines relatively small groups of homogenous actors, usually from the same field sharing similar interests, who engage in institutional work either within an organization or within a field. The last set of actors covered by the research is heterogeneous actor groups with different objectives who are engaging in significant and dramatic conflict with each other.

Finally in their review of the 'how' the authors classify institutional work based on the means of achieving the objectives. They identify three types of institutional work: symbolic work which uses signs, identities, and language to influence institutions; material work which draws on physical elements such as objects or places to influence institutions; and relational work which builds interactions to advance institutional work. The first, symbolic, dominates the research including categories, identities, narratives, rhetoric, discourse, rules, and scripts, among others. Less is known about relational work although the authors found two different ways of doing this; gaining followers for the cause and collaborations with others in the field. Little is known about material work (Hampel et al., 2017).

3.6   Summary and areas of debate

This chapter began with a broad introduction to institutional theory, tracking the development of an early focus on the isomorphic pressure of institutions to the more recent attention being given to institutional change. Exploring one branch of institutional theory, institutional logics more in-depth highlighted that logic multiplicity prevails to some degree in all fields. Two consequences of this multiplicity are heterogeneous organizations and the enablement of institutional change.

The introduction to this chapter sets out the applicability of institutional theory to this study: the awareness that institutional logics inform the day-to-day activities, structure, and culture of organizations; the inherent recognition and constraint imposed by macro-level structures; yet the granting of potential agency to

organizations. The theoretical lens of institutional theory, in particular the concepts of institutional logics and institutional work, will therefore allow insight and analysis that can add to the scholarship on interventions to tackle food poverty. However, in addition, recursive application of the theory to the data and then, in reverse, the data to the theory provides the opportunity to contribute to the extant literature on institutional logics and institutional work through its application to a highly topical, current, and hotly debated social issue.

Smith (2014) asserts that the application of institutional logics to third sector organizations is a fruitful way to progress scholarship on logic multiplicity and hybridity. The context of community food providers and food poverty may be particularly fruitful due to two overarching characteristics that may bring this logic multiplicity. Firstly, the third sector landscape in the UK is characterised by intensified competition for scarce resources, more conditional forms of public funding and greater utilisation of contracting out, growing demands for accountability and the development of social investment, associated with the commercialisation of the sector and enthusiasm for social entrepreneurship (Dey and Teasdale, 2013, Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, Macmillan, 2015, Sepulveda, 2015, Smith, 2014). Secondly, food poverty is a symptom of poverty, which is multidimensional and multi-faceted. Its alleviation, therefore, is likely situated across several societal domains, again indicating highly prevalent logic multiplicity (Marti and Mair, 2009).

The study, therefore, has the potential to add to the extant literature on logic multiplicity. As discussed in section 3.2.1 Besharov and Smith (2014) note that existing research tends to treat logic multiplicity as relatively homogeneous, with scholars often describing organizations as either embodying multiple logics or not. Discussions of heterogeneity, they say, are *"strikingly absent from the literature"* (ibid pg. 365). Furthermore, the scholarship that explores the combining of market and social welfare logics in particular often present these as being inherently in opposition (Dey and Teasdale, 2013, Doherty et al., 2014, Mars and Lounsbury, 2008, Zilber, 2002). This follows a trend for such scholarship to focus more on contested logic multiplicity (Besharov and Smith, 2014, Litrico and Besharov, 2019). To strengthen this body of scholarship Besharov and Smith (2014 pg. 375) compel researchers to *"specify precisely how the logics instantiated within these organizations relate to one another"*, identifying a need for studies that look beyond contested multiplicity only.

Moreover, similar to Besharov and Smith's (2014) assertion that scholarship tends to treat logic multiplicity as relatively homogeneous, Litrico and Besharov (2019 pg. 343) note that many studies treat hybridity as binary, "*operationalizing organizational forms as hybrid or not and leave variation within hybrid forms unexplained*". Battilana et al. (2017) assert that, to move the scholarship forward,

researchers should focus on hybridity as a matter of degree, rather than type. This study will respond to these calls of Besharov and Smith (2014), Battilana et al. (2017), and Litrico and Besharov (2019) and approach the analysis of both hybridity and logic multiplicity in a more nuanced way.

Furthermore, the application of the lens of institutional work to the day-to-day activities of community food providers has the potential to expand scholarship on institutional change. In this case, the change is that which is necessary to address food poverty in the UK. As discussed in section 3.4.1, critique of the institutional entrepreneurship scholarship centres on the emphasis of heroic and muscular entrepreneurs (Lawrence et al., 2009). Although subsequent research sought to address this, the extent to which this has been achieved is debated. In their commentary on institutional entrepreneurship literature, Hardy and Maguire (2017) note a continuing portrayal of the 'hero' making radical changes to existing institutions and introducing new ones. This scholarship, therefore, tends to focus on the institutional change itself, which is explained by human agency (Lawrence et al., 2009). By utilising institutional work and, therefore, taking a more practice-based approach, this study will naturally move away from heroic presentations of institutional change. Instead, it will explore change from the perspective of fragmented, distributed, partial, and collective agency, considering the micro-processes instigated by day-to-day practices of community food providers (Hampel et al., 2017, Leca et al., 2009, Smets et al., 2012). Taking this approach, therefore, responds to the calls for more critical research on the heroic portrayal of the actors with the agency for change (Hardy and Maguire, 2017).

4 Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters identified gaps and debates in the relevant literature that this study seeks to respond to. Chapter 2 identified a need for continuing exploration of the role of community food providers in a response to food poverty, given the contestation about their role and efficacy as an intervention. It asserted that scholarship would benefit from re-expanding the primary focus on food banks to include more community food providers. Furthermore, where other community food providers are the focus of the study, it suggested that exploring a range of organizations would be beneficial. This approach would provide a more broad and up-to-date insight than can be achieved by in-depth case studies with one or two organizations. Finally, it noted a dearth of recent studies that looked inward at the organizations with the dominant trend being, understandably so, consideration of the outcomes and impact of these organizations on clients. Chapter 3 noted a trend for the theoretical scholarship to focus on contested logic multiplicity and binary presentations of hybridity. It also identified a need for scholarship to engage with alternate forms of institutional change from that only driven by heroic and hyper-muscular institutional entrepreneurs. The four objectives of this study seek to contribute to these debates.

1. Provide an up-to-date view of the forms, functions, and services of community food providers – detailing the 'how' and 'what' of these third sector organizations.
2. Investigate the underlying logics that inform community food providers on a day-to-day basis – providing insight into the 'why' of these third sector organizations.
3. Using the lens of institutional work, explore the extent to which community food providers have agency to contribute to the change required to tackle food poverty in the UK.
4. Provide more nuanced insights on logic multiplicity and organizational hybridity.

This chapter now details how these objectives will be achieved, stating and justifying the research design choices and detailing the data collection and analysis procedures. It begins with a discussion of the philosophical assumptions underlying the study before detailing the strategy, design, and analysis. It concludes with a discussion of the importance of reflexivity in a study such as this.

4.2 Research philosophy

Research is underpinned by the researcher's philosophical assumptions. These assumptions guide action and align researchers to a particular paradigm. The

commonalities of each paradigm bind the work of groups of theorists who view the world in a particular way (Burrell and Morgan, 1992). An understanding of these philosophical underpinning benefits research by clarifying effective research designs and identifying how this design will provide answers to the research questions (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). The careful consideration and conscious identification of a researcher's philosophical assumptions enhance the integrity of scholarship (McGregor and Murnane, 2010, Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

Ontology in the social sciences is, broadly, oriented against two ends of a spectrum (Guba, 1990). Burrell and Morgan's (1992) research paradigm diagram presents 'objective' and 'subjective' at opposing ends of the paradigmatic axis. The two principal worldviews that are rooted in these opposing positions are positivism and interpretivism (often termed as constructivism) (Creswell, 2009). Easterby-Smith (2008) provides a concise comparison of the two approaches, shown in Table 4-1. Contrasting the two approaches in this way justifies the use of an interpretivist approach in this study.

Table 4-1 Contrasting implications of positivism and social constructionism (Easterby-Smith, 2008 pg. 59)

	Positivism	**Social Constructionism**
The observer	Must be independent	Is part of what is being observed
Human Interests	Should be irrelevant	Are the main drivers of science
Explanations	Must demonstrate causality	Aim to increase general understanding of the situation
Research progresses through	Hypotheses and deduction	Gathering rich data from which ideas are induced
Concepts	Must be defined so that they can be measured	Should incorporate stakeholder perspectives
Units of analysis	Should be reduced to simplest terms	May include the complexity of 'whole situations'
Generalization through	Statistical probability	Theoretical abstraction
Sampling requires	Large numbers selected randomly	Small number of cases chosen for specific reasons

An interpretivist philosophical position is necessary for this study for several reasons. Firstly, the context of the study is food poverty which forms part of the experience of poverty. For pragmatic, practical, and political reasons poverty is often understood objectively rather than subjectively, being defined with reference to levels of income and wealth (Townsend, 1979, Wolff et al., 2015). However, the experience of living in poverty is far more personal, complex, and multifactorial than

this objective understanding can capture. Citing Lister (2004) Lister (2013 pg. 112) notes,

> "*The material is of course still crucially important—it is, after all, inadequate incomes and living standards which serve to define poverty and which measures of poverty typically attempt to capture. But the experience of poverty is about more than this. It is not just a disadvantaged and insecure economic condition but it is also a shameful social relation, corrosive of human dignity and flourishing, which is experienced in interactions with the wider society and in the way people in poverty are talked about and treated by politicians, officials, professionals, the media, and sometimes academics (Lister 2004)."*

Secondly, the existence of food poverty in the UK is a highly emotive and contentious topic. In their report, 'Walking the breadline, the scandal of food poverty in 21st century Britain' Cooper and Dumpleton (2013) describe food poverty as a national disgrace, a sentiment that is often echoed in the media (Wells and Caraher, 2014).

Being situated in this context the research, therefore, needs to acknowledge the reality of the experiences of living in poverty and the contention of its existence. To account for this, an approach that embraces the complexity of a whole situation is needed: interpretivism allows the researcher to view a research problem holistically (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008, Leitch et al., 2009). In contrast, a positivist approach is reductionist, seeking purely objective facts that can be hypothesised and tested (Amis and Silk, 2007, Easterby-Smith et al., 2008) and is, therefore, not appropriate for this study.

The interpretivist approach is also necessary to provide insight into organizations working in the field of community food, across which there is considerable variability and diversity (Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti, 2020, McGlone et al., 1999). Interpretivism seeks to explain why people have different experiences rather than to find fundamental laws to explain behaviour. It recognises that experiences are not 'imprinted' on individuals but are formed through interaction with others, and historical, and cultural norms (Creswell, 2007, Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). It also recognises that organizations cannot be viewed independently from the context within which they operate (Crotty, 1998), therefore returning to the preceding discussion regarding poverty as a complex and contentious landscape within which community food providers operate. The interpretivist viewpoint, therefore, offers the space required to understand the differences in forms, functions and services of this diverse collection of organizations operating under the broad banner of community food.

4.3   Research strategy

A research strategy is a general plan of how the researcher will go about answering the research questions (Saunders et al., 2009). These methodological choices should be consequential to the philosophical stance. Adopting an interpretive position and revisiting the research aim and objectives justifies the choice of a qualitative strategy. A qualitative approach provides real-life, in-depth, and rich descriptions in a natural setting. It enables a complex and detailed understanding of an issue, utilising participant-driven insights and perspectives to help understand the meanings that participants attribute to events (Burrell and Morgan, 1992, Creswell, 2007, Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, Gephart, 2004, Pratt, 2009). Qualitative research asks broad, general questions to gather multiple perspectives (Creswell, 1998).

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) stress the diversity of methods used by a qualitative researcher asserting that no single methodology is prioritised. Qualitative research does not have firm guidelines or specific procedures, instead, it draws upon a wide range of approaches and techniques (Creswell, 1998). Creswell (2007) identifies five commonly utilised approaches to qualitative research: ethnography, phenomenology, biography, grounded theory, and case study. Of these, this study adopts a predominantly ethnographic approach.

Ethnography has a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of a particular social phenomenon (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Ethnography originated in anthropology and sociology, originally seeking to study remote and unfamiliar cultures. However, more recent ethnographic work has widened the lens to explore what seems close and familiar (Flick, 2009). Ethnographers study the shared patterns of behaviours, language, and actions of a cultural group in a natural setting over a prolonged time (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). They immerse themselves in the field, examining the group's observable and learned patterns of behaviour, customs, and ways of life in the natural context (Adler and Adler, 1994, Creswell and Creswell, 2018). To do so, ethnographic studies tend to involve the researcher being immersed in one social setting for an extended time (Bryman, 2004). If more settings are included less time can be spent in each (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

In this respect, this study differs from a pure ethnography. Rather, it adopts a two-layered ethnographic approach. The setting in which the researcher was immersed was at the sector level. Within this sector, ethnographic techniques were used at an organizational level. However, at this lower level, short amounts of time were spent with several organizations. This responds to the need for scholarship to explore a wide range of community food providers, as identified in section 2.8. Therefore, like Murtagh (2007) the research approach is 'quasi-ethnographic'. Figure 4.1 depicts the two levelled, quasi-ethnographic approach. The arrows represent the interplay and

complementariness of the different data sources, each recursively adding insight into the other.
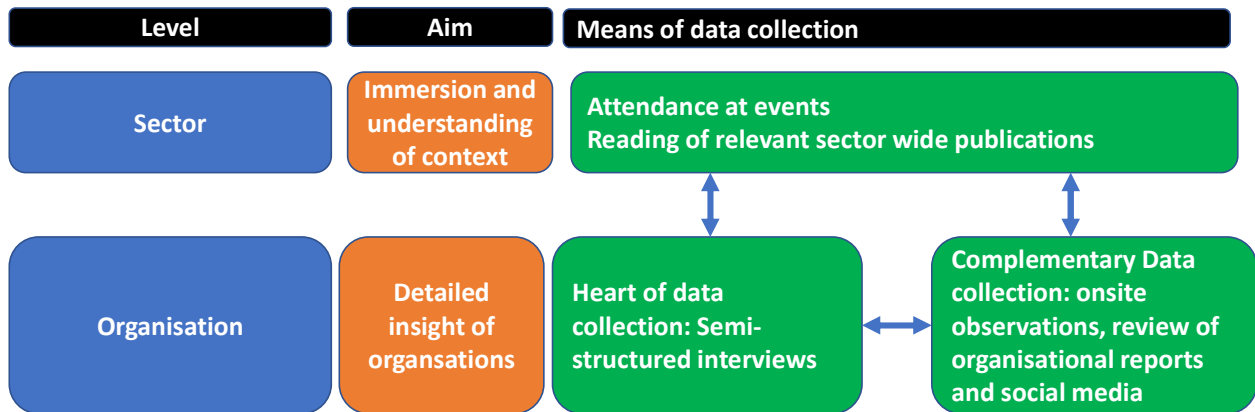
Figure 4-1 Quasi-ethnographic research approach

The researcher's immersion at a sector level was achieved in a variety of ways.

Firstly, the project built on prior practical experience of working and volunteering in the sector for 5 years. This provided a strong baseline level of insight into the sector before the commencement of the study. Secondly, during the time of the PhD a 3-month internship was completed from October 2016 – January 2017 with Community Food and Health Scotland, a key meso level organization operating in the community food sector. During the internship, a rapid research project was undertaken, exploring how cooking skills courses support people in food poverty. This final report is available here: http://www.healthscotland.scot/media/1422/just-getting-on-with-it_may2017_english.pdf. Whilst this research and output was distinct from the data collection for this thesis the internship strengthened the researcher's understanding, insight, and profile through an organization at the very heart of the community food sector. Thirdly, the researcher attended several relevant sector events that were targeted at community food providers. These events were selected to give insight into current sector discussions and discourse as well as providing networking opportunities at key points throughout the PhD study. Table 4.2 details the events attended. Outputs from these events included researcher field notes and, in some cases, post-meeting notes that the organiser circulated to all attendees. These events provided insight into broad trends and developments across the community food sector. Finally, from the end of the third year of the PhD, the researcher has been working as a research assistant in the Politics and International Relations department of a UK University, undertaking further research and knowledge exchange activities relevant to the field of food poverty.

As well as this physical immersion in the sector a range of relevant secondary data sources were reviewed to provide detailed insight into the policy context in which the

sector operates and the guidance available to organizations. Table 4-3 details the key reports that were reviewed.

Table 4-2 Sector events attended by researcher throughout the study

Organiser	Event	Date	Reason for attendance
Community Food and Health Scotland (CFHS)	CFHS annual networking conference	28th October 2015	General networking and learning at outset of PhD
Glasgow Food Policy Partnership	'Good food for all' – launch of a charter and manifesto	2nd December 2015	General networking and learning at outset of PhD
Glasgow Food Policy Partnership	Consultation event: creating a Glasgow Community Food Network	3rd June 2016	Networking with organizations from local geography
Community Food and Health Scotland	Cooking Skills Learning Event	10th November 2016	During an internship with CFHS
SENSCOT	Study visit to Can Cook in Liverpool	7th November 2016	During an internship with CFHS
Community Food and Health Scotland	Workshop reflecting on household food insecurity	7th December 2016	During an internship with CFHS
Community Food and Health Scotland	Sharing Patter: CFHS Annual Networking Event 2017	25th October 2017	Reintegrating into the sector after maternity leave - general networking and updating knowledge
SENSCOT	Community Food Social Enterprise Network: sharing good practice sessions	7th March 2018	Reintegrating into the sector after maternity leave - general networking and updating knowledge
Menu for Change and Nourish	Responding to Food Insecurity in Midlothian	29th August 2018	Recommended by an interviewee
Community Food and Health Scotland	Understanding Food Insecurity in Scotland: Making sense of the data	4th October 2018	Knowledge and learning of directly relevant topic
Interfaith Food Justice Network	Food Poverty to Good Food Nation	5th March 2019	Recommended by an interviewee

Table 4-3 Key secondary data reports

Theme	Report Date	Report author (organization)	Length	Report name	Key content
Food Poverty	30 Jun 2016	Independent working group on food poverty.	41 pgs.	Dignity: Ending hunger together in Scotland	Consider the issues and make recommendations to the Scottish Government on future actions regarding food poverty
Food Poverty	December 2018	Rocket Science (commissioned by the Scottish Government)	97 pgs.	Review of the Fair Food Transformation Fund for Scottish Government	Review of data on community food providers receiving funding from the Scottish Government
Poverty	October 2014	Scottish Government	5 pgs.	The Impact of Welfare Reform in Scotland – Tracking Study Year 1 Report	Impact of ongoing changes to the welfare system on a range of households in Scotland over time
Poverty	December 2017	Scottish Parliament	17 sections	Child Poverty (Scotland) Bill	This Bill aims to tackle, report on and measure child poverty.
Food Policy	June 2014	Scottish Government	26 pgs.	Becoming a Good Food Nation Discussion Document	Discussion document on the next stage of Recipe for Success, Scotland's first National Food and Drink Policy
Food Poverty/ Community Food Organizations	March 2018	Nourish Scotland and The Poverty Truth Commission	35 pgs.	Dignity in Practice: Learning, tools, and guidance for community food providers	A practical resource to help projects think about what dignity looks like in practice and how this can be achieved.
Community Food Organizations	June 2006	Community Food and Health Scotland	49 pgs.	Minding Their Own Business	An introduction to business and social enterprise for those supporting local communities tackling inequalities in diet and health
Community Food Organizations	Sept 2009	Community Food and Health Scotland	24 pgs.	Minding Their Own Business Too	Examples of community food initiatives that have become more enterprising

Moving down from this immersion at a sectoral level the research sought to collect data at an individual organizational level using the ethnographic approaches of interviews and observations.

Common to qualitative research, the heart of the data collection at the organization level was the semi-structured interview (Gioia et al., 2012). Interviews allow researchers "*to obtain both retrospective and real time accounts by those people experiencing the phenomenon of theoretical interest*" (ibid pg. 19). They are a guided conversation which Rubin and Rubin (1995) describe in the following quote,

> "*The interviewer wanders along with the local inhabitants, asks questions that lead the subjects to tell their own stories of the lived world, and converses with them in the original Latin meaning of conversation as 'wandering together with'*" (ibid pg. 4).

A semi-structured approach to interviews allows this 'wandering'. Compared to structured interviews semi-structured interviews tap into the knowledge-producing potentials of dialogue "*by allowing much more leeway for following up on whatever angles are deemed important by the interviewee*" (Brinkmann, 2013 pg. 18). This allows the interviewee to be interested, active, and fully involved in the conversation (Latour, 2000). Yet, compared to unstructured interviews they provide the interviewer with the ability to focus the conversation on issues that are deemed important to the research project (Brinkmann, 2013).

To complement these semi-structured interviews additional data was gathered during the physical visits to some of the community food providers on the day of the interview. This allowed observations to be made in the natural setting. The site visits also allowed opportunistic observations of activities taking place during the visit, tours of premises, and informal conversations with a range of people at the organization. Finally, additional secondary data was collected, where available, through social media statements (primarily Facebook), organizational websites, financial statements, and other organizational reports. More details on both the observation and secondary data sources are provided later, in Table 4.5, once the organizations participating in the study have been introduced.

Like ethnography, this quasi-ethnographic approach made flexible use of a range of methods and sources, ensuring a wide range of voices were included and that data was embedded in the context (Cohen and Manion, 2000, Flick, 2007a). This approach, therefore, implicitly used triangulation (Flick, 2007b). Data triangulation, defined by Cohen and Manion (2000 pg. 254) is an "*attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint*". This triangulation, therefore, increases confidence in research findings (Bryman, 1988).

Denzin (1970) distinguishes various forms of triangulation: data, investigator, theory, and methodological. Two of these forms of triangulation were employed in the study. Data triangulation employs the use of different sources of data, for example studying the same phenomenon in various locations with different persons (Denzin, 1970,

Flick, 2007b). These different types of data provide different views, or vantage points to understand the phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The wide range of organizations in the study provided data triangulation. Methodological triangulation involves using more than one method to gather data. It overcomes the limitations of a single method by employing different methods in the same study, bringing several perspectives (Flick, 2007). The interviews, observations, secondary data analysis, and embedding in the sector provided methodological triangulation. This inherent triangulation in an ethnographic approach (Flick, 2007b) is a further benefit of the chosen research approach.

Having described the overall research strategy, more detail on the organizational level data collection is now discussed.

4.4   Defining the 'group of interest'.

Existing grey and academic literature were used to hone the group of interest to ensure relevance to the topic of food poverty. Reflecting on their work with grassroots organizations Nourish Scotland and The Poverty Truth Commission (2018 pg. iv) use the term community food providers as,

> "*a broad term for community and voluntary organizations providing a response to food insecurity, from provision of emergency food aid to supporting people to grow and enjoy fresh food in the community.*"

A wide range of activities are therefore encompassed within this term. These include providing emergency food aid to people in crisis, teaching skills to make limited household food budgets stretch farther (cooking groups, training classes), providing space and support with growing food (community gardens) and providing cheaper access to food (community shops, pantries, food co-operatives) (Douglas et al., 2015a, Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2009, Loopstra, 2018).

Commonly, a distinction is made between organizations providing (solely or primarily) emergency food aid, often termed a 'food bank', and those providing the other types of activities deemed to be non-emergency support (Blake, 2019a, Douglas et al., 2015a, Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti, 2020, Power et al., 2017). As discussed in section 2.8 a large proportion of the academic literature on community food providers, in the context of food poverty, focusses on food banks, although some exceptions include food banks and organizations providing a wider range of functions (Blake, 2019a, Lambie-Mumford, 2014, Loopstra, 2018, Purdam and Silver, 2020) and others specifically exclude food banks in the study design (Douglas et al., 2015a).

In addressing the research aim and objectives of this study it was necessary to include a full range of community food providers for three key reasons. Firstly, the research seeks to compare and contrast the range of organizations united by a broad

aim of addressing food poverty. Secondly, it seeks to explore the collective impact of these organizations. Thirdly, the study takes place in Scotland where the political steer indicates a desire for a changing landscape of food provision:

> *"We are keen to actively promote this progression from emergency food provider to agencies that are more fully integrated into the local communities they serve…. Our ambition is to see a decline in stand-alone emergency food provision and an increase in community food hubs."* (Scottish Government, 2016 pg. 36 & 37).

Like Loopstra (2018) the study did not target organizations that primarily provide support targeted to specific vulnerable groups. Such programmes may support people who are homeless and who may be struggling with addictions or mental health issues, such as soup kitchens (Macleod, 2015), or elderly and/or disabled people, such as meals on wheels (Shaw, 2020), or low-income children, such as holiday feeding programmes (Mann et al., 2018). The exclusion of such organizations reflects the desire to capture insights from organizations providing services that can be accessed by the general public at large, should they so require.

4.5   Organization and interviewee selection

The University of Strathclyde ethics committee granted ethical approval on 25th June 2018 and data collection took place from July 2018 to March 2019.

Having identified the boundaries of the chosen social group, sampling began. Broad parameters for identifying relevant organizations were established. Firstly, the study was situated in the 'central belt' of Scotland. The 'central belt', which is defined loosely, has the highest population density in the country. It includes the two major cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as the heavily populated areas between the two cities and to their east and west. Secondly, approximately 20 organizations were sought, aligning to Creswell (1998), who suggests researchers should consider 15-20 individual cases in one relevant group. Within this it was deemed imperative to include several grassroots organizations, providing services on the ground and the key meso level organizations whose influence may be felt sector wide. Finally, amongst the grassroots organizations, a wide range of community food providers was deemed necessary, as discussed in the previous section.

Within these broad parameters, and as is common in qualitative research, purposive sampling was employed. This form of sampling allows selection of relevant organizations that can provide insight that addresses the research aim and objectives and satisfies the specific needs of the project (Creswell and Creswell, 2018, Miles and Huberman, 1994, Robson, 2002). The benefits of purposive sampling include capturing different and diverse perspectives from highly knowledgeable informants on the focal phenomenon (Creswell, 1998, Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007),

providing a source of important information that may not be available elsewhere (Maxwell, 2005), and access to a wide variety of cases, including extreme cases, which may provide unique insight into the research problem (Dane, 1990). One form of purposive sampling is judgement sampling (Marshall, 1996). In judgement sampling the most productive sample is actively selected based on the researcher's practical knowledge of the research area, the available literature, and evidence from the study itself (ibid).

The study employed a judgment sampling approach, utilising four sources, detailed in Table 4.4. Eight organizations were approached to participate in the study based on the researcher's previous work and knowledge of community food providers. Five of these organizations were meso level: national organizations that support community food providers in a variety of ways. The remaining three were grassroots organizations known to the researcher due to their high profile and longevity. The researcher identified food banks using a google search for food banks in the central belt of Scotland, with a deliberate selection of both food banks affiliated to the Trussell Trust network and those operating independently of this network. Three interviewees highlighted other useful potential participants for the study and four organizations were invited to participate on that basis. Marshall (1996) calls this snowball sampling, a technique that provides insight from people in the know as to who else could provide rich and relevant information (Patton, 1990). Lastly, the researcher approached three organizations when knowledge of them arose opportunistically during the data collection period: one organization was the topic of a national news article; one organization advertised for volunteers to support a pop-up fundraising event; one organization attended the same conference as the researcher. Upon further exploration of these sources the organizations were all relevant to the study and, the researcher hoped, may provide access to special or unique cases due to the opportunistic identification (Teddlie and Yu, 2007). In addition to the organizations that agreed to participate eight further food banks were contacted but no reply was ever received, and one community food provider declined to participate but no reason was given.

Table 4-4 Four sources informing judgement sampling

Source	Organizations
Researchers own knowledge	Community Food and Health (Scotland), Independent Food Aid Network, Nourish, Cultural Enterprise Office, SENSCOT, Lanarkshire Community Food and Health Partnership, Edinburgh Community Food, Broomhouse Health Strategy Group.
Google search of food banks	Glasgow SW Foodbank, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Drumchapel Food Bank, Anniesland Storehouse, Bo'ness Storehouse, Forth Valley Larder
Opportunistic Identification	Launch, Kaleyard, Unity Grill
Snowballing *(signposted to by the organization in brackets)*	Centrestage *(Community Food and Health (Scotland)),* Govan Community Project *(Glasgow SW Foodbank)*, Castlemilk Church *(Glasgow SW Foodbank)*, Küche *(Kaleyard)*

The researcher initially emailed each of the organizations with details of the study, asking them to express interest and willingness to participate. Where the contact details were available emails were sent to the manager of the organization and if not the general 'contact us' details were used.

Upon receipt of responses that indicated a willingness to participate the researcher subsequently asked to undertake an interview with the manager of the community food provider. These interviewees were purposefully chosen to capture perspectives from knowledgeable agents that would best represent each organization's viewpoint (Gioia et al., 2012). Furthermore, despite their senior position in the organization, it was considered that these actors were still close to the frontline, operating at the institutional coalface due to the small size of the organizations (Barley, 2008, Smets et al., 2014). Furthermore, it is these more senior positions who may have the time and legitimacy to undertake institutional change work (Mosley, 2013). Given the research objectives, and the focus on the 'what', 'how', and 'why' of community food providers, internal informants, as opposed to service users, were targeted for interview.

4.6 Participating organizations and details of data collection

High-level details of the participating organizations, the interviews, and the other data collected are shown in Table 4-5

Table 4-5 Organization, interview, and other data details of the 21 organizations included in the study.

Organization Details			Interview details		Other data	
Name	**Form of food aid**	**Organizational Form**	**No. of interviews**	**Interview Location**	**Observations**	**Secondary Data**
Glasgow SW Foodbank	Emergency	Independent Charity: Trussell Trust Foodbank	2 (different interviewees)	1: During foodbank session 1: Offsite	Foodbank in operation at visit	Twitter, Facebook, Financial Statements Trussell Trust website
Glasgow SE Foodbank	Emergency	Independent Charity: Trussell Trust Foodbank	1	On-site (head office)	Ad hoc conversation with a volunteer	Twitter, Facebook, Financial Statements Trussell Trust website
Bo'ness Storehouse	Emergency	Independent Charity: Non-Trussell Trust Food bank	1	On-site	Premises tour, volunteers sorting food delivery from a local producer	Financial Statements
Drumchapel Food Bank	Emergency	Project of larger community organization: Non-Trussell Trust Food bank	1	On-site (head office)	Ad hoc conversation with the founder	Facebook, Financial Statements
Anniesland Storehouse	Emergency	Project of the church: Non-Trussell Trust Food bank	1	Off-site (in church, food bank ran elsewhere)	Ad hoc conversation with Church minister	Financial Statements
Forth Valley Larder	Emergency	Project of recruitment focussed social enterprise	1 2 people	On-site	Food larder in operation at visit	Website, Financial Statements
Govan Community Project	Emergency	Project of advocacy focussed social enterprise	1	On-site		Website, Financial Statements
Centrestage	Emergency and non-emergency	Project of arts focussed social enterprise.	1	On-site (community centre)	Visited kitchen and warehouse. Attended cooking group, Shared meal with participants	Website, Financial Statements
Castlemilk Church	Emergency and non-emergency	Project of the church	1	On-site (church)	Premises tour	Local news article

Launch Foods	Non-emergency	Social Enterprise	1	On-site (restaurant)	Premises tour Ad hoc conversation with chef	Website BBC news article
Broomhouse Health Strategy Group (BHSG)	Non-emergency	Charity	1 (2 people)	On site		Website, Financial Statements
Edinburgh Community Food	Non-emergency	Social enterprise	1	On site	Premises tour	Website, Financial Statements
Lanarkshire Community Food and Health Partnership (LCFHP)	Non-emergency	Social enterprise	2 (Different interviewee)	On-site	Premises tour Ad hoc conversation with 2 staff members	Website, Financial Statements, Project evaluation report
Küche	Non-emergency	Social enterprise	1 (2 people)	On-site	Observed cooking class and shared meals with participants	Website
Unity Grill	Non-emergency	Social enterprise	1	On-site	Restaurant was open	Website, Facebook
Kaleyard	Non-emergency	Social Enterprise	1	Off site	Volunteered at 'pop up' fundraiser	Website
Community Food and Health (Scotland) (CFHS)	Meso level	NHS Health Scotland	2 (different interviewee)	1: On site 1: Off site	n/a	Website
Nourish	Meso level	NGO	1	On site		Website
Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN)	Meso level	Volunteer run network	1	Telephone interview		Website
Cultural Enterprise Office	Meso level	Social enterprise	1	On site		Website
SENSCOT	Meso level	Charity & Limited Company	1	On site		Website

Although the intention was to complete one interview per organization, two interviews were completed with three of the organizations. For CFHS and Glasgow SW Foodbank this was at the suggestion of the original interviewee, who recommended it would be beneficial to speak to another specifically identified person. For LCFHP the manager was due to retire at the time of the original interview, so a return visit was made to interview the newly appointed manager at a later date. Three of the organizations arranged it themselves to have two people participate in the interview (Küche, BHSG, and Forth Valley Larder).

In contrast to the sampling plan Launch Foods primarily target their food aid services to children. The decision to include them was due to media coverage of the launch of the organization on the BBC news website at the time of data collection. Their prominence in the public eye and the content of the article, which chimed with many of the themes relevant to the research, warranted their inclusion.

(A note on naming: For ease acronyms will be used for organizations that have names of four words or more, as per Table 4-5. Trussell Trust foodbanks use the term 'foodbank' – this naming convention has been applied. Other food banks have been labelled 'food bank'.)

The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) ranking measures relative deprivation across the country, by ranking small areas, termed datazones, by levels of deprivation. Although the SIMD ranking was not specifically referred to in the search strategy, by their very nature the grassroots organizations were often based in or serving deprived communities. Table 4-6 provides some insight into the deprivation of the localities in which the community food providers were based. It details the percentage of datazones in the highest quintile for deprivation in each of the local authority areas in which the organizations were based. It also details the ranking of each local authority relative to the other 32 local authorities in Scotland. For example, 45% of datazones in the City of Glasgow are in the 20% most deprived quintile. This represents 45% of all datazones in the local authority area. Based on this share of the most deprived datazones the City of Glasgow ranks highest, compared to the other 32 local authorities in Scotland, in terms of deprivation.

Local Authority Area	Scottish ranking based on local share of highest quintile data zones	% of datazones in the highest quintile for deprivation	Organizations
City of Glasgow	1	45%	Anniesland Storehouse, Castlemilk Church, Drumchapel Food Bank, Glasgow SW Foodbank, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Govan Community Project, Kaleyard, Küche, Launch.
North Lanarkshire	6	34%	LCFHP
Ayrshire - East	7	31%	Centrestage
Ayrshire - South	12	18%	Unity Grill
Falkirk	13	16%	Bo'ness Storehouse, Forth Valley Larder
City of Edinburgh	16	12%	Edinburgh Community Food, BHSG

The data in Table 4.6 is provided as a high-level insight into the areas in which these organizations are located. The organizations usually served a smaller community within the local authority area. However, without clearly defined geographic boundaries of service, and the corresponding datazones, it is challenging to provide more granular insight into the levels of deprivation in the population served. Recognising these limitations, Table 4.6 provides some insight into the deprivation levels of the communities served by the community food providers. Nine of the 16 organizations were based in Glasgow, reflecting both the highest levels of deprivation and the highest population and population density. The remaining 7 organizations were in a local authority which ranked in the 'top half' of the 32 Scottish local authorities based on the local share of the highest quintile data zones.

4.7   Interviews

The researcher organized interviews at a time and place that was convenient to participants. Before the interview, the researcher undertook some familiarisation work by reviewing available websites, financial reports, and social media. This early research took between 1-3 hours per organization depending on the volume of data available in these forms. This research was undertaken one or two days before the interview. The purpose of this was to become more familiar with the organization to allow for quicker comprehension and coverage of the basic details of the organization during the interview itself.

As noted above, semi-structured interviews were deemed beneficial for data collection. Rubin and Rubin (1995) note that the qualitative interview uses three

kinds of questions: main questions that begin and guide the conversation, probes to clarify answers or request further examples, and follow-up questions that pursue the implications of answers to main questions. Broad topics to be covered during the interview were prepared in advance, forming the basis for what Rubin and Rubin (1995) call the main questions. The topics were informed by the research objectives with tailoring to each interview, following the pre-interview research if this was deemed necessary.

Following the researcher's introduction to the research, discussion of the participant information sheet (sent in advance), and the signing of the consent form the interviews were opened with a broad, open-ended question: 'Please tell me about your organization?' This was kept deliberately broad to allow interviewees to start with a topic on which they feel comfortable and to provide scope to choose what they deemed most pertinent to the question, given their knowledge of the research. Often, the broad opening question resulted in interviewees providing a long dialogue that covered key themes with minimal prompting from the researcher. The question elicited data on practical details such as activities, service users, organizational structure, sources of food, sources of funding. It also provided insight into the aims, motivations, and plans of the organizations. Where these topics did not naturally arise in the opening dialogue specific prompts were provided (e.g., 'where do you source your food?') and where further insight was required gentle probes such as 'can you tell me more about that' were used. Often these discussions included accounts of positive changes for service users that interviewees had observed.

Interviewees were then asked to reflect on the role of the organization in influencing wider change. To begin this avenue of questioning, interviewees were asked whether they felt their organization can influence local and/or national policy. Again, the question was kept broad to allow interviewees the space to consider the policy that they felt most relevant. If necessary, the interviewer would prompt interviewees to explore policies which they may have already raised for example, 'you mentioned earlier inadequate benefits as a problem for service users, do you feel your organization can influence wider policy decisions such as this? As with the opening question, the broad question often elicited long dialogue in which interviewees reflected on changes required to better support people achieve food security as well as their role and agency in contributing to this. Often this discussion progressed to other change activities, broader than that focused on policy. Where this had not naturally arisen in the interview already, a follow up question on other ways in which the organization contributes to change was asked. Interviews were closed with an invite to the interviewee to add anything that they think had not been covered already that was relevant to the research and if they had any questions that they would like to ask.

It is common for a distinction to be made between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. However, Brinkmann (2013) suggests that they should be considered as a continuum from relatively structured to relatively unstructured formats. As detailed above the approach to interviews was semi-structured but towards the unstructured end of the continuum rather than the structured end. The benefit of this approach was the flexibility to explore topics of interest as they naturally emerged and follow up on unexpected lines of inquiry (Grix, 2004, Squire, 2008, Warren, 2001). Furthermore, rich data is often obtained when interviewers listen more than speak (Robson, 2011), capitalising on what Rubin and Rubin (1995 pg. 103) observe,

> "*At a basic level, people like to talk about themselves: they enjoy the sociability of a long discussion and are pleased that somebody is interested in them…. you come along and say, yes, what you know is valuable, it should not be lost, teach me, and through me, teach others.*"

The researcher recorded all interviews, with the consent of the participants and subsequently fully transcribed them. Although this was a time-consuming process the researcher deemed it time well spent as it allowed closeness to the data, giving a greater understanding of the meanings and greatly enhancing the data analysis (Byrne, 1998, David and Sutton, 2004). Interviewees received an emailed copy of their transcript, with the option to confirm or to make amendments if required. Three interviewees replied confirming they were happy with the transcript, two interviewees requested minor cosmetic changes and one interviewee requested the removal of references to specific geographic locations. The remainder of the interviewees did not reply to the email and the researcher, therefore, assumed implicit acceptance of the transcript.

The researcher did not offer participants anonymity. Offering complete anonymity to participants suggests they will never be traceable from the data presented about them (Saunders et al., 2015). However, guaranteeing complete anonymity to participants can be an unachievable goal in qualitative research (Van Den Hoonaard, 2003). The rich description inherent in qualitative research can lead to the possibility of deductive disclosure when described traits and characteristics make participants identifiable in research reports (Kaiser, 2009, Sieber, 1992). To aid final readers understanding the researcher wished to include a description of each organization, including activities and geographical location, to provide the contextual understanding and aid insight. Given the uniqueness of each of the organizations, their location in small geographic areas, and the small number of staff in each organization the researcher felt that identification of both the organization and the interviewee would be possible by people 'in the know' despite any anonymising (Nespor, 2000, Saunders et al., 2015). As there was, therefore, no guarantee of anonymity the most ethical and pragmatic approach was not to offer anonymity.

This decision not to offer anonymity garnered further benefits to the research project. Firstly, this meant that the researcher did not have to change any data to protect anonymity. Changing details to render data unidentifiable can alter or destroy the original meaning and can affect readers' interpretation of the data (Kaiser, 2009, Wiles et al., 2008). Furthermore, participants may have strong feelings about how the data they provide are altered in research reports (Corden and Sainsbury, 2006). Secondly, it considers the premise that, sometimes, participants might not desire anonymity, linking in with debates in anthropology as to how informants can be properly credited for their contribution (Bok, 1983, Cassell and Jacobs, 1987, Grinyer, 2004). Giordano et al. (2007) suggest that in making assumptions about anonymity researchers are acting paternalistically: potentially denying participants autonomy and depriving them of a voice.

The researcher fully explained to participants the lack of anonymity and the reason for this, primarily the risk of deductive disclosure compromising any offered anonymity (Kaiser, 2009, Sieber, 1992). Before each interview, the researcher emphasised that each organization would be named in the write-up. In addition, the information sheet that accompanied the signed consent form made the following statement:

> "Your name will not be included in the write-up of the research. I may like to include a direct quote of something you have said. These quotes will be labelled with your role and your organization. As both your organization and role will be included it is possible that you may be identifiable from this label by people who are familiar with the community food sector. You should be aware that the write-up of the research will be publicly available. If you would like, a transcript of the interview can be sent to you for review. You can request changes be made to the transcript prior to any quotes being used.

The researcher also highlighted to participants that they could request for certain conversations had during the interview to be anonymised. This could be done in two ways. Firstly, during the interview, when interviewees could state that they would like the previous or upcoming section to be kept anonymous. Secondly, upon reviewing the transcribed interview participants were invited to highlight sections of the text that they wished to be kept anonymous. This 'anonymity upon request' recognises that there is not a 'one size fits all' approach to anonymity, providing more nuance compared to the 'anonymity by default' approach (Saunders et al., 2015). It treats research participants as autonomous agents and facilitates discussion as to how their data will be used (Giordano et al., 2007, Kaiser, 2009).

All interviewees were happy with this approach of 'no anonymity unless requested'. During the interview, four participants asked for certain conversations to be 'off the record'. The researcher noted this on the transcripts at the time of transcription. Upon receipt of their emailed transcribed interview, no interviewees requested that certain sections of the transcript be anonymised although one interviewee requested the removal of named geographical areas.

4.8   Analysis

As is common in qualitative studies an iterative model of analysis was adopted. Analysis was not a discrete phase of the study that occurred in a sequence, but rather it was an ongoing process initiated when data collection commenced (Gioia et al., 2012, Maxwell, 2005). Creswell (2007 pg. 151) represents this process as a spiral of data analysis, Figure 4-2. It depicts how the,

> *"researcher engages in the process of moving in analytic circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. One enters with data of text or images (e.g., photographs, videotapes) and exits with an account or a narrative. In between, the researcher touches on several facets of analysis and circles around and around."*
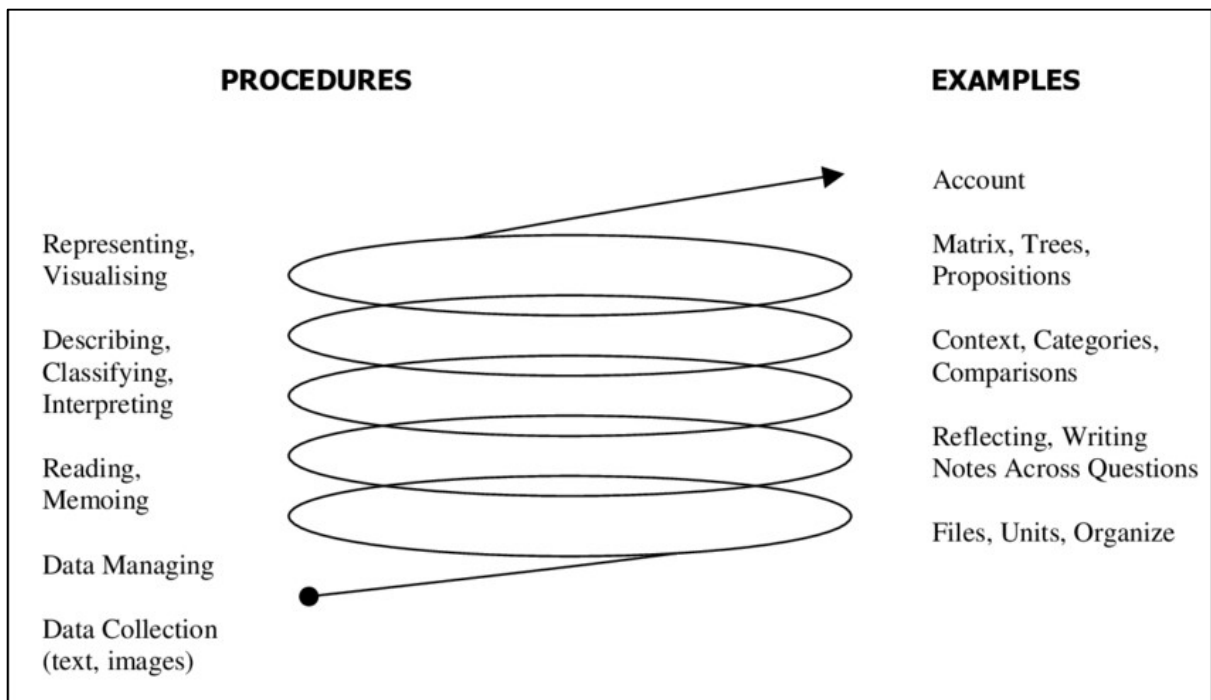
Figure 4-2 Data analysis spiral (Creswell, 2007)

The procedures of this spiral as followed for this study are discussed.

Data management involves the organization of data. The researcher created a folder on the university directory for each organization and stored all data collected in these individual folders. This included the interview audio recording, transcript, field notes, and other documents (e.g., financial statements or media articles). Some interviewees provided hard copies of documents that were stored in a physical folder labelled 'data'.

The researcher then continued analysis by getting a sense of the whole data set (Creswell, 2007). Transcripts and field notes were read in their entirety several times, immersing the researcher in the detail whilst maintaining the context and the flow of the interviews and providing a sense of the whole (Agar, 1980, Coffey and Atkinson, 1996, Giorgi, 1989). The general impressions formed at this phase were noted, as memos, in the margins of printed copies of the transcripts. Memos are "*short phrases, ideas, or key concepts that occur to the reader*" (Creswell, 2007 pg. 151). These memos indicate what could be done with these different parts of the data (Patton, 1987).

For the next phase of analysis, the researcher assigned organizations into one of three groups. The groups were emergency food aid only, non-emergency with and without emergency food aid, and meso level, as per Table 4.5. This split was to aid the management and data sorting processes of the large volume of data that qualitative studies generate. Data analysis began with the emergency food aid group because this group had the highest level of similarity across organizations and therefore, pragmatically, felt the more straightforward of the groups to analyse.

Progressing from the memos, which identified possible issues of interest, a process of coding the emergency food aid organizations began. Based upon the memos and with reference to the interview questions, which naturally shaped the data, a suite of early codes emerged consistently across the transcripts. These codes often provided a descriptive account. These descriptive accounts are a central part of ethnography (Creswell, 2007). These codes included location, project origins, personal motivators, aims, operations, funding, food sources, clients, referrers, staffing/volunteers, food poverty drivers, job satisfaction, networking, and 'other'. The researcher created a document for each organization with data grouped under each of these headings. Field notes were consulted to ensure the sorted data was reflective of the researchers' observations and experience of the organizations. These write-ups created the stories on which ethnographies are built, straightforward descriptions of the organizations, "*carefully presented and interestingly related*" (Wolcott, 1994 pg. 28, Creswell, 2007). These separate documents allowed comparison across organizations and started to highlight the similarities and differences.

Uncoded data in each transcript was copied and pasted into a separate document and transferred to N-Vivo for further analysis. This document amounted to 20,625 words.

These data were then coded using a bottom-up process seeking to give voice to the informants with no imposition of prior constructs or theories (Gioia et al., 2012). Each excerpt in the document was read and codes were set up emergently. Initially, 29 nodes emerged from the data, but one was subsequently merged into another, leaving 28 nodes. Two-parent level categories emerged from these: 'functional' and 'change'. Those deemed to relate to the functional category were reintegrated with the previously written organization write-ups. Those relating to change required further analysis and, as a starting point, the 6 features of institutional work of less powerful actors identified by Marti and Mair (2009) were used as a template.

The Marti and Mair (2009) study recognised that efforts to alleviate poverty are likely to encompass a great deal of institutional work and sought to explore what can be learned from the efforts of social entrepreneurs to alleviate poverty. The social entrepreneurs that were studied were deliberately selected to highlight the work of 'other types of actors' focussing particularly on actors with very limited power and very few resources. To achieve this, studies were set in developing countries (Egypt, Bangladesh, and India). Whilst the community food providers in the current study are less restricted in terms of power and resources than the Marti and Mair (2009) study the similarities in aims meant that analysis of data initially coded to the broad category of 'change' could be analysed with reference to the existing evidence base. Therefore, data was re-coded, using the cut and paste function of Microsoft Word into these 6 features of institutional work as identified by Marti and Mair (2009). These features are experimenting; 'being marginal, being aggressive'; enhancing institutions; transforming and disrupting cultural beliefs, myths, and traditions; creating provisional institutions; and navigating across different institutional logics.

Having established and populated this coding framework with the first group of organizations the researcher now returned to the second group: non-emergency with and without emergency food aid. Each transcript was reviewed with data that matched existing codes noted in a memo at the side. Un-memoed data was labelled as 'other' and transferred to a separate word document. For this phase, the researcher opted to do the analysis directly in Word, as opposed to transferring to N-Vivo. The file that contained the 'other' comments from all 9 organizations in this group amounted to 12,577 words. A review of this file led to the emergence of new codes, many of which were attributable to the wider suite of community food providers compared with those used to develop the initial coding framework. New codes included comments on the food bank approach; organizational alignment with 'food poverty; benefits, challenges, and tensions of social enterprise approach; future plans; project outcomes; building alike networks; adaptability; and barriers to success. For both groups of organizations, there was, inevitably, a form of "winnowing" (Wolcott, 1994, Creswell, 2007) The data that was not assigned to a code or was assigned to a code with minimal data was discarded: not all data is used in a qualitative study (Creswell, 2007).

Upon completion of this analysis of the grassroots organizations, the transcripts of the meso level organizations were reviewed. Data relevant to the existing codes were marked directly on the transcript. As well as adding further relevant first-hand data, analysis of the meso level organizations allowed a form of soft triangulation, where findings to date were confirmed rather than challenged (Turner and Turner, 2009).

Cumulatively the analysis to date led to the production of descriptive write-ups of the two key themes: functions and change. These write-ups were presented and discussed with the wider research team and at three conferences. For clarity, Table 4.7 details all these steps. However, again, it is important to reiterate that analysis was not a discrete process.

Table 4-7 Data analysis steps

Step	Actions
1	All transcripts were reviewed with memos added in the margins.
2	Based on memos and interview questions Group 1 ('emergency food aid) transcripts were fully coded. Based on this early coding case summaries were written up for each organization.
3	Anything not included in case summaries deemed to be 'other'
4	'Other' data loaded into N-Vivo: data reviewed, and new codes emerged
5	Emergent codes reviewed and grouped into parents: 'Functional' or 'Change'
6	Functional Data: Diffused into existing amalgamated case summary descriptive document to produce 'organizations' document. Change Data: Further analysed with reference to Mair and Marti's six features of institutional work to produce 'institutional work' document
7	Group 2 (non-emergency food aid with or without emergency food aid) data analysed according to these coding frameworks.
8	Data not assigned to existing code labelled 'other' and reviewed for newly emerging codes.
9	Transcripts from the support organizations were reviewed for data relevant to existing codes and as a form of soft triangulation.
10	Two descriptive write-ups of all data were produced based on the organizational and change split identified in step 5. These were reviewed and discussed with the wider research team, producing three revised themed versions. In the same period, the findings were presented at three conferences, and feedback was inputted into revised write-ups. Each round of feedback and discussion honed the analysis, adding depth and nuance.

From here a fully recursive process of writing, discussing, and drafting was embarked upon. Findings chapters were drafted and discussed with research supervisors. Presenting to others in this way enhanced analysis in two ways. Firstly, it further facilitated the process of moving on from description to interpretation, drawing conclusions and verification to explain what meanings were found (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Secondly, it required the researcher to continuously 'step

back' and form larger meanings about what is going on, referred to by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as the 'lessons learned'. The discussions, questions, and challenges that followed the review of each draft of the findings chapters led to further analysis and refinement each time. The researcher regularly returned to both the coded raw data and the full transcripts. The final findings were, therefore, the outcome of a long and iterative process. Figure 4.3 depicts this process.

Figure 4.3 depicts the process and progress of recursive data analysis. This analysis was facilitated by the drafting, presentation, and review of draft chapters, eventually resulting in the final three findings chapters presented in this thesis. It shows simultaneous analysis and writing (Creswell, 2007, Gioia et al., 2012). Dates of submission of each version of the chapters are shown upon which feedback, comment, and questions were received from research supervisors. This feedback was in written form and during two key findings review meetings. This process led to new ideas emerging that, in some cases, prompted a reallocation of the data to a different chapter (shown in italics) or further refinement of the original content each chapter. The final findings chapters each were subject to this process three or four times.

Jan-21

	Final Chapter Findings 1: Community Food Providers	Final Chapter Findings 2: Institutional Logics	Final Chapter Findings 3: Advocacy

28-Jul-20 — **Version 2: Organisations and Landscape** / Forms and Functions / Other Field Actors

28-Jun-20 — **Version 3: Advocacy** / Range of advocacy / Everyday advocacy

11-Apr-20 — **Version 3: Institutional Logics** / Multiple Institutional Logics / Hybridity

20 November 2019 – key review meeting with research advisors

18-Nov-19 — **Version 1: Field and Partners** / Other key organisations (funders, suppliers etc.) — **Version 2: Advocacy** / Focus on advocacy

11-Sep-19 — **Version 2: Institutional Logics** / *Responding to Food Poverty* / Multiple Institutional Logics

1 July 2019 – key review meeting with research advisors

16-May-19 — **Version `1: Agency and Change** / Institutional work (Mair and Marti (2009) framework)

10-Apr-19 — **Version 1: Institutional Logics** / Focussed on Family Logic / *Logics of Surplus Food*

Figure 4-3 Depiction of simultaneous analysis and write-up via the recursive process of drafting, feedback, returning to data, redrafting.

4.9 Reflexivity

Reflexivity ensures rigor, quality, and trustworthiness in qualitative research. It increases the credibility of the study and aids the reader's understanding (Berger, 2013, Dodgson, 2019). Tisdall et al. (2009 pg. 229) define reflexivity as,

> "*the thoughtful reflection of a researcher upon the impact of her or his research on the participants, their social world, on the researcher her or him self and on the knowledge produced*".

Reflexivity requires consideration of how one may affect and be affected, by consciously experiencing the self as both inquirer and respondent (Cole and Masny, 2012, Guba and Lincoln, 1982). Therefore, reflexivity should acknowledge two

interacting elements. Firstly, prospective reflexivity, the effect of the researcher on the research, and, secondly, retrospective reflexivity, the effect of the research on the researcher (Edge, 2011).

Regarding prospective reflexivity Malterud (2005, pg. 483) notes,

> *"A researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate the angle of the investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate and the framing and communication of conclusions."*

Undoubtedly the researcher's prior experience working in the sector, detailed in section 4.3, armed them with knowledge and insight that benefited the investigation, but equally, it shaped their approach and consideration of the most appropriate findings. Having spent some time both working and volunteering in the sector the researcher undertook the study with the first-hand experience, albeit not empirically tested, of what they perceived some of the benefits to individuals of engagement with some forms of community food provider.

Retrospective reflexivity acknowledges changes brought about in the researcher themselves as a result of the research process (Palaganas et al., 2017). For the researcher, retrospective reflexivity highlighted a shift towards deeper, more critical thinking around the structural aspects of food poverty and the current climate in which food poverty exists. The researcher welcomed this progression in personal political critique, particularly as a reflexive practice never returns the self to the point of origin (Sandywell, 1996). This more critical thought was initiated by the use of institutional theory which inherently requires consideration of the bigger picture. This shift in personal thinking on the more structural determinants of food poverty perhaps provides evidence of what one interviewee hoped was an outcome of their organization: activation of interest and/or concern.

> *"So, I think, it would be my hope that, and I do see it, is that people are activated to care more about the situation. My politics have significantly changed as a result of being involved in the food bank. But I am one person in that. But I would see that the people that are involved in what we do, will see, will have a different view of what is happening. So, I see it more as a viral thing."* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

Finally, reflexivity should recognise the impact of the researcher on the participants and how this affects the data collected. Goffman (1969) pg. 22. notes,

> *".... the presence of another influences the social performances of self, as we take on "roles" according to fronts along specific social scripts."*

Therefore, how the respondent and the interviewer think and feel about each other will influence, to some degree, how the respondent answers the questions and how

they 'edit' their story (O'Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994, Squire et al., 2008). How the research participants felt about the researcher and how they answered the questions may have been affected by their own motivations for participating. Interviewees may have seen the research as an opportunity to showcase their work. This was particularly pertinent when the researcher undertook the internship (as detailed in section 4.3) with an organization that funds, to a small extent, many community food providers. Whilst the researcher's role was not to assess organizations in that respect, the connection with the funder was undoubtedly on the mind of interviewees. Other interviewees may have seen the interview as an opportunity to advocate for their organization. This was most explicit in one of the start-up social enterprise organizations. Researchers field notes said of the interviewee,

> *"Being in the very early stages of set-up he definitely wanted to make contacts and test out what I could offer them!"* [Researcher field notes]

Another interview felt the very process of being interviewed was beneficial for their critical thought. This interviewee talked of participating in various interviews representing the food bank. Field notes stated:

> *"He was really happy to be involved, saying that he often finds he gets some benefit from taking part in research interviews – a different perspective on things perhaps."* [Researcher field notes]

Interviewees, therefore, have their reasons for participating in a research interview, some seeking an organization benefit, some out of curiosity, and some through a willingness to help the researcher, having been embedded in the field over some years. Most likely, a combination of these motivated each interviewee and these motivations may have impacted how they engaged with the research and responded to the interview questions.

4.10 Summary

This chapter has described the qualitative, quasi ethnographic research strategy, underpinned by an interpretive philosophy. The researcher adopted this strategy as the best fit for the research aim and objectives that sought to explore the collective experiences of people working in the context of a complex social issue. To demonstrate rigour the researcher has discussed, in detail, triangulation, the steps of data analysis, and reflexivity.

5 Community food providers: forms, functions, and services

5.1 Introduction

This first findings chapter explores the 'how' and 'what' of the grassroots community food providers. As discussed in Chapter 2 this will strengthen the existing evidence base on these organizations, which is necessary due to the ongoing debates about their role as a response to food poverty.

Other than some early work on community food providers (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, McGlone et al., 1999) there is limited scholarship on the forms of these organizations. This is despite Caraher and Dowler (2007) noting the adoption of the social enterprise approach amongst some community food providers in their 2007 paper, as well as a general impetus in the UK for third sector organizations to become more enterprising (Dey and Teasdale, 2015, Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, Sepulveda, 2015). Furthermore, whilst the early evidence documented a suite of services being provided by community food providers, more recent data has suggested that the types and combination of services offered may be changing due to increasing requests for emergency food provision (Douglas et al., 2015a). Therefore, this chapter explores and discusses the forms, functions, and services of the studied grassroots community food providers. It also introduces the five meso level organizations, therefore providing more insight into the landscape highlighting the steer provided by those from which the grassroots organizations may seek support. By providing this insight into the forms, functions and services, this chapter also provides the bedrock of knowledge and analysis on which the two later findings chapters will build.

5.2 Organizational forms

The sixteen grassroots community food providers operate as one of three forms: four are charities, six are 'add on' projects, and six are social enterprises. Table 5-1 presents the categorisation of the organizations into each of these three forms as well as noting the pathway to them becoming this form. The subsequent description of these provides fundamental insight into each of the organizations.

Table 5-1 Categorisation of and pathway to the current organizational form of the 16 grassroots community food providers

Organizational Form	Pathway	Organizations
Charity	From outset	BHSG
	As a subsequent spin-off	Bo'ness Storehouse, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Glasgow SW Foodbank
'Add on' project	Of Church	Anniesland Storehouse, Castlemilk Church
	Of Social Enterprise or charity	Centrestage, Drumchapel Food Bank, Forth Valley Larder, Govan Community Project
Social Enterprise	From outset	Edinburgh Community Food, Kaleyard, Küche, LCFHP, Launch Foods, Unity Grill

5.2.1 Charity

Table 5-1 shows four of the community food providers operate as independent charities. However, it was only BHSG that was formed as a charity from the outset. It now operates as a Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organization (SCIO). Although they do undertake fruit and veg retail in the local community this is on a break-even basis and, therefore, they are entirely dependent on the receipt of funding. Recently they started using an external fundraiser to support them with this.

The other three organizations currently operating as a charity are Glasgow SW Foodbank and Bo'ness Storehouse, both operating as a SCIO, and Glasgow SE Foodbank operating as a Trust. All three originated as a project run by a Church but later spun off to form a separate organization. The core function of all three of these organizations is emergency food provision. Although originating in the Church, both Glasgow SW Foodbank and Glasgow SE Foodbank did so with the intention of becoming a standalone charity. The interviewee from Glasgow SW Foodbank said,

> *"We were initially part of Ibrox Church as a restricted fund within that but always with a view to setting up as an independent charity."* [Trustee, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

Although these organizations now operate independently both still host the food distribution at a Church venue, the use of which they do not pay for. Bo'ness Storehouse, in contrast, did not initially plan to be an independent charity but decided to become independent after 3 years of operation.

> *"So initially, the Church allowed us to use their charity number... And it went like that from 2012 to 2015. And then the Church said, look, we would like to withdraw from being responsible for overseeing the food bank. Not for any*

particular reason. So, it got us thinking, we need to get charitable status ourselves." [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

The difference in scale of these three charities impacts the amount of fundraising that they need to do. Interviewees and social media posts from both Glasgow SW Foodbank and Glasgow SE Foodbank talk of challenges in securing sufficient funding, a task that requires significant effort and time. Both talk of times when they were not sure if they had enough funding to continue operating. Bo'ness Storehouse, alternatively, which operates on a much smaller scale, has been able to comfortably secure sufficient funding from local donations and fundraiser events. The interviewee from Bo'ness Storehouse talks of a recent donation from a local community group with a value of almost £7,750. This funding was physically evidenced during the interview with the interviewee holding up a large presentation cheque. The donation will be used to pay the fees of one of the suppliers that provide them with surplus food,

> *"But Bo'ness is a very community orientated town. So, we get individual donations and donations in from groups. There is a group of singers in the town, the Bo'ness Belles, they take on a charity every year. So, that amount of money will keep us going with the Cyrenians for four years, so we know that is coming and we don't have to worry about that."* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

5.2.2 'Add on' project

As Table 5-1 shows, six of the organizations operate the community food provision as part of a wider organization and are therefore categorised as an 'add-on' project. The route to them adding on this food provision differed.

Unlike their counterparts detailed above the food work of both Anniesland Storehouse and Castlemilk Church remain an internal activity of their respective Church. Neither have plans to become an independent entity. They consider their community food provision to be an integral part of their role to support the local community. The interviewee from Anniesland Storehouse said the decision to undertake their food project came about after a period of internal reflection by the Church team into *"what are we actually doing for the community?"*

As opposed to seeking out what they, as an organization, could do to support people in need, Govan Community Project and Centrestage started their community food provision after witnessing need in their existing client base. Neither originated as a food organization

Govan Community Project aims to support people in the asylum process through a range of functions such as weekly drop-ins, advice, information and advocacy, cultural events, a community flat, English classes, hate-crime reporting, and an interpreting service. Seeing and hearing the needs of the people accessing these

services highlighted that many were struggling to access food. To meet some of this need Govan Community Project established two community food projects. The first is for destitute asylum seekers, meaning those for whom the Home Office has terminated support, who are using the advice and advocacy service at Govan Community Project. Staff can offer clients a parcel of dried food from the 'destitute food cupboard'. A private donor provides £80 a month to cover the cost of 10 parcels a month. The second food project is 'fresh food distribution' that provides food parcels to those in need every Wednesday morning. This project is open to anyone. Recipients phone Govan Community Project on a Wednesday morning to request a food parcel.

Centrestage was primarily an 'arts and theatre' organization, aiming to make these types of activities accessible to all. However, the staff identified a need for food in their client groups. The interviewee from Centrestage describes how a team member, when delivering a children's art workshop in a deprived area, could not understand why the *"kids were bedlam"*. Subsequently, they discovered the children who were attending the classes were hungry.

> *"The following week she went with biscuits for herself and, what happened was, the kids ate the biscuits and she then realised they are actually starving. That is what is wrong with them, they are hungry. And once they had something to eat, even biscuits, they basically calmed down. So, she realised that this was an issue."* [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

Subsequently, Centrestage started to provide food at each class at their own expense. This set-in motion the development of their food projects. Firstly, they worked with the community to create a 'hub' from a disused shop which, amongst other things, provided a site for food distribution. To serve other communities, where there was no available site, Centrestage purchased a double-decker bus that they take to local communities at set times each week. The bus is kitted out with kitchen equipment, tables and chairs, and a play area. From the bus they serve meals and provide a social opportunity in each of the local communities (Nugent and Escobar, 2017). Clients receive food on a 'pay what you can basis'. The food projects of Centrestage have now progressed from an impromptu offering of food at existing classes to be a core, fundamental function of the organization including extensive food distribution and regular community cookery classes.

Like Centrestage and Govan Community Project the core function of Forth Valley Larder was not directly related to food. The founder initially established the organization to provide employment support and training. This included plans to open a community café for hospitality training. However, the current building in which they were located meant the café was not an option. Without the option of opening the café, the free food larder emerged as an alternative means to "*get food into the community*", even though it did not provide the intended accompanying

employment training. The larder operates on a very informal basis, with two large tables of food at the front of the venue. People can drop in and select the food they want.

The food activities at Centrestage grew considerably. Food provision is now a central function of the organization, warranting discrete resources and members of staff. In contrast, Forth Valley Larder and Govan Community Project still operate their food project as an add-on, the resources for which come from the core projects as opposed to a discrete section of the organization. However, both organizations are experiencing a gradual creep up in the resource required to run the food projects. The interviewee from Govan Community Project discusses that originally their role did not include time to work on the food projects, which were initially entirely volunteer run. However, over time the interviewee became more involved almost tacitly, due to necessity. As a result, their involvement gradually increased to working one day a week on the food project. They say,

> "T*his isn't specifically part of my job description. I have kind of just taken it on*". [Project Co-ordinator, Govan Community Project]

Eventually, they think the organization will seek funding to employ a member of staff dedicated to food work. Regarding the resources required to run the larder, the interviewee from Forth Valley Larder says,

> *"I really thought that [it would be] 1%, a tiny percent of what we do. I didn't think it was going to be one of the biggest parts of the business that needed a lot of attention or needed a lot of our time. But it is getting more and more."* [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder]

The last organization that runs their community food provision as an 'add on' project is Drumchapel Food Bank. Drumchapel Food Bank operates as part of the wider organization, Kingsridge Cleddans Economic Development Group (KCedge), which primarily provides office space and units to small businesses. Other than operating out of one of these units the food bank ran entirely autonomously and unconnected, on a day-to-day basis, to the wider organization. For this reason, the interviewee from Drumchapel Food Bank talked of plans to spin-off and become a SCIO. When asked what changes this would bring, they said,

> *"Mainly that we would be no longer sort of tied to KCedge with regard to responsibility. Because I think that is where a lot of funders don't want to touch us because there is maybe a big well of money that KCedge has but we don't have access to. And also it takes accountability away from KCedge. It would mean that this is its own thing that stands alone."* [Manager, Drumchapel Food Bank]

These six organizations highlight a variety of reasons for existing non-food organizations moving into the community food space. Their operating structure differed by the discreteness from the wider host organizations, the embeddedness within the wider organization functions, and the allocation of shared resources.

5.2.3 Social enterprise

As Table 5-1 shows, six of the organizations operate as a social enterprise, with in-house income-generating activities. Table 5-2 describes, broadly, the social and enterprise activities of each of the organizations.

Table 5-2 Social and enterprise activities of the social enterprise organizations

	Social	Enterprise
Edinburgh Community Food	Free cooking classes, subsidised meal packs, affordable (cost price) fruit and veg retail, free training courses	For-profit retail to private and corporate customers (fruit and veg and meal packs), charged-for training courses.
Kaleyard	Free cooking classes	For-profit cooking classes
Küche	Free cooking classes, community meals	Commercial multi-cultural catering
LCFHP	Free cooking classes, affordable (cost price) fruit and veg retail, free training courses	Contract with the council to supply local nurseries with fruit and veg, for-profit retail to private customers.
Launch	Free meal distribution to children	For-profit restaurant and coffee shop
Unity Grill	Free and subsidised meals at the restaurant, opportunity to 'exchange' time for food or 'pay what you can'	For-profit restaurant

Interviewees perceived the benefits of this organizational form to include independence, flexibility, autonomy, efficiency, and simplicity. Kaleyard, Küche, Launch, and Unity Grill were more explicit in their identification as a social enterprise although each discussed differing reasons for adopting this model rather than taking a 'pure' charity approach. The interviewee from Küche says,

> "*I always wanted it to be a business, I find that interesting and I like the idea of not always being funding dependant*" [Founder and manager, Küche]

Whilst the interviewee from Kaleyard says,

> *"And I also felt that charity, for me, didn't make sense right now… I think the problem with charities is that there is too much paperwork and there is way too much to do."* [Founder and manager, Kaleyard]

The interviewee from Unity Grill discusses how being a social enterprise allowed Unity Grill to be flexible, quickly responsive to clients' needs, more in control, and not bound by the demands of external funding.

"But we get away with doing whatever needs done pretty quickly because we are a social enterprise. The complete freedom to spend our money as we see fit, and we can react to situations really, really quickly. Whereas a lot of other organizations are bound by their investors or their contributors. So, we don't have to really worry too much because the money we are earning as a business we can react really quickly." [Founder and manager, Unity Grill]

As well as these benefits the founder chose not to operate as a charity because they were concerned that doing so might limit the people that the restaurant would attract.

"But I also felt it was really important that we weren't a charity, because often that word is another reason to stop people coming to us." [Founder and manager, Unity Grill]

By being a social enterprise, the restaurant can attract a wide range of customers, both people who may need support and customers who are out for a social occasion. Those in need of support can access the restaurant without the stigma of needing 'charity'. Operating as a social enterprise also allowed the organization to secure premises on the high street. This visible presence contrasted with other organizations in the town offering support with food that the interviewee describes as being "*hidden down a wee street*" [Founder and manager, Unity Grill]. This was important to the founder as they felt this would bring the social issue of food poverty to people's attention.

Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP placed proportionately less emphasis on the enterprise components of the organization. The manager of LCFHP describes the organization as having "*little bits of social enterprise*" but, otherwise, their operating model was largely dependent on grant funding.

5.3   The heterogeneous organizational forms of community food providers

The organizations studied are a small subsection of the community food sector and the wider third sector. However, even within this small subsection the heterogeneity and diversity that characterises the third sector are apparent (Halfpenny and Reid, 2002, Kendall and Knapp, 1995, Macmillan and Ellis Paine, 2020). This heterogeneity is important to acknowledge. Rather than forming a single coherent category, community food providers should be both supported and evaluated with reference to their diversity.

The income sources of the organizations also varied, as would be expected given the heterogeneity identified above. The three key income sources were gifts, grants, and sales (Scottish Council for the Voluntary Sector, 2020). Looking across the studied organizations grants were the most common funding source. Participants raised some negative consequences of a reliance on grant funding. These included a requirement for staff time to complete applications and to meet the ongoing administrative

requirements, frustration at funders giving narrow, specific prescriptions as to how the funding is used, being subject to potential vagaries of funders decisions, and ongoing precarity for both staff employment and organization survival (Baines et al., 2014, Shields, 2014). Some of the organisations spoke of this ongoing uncertainty about continuing employment occurring in cycles of funding rounds. The manager from LCFHP talks about *"every March"* being *"worried about jobs"*. The trustee from Glasgow SW Foodbank recalls a time when they were preparing a redundancy letter for the food bank manager. Referring to this they say,

> *"Which would be the worst letter I've ever had to write in my life. And she [manager] knew that was the case and was very realistic about that."*
> [Trustee, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

Insecure and uncertain funding also, sometimes, rendered the overall organisational survival precarious. The manager of Glasgow SE Foodbank spoke of times when they thought the organisation was not going to survive due to a lack of funds. The manager of LCFHP describes feeling *"very fragile that our core funding is under threat"*. Edinburgh based organisations discussed how recent changes in local statutory funding pots were impacting the sector, causing a significant degree of uncertainty and anxiety. The coordinator at BHSG describes it as *"quite stressful for all of the health organisations"*. Two interviewed organisations had submitted applications to this newly administered fund. One of these interviewees describes the situation.

> *"However, with the integration of health and social care all the monies that they used to have for third sector grants from different streams are all going into one pot. And it doesn't matter what you have done in the past, it is a new grant system. So, there is lots of anxiety in the field at the moment about what is going to happen. It's almost all or nothing. So, you put your application in and if you don't get anything you don't get anything. And that is for three years. So, it's a real… it's a risk at the moment."* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

None of the organizations had contracts for public service delivery despite the shift in the UK towards Government funding for the third sector in the form of contracts for such public service delivery, rather than grants (Bénard et al., 2018, Macmillan and Ellis Paine, 2020). This may reflect that such contracts for public services are concentrated in larger organizations and those operating primarily in the fields of core public services (Clark et al., 2009, Mazzei and Roy, 2017). Some of the organizations did operate as local service providers, therefore receiving grants from the public sector, but these were not in the form of contracts. LCFHP was the exception to this in their supply of fruit and vegetables to local nurseries. This is important to note as it suggests community food providers are less subject to the increasingly competitive tendering processes required for public service contracts

more aligned to the private sector (Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, Macmillan, 2010, Macmillan and Ellis Paine, 2020). However, this may also mean they do not benefit from more regular and larger sources of funding, remaining reliant on grant funding (Weisbrod, 1998).

It is worth noting that there was meso level support for community food providers considering both social enterprise and public service contracts. The 'Community Food Social Enterprise Network: sharing best practice event' attended on the 7th of March (Table 4-2) included a session to discuss issues currently being experienced by community food social enterprises and to agree on future actions and supports concerning sustainability and growth. In addition, a representative of the organization 'Partnership for Procurement' made a presentation. Partnership for Procurement is funded by the Scottish Government and aims to support social enterprises and the wider third sector to tender for and access public contracts. This suggests there is support for and the opportunity of such types of enterprise and contracts should community food providers wish to pursue this approach.

However, the findings highlight a range of perspectives on social enterprise, with varying degrees of identification with social and market identities (Ávila and Amorim, 2021). The findings evidence that community food providers do not necessarily embrace the social enterprise approach to the extent that would be suggested from some of the euphoria and optimism that literature and the political discourse has previously bestowed upon social enterprise (Bull, 2008). In the UK social enterprise has been commonly presented as a way forward for charities, partly fuelled by the argument that this would reduce their dependency on grant funding (Sepulveda, 2015). However, there was no evidence of the charity organizations intending to adopt a social enterprise model. Furthermore, where food activities were a project of a wider social enterprise, there was little evidence of an impetus to transition the food activity to a social enterprise model, with most retaining it as a grant and donation dependant operation. For many of the community food providers, the charitable model was the best fit for them (Tonner et al., 2019). In contrast, other community food providers deliberately and strategically enacted the social enterprise model from inception (Billis, 2010, Doherty et al., 2014). Perspectives of and approaches to social enterprise, therefore, varied considerably across this small subset of third sector organizations.

Having detailed the organizational forms, the chapter now explores the functions and services of the community food providers.

5.4   Functions and services

Analysis of the data led to the identification of three overarching functions of the community food providers relevant to their service users: enhanced food security,

direct food provision, and non-food outcomes. These functions emerged looking collectively across the 16 organizations.

1. **Enhancing food security**

Data suggested that enhancing food security broadly fell into two of the four pillars of the FAO description of food security, as described in section 1.2.1 (FAO, 2015). These pillars were availability, having sufficient quantities of a variety of affordable, healthy food available via either commercial routes or own production; and utilisation, having the ability to use, store and process available food including knowledge to make healthy food choices, awareness of food safety issues, and skills to prepare healthy meals (Capone et al., 2014, Renzaho et al., 2011, Zivkovic, 2017).

2. **Direct food provision**

The function of direct food provision took two forms, emergency and regular. Emergency food was provided to people in times of crisis. Most commonly food was provided to last between 3 days and a week although one organization offered support for six weeks. Regular food provision was not necessarily targeted at people in crisis and was available on a regular and unlimited basis.

3. **Non-food outcomes**

The function of non-food support took two forms. Firstly, providing an opportunity to socialise, meet new people, and build networks. Secondly, organizations linked service users to wider support services.

Table 5-3 provides quotes that demonstrate each of the functions.

Table 5-3 Data evidence of the three core functions relevant to service users

Core Function	Features	Evidence
Enhancing food security: food availability pillar	Providing a cheaper source of healthy food and selling in local community hubs	"*So that's about the affordable food, getting these [meal packs] out to people at an affordable price, it's about selling our produce, we sell our produce into communities at a lesser cost than we do to our corporates, so there is a scale. It's about – say for our community groups, it's a 10% mark up on cost and for enterprise, it'd be about 30-35%, roughly. So, we do have that kinda scale. But we know even at the corporate price, apart from when you see adverts for Aldi or Lidl saying 39/49 pence for fruit which we would never compete against or bananas in the supermarket that are a loss leader for supermarkets, always have been, always will be. We can't compete with that but everything else we very much do. Unless it's those kinds of deals. And people are able to buy 1 apple, rather than a bag of 6. So, it is a different kind of model*" [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food] Discussing a 10% mark up on fruit and veg in comparison to other retailers: "*The shop is not there to make any money, it doesn't really…it's designed to break even. I think if you only add 10% to your things, you couldn't possibly make a profit…I mean, I think, a normal shop will add at least 30%, if not way more depending on the product.*" [Project co-ordinator, BHSG] "*So that's community retailing where it's volunteers in a community setting are setting up effectively popup shops selling fruit and vegetables… so in terms of the retail stuff we've got a number of settings for that. We run the community retailing in all the hospitals in Lanarkshire.*" [Manager (a), LCFHP]
Enhancing food security: food utilisation	Providing opportunity to develop skills and knowledge to be able to have a healthy diet	"*So, for example we could maybe work with, maybe you've got parents who have kids with autism who are on their spectrum, and they don't eat a particularly good diet, so they have a stressed mum and dad because they know their kid isn't eating their vegetables or have a particularly good diet. Maybe only eat fried food of the same colour – only eat chips or something like that. So, we work with families trying to get them to eat healthier. So first of all, the kids are getting the better outcomes because they are eating better, and the parents are less stressed – there is that side of it as well. We might work with, for example, an older person, say an old man whose wife has cooked for 50/60 years for them but now she's got dementia and all he knows how to do is deep fry an egg. So, we'll teach him to make an omelette with some veg in it. So, we're working, capacity building, with people who are living in those conditions*" [Manager (b), LCFHP]

		"So I think my biggest thing was I felt that if you could teach people simple and cost-effective, far-reaching things that would feed a whole family that would be a really empowering situation for the people who have really difficult jobs, who are from working-class backgrounds, who don't have the time or the energy to look into, you know, sumac and hummus and blah, blah, blah. They just want to know, they want to put a meal on the table. And if they think a meal on the table is going to Iceland and buying chicken nuggets and feeding the kids so that they keep quiet and they are not hungry then that is what they will do. But if they had an alternative, if they know a cost-effective, an even cheaper way. Rather than going one time to the supermarket and buying a packet of chicken nuggets but actually knowing ten things to do with a chicken or 15 things with a potato. They would feel they are not only giving their kids a variety of meals that keeps it exciting and keeps their palates quite informed, but it also creates a cheaper and healthier alternative for them without wasting too much of their time as well." [Founder and manager, Kaleyard]
Direct food provision - emergency	Short term provision of food in times of crisis	*"We are crisis intervention and we are just here to make sure people don't go hungry."* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank] *"So, the people that come once or twice are generally people that you have had a brief conversation with, they have had a pack of food and they have got over the crisis and they are happy"* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse] Aims and Objectives of Bo'ness Storehouse as stated in annual Accounts: "Provide food aid and support those in need".
Direct food provision – regular	Regular provision of food	*"Yeah, so I thought how could we feed the kids after school and it's open to all kids. It's not just the kids that have an empty fridge. And we can do it in a way that there is no stigma attached. So wee Johnny and his pals, maybe one of them is doing better than the other, but they can both go home with having something warm to eat. Or it's maybe taking a wee bit of pressure off the parents. And it's something, I know it's not solving the social issues that we've got because they are very complex but I just thought – let's just fill some tummies, it's something."* [Founder and manager, Launch Foods] *"...but I will say to you, we open the doors at 9 and we are queued up the street every morning. The first hour or so we have 30-40 people through the door. And I have no Greggs left by 11/12, not a sandwich. I don't know if you have seen my fridge, it's stowed out today because we did double Greggs last night. So, there will be nothing left, by the time we finish this meeting you'll go out there and be like 'wow, what happened?'"* [Founder and manager, Forth Valley Larder]

		"And then there is, at the moment it is quite loose, there are community lunches because there is, there is lots of groups that use the building during the day during the week. So, I have been doing lots of cooking, making just big pots of soup as an opportunity to connect with those groups and chat with them. We are just at the point of thinking that we would have a more advertised, broader community lunch on Mondays and try and pitch that out to others in the community who are not already coming along to the groups." [Development Worker, Castlemilk Church]
Non-food support: social opportunity	Providing opportunities to socialise, meet other people, and build networks.	*"Yeah, you can see people bonding more and getting more confident with cooking. And some people need more support than others because, some of the women, especially from other countries already know how to cook. Their culture is cooking and they have done it since they were really young. So, it's more for them about learning about Scottish foods or different recipes that people use here in the UK and meeting new people as well because they have not been here for very long."* [Cooking Class Lead, Küche] *"But the Eat course does a lot more than cooking. It made people, the socially isolated, people who were struggling, and what we found was that community, the whole purpose of these two projects is, we go in and we are wanting to build that community spirit back up."* [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage] *"A lot of the groups that we do are reporting that they are meeting up again that they have made new friends and whatever else… We find that people are creating their own wee groups, they are making friends. For example, there was a dad's group that we were working with, we did a 'make move munch club' with them which I thought was great… But at the end of it, they are forming their own groups, getting together once a week and they are cooking or going to the park together with their kids. You get a lot of that."* [Manager (b) LCFHP] Talking of the core outcome of cooking classes: *"It is definitely socialising. But that wasn't necessarily the aim, that is what has happened."* [Founder and Manager, Küche]
Non-food support: Links to other support	Referring or signposting to	*"I mean a lot of them were coming for our support, you know, the Healthy Mummy Happy Baby support but we could signpost people into other support. There were people that were having financial crisis we could refer them into the financial inclusion team, for example. There was people with maybe mental health issues, undiagnosed, we could point them in the direction of support services through the NHS. So,*

	other support services.	*there was loads of kinda spin-offs that were coming up, so it was really good that these people were getting their help for this from this project."* [Manager (b) LCFHP]
	Supporting people access this support	*"We signpost, we have an information desk, and we signpost people and we try to keep our project workers informed of what is available, what is out there, and where to signpost people to. Yeah, so that is basically trying to point people, part of the reason for having the conversation is that we can then understand, we can then say, 'have you thought of…', 'have you spoken to your benefits rights person'? 'Oh, I didn't know I should'. 'Have you spoken to social work, have you spoken to…? So, it's these sorts of conversations you get to know."* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse] *"So, we have a support worker, she's on holiday at the moment, and what she does is pick up our more vulnerable clients, or people who have maybe got problems with benefits and they are not good at liaising with benefits agencies. And she will either do the liaising for them or she will help them liaise or she will take them to their appeals, she will be there as their support. If she has known them for a while, then she is quite happy to put letters of support in. If it is just a case of being there for moral support, she will do that as well."* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

The organizations performed these functions to differing extents and through a variety of services. Table 5-4 details the services of each of the organizations in performing these functions and further description is provided in the subsequent sections. Following this largely descriptive section, further analysis of the data provided is discussed.

Table 5-4 Services provided by each of the 16 grassroots community food providers, contributing to the three core functions

	Enhancing Food Security		Direct Food Provision		Non-food outcomes	
	Food Availability	**Food Utilisation**	**Food Provision (Regular)**	**Food Provision (Emergency)**	**Social Opportunities**	**Links to other Support**
Anniesland Storehouse				Distribution of emergency food parcels		Signposting (external)
BHSG	Low-cost fruit and veg retail.	Community health and cooking classes. Community Cookbook.			Physical space in the heart of the community. Community classes with crèche provision.	Links with other community organizations
Bo'ness Storehouse				Distribution of emergency food parcels		
Castlemilk Church			Community Meals	Emergency Food Cupboard	Community meals	
Centrestage		Community health and cooking classes	Distribution of prepared meals		'Touring' physical space in different communities. Community classes	Links with other community organizations
Govan Community Project				Distribution of emergency food parcels	Linking clients with other social opportunities	Signposting (internal)
Drumchapel Food Bank				Distribution of emergency food parcels		Signposting (external)
Edinburgh Community Food	Low-cost food retail (fruit and veg, meal packs, other basics)	Community health and cooking classes			Community classes	Links with other community organizations

Forth Valley Larder			Free Food Larder			Signposting (internal)
Glasgow SE Foodbank		Community Cookbook		Distribution of emergency food parcels	Linking clients with other social opportunities	Signposting (external) In house advice
Glasgow SW Foodbank				Distribution of emergency food parcels	Linking clients with other social opportunities	Signposting (external)
Kaleyard		Community health and cooking classes			Community classes	
Küche		Community health and cooking classes	Community Meals		Community classes Community meals	
LCFHP	Low-cost food retail – fruit and veg stands and food co-ops	Community health and cooking classes	Contract to deliver fruit and veg to nurseries		Community Classes	Links with other community organizations
Launch Foods			Distribution of prepared meals			
Unity Grill			Subsidised food provision in restaurant Community meals		Physical space in the heart of the community Community meals Encouraging involvement	Links with other community organizations

5.5 Enhancing food security

5.5.1 Food utilisation

The function of supporting food utilisation was primarily achieved through the running of community-based cooking groups. Six of the organizations run such groups to support food utilisation by equipping people with skills, knowledge, and confidence to have a healthy diet. The classes are very practical with participants preparing the recipes with guidance from the group leader, who demonstrates the necessary techniques throughout the class. Classes focus on healthy, simple, low-cost recipes. Group leaders also encourage participants to suggest meals for the group. One interviewee from Küche recounts,

> *"Someone said they would 'like to make a meat lasagne because my kids will like that' so I would really want to do that in the class.'* [Founder and Manager, Küche]

After preparing the food most of the groups sit together and eat the food that they have made, and participants can take extra ingredients away to replicate the dish at home.

Within this overarching approach, several points of variability arose looking across the community cooking groups, regarding course length, venue, and target groups. Most commonly sessions ran for two hours once a week over 8 to 12 consecutive weeks. Küche was the exception to this who, at the time of the interview was partway through a 21-week cooking group.

> *"And I think that is another thing that makes it a bit more, what makes it a bit different is that it is quite long, relatively long term compared to a lot of these things. And I think that will be really interesting when I evaluate it at the end. Cause when I was applying for funding that was an angle that I was going at. How do you do something that is more long-term, and will that make a bigger difference compared to something that lasts only 6 weeks? I think there is a lot of things that last 6 weeks."* [Founder and Manager, Küche]

BHSG had a small kitchen on the same site as their offices and shop and hosted some classes in the kitchen however, as it was quite small, most classes were held in a nearby church hall. None of the other organizations had a kitchen on-site for hosting classes although Edinburgh Community Food was hoping to get funding to convert a vacant storage unit, next door to their offices, into a training kitchen. Most cooking sessions were, therefore, held in local community centres, church halls, or other community venues. The target group of the cooking sessions varied. Many groups were open to any members of the local community, whilst others, usually as directed

by the funders, were run for specific population groups (e.g., Black, Asian and ethnic minority groups or people with certain health conditions).

Other sources of variation in delivery arose when the organizations worked in partnership running cooking groups at the request of other organizations. In these cases, the requirements of the partner organization shaped the content of the cooking groups and the targeted service users. LCFHP, Kaleyard, and BHSG ran cooking groups in partnership with local schools. For example, the manager of LCFHP discusses how they are working in partnership with the NHS active schools' team to deliver a set number of food and physical activity sessions in the next term. LCFHP had to design these classes to achieve certain required outcomes of the school, which the interviewee calls the "*health and wellbeing type indicators*". Edinburgh Community Food runs cooking groups for a project run by the local NHS and council that supports women in the criminal justice system. The cooking groups form part of a wider suite of support work for people engaging with the project.

Although they did not run cooking groups at the time of the interview Unity Grill, Glasgow SW Foodbank, and Glasgow SE Foodbank talked about their hopes or plans to host cooking sessions in the future. The interviewee from Unity Grill said,

> *"We have been talking to another couple of agencies about maybe doing some cooking classes with them. Where they support people who maybe have housing needs, learning how to sustain that tenancy, part of that is about knowing how to budget and that includes how do you cook well on a budget. And if you don't know how to cook that all becomes really difficult. So, we are chatting with a couple of agencies about us providing cooking lessons, saying there is this amount of money, this is what you need to buy, come back and learn how to cook and everybody sits and eats it together."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The manager of Glasgow SE Foodbank noted that cooking groups would only be possible if they relocated into bigger premises, a move they were exploring at the time of the interview.

Although, on the surface the cooking groups support food utilisation interviewees highlighted some of the other potential outcomes of these sessions, including an opportunity for people to socialise and meet other local people. The cooking groups could also be tailored to meet additional purposes. Kaleyard was working in partnership with a local school to run cooking groups that recognised and celebrated a range of foods from different cultures.

> *"One of the schools, when they start-up in the next term until June next year, we are doing a block of, every week, when they have their Home Economics classes we are doing cuisine from a different... For example, a programme I have evolved and created is that I have done five cuisines that have marked*

the integrating flavours of Scotland. So, you know how there are lots of immigrants and refugees and they bought their cuisines into Scotland and they kinda became the fabric of Scotland's cuisine. We are going to celebrate them. And we are going to use local produce to create those very simple dishes. And at the end of it, we are going to give them a ready, steady cook challenge where we are going to take all the different cuisine, one element of their new ingredient that they have never used before in the packet, and they are going to have to create something Scottish with it. So, you know something different to try and celebrate multi-culturalism in Glasgow and Scotland." [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

Data recorded in the researcher's field notes during the day spent at Centrestage noted plans to use cooking sessions as a form of outreach and a way to make connections between different populations:

"While I was at the cooking class [interviewee name] nipped to the local police station. They had approached them about getting ways to connect with 16-year-olds coming out of the care system. The police recognised they were a 'difficult' group and wanted to find ways to connect with them and had wondered about doing this through a cooking group. [Interviewee name] said they could set up a group and the police officers could attend, in plain clothes, giving them an opportunity to build relationships with the youngsters."

This data shows how the core function of the cooking groups, relating to food utilisation, can complement a much wider suite of functions such as providing social opportunity, working with vulnerable populations, and teaching about other cultures, expanding the remit of what they can achieve.

Kaleyard was the only organization to use cooking classes to generate income. The cooking groups operated in two price structures, community classes and 'master classes'. Kaleyard marketed the masterclasses as both an opportunity to learn about cooking but also more as a social event, for example, that friends could attend together, or that people could buy for others as a gift. They were usually themed to a particular style of cooking, lasted about 4 hours, and cost between £50-£75 a session. In marketing these classes Kaleyard emphasises that they will fund similar classes which are provided for free.

"I think primarily you have to be very clear on the fact that your masterclasses will fund your social classes. And if you make that your mantra that you are coming for, say teambuilding master classes, you are coming for a middle east master class and all the profits from this class are going to fund, you know, changing the way people eat and drink and connecting

people to food. And I think it is really important to use that as your tagline."
[Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

5.5.2 Food accessibility

Three of the organizations, BHSG, Edinburgh Community Food, and LCFHP, supported the function of enhanced food security by improving accessibility, the second pillar of food security. They did this through their retail operations, all selling low-cost fruit and veg in local communities. They offered easier accessibility in two interconnecting ways. Firstly, selling healthy food at a low cost and, secondly, in a convenient location. The manager from LCFHP discusses how local shops, that are easy to reach may not offer the best value for money.

> *"So, is there a means to shop locally? If there is a shop that you can walk to does it have a good range of healthy produce and a good quality of healthy produce and what's the price like? And certainly, our experience through some studies that colleagues at Glasgow University have done indicate that there's… food desert is probably a term that isn't adequate any longer. There's lots of corner shops and things like that but do they have two apples, a banana, and a couple of onions and that sort of thing, and if they do how expensive are they?"*
> [Manager (a), LCFHP]

The organizations seek to address these barriers through locating in convenient, local spaces. BHSG primarily did this through their on-site shop that was open in the morning, five days a week. LCFHP ran food co-ops in the area and Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP hosted fruit and veg stalls at key community spaces such as local hospitals, health centres, or community centres at certain times each week.

In addition, all three organizations priced the product to break even, with affordability being the key aim. The interviewee from BHSG says,

> *"We do what we can to stay having good prices for things. We don't want people coming in here for affordable fruit and veg and they actually find that it is more expensive than a supermarket. I don't think that is fair."* [Project co-ordinator, BHSG]

Similar to the cooking groups some of the organizations also used this service to generate income. Edinburgh Community Food also retails their fruit and veg at, what the interviewee calls, the "*corporate price*". These corporate sales make a profit for the organization, therefore achieving some of their enterprise aims. These sales are primarily in the form of deliveries to businesses in the city and a smaller number of home deliveries. The manager describes the different price structures,

"It's about – say for our community groups, it's a 10% mark up on cost and for enterprise, it'd be about 30-35%, roughly. So, we do have that kinda scale." [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

5.6   Direct food provision

The second core function, looking at data across the organizations, was direct food provision. Services to meet this function were provided on either an emergency or regular basis.

5.6.1   Emergency food provision

Seven organizations, Anniesland Storehouse, Bo'ness Storehouse, Castlemilk Church, Drumchapel Food Bank, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Glasgow SW Foodbank, and Govan Community Project provided emergency food through their food parcel distribution services. Such services provide clients with a parcel of food that can be prepared and eaten at home. Table 5-5 details key points of this service being the number of distribution sites, the opening hours, and the access routes.

Table 5-5 Operational characteristics of emergency food provision

	Anniesland Storehouse	Bo'ness Storehouse	Castlemilk Church	Drumchapel Food Bank	Glasgow SE Foodbank	Glasgow SW Foodbank	Govan Community Project
Form of emergency food provision	Food bank providing food parcels	Food bank providing food parcels	Emergency food cupboard	Food bank providing food parcels	Food bank providing food parcels	Food bank providing food parcels	Food bank providing food parcels **and** 'destitution' cupboard
No. of distribution sites	1	Home delivery	1	1	2	4	1
Opening hours	Saturday morning	Deliveries made every Thursday	Upon request for help when Church is open	The food bank ran Tuesday morning + option to visit office Mon-Fri 9-5	Site 1 - Mon, Wed, Fri 2 hours a day. Site 2 - Mon, Tues Fri 2 hours a day.	1 site was open for 2 hours each day	The food bank ran Wednesday morning +destitution cupboard available upon request when the wider project is open
Location	Church Community Centre	NA	Church	Community centre (opposite offices)	2 x Church	3 x churches 1 on-site of other community org	Govan Community Project venue
Access routes	Referral and self-referral	Referral only	Self-referral	Referral and self-referral	Referral only	Referral only	Referral and self-referral
Volume of food	Users select food items	Weekly parcels for 6 weeks	A small number of tins	3-5 days + 'treats'	3 days worth	3 days worth	Food bank - dependant on supplies Cupboard - a small number of tins
Limits of number of uses	3 parcels in 6 months	No limit as long as referred	No limit	No limit	Trussell Trust guidelines - 3 parcels in 6 months (although this was not necessarily adhered to).	Trussell Trust guidelines - 3 parcels in 6 months (although this was not necessarily adhered to).	No limit on visits

The food 'cupboards' of Castlemilk Church and Govan Community Project operate relatively informally. If people approach Castlemilk Church for support, and as part of providing this support it is identified that they are experiencing a shortage of food, then a small package of ambient food is provided. Similarly, if it is identified that people accessing Govan Community Project for other forms of support are experiencing a shortage of food, they can access the destitution cupboard for a small parcel of tinned food. Although Drumchapel Food Bank had specific opening hours people could also drop into the office at any time for a food parcel if they were in immediate need. In this respect, these three organizations offered the widest opportunity of time for access, contingent on the opening hours of the Church, the wider Govan Community Project, and the food bank offices, respectively. Anniesland Storehouse is the only organization to provide weekend accessibility.

Glasgow SE Foodbank and Glasgow SW Foodbank, both affiliated with the Trussell Trust, operate a model in which they are based at different locations on different days of the week. They seek to provide coverage in their designated geographical area, being the southeast and the southwest of the city. Two other Trussell Trust foodbanks operate in the city covering the northeast and the northwest. This was designed to provide more convenient access and people are encouraged to visit the distribution site that is closest to their home.

Bo'ness Storehouse operates on a delivery-only basis. Food parcels are delivered to people's homes, with volunteers making the deliveries every Thursday morning to the referred clients. For this reason, there is no signage on the outside of their venue as this is used as a warehouse for storing and sorting food rather than as a food parcel collection point.

As shown in Table 5-5 organizations operate two different referral routes, either through a referral partner and/or self-referral. Three of the organizations operate on a referral-only basis, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Glasgow SW Foodbank, and Bo'ness Storehouse. The interviewee from Glasgow SE Foodbank notes the wide range of referral partners,

> "*We have 130 referring agencies, probably over that by now. And that ranges anything from housing associations, local health centres, money matters, citizens advice, SAMH[1], GAMH[2], health centres, doctors, health visitors refer, anywhere at all that people go in who might be in need.*" [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

For Glasgow SE Foodbank and Glasgow SW Foodbank, the referring organization gives people in need a paper referral, which they would then present when collecting

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[1] Scottish Association for Mental Health
[2] Glasgow Association for Mental Health

their food parcels. Bo'ness Storehouse receives referrals via the phone or email from the referrer who provides the necessary details needed for the food parcel delivery.

Drumchapel Food Bank and Anniesland Storehouse accept both referrals and self-referrals although self-referrals were less frequent. Both have processes in place to corroborate the need for a food parcel for people self-referring.

> *"We used to have to have referrals from a third party due to the funding that we had at that time, we were restricted, people had to come through an agency. That is still how we get 90% of our referrals but now people can just walk in off the street, but they have to be assessed and they have to have proof of their circumstances. So, they can't just turn up and get food. I mean worst-case scenario, if they didn't have proof on them, they would still be sent [home] with a bag of food but they be required to bring that proof next time to access again."* [Manager, Drumchapel Food Bank]

Such proof may be a letter, a bank statement, or even a "*word from a trusted agency*". Govan Community Project does not require a referral or proof of need, but people are required to phone the project on a Wednesday morning to request a food parcel, before coming in to collect the parcel later that day.

Whilst it was these seven organizations that were providing emergency food at the time of the interview both Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP had provided this service in the past, forming one of their suite of services. However, although both projects did involve the distribution of emergency food parcels, they planned their approach to be different from the 'typical' food bank model. This was largely driven by their concerns regarding this typical approach.

Edinburgh Community Food received funding to trial a food bank from November 2014 to July 2015. They did so having done *"some research ourselves, locally, looking at what are they giving out at food banks"* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]. Due to their concerns with the findings, they launched a 'healthy' food bank. These food parcels contained fruit and vegetables, milk, eggs, bread, pulses, dried fruit, and nuts, in addition to tinned and dried food. They felt this parcel provided a wider variety of healthier food than the other food banks they had researched in the city.

LCFHP started the North Lanarkshire Food Aid programme in October 2013. Like Edinburgh Community Food they were concerned about the food banks in their area. However, these concerns extended beyond the contents of the parcel. Their concerns included the growing numbers of food banks in the area, the perceived poor healthfulness of the food in these parcels, the "patchy coverage" resulting in clients making long journeys to access a food bank, the limited opening hours, and the lack of sufficient training for volunteers. As a result, they got,

> *"A huge amount of help from the Lottery and Government to set up this North Lanarkshire Food Aid Programme."* [Manager (a) LCFHP]

A key aspect of the food aid programme was to ensure referrers signposted people in need to the Scottish Welfare Fund as the first port of call. The Scottish Welfare Fund is funded by the Scottish Government and administered by the local council. It provides emergency cash payments to people in need, subject to certain criteria. Although the welfare fund was to be the first source of support to which referrers directed clients if they were unable to access cash from the fund, for whatever reason, the fund administrators would refer them to LCFHP for an emergency food parcel. In this respect, the manager described the food aid project as a *"safety net"* under the cash-based Welfare Fund. After referral LCFHP would contact the client and ask them to visit the local food co-op (run by LCFHP). From there they would receive an emergency food parcel and a token with a monetary value to spend in the co-op. If there was not a food co-op locally LCFHP would deliver the food parcel. Nutritionists devised the food parcels that provided three meals a day for five days with the,

> *"right level of calories and with appropriate fat, salt and sugar and stuff like that",* [Manager (a) LCFHP]

There was also the option of alternatives if there was something in the pack that the recipient did not like. The provision of tokens that receivers could spend at a LCFHP food co-op allowed clients to buy extras such as cooking oil or small luxuries. However, LCFHP also hoped this would provide a mechanism for clients to become familiar with the food co-op and become more regular users. Having used the tokens in the co-op it was hoped they would,

> *"Know it's a good, friendly welcoming place, it's not a private club or anything like that. And when they get to meet the volunteers, they'll know there shouldn't be any stigma or any embarrassment about offering that service. Then the vouchers will encourage them to go back for a couple weeks after that and hopefully at the end of four weeks that temporary crisis might have alleviated to some extent. Then they know there's a source of healthy produce there that's cheaper than anywhere you go."* [Manager (a), LCFHP]

However, the demand for the scheme was considerably higher than expected. Actual referral numbers were four times higher than planned: the original funding calculation was based on 20 referrals a week, but the interviewee said the "*worst week we had was 197*". As a result, the 18 months' worth of funding ran out after 7 months. Although they were not able to get additional funding from the National Lottery they were able to 'reallocate' the funding. Therefore, they did not replace two members of staff who left the project and reduced the amount that they provided as tokens to spend in the food co-op from £40 to £8 per person. This reduction

effectively eroded one of the key differences from the typical emergency food parcel distribution model that LCFHP had intended their approach would offer: the connection and familiarisation with the co-ops, to which they hoped people would later return, was minimised. A further problem with the high demand for the programme was the level of resources it required. The increased time and effort needed to work on this project meant the organization had to "*neglect a large part*" of their other activities. The emergency food aid project was dominating operations.

Having experimented with what they considered a better approach than the typical food bank model both organizations subsequently chose not to continue with modified emergency food parcel distribution. Once the grant funding came to an end neither sought further funding to continue with this service, both returning their attention to the regular supply of affordable food. These experiences, reinforced for both organizations, a desire to focus on affordable, regular food for everyone.

> "*I will always be very keen that we position ourselves to do the 'beyond food bank bit'. So that's about the affordable food, getting these [meal packs] out to people at an affordable price*" [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

5.6.2   Regular food provision

Five organizations provide regular food provision although there was considerable variation in the form of this provision, shown in Table 5-6.

Table 5-6 Form and characteristics of regular food provision

	Castlemilk Church	Centrestage	Forth Valley Larder	Launch	Küche	Unity Grill
Form of regular food provision	Community Meals	Hot meals (eaten on site and taken home)	Free food larder	Hot meals (eaten on site and taken home)	Community Meals	Food as chosen from the restaurant menu Community meals
No. of distribution sites	1	4	1	2 with plans to increase to 7	1	1
Regularity	Currently held monthly with plans to increase regularity	Weekly – set times (between 2 and 5 hours) at different locations on	Open every morning Mon-Fri	Weekly - distributed at the end of a school day with partner organizations	Currently held monthly with plans to increase regularity	Restaurant open 9.00-17.00 six days a week.

		3 days each week				Community meals – plans for once a month
Location	In Church	Touring converted double-decker bus – located in different sites in each community	Project offices	Touring converted airstream truck – locating in sites of after school clubs	In community centre	Restaurant
Payment	Pay what you can/ free	Pay what you can/ free	Free	Free	Pay what you can	Pay what you can/free or time exchange

In all cases, the regular food provision was available to anyone who sought it, without eligibility criteria or the need for a referral. Launch was primarily targeted at children, providing meals at after school clubs run by the partner organization Achieve More Scotland. However, food was also provided to parents. The manager of Launch recounted how parents have started attending the after-school clubs, where they were providing food, as leftovers are distributed to be taken home.

> *"The events that we hold with 'Achieve More', at the end of the week the parents started to come. And they [Achieve More] said this is unheard of – the parents don't normally come. And the Achieve More guy says, 'these past three/four weeks the parents are turning up at the end of the day.' And I'm saying, 'why is that?' 'It's because they know there's food bags'. Anything leftover we bag up and the kids get to take it home. So, the parents are turning up because they know there is food. That means the kids have been fed and if there is anything left, we box it up and they can take it home. But the Achieve More guys say the parents don't normally come to the campus. But now the word is out that there is food, and if they come, they might get a bag of food."* [Founder and Manager, Launch]

As evidenced in the subsequent data it was concern with the typical emergency food parcel approach, to some extent, that drove some of the regular food services of these organizations.

Before founding Unity Grill the founder had volunteered at a local food bank and these experiences highlighted, for them, the need for a dignified approach to

supporting people experiencing food poverty. This was part of the reason they adopted the social restaurant approach. Talking of the things they felt were important from the outset,

> *"Having worked in the food bank as well, and one of the food banks, there is the central warehouse and the little hubs where people come to. And one of them is upstairs and it has a camera at the door, and I have actually watched people come to the door and walk away and then come back and walk away and they circle a little bit. And you are watching it, and it is so painful to watch, the person is obviously in so much need that they have come to the food bank, and they can't get themselves over the door. So, dignity is just this massive, massive word. And when people come into the food bank I always try and make sure I put people at ease as much as possible… Just all these little seeds were planted in my head working with the different projects. There is another one where people sort of sit in a corridor waiting to get a parcel because the little room is too small for people to come in. And that is really undignified, there is no privacy in any of that."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

These experiences informed their decision to establish a social restaurant which was about creating what the interviewee described as,

> *"comfortable space, a safe space, a friendly space, a space where other people are."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The interviewee from Forth Valley Larder talked of their concerns about how, as they understood it, the local food bank placed restrictions on users, namely limiting people to three parcels in six months and the lack of choice in what people receive in a food parcel. For these reasons, the larder operated without any limits on use, with many people accessing it regularly. The larder was set up at the front of their premises in the centre of town, with food sitting on a large, open table. People could drop in and take what they would like although there was a limit of two *"sweet things"* per person.

The interviewee from Centrestage reflects on one of the key differences between their model and food banks. They say,

> *"For our project, the Absolutely Marvellous meals, you don't need to be referred. Like for the food bank, you need a ticket, but here absolutely anybody is welcome. That is something that is very important to the founders, that there is no exclusions. So, it doesn't matter if that person is say, working, it doesn't matter."* [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

Rather than taking an approach from the outset that was different from the typical food bank model, Castlemilk Church was in a period of transition at the time of the

interview. They had previously provided emergency food parcels but after receiving funding from the Scottish Government's Fair Food Transformation Fund (see section 1.2.3) in 2016 they sought to cease this form of provision. They opted to provide community meals instead. A news article quoting the minister of the Church said,

> *"We were providing an emergency food bank for essential overnight supplies at our old church, but we've suspended that because we feel we are better equipped to help people build relationships in the community than deliver emergency food aid."* [Church of Scotland, 2016. https://www.churchofscotland.org.uk/news-and-events/news/2016/new-church-favours-community-meals-over-food-banks]

However, the transition was not as clear-cut as this would suggest. As described in the preceding section (section 5.6.1) the interviewee from the Church describes how the Church still has a 'cupboard of food' which, although not actively promoted, is available to people when they are in dire need of food.

> *"We happen to have a cupboard of food, so that when folk turn up and they have exhausted the other options we are able to help them out with a bag of groceries. And that is not presenting, that's not trying to pretend it is a food bank because it is not formal."* [Development Worker, Castlemilk Church]

However, the more actively promoted food service of the Church is now the community meal. This is reflected in the new post that the interviewee held having been employed for two days a week, for six months, as the community meals development worker. The remit of this new role was to build and develop the capacity of the community meals.

Küche also runs community meals which they call 'supper clubs'. Unlike the other regular food providers, this service is provided at two different price tiers. As well as the monthly 'pay as you feel' supper clubs they also run monthly ticketed supper clubs, priced at £16. The ticketed events are designed to cover their costs, although a small profit is sometimes made. Any profit is used to fund the 'pay as you feel' supper clubs. All the supper clubs usually involve a meal and some form of entertainment, such as a talk or a film screening relevant to the theme of the evening. However, the interviewee did make a distinction, stating that the pay-as-you-feel nights are primarily a *"food event"*.

LCFHP was also classified as a regular food provider although their services were different from all the other organizations. Their regular food provision was operationalised through a contract with the local council to provide fruit and vegetables to all the local council-run nurseries in the area, of which there are about 130. Alongside this provision, LCFHP runs classes with the children, staff, parents, and carers to reinforce messages around healthy diets and the benefits of fruit and

vegetables. The evaluation of this project highlighted increased consumption of fruit and vegetables. The manager says,

> *"The best evaluation we did, the best figure, we had a 61% increase in the number of children eating fruit and vegetables during this period in the nursery. So, when we started in 2005 just over half, 52%, of children ate fruit during the day. Then [by] June 2008 that had reached 84%, so we're getting close to every child snacking on fruit when they're at nursery. We do a lot of work with the children and evaluations and their families, diet diaries, and the like. And we had 53% of the families saying that their children had increased consumption at home of fruit and vegetables. And the last time we measured it in 2012 we had a 66% increase from 2005."* [Manager (a), LCFHP]

5.7 Non-food functions

Data suggested two non-food functions of the community food providers for service users, fostering links to other forms of support and providing social opportunities.

5.7.1 Fostering links to other forms of support

Linking service users into other forms of support was an important function for most of the community food providers. The organizations that provided emergency food linked service users to a wider suite of support services to address the underlying cause of their need for emergency food. Having conversations with services users allowed staff and volunteers to identify additional support needs over and above food. Interviewees considered these conversations and subsequent signposting as an important and integral part of their role. As noted in Table 5-3, volunteers at Anniesland Storehouse have 1:1 conversations with service users when they attend the food distribution session on a Saturday morning,

> *"Part of the reason for having the conversation is that we can then understand, we can then say, 'have you thought of...', 'have you spoken to your benefits rights person'? 'Oh, I didn't know I should'. 'Have you spoken to social work, have you spoken to...? So, it's these sorts of conversations."* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

Similarly, the manager of Drumchapel Food Bank says,

> *"We're mainly focussed on client experiences and, sort of, mutual respect. Understanding that the problem is not just lack of food or money. It usually is a long string of social, sometimes mental issues as well, economic issues. So, we take all that into account. We do that by signposting to other necessary organizations. Whether it is a debt agency, a money advice centre, mental health team, addiction team. So, when we are providing people with food we will sit down and have a chat with them, find out about their situation. If we*

can see any sort of triggers, we will then take the steps to help that person get to where they need to be. So, we call it a sort of wrap-around service."
[Manager, Drumchapel Food bank]

The referral system at the Glasgow SW Foodbank allowed an opportunity for targeted signposting. If someone came without a referral, the food bank would give them a small amount of food and ask them to return later with a referral for a full food pack. Foodbank staff and volunteers would suggest which referring organization the client approached for a referral, based upon the most relevant support needed. For example, if the client was struggling with debt, the manager would suggest they go to a debt management organization to, firstly, get a referral back to the food bank but secondly, to potentially initiate a link from which the client could access further tailored support.

As well as this signposting to other agencies some organizations hosted these types of agencies in-house, inviting them in to meet, informally, with clients. Forth Valley Larder invites other organizations to base themselves at the larder to offer support to their regular users.

> *"When they come in, if they are regulars, we can start to tap in to 'is there any other services we could be supporting them with.' Like we have the NHS health and wellbeing nurse that comes in, she's usually once a fortnight. She spends a good hour and a bit with everybody. She identifies anything, mental health, things like that and she can get other agencies involved. So, it's kinda like an all-round care mechanism around them."* [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder]

Unity Grill adopts a similar approach, of bringing clients together with support agencies. They recently trialled doing this through the hosting of a community meal that offered food, clothing, and advice.

> "*A few weeks ago, we had a free community meal that was open to everyone. That was the first time that we tried that. We not only had the food, but we had winter jackets, sleeping bags, hand warmers, blankets, again all of that was donated by the community. Marks and Spencer's lent me a coat rack and hangers so we could hang everything up, so people could just take what they wanted. We also had a housing professional, we don't claim that we have all the answers, so we always get help where it is needed. They came and sat in on the night and was able to support a couple of people who had housing issues. So that was quite successful. So, we are going to try and do that once a month.*" [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

Rather than having agencies visit at certain times, another approach was to have this advice service in-house. Glasgow SE Foodbank received funding to incorporate the 'More than Food' model, a recognised approach of the Trussell Trust. This

programme encourages food banks to take on other projects that can better address the root causes of poverty. Through this funding, the food bank has a support worker who can assist clients with benefits claims, appeals, housing applications and generally providing moral support. They also collaborate with a lawyers firm that can "*pick up the heavier end of things*" [Manager, Glasgow SE] such as appeals or debt management. If required, the support worker would also accompany clients to meetings or appointments. The 'more than food' programme is therefore accessing external organizations to provide clients with the institutionalised cultural capital that they would otherwise not have (Bourdieu, 1986). Less formalised in-house support was also provided when this was appropriate. For example, the manager of Glasgow SW Foodbank recounts a time when they phoned an electricity provider on behalf of a client to query the debt that had led to them cutting off his supply. They say,

> "*I had a fight with them. I am forever fighting with somebody.*" [Manager, Glasgow SW]

Cooking groups also provided an opportunity for other support needs to be identified. The interviewee from LCFHP discusses a recent cooking class for new mums in which, through the natural conversation of the group, participants discussed underlying issues with debt and mental health. LCFHP then provided support for them to access the necessary services. This further corroborates the findings of the rapid study the researcher undertook during a 3-month internship (see section 4.3) that found cooking group leaders often signposted participants to other support services (Community Food and Health (Scotland), 2017).

Having these conversations, both explicitly or more ad hoc, allowed the organizations to identify other support needs and link the service users in with relevant external organizations or internal projects. This linking ranged from a direct introduction between the client and support agency to a more indirect signpost towards other support. Interviewees considered these conversations and being able to facilitate access to other services as a key part of their role, integral to the support package that accompanied the food provided. Community food providers see it as a means to offer both more holistic support and a way to tackle some of the underlying issues that service users may be experiencing. As it was difficult to have these conversations on the touring bus of Centrestage the coordinator was planning to change the site of their food distribution to local community centres. This change was being implemented at the time of the interview.

> "*The bus is a quirk if you like. Cause it has the soft play up the stairs and all that. And it was great in the beginning. And when I have come on, I'm like, this is great, there is all the singing and the dancing, and the music is on in the background. But, actually, are you finding the root cause of why this person is needing to come to the bus? Can you get speaking privately? Not really. Especially in the colder weather. Great in the summer, great in the*

summer. But in the winter people are there, get their food and go. They are not going to talk. Whereas in a community centre, they are going to, aren't they?" [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

5.7.2 Social opportunities

The second key non-food function of the community food providers was providing social opportunities. Some of the activities already discussed provided these opportunities.

As noted in Table 5.3 the cooking classes provide opportunities for people to meet each other and interviewees spoke of attendees making friendships that extended beyond the time spent in the class. The interviewee from Centrestage noted that often the classes brought together local people who would not normally participate in activities together. The interviewee retold a conversation they had with a young man who had attended a cooking group. Talking of the "80-year-olds" who were also in the group he had said,

> *"'They are actually saying hello to me now'. He said, 'when I pass them in the street, they say 'hello'. They used to totally just ignore me.' So, it gives him that feeling, that he is part of the community. 'Oh, how you doing [name removed]'. He's like, I cannae believe they are saying hello to me."* [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

Similarly, the interviewee from Küche recounts an observation of participants of a cooking group,

> *"There was one participant who was obviously quite wary of women wearing headscarves, at the beginning. And now you can see them chatting. So that's cool."* [Founder and Manager, Küche]

Community meals, by their very essence, provide social opportunities. The interviewee from Castlemilk Church suggests that the "safe space" of the community meal allows people to make connections.

> *"Those kind of connecting opportunities are really exciting. Like seeing the folk making connections. Just from the last community meal, we had a young family who had come along and had seen a couple who were at another table on their own. First course [of the meal], the family were already at their table and then [they stayed] till dessert. In some places you could imagine they would ask 'could we come and join you?' but they just bombed over, you know what I mean. The family were like – we are going to sit with you because you are sitting on your own. And that is a really brave thing that in lots of other places people wouldn't do because there is lots of decorum that masks an awkwardness. But it's brave, people are seeking out connections*

because they know it is a good thing." [Development Worker, Castlemilk Church]

By their nature community meals and cooking groups incorporate a social angle as the same group of people spend time together regularly. Organizations also aimed to incorporate a social element to the services that did not inherently involve this social angle. Having a physical space in a local community facilitated these more ad hoc social opportunities. The interviewee from BHSG identifies that the opportunity for social interaction is one of the reasons for people coming to the fruit and veg shop,

> *"And people are coming in for a chat as much as they are because they need us for their groceries."* [Project co-ordinator, BHSG]

The manager from LCFHP makes a similar observation about their food co-ops,

> *"And more importantly it's about the socialisation at the co-op and almost all of our co-ops will have a kettle as well. Folk will sit down at the Windsor Hall at the top here and they'll sit there for half an hour. It may be the only contact they have, so there's those issues."* [Manager (a), LCFHP]

Providing this social space where everybody is welcome was a key reason behind the social restaurant approach of Unity Grill.

> *"It [food poverty] is a very private affair so people tend not to tell their family or tell their friends, but they will stop accepting invites out to lunch and they will become further and further isolated. Because I guess there is this element of shame around food poverty. So, this [the restaurant] was my attempt to say, 'come back, come back into the community, come and enjoy what everybody else is enjoying'. But we don't necessarily need a financial exchange there."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The organizations providing emergency food sought to provide a social feel during food distribution sessions. The food banks that required clients to physically visit the premises tried to create a friendly and welcoming atmosphere, encouraging clients to stay for as long as they wish on the day they visit, chatting with staff and volunteers. To facilitate this Drumchapel Food Bank works in partnership with a local café to offer clients hot soup upon arrival. One of the venues from which Glasgow SW Foodbank distributes their food parcels is in the same room as a café run by the Church. Researchers field notes, reflecting on the visit to the food bank for the interview stated:

> *"The foodbank was run in the church in the same hall as the church café. The café had extended its opening hours so that it ran the same time as the food parcel distribution, which ran from 12-2. The café was quite busy with a few people 'hanging around', there was a snooker table. There was also a table which people could help themselves to coffee, tea, and cake. I was*

offered soup as I waited to speak to [interviewee's name]. The café had a nice feel to it with people chatting to each other. [Interviewee's name] was obviously well known in there and chatted to many of the café users."
[Researcher field notes]

As well as trying to create a social environment during food parcel distribution sessions the community food providers offering emergency food provision often linked in with other providers of, for example, community meals. By doing so they tried to create a pathway between themselves and the other types of community food providers that had more opportunity for social connection. They did this by linking in with the other providers in the local area. Glasgow SW host their food distribution in one of the venues offering a community meal to provide service users familiarity with the community meal.

> *"So, we link in well with them and we have great relationships with a lot of the community organizations. There is the Preshal Trust in Govan, I don't know if you have ever heard of it. They do a three-course meal, twice a week, Tuesday and a Thursday, for £1. And we work out of there on a Thursday, so we have that partnership as well. So, it is really good to have bits and bobs going on and to know where you can send people… the Preshal Trust will take anyone who comes into us, and if they don't have the £1, they are not going to be chastised for it. It's fine they'll just give it [the meal]."* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

Similarly, Glasgow SE Foodbank was working to link people in with community meals. If appropriate the support worker from the food bank would accompany people to the community meal for the first time. Furthermore, at the time of the interview, the food bank was planning to run information sessions for people who have used the food bank. The information sessions were to include a light lunch and other organizations will be there to talk to attendees, including organizations that host a local community meal. The rationale for this was to allow people to meet with the meal hosts so they may be more confident to attend the community meal at a later date.

> *"We will ask other organizations in the areas to come in. So, things like South Seeds, that do energy, fuel-efficient, we can get them to come in. Some of the community meals places. Because we can say to people to go for a community meal but if you don't know anybody and you are on your own you are not going to go. They [the food bank support worker] would actually take people if she thought it would benefit and they wanted to go. Or we can do this information session and they can meet people who run it and then they have a 'kent' [known] face when you walk in the door."* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

By using a delivery model, where food parcels are delivered to households, Bo'ness Storehouse was the only emergency food distributor that did not have a physical space to host a social interaction. However, to some extent, this was counterbalanced by their approach of providing parcels once a week for six weeks. This repeated interaction provided an opportunity for volunteers to make a connection, albeit briefly, with clients.

> *"We've had a situation just going to the door, and someone will say I'm worried about an operation tomorrow, could we just have a wee prayer on the doorstep. You get that connection; you do build up that relationship."* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

A further social opportunity that the community food providers offered was encouragement, where and when appropriate, to get involved with the organization itself. Many interviewees discussed people who had used the services and later decided to volunteer and help in some way. The manager from Glasgow SW Foodbank discusses how this can arise informally. They talk of asylum seekers, who are often housed temporarily in the local area for a limited but unknown length of time before they are moved to somewhere more permanent. They think this temporariness can be a disincentive for people to seek out social opportunities.

> *"We have asylum seekers, like [volunteers name], and we have many like her. They are in destitution; they are in limbo for such a long time… So, what we try and do, while we are helping them with food to get them through, because they are on buttons every week, while we are helping them we try and get them into volunteer, do bits and bobs with the churches. Because most of them are just sitting about the house [waiting to be moved]."* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

The coordinator at Govan Community Project similarly talks about encouraging asylum seekers, who are often engaged with the wider services at Govan Community Project, to volunteer on the food project, noting that asylum seekers are not allowed to work during their asylum claim which limits their opportunities for social contact.

5.8   Community food providers: more than food

Reiterating earlier studies, a key finding from the descriptive data on the functions and services of the community food providers presented in the preceding sections is that they all fulfil multiple functions, beyond those that are directly related to food (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Douglas et al., 2015a, McGlone et al., 1999). As described, they did this in different ways and to different extents however it evidences that the common descriptor, 'community food providers', belies the full extent of the functions and the services that they provide. Furthermore, this analysis highlights that the food-related functions are not necessarily the central function of the organization. This reiterates earlier findings that suggest organizations consider

the food outcomes to be incidental in comparison to the wider benefits to individuals and communities (Gordon et al., 2018).

To capture the centrality, overlap, and pathways between the different functions of the community food providers Figure 5.1 has been created from the data and analysis of this study.

Figure 5.1 depicts the centrality of the social opportunities function. It also shows that the other functions overlap with this to some extent. This is a deliberate design of the organizations. This depiction re-orients community food providers to being inherently social in that there is a social element provided in all the functions and related services (Blake, 2019b, Midgley, 2014). However, the extent of the social opportunity differs. As shown, the functions of regular food provision and utilisation, through the nature of the services that meet this function (cooking groups and community meals), overlap more with the social opportunities function than the service of emergency food provision.

However, the function of emergency food provision does still overlap with the social opportunities function. The organizations for which the distribution of emergency food is the only food function have a limited time with clients, which they try to make as social as is possible. Ethnographic research in food banks has suggested that even these short interactions may have a social value: they may offer service users some hope, provide a brief respite from their situation of poverty, and act as a space of care (Cloke et al., 2016, Denning, 2021). Caló et al. (2019) found that providing disconnected people with different, more supportive spaces can develop into a broader sense of social reconnection.

However, it is imperative not to romanticise these interactions, with an overly positive representation, as attending a food bank can also bring about feelings of shame, stigma, desperation, and judgement (Denning, 2021, Garthwaite, 2016b, Purdam et al., 2015, Strong, 2019). However, from the organization's perspective the offer and facilitation of some social interaction, upon which further social opportunity can be built, is a key feature of community food providers. This is the case even for those for which the only or initial engagement may be brief.
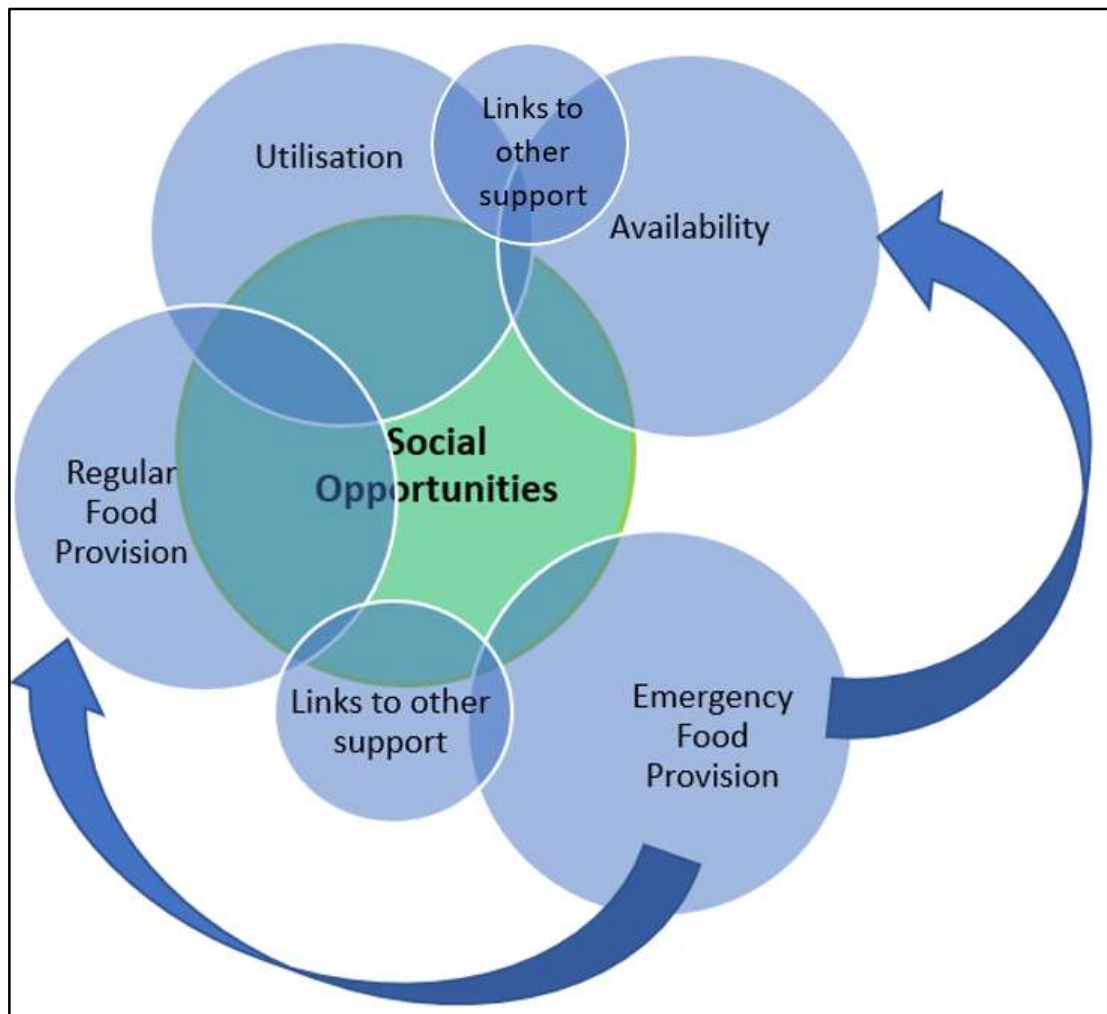
Figure 5-1 Interactions and pathways between the different functions of community food providers

Figure 5.1 also depicts that organizations establish overlap and pathways between the different functions. This overlap across functions is more explicit in the community food providers that offer the widest range of services. Centrestage, for example, where the food services are a segmented project of a wider arts-focussed social enterprise identify what they call 'cross fertilisation'. The 2017 financial statements state:

> *"One of the unexpected blessings of the year was the way in which different projects began to cross-fertilise one another. The Catalyst boys have formed a band and have gone out with the bus delivering Dignified Food Provision to communities across Ayrshire; the young people of Connect have visited the kitchen at Drybridge to learn about healthy cooking, and chefs from Drybridge have come across to work and prepare food for the Catalyst and Connect projects."*

This highlights the synergistic effect of offering a range of services (Blake, 2019a).

However, the organizations that have fewer opportunities for internal cross-fertilisation, create pathways between functions by working together with other organizations in the local area. For example, emergency food providers seek to establish pathways between themselves and other local organizations that may lead to engagement with a community meal. This provides more of a social opportunity than the original engagement with the emergency food provision. These overlaps and pathways are an important feature of the organization's design and day-to-day actions, ultimately seeking recursive engagement across a suite of functions. Developing ties across services and with other organizations may help clients to "*feel 'normal' again*" (Calo et al., 2019 pg. 159).

However, an important caveat to this presentation of the centrality of the social opportunity function and the overlap and pathways between functions and organizations is that this data is coming from the view of the organizations. It provides the reasons and motivation for them to design their service in this way. However, it may not necessarily translate into service users doing so.

Finally, having argued that community food providers provide more than food, it is important to recognise the role that food plays in these organizations. Arguably, the unique aspect of the community food providers is that they can utilise the food provision to initiate the first contact with clients. This, then, provides the opportunity for the social function to come to the fore. The food itself becomes the facilitator to the other functions (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Midgley, 2014). This facilitative role of food is evidenced in the following quotes,

> "*Yeah, I mean if it wasn't for the food people wouldn't come. We have tried things without food and people don't turn up*" [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

> "*I think, in fact, food definitely is at the centre of all integration work, it's sort of a bit of a running joke. If you are running an event say, 'you are providing food' and people will come. And I think that applies for all people of all cultures, right?*" [Project Co-ordinator, Govan Community Project]

5.9   Meso level organizations

The study included 5 more organizations that were not grassroots community food providers but, rather, acted at the meso level. Their roles included supporting the grassroots organizations. These organizations were Cultural Enterprise Office, Community Food and Health (Scotland) (CFHS), the Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN), Nourish, and SENSCOT. Due to their close-knit contact with those working at a grassroots level these organizations play an integral role in the community food landscape. Despite their grouping as meso level organizations, each performs a range of differing functions. Appendix B provides brief descriptions of these five

organizations. The data on these meso level organizations highlights significant variability in the type of organizations operating to support the community food providers in some capacity. Key points of variability include the organizational form, the centrality of community food work, and the remit of the organizations supported.

The five meso level organizations differed in form. CFHS is a project within a statutory organization, whereas the other four are based in the third sector. IFAN, Nourish, and SENSCOT operate a membership model, although membership in IFAN is free whilst Nourish and SENSCOT incur a fee. Nourish, SENSCOT, and Cultural Enterprise Office also receive funding, through grants, from either local councils or the Scottish Government as well as other ad-hoc sources of funding. IFAN, at the time of the interview, was operating largely unfunded for their core work although some smaller projects had received grant funding.

The degree to which food work was core to the organizations also differed. Support for community food providers was central for Nourish, IFAN, and CFHS whilst one of a suite of areas of support for SENSCOT and Cultural Enterprise Office. The interviewee from Cultural Enterprise Office suggests that, at first look, it may appear *"completely random"* as to how they relate to organizations working around food poverty. However, the interviewee cites many reasons as to why they are relevant: Cultural Enterprise Office have worked with lots of community food providers as *"food projects tend to be quite creative";* many of the other organizations they support seek to tackle poverty more broadly; creative businesses that are not food projects have a large social conscience and food poverty often comes up as one of the social issues that people are interested in addressing; and, social enterprises supporting a circular economy could be a real disruptor to the current food system. The inclusion of Cultural Enterprise Office in the study, therefore, highlights the wide applicability of community food provision which can span across several sectors.

The meso level organizations also differed in the categories of community food providers to which they provided support, represented in Figure 5-2. The arrows represent to which form and function of the grassroots organizations the support offered by the meso level organizations are applicable. This depicts the wide and varying support available to the range of community food providers, although in some cases there are some informal and functionally necessary criteria as to which organizations access which support.
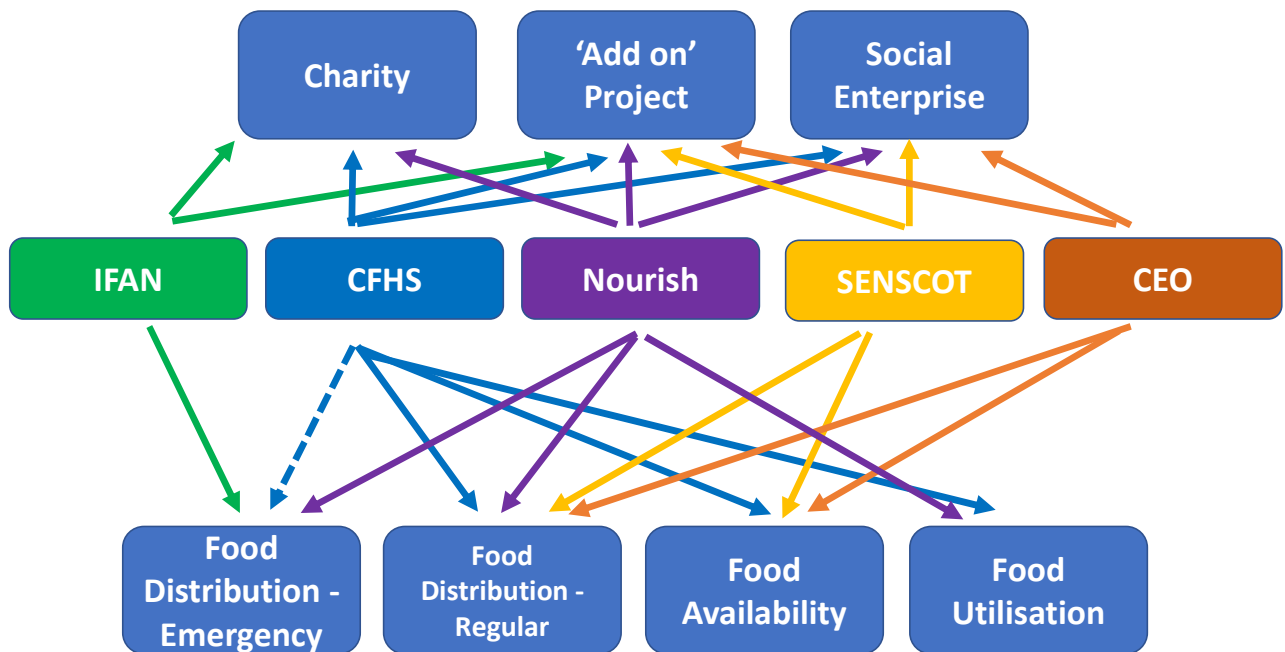
Figure 5-2 Meso level support for food functions and organizational forms

The meso level organizations studied provided support and guidance to the grassroots community food providers including that on two of the developments impacting on the landscape in which they operate. Naturally, this steer was dependant on the role and purpose of the meso level organization. SENSCOT, CEO and, to a lesser extent CFHS provided guidance and support on a social enterprise approach, recognising the impetus for third sector organizations to become more enterprising (Dey and Teasdale, 2015, Sepulveda, 2015).

SENSCOT, by its core purpose, provides support for social enterprise organizations. This includes the development of and support for a 'Community Food Social Enterprise Network'. The purpose of the network is to provide a forum for community food social enterprises to come together to share, learn and work together. The Community Food Social Enterprise Network was established in 2011 following feedback to SENSCOT that there was a growing interest in social enterprise in the community food sector. At the time of the interview, there were about 70 members of the network including five of the grassroots organizations participating in this study. Cultural Enterprise Office provides support for a range of business models and the interviewee felt that more use of a social enterprise approach would allow community food providers to scale up and ultimately be more 'disruptive' and challenging around food poverty.

> *"Yeah, [social enterprise] could be the disruptor. And actually, if you are going to have a different business model or a different mindset of how you are going to do your business…. Unless you want to be a community project,*

and that's fine, [but] I am not in the community project camp. I am very much in the social businesses camp; they should be businesses. I think there are really good projects that are charitable projects, great. But they never take the leap to be scalable." [CEO, Cultural Enterprise Office]

CFHS encourages organizations to consider a social enterprise approach whilst highlighting that this form may not suit all organizations. They published a guide to social enterprise in 2006 and followed this up with a second publication that detailed five community food organizations that were operating as a social enterprise. The guide stated:

"Being more business-like and becoming enterprising is not the answer for every organization running community food and health activities, and nor should it be. However, for those that it is, there is much that can be learned from other community food initiatives that have taken this journey." [CFHS, 2009, Minding their own business too]

A range of support was, therefore, available for community food providers considering a social enterprise approach.

The second change in the landscape of note is the rapid growth of food banks in the last 20 years. Reflecting this rapid growth, IFAN, Nourish, and CFHS provide guidance around emergency food provision. All three ultimately seek a future where people no longer need emergency food aid and seek to promote policy-driven solutions to food poverty. Researchers field notes following attendance at the 'Responding to Food Insecurity in Midlothian' event on the 29th of August (Table 4-2) that was organised in partnership with Nourish noted:

"The event focussed on encouraging community food providers to think about cash responses to food insecurity. The community food providers were very much positioned as having a complementary role, around using food as a 'social tool'. The first response was to be cash based. This was prominent in the pre-event promotion which stated the event would invite participants to 'consider the ways community food initiatives can work with a range of partners and advice services to support people to access the cash, rights, and food they are entitled to in a crisis.'" [Researcher field notes]

Furthermore, the seminar report shared by CFHS following the 'Understanding Food Insecurity in Scotland: Making sense of the data' event on the 4th of October noted,

"We need to use the data we gather on food insecurity to ensure policy on food insecurity is grounded in the evidence. Cooking classes, community gardens, and other local initiatives have huge benefits which have been well documented. However, evidence from Canada flags the importance of setting realistic expectations about what different interventions can be expected to achieve." [Event seminar report]

As noted in section 1.2.3 Nourish received funding from the Scottish Government Fair Food Transformation Fund to support emergency food aid providers to transition to more dignified forms of support. Describing this, the interviewee from Nourish says,

> "...*that project really aimed to take the principles from the Dignity report, which was written by the working group on food poverty, to see what that looked like in practice for the community food sector. The Dignity principles apply across responses to food insecurity, across Government responses and all sorts of different sectors but this was about exploring, in particular, what community food initiatives could do to promote Dignity in the work they were doing*" [Project Officer, Nourish]

Part of this work includes working with the agencies that refer people to food banks, raising their awareness and understanding of the alternate options to which people can be signposted for help.

> *"So, we work really intensively with stakeholders who are involved in responding to acute food insecurity in their projects. So really thinking about increasing or improving referral pathways between different organizations that are, could have a role in reducing the need for food banks by encouraging better and clearer, and more consistent access to financial support when people are in a financial crisis. So those types of responses. Instead of just automatically referring to food banks. Because in the last 10 years or so, as food banks have become increasingly part of our safety net in many communities, the interrogation about whether that is the most appropriate or certainly the most dignified place to send somebody in every instance has waned. And people are not necessarily thinking about what other options are available. And food banks have increasingly become their first port of call because it is relatively simple, as a referrer, to use that as an option."* [Project Officer, Nourish]

The meso level organizations are important actors in the institutional environment in which the grassroots organizations operate. They provide support and guidance on the different organizational forms, including social enterprise. They also support community food providers to meet the principles of the Dignity Report as advocated by the Scottish Government. Finally, as described by the interviewee from Nourish, they work with organizations that are an earlier link in a chain that can lead people to food banks. By working with the referrers to highlight other referral options, particularly cash-based responses, Nourish are supporting the community food providers transition away from emergency food aid. They do this by altering the antecedents to food bank use.

5.10 Summative discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide insight into the 'how' and 'what' of community food providers. This was to, firstly, provide an update on such organizations from an inward-looking perspective and, secondly, to present the necessary knowledge required for further interrogation of the institutional logics and the institutional work of these organizations, as is discussed in the subsequent chapters. It did this through discussion of the forms, functions, and services of the community food providers.

Prior studies that have looked internally at community food providers such as McGlone et al. (1999), Dowler and Caraher (2003), Caraher and Dowler (2007) did so before the rapid growth in food banks in the UK and the accompanying increase in awareness and discussion of their existence (Wells and Caraher, 2014). Building on the more recent study by Lambie-Mumford (2014) in England, this study has looked inwards at community food providers in Scotland. This is beneficial as there have been significant changes to the landscape in which they operate. Furthermore, by including a wide range of community food providers based in the central belt of Scotland the chapter has highlighted the breadth of the activity that these organizations undertake. This has added insight into the high-level findings of the recent mapping of organizations responding to food poverty by the Scottish Government (2020). The mapping highlighted that it is common for organizations responding to food poverty to provide services and activities over and above the provision of food. This chapter has provided further, more detailed insight on this.

Collectively this chapter provides a current picture of a small subset of the third sector. The findings highlight that this subset of the third sector mirrors that of the wider sector in which it is located, particularly the heterogeneity of the organizations. The organizations within it are diverse and, like the wider third sector, there is not a singular identity despite the underlying coherent commonality of supporting people with food (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Kendall and Knapp, 1995, Macmillan, 2015, Macmillan and Ellis Paine, 2020). The findings suggest that this diversity and breadth in organizations connected to community food work results from the different entry routes, relative ease of simple operations, broad applicability of community food work, and practical day-to-day influences. Each of these will be discussed.

Looking collectively across the organizations data showed a range of entry routes into community food work. Organizations that were categorised as an 'add on' project (Table 5.1) were particularly illuminating in this regard: existing organizations feel unable to ignore the food struggles of their clients. This beckons organizations with no expertise or strategic plan to work with food into the field of community food provision. The desire to provide food to people is the reason behind their community food work rather than it being part of the original strategic plan.

From this, the food role can become central to the organization, as is the case with Centrestage, where it now seamlessly integrates with the other projects within the organization. Alternatively, food provision can remain a peripheral project, as in Forth Valley Larder and Govan Community Project. However, in these cases, the demand for the services meant the food work was increasingly resource intensive. This gradually necessitated an elevation of the food provision to a more central service, relative to the wider organization of which this is one project. This may cement the food project as a more core, substantial service.

Other routes to community food work were highlighted by the organizations that were not categorised as add-on projects. Rather than an internal observation of client struggles, it was a desire to and sometimes an expectation of the Church that brought some of the other organizations into the field. The relative ease with which these organizations established their food work suggests the barriers to entry to community food work are small.

The broad applicability of community food provision was further emphasised when considering the range of meso level organizations offering support to those working at the grassroots. For IFAN, CFHS, and Nourish supporting community food providers is the core function, whilst for Cultural Enterprise Office and SENSCOT community food providers are one type of organization in a wider remit. The form of these meso level organizations also differs from CFHS, as part of the statutory public health body to IFAN, a membership-based network run primarily by volunteers. The involvement of Cultural Enterprise Office, an organization that supports the creative industry, in community food demonstrates the broad appeal and applicability of this sector.

Finally, further points of both consistency and variation arose from factors that influenced the day-to-day work of community food providers. Key factors that impacted the services emerging from the data included having a physical space, partnering and/or membership with other organizations, and funders. Having, or not, a static physical space impacted where organizations operated in the community. Where organizations have a static space, the properties of this in terms of size and equipment, determined what services the organizations could offer. Partnering with other organizations impacted on the target population groups and the aims of delivery for the services. The membership, or not, of a larger network, most obviously the Trussell Trust for those distributing emergency food parcels determined some of the operational characteristics such as referral routes and limits on use.

Exploring the forms, functions, and services of community food providers in this way also provides insight into the impact of wider trends in the landscape of both community food, namely the growth in emergency food aid, and the wider third sector, namely the impetus for third sector organizations to become more enterprising (Dey and Teasdale, 2015, Sepulveda, 2015).

The findings highlighted differing influences and experiences of social enterprise (Bull, 2008, Dey and Teasdale, 2013, Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004, Seanor, 2013). Data on cooking groups, fruit and veg retail, and community meals highlighted how the social enterprise organizations have a willingness and strategy to use these services to generate income, whilst other organizations, providing the same services do not. These services are provided across a range of price structures from free, to low cost to income-generating. There is, therefore, divergence in the use of social enterprise despite the similarity in the service being provided. These organizations continue to operate with the model that best suits them, resistant to complete mimetic isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, Tonner et al., 2019). This does, however, have implications for the funding sources available to community food providers with a heavy reliance on grant funding leading to uncertainty, precarity and a potential threat to organizational survival.

The influence of emergency food provision in the form of food parcels, as one service that community food providers perform, permeates across the organizations. Responses to this influence vary. Some organizations provide a food parcel service and will continue to do so until the need is no longer there. Others not providing the service of emergency food parcels may have done so in the past, and those seeking to transition away may be bound, to some extent to the legacy of having done so in the past. Others plan their services in response to misgivings about the provision of emergency food parcels. Collectively this signifies a direction at the grassroots level away from emergency food parcels that meso level organizations, particularly IFAN, Nourish, CFHS, and the Scottish Government reinforce. Those continuing to provide food parcels also seek this transition away from emergency food aid, but they intend to continue providing until the need for them is no longer there. Emergency food aid, therefore, has a presence throughout the sector in a significant but variable way.

A further key finding to emerge from the data is the central position of the non-food functions, particularly the provision of a social opportunity, providing further evidence that the function of these organizations extends beyond food provision (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Douglas et al., 2015a, McGlone et al., 1999). This social function is as a conscious and planned consequence of the services provided. When the core service of the community food provider only requires short term engagement with the client and therefore limited social opportunity organizations seek ways to overcome this by creating pathways for people to access other social opportunities. These findings reinforce how organizations can use food as a facilitative tool to achieve functions that are not primarily about the food itself (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Midgley, 2014). For this reason, Figure 5-1 depicts that all services overlap with the provision of a social opportunity, all be it to differing extents.

The findings presented in this chapter sought to provide detailed insight into the organizations of the study and in doing so, draw out some collective trends and divergences. The following chapter will now build on these strong foundations to further interrogate the motivations and drivers of this collective of organizations united in their work with food in the community.

6   Community food providers: institutional logics

6.1   Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the variety of forms, functions, and services of community food providers, providing insight into the 'what' and 'how' of these organizations. This chapter now explores the 'why'. As noted in Chapter 3 institutional theory is a highly relevant lens with which to analyse the data and provide this insight as it can explain the adoption and spread of organizational structures, practices, and new organizational forms (David et al., 2019). In particular, the lens of institutional logics allows this interrogation as institutional logics inform how organizations make sense of and evaluate their everyday activities and organise those activities in time and space (Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017, Thornton et al., 2012). Given this focus, the chapter draws primarily on the data from the 16 grassroots community food providers, rather than the 5 meso level organizations.

Furthermore, the heterogeneity of community food providers identified in the previous chapter suggests a multiplicity of logics informing the sector (Besharov and Smith, 2014, Greenwood et al., 2009, Kraatz and Block, 2017). This context, therefore, provides an opportunity to further explore the calls of Besharov and Smith (2014), Battilana et al. (2017), and Litrico and Besharov (2019), discussed in section 3.2, to bring more nuance to presentations of both hybridity and logic multiplicity.

This chapter, therefore, begins with an exploration of the institutional orders that are instantiated across the community food providers before progressing to a discussion of the different implications of this logic multiplicity.

6.2   Institutional Orders

As discussed in section 3.2 institutional logics originate in the seven institutional orders: community, corporation, family, market, professions, religion, and State (Thornton et al., 2012). The data evidenced instantiation of five of these seven institutional orders across the community food providers: community, family, market, religion, and State. Table 6-1 details how each of these orders was instantiated in and across the grassroots community food providers. Figure 6-1 shows which of the orders each of the organizations instantiated. In-depth discussion of each of the institutional orders then follows.

Table 6-1 Instantiation of the seven institutional orders at the organizational level

Institutional Order	Instantiation at the organizational level
Community	Geographic obligation Collective of organizations Ethos reinforcement
Corporation	n/a
Family	Providing care Meeting a basic need Deprioritising efficiency
Market	Internal revenue generation A competitive product/service 'Usual' Provision
Professions	n/a
Religion	Fulfilling expectations to serve 'those in need'
State	Tackling health inequalities Supporting priority groups Extending State support

	Anniesland Storehouse	Bo' ness Storehouse	BHSG	Castlemilk Church	Centrestage	Drumchapel Food Bank	Edinburgh Community Food	Forth Valley Larder	Glasgow SW Foodbank	Glasgow SE Foodbank	Govan Community Project	Kaleyard	Küche	Launch	LCFHP	Unity Grill
Community	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Family	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Market							X					X	X	X	X	X
Religion	X	X		X					X	X						
State			X		X		X					X	X	X	X	X

Figure 6-1 Institutional orders instantiated in each of the 16 grassroots community food providers

6.2.1 Community Order

As can be seen from Table 6-1 the community order was instantiated across the organizations in three key ways: firstly, on a geographic basis, where the organization had clear ties, commitment, and loyalty to the local area, secondly in the sense of a collective of organizations working together and valuing each other's

contribution and, finally, reinforcing their ethos in their choice of suppliers (Vaskelainen and Münzel, 2017).

Data highlighted that the interviewees often had a commitment and loyalty to a defined geographic community to which they had a connection, and this drove their involvement in community food provision. Knowledge of food poverty in their home community and a desire to do something about this was the motivation for the founders of both Launch and Unity Grill.

> *"And having done some research myself I was quite astounded at the levels of food poverty in the town that I have lived in for a long time."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

> *"When I came back to Glasgow, I realised what was going on [food poverty] and something needs to get sorted…. And it hurts me a wee bit being a proud Glaswegian and a Scot that we are allowing this to happen"* [Founder and Manager, Launch]

The plight of others in their home community warranted concern and a strong desire to support and help this community. This was a key driver for establishing the respective organizations. The interviewees felt part of the community and wanted to contribute to social good (Baines et al., 2014).

Many of the studied organizations also used this sense of strong geographic allegiance to galvanise the local community to support them, most commonly through appeals for food. When needed, some of the organizations made public appeals for more donations, relying on the goodwill of local people. Drumchapel Food Bank posted the following Facebook message:

> *"Drumchapel Food Bank is currently experiencing its worst food shortage this year…This is a direct call to all our partners and the local community to please donate what you can."* Facebook Post, 29th May 2019. [Accessed 14.8.2019]

Subsequent posts thanked the community, noting that the response had overwhelmed staff and volunteers. Although such appeals were informal and ad hoc they served the intended purpose, and the food bank could continue to run by tapping into generosity and goodwill generated by being part of a local geographic community.

Bo'ness Storehouse strictly limits its food parcel provision to people living in the local town. This is primarily a practical decision as it allows them to operate their model of home deliveries. However, the manager also discusses their perception that this defined geographic boundary encourages public support and donations. They say,

> *"And I think the way people are in Bo'ness they are quite happy to contribute if it is going to other people in Bo'ness. I think if we said we are going to*

have a collection point in Tesco's that might go to people in Camelon, I don't think [they'd contribute]. It's not right, but it is just the psyche of people here." [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

The organizations that bought their food, rather than relying only on donations, often tried to support local businesses. The founder of Unity Grill, again reinforcing a commitment to the local community, says,

"We use everything local. So, all the money stays in our economy. We use a local farm for milk, a local farm for eggs, a local baker, the local butcher, the local wine merchant, to try and keep everything in town. Which also means that the quality is incredibly high as well." [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

As well as these strong geographic obligations the second instantiation of the community order that data revealed was the sense that the community food providers were a collective of organizations. This collectiveness appeared in several ways.

Firstly, seeing themselves as part of a collective of organizations allowed those providing emergency food aid to offer more availability and accessibility compared to what they could offer on their own. This manifested in organizations signposting clients to other community food providers. For example, Govan Community Project, despite running their own food bank, are also referral agents to the Glasgow SW Foodbank which has greater capacity and daily opening hours. Knowing of and utilising other community food providers helped interviewees manage their concern, and in some cases guilt, that their service was not always available. The interviewee from Forth Valley Larder, for example, talked of relief that a nearby food bank was open at the weekend. They say,

"It helps me sleep at night knowing somebody else is doing it at the weekend." [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder].

This collectiveness, therefore, fostered a sense of functional complementarity as the organizations could, collectively, provide a more comprehensive service (Freeman and Audia, 2006).

Stemming from this, organizations considered other operators to be partners as opposed to competitors. This exemplifies the community order (Vaskelainen and Münzel, 2017). One of the interviewees makes this exact point when discussing the opening of a new food bank not too far from them,

"I mean, there is another one not far from here now, in Anniesland, and people were saying to us, at first, are they not going to steal all your clients? And I was like, 'it is not stealing clients, it is not a design firm or something', do you know what I mean? We are just happy they have somewhere may be closer to their house to go to." [Manager, Drumchapel Food bank]

Secondly, the collectively inherent in the community order led the organizations to offer knowledge exchange and practical support to each other. For example, the manager of Forth Valley Larder set up a food poverty network in the local area to facilitate sharing of excess food amongst organizations. This was common practice between both food banks and other organizations. Organizations also readily shared knowledge and learning. For example, Bo'ness Storehouse has recently hosted a learning visit from a newer food bank in the area, showing them how the Storehouse operates. The manager says,

> *"It seemed to be the independents are coming together and we are actually starting to help one another."* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

Edinburgh Community Food facilitates and supports the 'community cafe network' which seeks to support community cafes in the city. The network aims to,

> *"Share skills, training, and knowledge, as well as increase the impact the different cafes have within their assorted communities." (Edinburgh Community Food Website, https://www.edinburghcommunityfood.org.uk/edinburgh-community-cafe-network, Accessed [15.09.2019]*

This practical and networking support was informed by a collective ethos of honouring and valuing other members' practices (Vaskelainen and Münzel, 2017). Although some organizations had reservations and were sometimes critical about the way others did things, particularly targeted at food banks, the statements of critique were often qualified with a positive comment. For example, one interviewee says,

> *"The food bank does a good job, but a lot of the ways they do it I don't quite agree with, I'll be honest with you. But I like the way they are getting food into my community."* [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder]

Similarly, another food bank manager talks of initially being *"very opinionated on what the Trussell Trust were doing"* however, more recently, working in the same field, they have mellowed their critique. Having met others running Trussell Trust food banks in the local area they say they now realise that "*everybody is going to do things their way".*

The third instantiation of the community order manifested in the choice of suppliers with many community food providers seeking out suppliers that had a similar socially driven ethos. Before the interview, the manager of Launch introduced the researcher to the people who they had just finished meeting with. The meeting had been with a coffee company that had a similar ethos to Launch, in that *"their profits go to community projects"* [Founder and Manager, Launch]. The manager of Launch was hoping to use the coffee company to supply the restaurant, due to their similar social goals. The manager at Kaleyard also plans to secure supply from other social

enterprises, with a similar ethos, and talks of an agreement with a local organic retailer to provide discounted supply to Kaleyard.

Edinburgh Community Food supply the fruit and veg for the retail shop at BHSG. Describing their relationship the coordinator says,

> *"But Edinburgh Community Food give us such a good service. And to get it delivered for a small amount, we get a delivery almost every day. They are very flexible with us. The produce is still very good quality. So, we still get most of our fruit and veg from there."* [Project co-ordinator, BHSG]

Küche primarily sources their food for cooking classes at local supermarkets, as this is where the participants are most likely to shop, but they also try to include some items from the *"nice fruit and veg shops"* in the local area. Where possible, therefore, the organizations are choosing their suppliers based on similar ethos and values, embodying the community logic, as opposed to the decisions on supply being based purely on economic factors.

As well as these specific instantiations of the community order, in the three ways discussed, logics of the community order were inherently ingrained in the organizations' approach. Talking of the work of LCFHP the manager states,

> *"It's grassroots, it's working in the community"* [Manager (b), LCFHP]

Referring to the upcoming relocation of BHSG to community hub venue the co-ordinator at BHSG says,

> *"It's exciting and it's fantastic for the community."* [Co-ordinator, BHSG]

And discussing why people use Edinburgh Community Food for their fruit and veg retail the manager says,

> *"People feedback to us, we ask why they want to get [food] from us and they say they know that anything we are making is being fed back into the community"* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

The data, therefore, highlighted many instantiations of logics of the community order described by Thornton et al. (2012) as being characterised by group membership, commitment to community values, and personal investment in the group. Furthermore, a collective ethos had developed between community food providers, based on shared interests and aims, functional interdependency, and geographical colocation (Freeman and Audia, 2006, Marquis et al., 2011).

6.2.2   Family Order

As can be seen in Table 6-1, organizations instantiated the family order in three key ways: providing care and kindness, meeting a very basic need, and accepting

inefficiencies. Key to these findings is the assertion by Knutsen (2012 pg. 995) *"that the institutional logic of family also includes community-level actions"*.

A key instantiation of the family order was the desire of the organizations to provide care for others. Care and kindness are at the heart of many of the community food providers and this kindness was a key motivator for organizational activity. The manager of Bo'ness Storehouse says,

> *"People aren't used to kindness now. They'll say, 'what are you doing this for?' 'How much do you want for this?' We say, 'no this is for you, we just want to help you.' And people aren't used to people wanting to help them. That's the kindness."* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

"Taking care" was a passionately repeated phrase when the founder of Launch spoke of their reasons for the venture.

> *"It's not that big a community Glasgow but we need to start engaging with each other, taking care of each other. Genuinely taking care of each other."* [Founder and Manager, Launch]

Interviewees also hoped that the organizations allowed others the opportunity to offer this care and kindness. The financial statements of Bo'ness Storehouse include an aim of *"advancing the goodwill and involvement of the whole community"* whilst the interviewee from Unity Grill suggests that some of the appeals that they make for donations of household essentials gives *"our community a chance to really spread kindness"*.

Wanting to provide this care meant that organizations worked hard to reduce any potential barriers to people accessing the services. Seeing the conditions that people had to endure to access the larder over the winter months Forth Valley Larder had previously adapted their services to ensure others would not have to face the same problem.

> *"...we were all very, very traumatised [with] what we saw over the winter months. With people starving and walking in and by the time they got here they are soaked through to their pants; they are actually ringing and tired. So, we put a wee project together, that we did with the college last year, to take the food larder on tour."* [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder]

The manager from Glasgow SW Foodbank discusses how they are reluctant to take time off because they worry this may deter people from accessing the support. They say,

> *"Yes, I try and be at them all [the food banks] every week. It's more that I have become, I suppose, the face that everybody recognises. And then, some of them, if they don't see me, they might stumble a bit to go through the door.*

Which is another reason why I don't take days off. It's a ridiculous reason! But it's the way that I wouldn't want somebody to come to the door and don't see me". [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

This data shows how the organizations adapt and, in some cases, go above and beyond to minimise the barriers to people accessing their services, highlighting a real commitment to providing care for people. Care, kindness, and a sense of duty drove these organizational decisions. This data aligns with existing literature that suggests community organizations were working as 'street-level carers' providing emotional and material support to people in need, often undertaking their duties as a labour of love (Cunningham, 2011, May et al., 2019).

A second instantiation of the family order emerged from the organizations that consider themselves to be providing services to meet the most basic of need, most commonly those providing emergency food provision. The interviewee from Govan Community Project highlights a very basic level of care that the organization is providing. Referring to the refugees and asylum seekers supported they say,

> *"And actually, the situation that our service users are in is that they are navigating a system which is stacked against them and, you know, they are not allowed to work in the UK, they are completely stripped of their rights and so yeah getting some food for free is a blessing and it is the least that we can do."* [Project Co-ordinator, Govan Community Project]

Meeting a very basic need also drove Glasgow SW Foodbank to not enforce the Trussell Trust guidelines of only providing three parcels in six months, which is recommended to avoid creating a dependency on food banks. The manager said they "*do not work on that specific*", citing reasons why people need more regular help. These included benefit sanctions sometimes lasting 12 weeks or asylum seekers who are in destitution. The day-to-day reality of working at the coalface meant they felt unable to enforce the guidelines.

> *"And as much as people are like 'you need to curb it at a certain amount', I'm like, well you come and tell the mother you're not going to feed her kids. Because I am not going to do it. I'm the one that has to face her. And I am not prepared to do that at all"* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

The guidelines suggested by the parent organization threaten the logics of the family order that compel community food providers to provide care and support people with a very basic need. The guidelines are, therefore, incompatible for Glasgow SW Foodbank to implement. This suggests that food bank workers do not want to act as enforcers of the rules, but rather as caregivers who are happy to bend or break the rules for the benefit of their clients (Zacka, 2017). This non-enforcement of

organizational guidelines is being done almost unconsciously and in good faith rather than being manipulative or strategic (Misangyi, 2016).

The data also suggested that food banks, specifically, pulled on the 'meeting a basic need' instantiation of the family order to justify their approach, which is sometimes criticised for being undignified. For them, the priority was providing food to hungry people. They felt they were responding directly to the needs of their users by providing immediate access to food. Whilst recognising other services, such as community meals or growing schemes, may be more dignified they considered them impractical for the purpose of meeting an immediate need. Both managers of the Trussell Trust food banks commented on this,

> *"Now I agree we need to retain some sort of dignity but the bottom line of it is if you've got four 'weans'[3] and they are hungry then you need to feed them, and we can give you food. Maintaining your dignity isn't me saying to 'oh, you'll be alright because next Wednesday there is a community meal in Castlemilk'."* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

> *".... Growing and gardens, what do I tell the woman that turns up with her three weans, starving? 'There are some seeds.' It's not practical at the moment"* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

The third instantiation of the family order emerged from the data that highlighted community food providers take approaches that appear inefficient from a rational, economic perspective. The manager of Anniesland Storehouse suggests the way they choose to operate the food bank is "*labour intensive*". However, the practices that they label as such are an important part of the service that the food bank offers: having 1:1 interviews with everyone who visits the food bank is necessary to identify the underlying cause of their visit; and not pre-preparing standard food parcels allows people the opportunity to choose which food they would like to take home, therefore better suiting each circumstance and preference. Unity Grill offers the opportunity for people to volunteer their time on an ad-hoc basis in exchange for a voucher that they can subsequently use in the restaurant. The arrangement is informal and may involve singular or infrequent short (1-2 hours) volunteering sessions. The manager observes,

> *"A lot of the time our paid staff have to go back and fix what the volunteer did but that doesn't matter. It's about knowing that that person felt valued for the hour or whatever they were here"* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

This setup lacks operational efficiency, but it is an integral part of the approach to provide alternative ways for people in need to receive food, beyond being passive recipients. The manager is happy for staff to spend time supporting the volunteers

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[3] Weans is a Scots word for children.

and to subsequently repeat or redo some of the work the volunteer did. In both these examples, the interviewees readily put the needs of the client ahead of operational efficiency.

Data has, therefore, provided evidence of the logics of the family order informing community food providers, primarily manifesting in the provision of personal and family-like care based on need due to loyalty and obligation towards others and the meeting of a very basic human need (Friedland and Alford, 1991, Knutsen, 2012, Miller et al., 2017). Community food providers have a strong commitment and dedication to providing care and compassion for people despite the operational inefficiencies that this may introduce. This strong presence of logics of the family order may be because community food providers offer an extension to the support often provided by family and friends. Research has shown that turning to friends and family for support is one of many strategies people use to manage food insecurity, utilising them as a source of social, emotional, practical, and financial support (Lambie-Mumford and Dowler, 2014, Perry et al., 2014).

6.2.3   Market Order

As can be seen from Table 6-1, organizations instantiated the market order in three ways: internal revenue generation, offering a competitive product or service, and the offer of 'usual provision'. This evidence of practices informed by the market order emerged from the social enterprise organizations (section 5.2.3). This was foreseeable given social enterprises are organizations that balance social and economic goals, the latter requiring logics of the market order (Dart, 2004, Doherty et al., 2014).

The first instantiation of the market order was internal revenue generation. As discussed in section 5.2.3 the social enterprises operate several services to achieve this internal income generation: Edinburgh Community Food retails profit-making fruit and veg and 'take and make' meal packs to private customers; Kaleyard runs profit-making cooking masterclasses; Launch and Unity Grill run profit-making restaurants; Küche is available to hire for multicultural catering; Edinburgh Community Food has contracts with local businesses to supply fruit and vegetables to the offices for their staff; Unity Grill is on the "coveted list" of the local council as hospitality suppliers; LCFHP provide a range of salads to the organization running hospital retail outlets. All these revenue sources meant the social enterprises were not solely relying on external grant funding.

To generate revenue in these ways organizations must offer a competitive product, which data showed was the second instantiation of the market order. The need for this was discussed by the interviewee from the meso level organization, Cultural Enterprise Office, which works with clients to explore how to "*put social products up against the mainstream and make them competitive*". The interviewee suggests a

false belief that commonly prevails amongst social enterprises: that being socially driven is in itself enough to make products and services successful. They say,

> *"We always think the story, we as in the social enterprise space, we always think the story is the most important part and it is not, absolutely not. It's about the customer"* [CEO, Cultural Enterprise Office]

This need to be competitive and focus on the customers comes through in the discussions with the social enterprise community food providers in several ways. The manager of Unity Grill emphasises that it is the quality of the restaurant that attracts full-paying customers. They say,

> *"I guess because we have been here a year now, we have a lot of really regular customers who, maybe in the beginning came because they wanted to support us. But we wouldn't have been able to retain that had we not got the menu right. So, they are coming back for quality."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

Later they say,

> *"Because I hope you will think it is a beautiful space and it looks just like any other restaurant."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The founder of Launch was expecting the location of the restaurant to provide a competitive edge. The restaurant was in a large office complex with over three and half thousand people working there daily, and they hoped to attract this footfall during lunch breaks. The founder of Kaleyard discusses the importance, for them, of a professional and competitive website. Discussing how they used some early grant funding to develop the website they say,

> *"And now I have a really nice website and for me, it was really important to have a good website, it was really important to me. Because I had done lots of research on the other social enterprises' websites and a lot of them were really nice, but they were all based on squares, you know the online ones that you can do yourself, Wix and all. And that was lovely, they were really, really nice, and cheap to do. But I felt that a business like this needed a really professional website. But not one that looked too professional, one that looked community-ish, if you know what I mean, but also good for selling classes. Because it is my shop window. So, I did invest a little bit of money in the website and marketing as well. And hopefully in the long run that will pay off."* [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

These organizations are ensuring that they offer a competitive service that allows them to operate in the market and generate internal income that they can then invest in the social side of their work.

The third instantiation of the market order was a desire to provide a 'usual' service to all. The market order largely dominates food retail and, therefore, the organizations undertaking food retail from within the third sector required market logics to be able to replicate the dominant primary food retail model. This replication was necessary to offer people a way to participate that was not fundamentally different from the norm. This instantiation of 'usual service' was most evident in Unity Grill and to a lesser extent in Edinburgh Community Food.

Offering a 'usual' service was inherent to the founder's vision of the social restaurant at Unity Grill: the restaurant had to operate the usual, mainstream way to allow the 'in-need' customers to participate in a normal, day-to-day activity in a traditional way. The only difference between 'in need' customers and full-paying customers was the means by how they facilitated their exchange (i.e., paying what they could rather than the full price or offering their time as an exchange). This blending and mixing of the two client groups were fundamental to the vision to firstly, help combat the social isolation that accompanies food poverty and secondly challenge myths and judgements around the undeserving poor (Garthwaite et al., 2015). The 'usual' of the market was fundamental to normal participation.

> *"Everyone is treated exactly the same, whether they have a million pounds or nothing, they are treated exactly the same. They are sat down, they are given a menu, their order is taken, and we have little electronic tablets, that is for us, other customers wouldn't know who is paying and who's not. And that is really important, that whole discretion thing. Everybody is dealt with exactly the same way. So that again is about dignity. That they are being treated exactly like everybody else."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

By aiming to offer everyone *"exactly the same"* it is fundamental to the vision of Unity Grill that the restaurant cannot be easily distinguishable from a traditional restaurant and logics of the market order are necessary to achieve this. Similarly, Edinburgh Community Food retail their take and make meal packs at two different price levels but they ensure the product for each client group is indistinguishable.

> *"And we do it on two levels so, again we sell at a corporate price and we sell at a community price. But we wanted [it to be] that whatever you got, [it was] to look exactly the same regardless of who you were. Because people say, why don't you just put it in a plastic bag? Well, we are trying to make sure it is a meal pack, it looks good, it is branded, it's trademarked, and all the rest of it."* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

Factors that are typically more aligned to the market order are therefore important to these organizations as it allows them to offer everyone a usual service, in keeping with wider norms around food. However, they replicated it in a way that made it more accessible to low-income consumers. By mimicking the primary market, the

organizations were leveraging existing taken for granted rules and practices inherent in the traditional organizations that sell food and doing so in a way that ensures low-income consumers are not 'othered' by enforcing a distinctly different means of accessing food (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, Lister, 2004).

6.2.4 Religion Order

As can be seen from Table 6-1, the religion order was instantiated in the approach of fulfilling expectations to serve 'those in need'. Foreseeably, given normalised expectations of the Church as a provider of support to people in times of dire need (Cloke, 2010), the religion order emerged from the organizations that were associated with the Church or those that had originated in the Church and later spun off to form an independent charity (Table 5.1).

As previously discussed in section 5.6 Castlemilk Church has an emergency food cupboard. The roots of this service highlight the normative expectation of the Church as a provider of support.

> *"The Church has learned that, for better or worse, people seek it out when they are in need, and being able to help someone with that very basic need of groceries to feed their kids, they will do that."* [Development Worker, Castlemilk Church]

The Church does not actively promote the cupboard, and the interviewee suggests clients may not intentionally visit for food. Rather, they visit the Church seeking help and the provision of a food parcel is one means by which the Church provides this desired support. As well as this direct expectation from people in need other agencies sought out the Church to provide support to their clients. This provided the impetus for what became Glasgow SE Foodbank. A local social work team approached the Church administrator and asked:

> *"If, as a church, we would be prepared to feed 7 families over Christmas. Families that they knew didn't have anything and they were going to struggle to get anything for".* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

From this experience the Church team *"realised it was probably a bigger thing"* and after one of the Church ministers had *"seen a DVD about the Trussell Trust"* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank], they decided to join the network and establish Glasgow SE Foodbank.

As well as these external expectations of the Church data also highlighted an internal expectation of the members of the Church themselves to support people in need. Anniesland Storehouse originated from this internally generated desire to help. The manager says,

> *"So, about 8-9 years ago we were looking at 'what are we actually doing for the community?'… so, we started thinking, looking at, well, there are people*

in poverty who need support so we looked at what we could do." [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

This gave the impetus for establishing the food bank. The manager of Bo'ness Storehouse felt there was a need for a food bank in his local town having heard of them operating in more affluent towns across Scotland. The final push for them to start the food bank occurred when they were asked to write a verse for the 'peoples bible' project.[4]

> *"And you just got a random verse. And the verse I got was 'I'll send rain in season and fill your storehouse and bless the work of your hands'. And I said, 'that's for me'! I was still, before that point, saying, 'will I take this back or not' and that kinda confirmed to me"* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

The interviewee received a calling, rooted in their religious beliefs, to act on their early observation that people in their local town may be going hungry. They therefore established the food bank, acting on their sense of obligation and moral duty (Bunderson and Thompson, 2009, Wrzesniewski, 2012).

Within this religious underpinning, these organizations offered their services to all. The manager of Anniesland Storehouse says,

> *"It's a church-run, church initiative with a Christian ethos, open to anyone who is in need"* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

Like Power et al. (2017) data suggested expressions of faith were either absent or subtle and unforced. However, faith based support and reassurance could be provided to people if requested.

> *"We've had a situation just going to the door, and someone will say I'm worried about an operation tomorrow, could we just have a wee prayer on the doorstep."* [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

The data suggests a strong influence of the religion order in the initiation of some community food providers, manifesting as an inherent understanding of the Church as an organization that provides support to people in need. Faith was an important motivation for providing food aid and provided a means to express Christian principles (Power et al., 2017). For the organizations that originated in the Church faith always served as a motivator although this was not foregrounded in the day-to-day interactions with clients.

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[4] The people's bible was organised by the bible society and involved people electronically writing a verse of the bible which were all put together to form a fully handwritten 'peoples bible'.

6.2.5   State Order

As can be seen from Table 6-1, organizations instantiated the State order in one of three ways: tackling health inequalities, supporting priority groups, and extending state support.

The first instantiation of the State order centred on equity and fairness, principles that the State order may inform (Smith, 2014). These principles manifested in the organizations that sought to tackle health inequalities, being the unjust and avoidable differences in people's health across the population and between specific population groups. Edinburgh Community Food, LCFHP, and BHSG all explicitly state their aims around tackling health inequalities.

> *"We tackle health inequalities in low-income communities in Edinburgh through our Food and Health Development and Promotion work, including cooking and nutrition courses, health information presentations and delivery of Royal Environmental Health Institute of Scotland accredited courses."* [Edinburgh Community Food Website, https://www.edinburghcommunityfood.org.uk/what-we-do, Accessed 9 Jan 2019]

> *"Reducing Health Inequalities in North Lanarkshire. We support local people in deprived areas to improve health inequalities in relation to the effects of poor diet on health."* [LCFHP website, https://www.lcfhp.co.uk/about-us/, Accessed 9 Jan 2019]

> *"We work in close partnership with many local organizations to address gaps in health improvement activities and collectively impact on the wider health inequality agenda."* [BHSG website, https://bhealthytogether.org.uk/ Accessed 25 September 2018]

A second instantiation of the State order was in the provision of support for priority groups (Knutsen, 2012). By their very nature, most organizations target and provide all or some of their services to low-income households. This is noted, for example, in the statement from LCFHPs website (above) specifically stating their support is for local people in deprived communities. As well as this broad category of low-income households the organizations also sought to provide services for particular groups. Kaleyard has two target populations for their community cooking classes: older people and children, particularly those with additional needs.

> *"And I think that we forget about the fact that we have an ageing population that is massive in Glasgow, and they are kind of thrown away to the wayside. There are loads of organizations doing incredible things for them but one of the big things I have found from my research of different charities dealing with senior citizens of Glasgow is that there is no, there is obviously Cordia that creates meals for them, but there is not healthy eating, not wellbeing, not*

eating for your age type or potential disease that you might get, or dementia…. So, I want to create that space for older people. And I think as well, socially it gives them something to do because they also have a lot of social isolation, so it also creates new friendships and gives them a place to meet so it's great for their mental wellbeing. So that is one sector. The other is children. So, I am going to be working with kids in schools and I already have a few partners, everything from primary to secondary schools. I am quite focused on special needs because I think, kids and special needs and food is a great combination because they get a way to express themselves in different ways." [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

As previously noted (section 5.5.1), Edinburgh Community Food runs cooking groups with women in the criminal justice system. They also have cooking groups for widowed older men. BHSG runs cooking groups targeted at black and ethnic minority communities.

The third instantiation of the State order was the work of the community food providers to support and encourage people to access State provided support. A specific example of this was the national Healthy Start scheme. This scheme provides low-income households with free vouchers every week to spend on milk, fresh, frozen, and tinned fruit and vegetables, fresh, dried, and tinned pulses, and infant formula milk. The scheme also provides vitamins to pregnant women and children. The organizations that had retail outlets, Edinburgh Community Food, LCFHP, and BHSG accept Healthy Start vouchers in their fruit and veg coops. The manager of Edinburgh Community Food says,

> *"I think community organizations have a great place to help people access and use Healthy Start in a positive way."* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

Furthermore, where the opportunity arose the organization would promote this initiative and provide support for people applying if needed. During LCFHP's 'Healthy Mummy, Happy Baby' session, a programme to support vulnerable new mothers, group leaders would chat with the new mums and ask whether they were accessing the scheme. If they were not, LCFHP supported them to apply. The manager said,

> *"A lot of the mums maybe didn't get signed up for healthy start so they were missing out money-wise – you know £3-4 a week and they were signing up for vitamins and whatever else which had been missed out."* [Manager (b), LCFHP]

As well as linking clients in with specific schemes organizations may also support engagement with statutory provided health services. The manager of LCFHP cites

instances when attendees to the Healthy Mummy, Happy Baby sessions have talked about their health concerns that then allowed staff to support them to access the appropriate services. This more informal approach to identifying needs, through natural conversations during sessions, sometimes provided insight into required support needs that more formal health services may have missed. The manager says,

> *"There will be things like mental health issues, things like poverty issues and whatever else that could be dealt with and referred on that may have been missed at the GPs or through the NHS type pathways if you want."* [Manager (b), LCFHP]

The alternate setting for health conversations, out with the typical health services, potentially allows people to explore their needs in a more relaxed, less clinical environment. From these conversations, group leaders can facilitate connection with relevant health services if appropriate. Providing these opportunities for service users to access statutory support was different from the more directed signposting as it was more subtle and not necessarily the specific purpose of the conversation, rather something that emerged more naturally over time.

Whilst supporting services users to access statutory services was an important role for the community food providers interviewees had mixed feelings when this extended to them having to provide the support that they perceived the State should be providing. One interviewee discussed how statutory services signpost people to BHSG, captured in the researcher's field notes.

> *"After the recording stopped, [name] spoke of feeling proud of the work she had done during her time at BHSG. We talked about the mindfulness classes that she had set up. This was in response to someone needing some help being signposted to BHSG by their GP. There was no free counselling available, so the GP suggested they go to BHSG to see what was on offer. In response [name] got some funding to set up the mindfulness classes which run in two local health centres. She saw this activity as a real positive, a move to being more holistic and offering alternatives to a 'pill'. Although she did say she felt a bit sad that it was down to the community to provide these types of services."* [Researcher field notes]

Similarly, the manager of Glasgow SE Foodbank voiced frustration at such expectations. They talk of an instance where the social work department asked the food bank to provide regular, continuing food parcels for an indefinite time to someone in need. They say:

> *"The whole onus was on me feeding [him] and I was like, I just wrote right back to them, and I suppose that comes from my background with social services, I am very aware of what their responsibilities are, and I just wrote right back. 'I am sure you are aware we are a small charity and we do short-*

term feeding so we will not be feeding Mr so & so…… you have statutory obligations towards him, not me." [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

Therefore, whilst the organizations were willing and able to direct people towards statutory support, there were tensions when the expectation fell on them to provide the service themselves. The organizations, for reasons of both capacity and principle, felt compromised when their third sector role seemed to be filling a gap when State services were not meeting present needs (Mohan and Breeze, 2015).

6.2.6   Institutional Orders of the third sector

To this point, the chapter has highlighted the instantiation of logics of five institutional orders, community, family, market, religion, and State by community food providers.

Identifying the five orders in the data extends existing third sector scholarship that predominantly highlights the influence of three orders. Knutsen (2012) suggests that non-profit organizations enact Friedland and Alford's (1991) institutional orders of capitalism, the state, and democracy. Others, using the seven orders of Thornton et al. (2012) suggest that the state, market, and community are the most relevant orders in the non-profit literature (McMullin and Skelcher, 2018, Skelcher and Smith, 2015, Smith, 2014, Vickers et al., 2017) Third sector scholarship has, therefore, thus far paid limited attention to the family and religion orders. The emergence of the family and religion orders in this study of third sector organizations, in contrast to earlier studies, may reflect both gaps in the current wider literature streams and the specific characteristics of the organizations studied.

The lack of exploration of logics of the family order in third sector literature may be reflective of a similar gap in the wider literature. Greenwood et al. (2009) previously noted that relatively little is known about the influence of non-market institutions on organizations, such as the family. Similarly, and more recently Salvato et al. (2019) highlight that whilst an institutional approach is common in family business research, institutional theorists in organization studies have largely neglected the family order to date. In the few studies that do explore the family order, the site of study is the family firm (Greenwood et al., 2009, Miller et al., 2011). There is, therefore, minimal scholarship exploring how the family order influences organizations other than family firms. An early exception to this is a study by Bhappu (2000) that investigates how the legacy of an ancient familial form continues to affect the development of corporate social structures that remain even if the organization is no longer a family firm. Fairclough and Micelotta (2013) provide a further exception in their study of Italian law firms that highlights how the cultural setting, in which the familial logic is strongly endorsed, influences the organizational form and strategic practices even though these are not family firms. Aside from these limited exceptions, therefore, existing organizational scholarship affords minimal focus on the family order or the influence of the family order in a wider array of organizations.

This study is perhaps particularly illuminating on the role of the family order in non-family firms due to the inherent connection of food with the family unit. The provision and consumption of food are commonly associated with families and households, and both are largely a private phenomenon (Charles and Kerr, 1988). A rich body of sociological literature demonstrates providing and sharing food is an integral component of the care between adults and children, embedded with rituals of love and devotion for family members (Miller, 1998, Wills and O'Connell, 2018). Furthermore, accessing food aid is often a strategy of last resort once people have exhausted all other options, including seeking help from family and friends (Lambie-Mumford and Dowler, 2014). The data suggested that the community-level actions of some community food providers seek to extend the care typically associated with families. The organizations are therefore fulfilling a typical family role albeit out with the boundaries of the family home. Perhaps when the support offered by the third sector is rooted in the provision of food the family order dominates the informing logics significantly more so than other third sector services.

Similarly, despite religion being a significant social force on organizational practice it has been relatively underexamined in organization theory. Tracey's (2012) review of 21 scholarly journals found that none of the journals used religion primarily from an institutional logics perspective (Gümüsay, 2020). Since then, the edited volume of Research in the Sociology of Organizations on Religion and Organization Theory published in 2014 represented an *"attempt to remedy this unfortunate blind spot"* within organization and management theory scholarship (Tracey et al., 2014 pg. 3). Four articles feature in a 'religion and institutional theory' section of the volume (DeJordy et al., 2014, Friedland, 2013, Giorgi et al., 2014, Peifer, 2014), with the latter two taking an institutional logics approach. Out with this volume, a small number of studies have continued this engagement with religion and institutional logics (Giorgi and Palmisano, 2017, Gümüsay et al., 2019, Quattrone, 2015, Tracey, 2016). Similar therefore to the family order, the large absence of the religion order in third sector institutional logic scholarship is reflective of the wider limited engagement to date.

Yet, this absence of the religion order in third sector literature is perhaps more surprising given the recognition that religiously based non-profits often lead the way in seeking to meet societal needs (Flanigan, 2007). Previous studies have explored the role of faith groups in welfare provision services such as alcohol treatment (Jayne and Williams, 2020), substance abuse treatment (Neff et al., 2006), and homelessness (Cloke et al., 2005, Johnson, 2012). Potentially the omission may be partly explained by the reflection of wider trends for faith-based provision to be offered on an unconditional, secular basis (Birdwell, 2013, Cloke et al., 2012, Jayne and Williams, 2020, McCabe et al., 2010). Interviewees stressed that their services were entirely secular, and any discussion of faith or religion was undertaken only if requested by the service user. Therefore, whilst the motivation to provide a service may be

informed by the religion order, the service itself is not religiously informed. The combination of this study using institutional logics and exploring community food providers, the food aid subset of which is commonly connected to the Church (Cloke, 2010, Cloke et al., 2016, Denning, 2019, Power et al., 2017), may have therefore been particularly illuminating on the role of the religion order. The religion order plays a role in some third sector provision and this study sheds further light on this omission in existing institutional logics scholarship.

Having identified the institutional orders instantiated by the community food providers and discussed how these findings fit with the existing literature the chapter now explores the implications of this logic multiplicity.

6.3   Logic Multiplicity

As discussed, data has evidenced a multiplicity of logics, originating in five of the seven institutional orders. As Figure 6-1 shows, all the organizations instantiate logics of at least two of the institutional orders. This concurs with understandings of institutional orders as overlapping and, therefore, confronting organizations with multiple institutional logics (Friedland and Alford, 1991). The implications of this logic multiplicity are now discussed.

6.3.1   Implications of multiplicity

As discussed in section 3.2.1 Besharov and Smith (2014) assert that the implications of logic multiplicity depend on how logics are instantiated within organizations. This instantiation can differ across two key dimensions:

- Compatibility: *"the extent to which the instantiations of logics imply consistent and reinforcing organizational actions"* (pg. 367); and
- Centrality: *"the degree to which multiple logics are each treated as equally valid and relevant to organizational functioning"* (pg. 369).

These are continuous dimensions on which an organization can be located. Combining these dimensions gives four ideal types of organization: contested (extensive conflict), estranged (moderate conflict), aligned (minimal conflict), and dominant (no conflict).

Data suggested that all the studied community food providers fit the 'aligned' ideal type, with both high compatibility and centrality of the multiple logics. Besharov and Smith (2014) describe the ideal type 'aligned' organization. The multiple logics offer consistent implications for organizational action and multiple logics exert a strong influence over organizational functioning. Despite this high centrality and compatibility tensions and conflicts may still arise, but it is likely to be minimal. Although all the organizations are categorised as aligned their placement on the spectrum of the two dimensions varies, shown in Figure 6-2 and discussed in detail below.

	Anniesland Storehouse	Bo' ness Storehouse	Glasgow SW Foodbank	Glasgow SE Foodbank	Drumchapel Food Bank	Castlemilk Church	Forth Valley Larder	Govan Community Project	Centrestage	BHSG	Edinburgh Community Food	LCFHP	Kaleyard	Küche	Launch	Unity Grill
Organizations grouped by instantiated institutional orders																
	Group 1						Group 2				Group 3		Group 4			
Community	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Family	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Market											X	X	X	X	X	X
Religion	X	X	X	X		X										
State									X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Group placement on the spectrum of centrality and compatibility
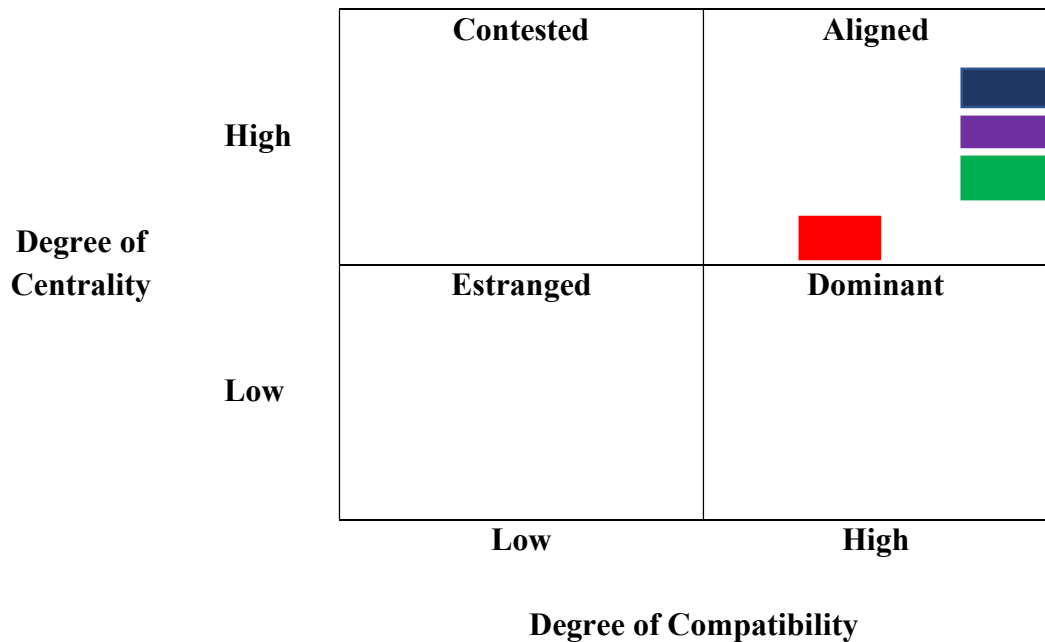

Figure 6-2 Categorization of organizations based on degrees of centrality and compatibility

Aligned - High compatibility, median centrality

Figure 6-2 shows 10 of the community food providers are aligned, with high compatibility and median centrality. These organizations are depicted in green (Anniesland Storehouse, Bo'ness Storehouse, Glasgow SW Foodbank, Glasgow SE Foodbank, Drumchapel Food Bank and Castlemilk Church) and purple (Forth Valley Larder, Govan Community Project, Centrestage and BHSG). These community food providers instantiate logics of four of the institutional orders in differing combinations: community and family; community, family and religion; and community, family, and State. Relative to the other groups of organizations (shown in red and blue) they exhibit high compatibility and median centrality.

High compatibility results from the relative congruence across the instantiations of these orders. Revisiting Table 6-1 shows that the instantiation of these orders, at the most basic level relate to helping people in need, providing them with care, and on a broader level extending the support available to people and tackling health inequalities. These all contribute to the broad organizational goals of improving the circumstances of people's lives. They differ in the target, which can be at an individual level or a broader community level, and the duration, which can be very temporary or longer-term. However, ultimately there is alignment in the goals despite their rooting in different orders. Besharov and Smith (2014) note consistency of organization goals is important for compatibility.

For most of these organizations the high compatibility was achieved because of the limited range of the services they provided, despite the influence of the logics of four institutional orders. All the green and purple organizations, except for BHSG and Centrestage, retained a relatively simple structure to their food operations. Their food provision, at a very basic level, had the underpinning aim of providing immediate support to people in need through the provision of food. The manager from Glasgow SW Foodbank says,

> *"We are just here to make sure people don't go hungry. We don't want to be this big, huge organization, that's not what we are about at all."* [Manager, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

The manager from Anniesland Storehouse says,

> *"And we have had offshoots, other stuff, we had a Wednesday opening, we had drop-in cafes, we've done things for advice centres. But the reality, we worked out, [is] there are people much better at all these things than we were. We were good at being a food bank, so that is what we are doing."* [Manager. Anniesland Storehouse]

BHSG and Centrestage provided more extensive food services including fruit and veg retail, cooking groups, and regular food provision however they also exhibited

high compatibility due to the alignment in goals. This alignment in the goals of the different services was further emphasised by the encouragement for service users to engage in the wider suite of services of the organizations. Where possible and appropriate these organizations created an overlap between services. For example, people visiting the fruit and veg shop at BHSG or the touring bus sessions by Centrestage were encouraged to attend cooking groups and engage with the wider suite of services. Therefore, the wider suite of services reinforced each other.

Figure 6-2 highlights a small distinction regarding the organizations depicted in purple and green regarding the centrality of the multiple logics. The purple community food providers demonstrate higher centrality than those depicted in green. The rationale for this is that those that instantiate logics of the State, being tackling health inequalities and extending State support, foreground this in their operations. They therefore experience higher centrality than those that instantiate religion who, as discussed in the previous section (section 6.2.6), don't operationalise this in their interactions with service users. This creates a front that suggests the religion order is slightly less valid than that of the State even though the religion order is integral to the internal operations of the organizations.

Aligned - high compatibility, high(er) centrality

Figure 6-2 shows four of the community food providers are aligned, with high compatibility and high(er) centrality, relative to the purple and green group. These organizations are depicted in blue (Kaleyard, Küche, Launch and Unity Grill). The blue organizations all instantiate logics of four of the orders: community, family, market, and State. The key difference between this group and the green and purple group is the instantiation of logics of the market order.

For the blue organizations, high centrality remained with the inclusion of logics of the market order. The logics of the market order were as equally valid as the logics of the other orders. This was based on the fundamental rationale that the more profit-making sales made, the more funds available to further the social aims akin with the other orders. Therefore, these organizations have no reticence or tensions around their sales activities. For example, the manager of Launch happily states their intention to maximise trading, linking this directly to the ability to do more socially driven work,

> *"So, the more profit we make the more trucks we can get, the more kids we can feed."* [Founder and Manager, Launch Foods]

A further benefit of making a profit was suggested by the manager of Kaleyard who planned to use the income generated by the commercial cooking classes to pay for tutors to lead these classes. This allows them to focus on the free community classes.

"I am planning on hiring one or two free-lance teachers who can come and teach some of our classes. So, if they come and teach, say we do four commercial classes, if they can do one or two and I can do one or two so we can focus like that. I'd like to stay with teaching the kids, I quite enjoy that part. And I'd like to stay with teaching some of the community classes because I think that is my pet project and I am quite happy doing that. I might throw that out to other people as time goes by, but right now, for me, that is what I would like to focus on first. I am happy to pay people to work on the commercial [classes]." [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

The managers of these organizations see real benefits both personally and for service users, bestowing the logics of the market order with high centrality.

Compatibility of logics was also high, with each reinforcing the other. Küche directly integrated logics of the market with State informed logics around supporting priority groups. They did this through the integration of these logics in who was employed as part of their catering enterprise (Litrico and Besharov, 2019).

"And then alongside that, in terms of making an income, [it] is multicultural catering. I don't really like the word catering. I am still trying to work out what I want to call it, but actually it is just catering. And that is really useful in terms of the business, making an income. It's useful for making income and also the social side we can give, we work with four cooks regularly, from Syria, Algeria, Nigeria and Eritrea and it means they are getting relatively regular income. So that's the social part of the catering as well." [Founder and Manager, Küche]

The organizations also ensured compatibility by using the market-driven activities as an opportunity to practice or promote engagement with the logics of the other orders. These organizations use the market-driven activities as an opportunity to share wider social messages around food poverty and social isolation, as well as other messages around using local produce, knowing the origins of produce, reducing food waste, cutting down on plastics, and cultural diversity. They are therefore indirectly infusing social values into the services primarily informed by the market order. For example, having a physical restaurant space allows Unity Grill to share subtle messages around food poverty. The founder talks of the *"hints around the place"* that suggest the restaurant is doing something slightly different, such as the tagline '*Eat well, do good'*. Launch has large billboards in the windows of the coffee shop stating,

"Kids in our city will go hungry tonight through no fault of their own. 1 in 4 of our kids are living in poverty. How do you feel about that?"

Aligned - median compatibility, low(er) centrality

Figure 6-2 shows two of the community food providers are aligned, with median compatibility and low(er) centrality, relative to the other three groups. These organizations are depicted in red (Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP). Like the blue group, these two organizations instantiate logics of four of the orders: community, family, market, and State. However, the degree of centrality and compatibility of these multiple logics is lower than the other organizations. This lower centrality and compatibility were primarily driven by the logics of the market order.

For Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP the logics of the market order were given less validity and relevance, compared to the logics of the other orders. The lower centrality was evidenced by perceptions of the level of profit-making sales activities that they deemed legitimate for their organization. For Edinburgh Community Food this manifested in a perceived limit on the proportion of activities that were income-generating compared to not. The manager of Edinburgh Community Food discusses how the corporate sales of the 'take and make' meal packs are growing and says,

> *"We've got to watch that it doesn't take over and we just end up being a sales thing."* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

For LCFHP, these limits manifested in clear geographical boundaries as to where they provided services, rendering more affluent communities an inappropriate target group for their activities. The manager of LCFHP discusses the possibility of cooking classes that people pay to attend.

> *"Theoretically you could maybe have something down the line that would be your own cook school… whether you could do that in a village like Bargeddie – I'm not sure that would be sustainable. Whereas you could maybe do it in Milngavie – somewhere that is more affluent, you might be able to do an artisan bread making course. But, first of all we are a charity because we are helping to address health inequalities, and can you do that if you are making artisan bread for the worried well that don't particularly need it? There's a fine balance ethically between what you are doing."* [Manager (b) LCFHP]

These quotes not only highlight the lower centrality but also evidence lower compatibility. They highlight the tensions between logics of the market order and the other orders, manifesting in an almost self-imposed limit on the proportion of sales-based services. These organizations perceive that profiting from sales may undermine the social nature of the services. To protect themselves from the associated mission drift and potential erosion of the original aims of the organizations they impose these limits (Cornforth, 2014, Ebrahim et al., 2014, Henderson, 2018, Seanor, 2013).

However, despite this lower centrality and compatibility the organizations are still 'aligned'. This is due to retention of some compatibility between the logics of the different orders. The logics of the market order inform both Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP in the sales of healthy food. This product still reinforces some of their social aims (Litrico and Besharov, 2019). For Edinburgh Community Food retailing at the 'community price' allows them to achieve socially driven aims of providing affordable, healthy food to low-income communities. Retailing the same products to private and commercial customers allows them to generate income but also retains health focussed aims, albeit to a different target market. The manager describes them as being lucky because their revenue-generating activities align with their underlying health improvement aims. They say,

> *"It's very much part of the charity and because a lot of what we do, even on the enterprise side, is looked upon as still [meeting] our charitable aims. Cause it's about healthy eating, the healthy messages and all the rest of it."*
> [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

Although the organization has considered other social enterprise activities, unrelated to food the manager worries that this would take a lot of time and resource and might *"just become a millstone"*. Other enterprise activities would not share the same high level of compatibility that trading in healthy food offers. This dual purpose of the sales helps Edinburgh Community Food to manage some of the tension they experience around the logics of the market order.

Similarly, LCFHP's trading with public sector organizations complements their health improvement mission by serving a key population group. The contract with the local council includes the provision of fruit and vegetables to the local nurseries and delivery of cooking and healthy eating classes and training with the staff, parents, and children of the nurseries. Access to these sites, through the trading contract, allowed LCFHP to run *"134 classes"* a year with a key target population group, therefore contributing to their overall social aim. The partnership with the public sector has, arguably, enabled LCFHP to achieve an outcome that they may not have achieved without the partnership (Bryson et al., 2015, Cairns and Harris, 2011).

Therefore, despite the verbalised tensions with the logics of the market order both LCFHP and Edinburgh Community Food remain 'aligned' organizations for two reasons. Firstly, the products they sell are the loci of integration of the logics of the different orders (Litrico and Besharov, 2019). Secondly, they limit the proportion of the organization's activities informed by the logics of the market order. These strategies ensured a consistent organizational identity (Battilana and Dorado, 2010) and sometimes provided an in-road to further their more core social aims. They seem to take a pragmatic approach to the logics of the market.

Data from LCFHP also showed that they flex the proportion of their activities that are informed by the different orders according to circumstances at the time and the level of need in the community. One interviewee discusses a time when the for-profit trading activities of the organization were increasing, which they described as them getting *"far more in-depth"*. This triggered a board decision, in 2013, to "*set up the trading company to do all the trading*". Accordingly, they set up Lanarkshire Community Food Trading Limited. However, since its inception, the trading company has been dormant. The manager says,

> *"Since then, the level of extreme food poverty in Scotland, in Lanarkshire in particular has got so high that that equilibrium has balanced itself out again."* [Manager (b), LCFHP]

This suggests a dynamic and fluid approach to the balancing of multiple logics. LCFHP scaled back the market-informed logic of internal revenue generation when the need for the services rooted in the other orders was high. This aligns with Gümüsay et al. (2020) who highlight the temporality of institutional logics. LCFHP use this temporality to minimise the conflict between the logics of the different orders, relegating the market order to a less central position as and when required.

Looking across all the organizations shows, therefore, as Besharov and Smith (2014) suggest, a range of instantiations of the multiple logics. Despite these differences, the implications for the organization are relatively similar, in that they all aligned, albeit to different extents. Data also showed different techniques organizations employed to manage potential threats to this alignment.

6.3.2 Managing threats to alignment

Data showed that organizations managed threats to the alignment of multiple logics in different ways. Data suggested the main threat came from partnerships, or potential partnerships with other organizations. To manage the threat some organizations use temporary acceptance whilst others avoid the conflict.

Both Drumchapel Food Bank and Glasgow SE Foodbank spoke of times when they felt the stipulations of their funding slightly compromised the logics of the family order. Drumchapel Food Bank originally operated on a referrals-only basis due to that being a requirement of the funding they had received.

> *"We used to have to have referrals from a third party due to the funding that we had at that time we were restricted, people had to come through an agency."* [Manager, Drumchapel Food Bank]

However, once they reached the end of that particular grant they changed to allow self-referrals as well. Similarly, Glasgow SE Foodbank secured £5,000 funding from a national energy provider, and in partnership with them, now offer prepayment meter top-ups. The funding stipulates that Glasgow SE Foodbank must adhere to the

criteria for distribution set by the energy provider: clients must live in the clearly defined geographical boundary and they must have a referral for food. However, these additional criteria were problematic to enforce. The manager from Glasgow SE Foodbank says,

> *"It has probably been, as well as being extremely useful to the service users, it has been the biggest cause of problems for us from the point of view of aggression to staff from service users when you are saying no. As we limit the number and you need to be needing the food."* [Manager, Glasgow SE Foodbank]

By adding in an additional level of entitlement criteria the organizations were slightly compromising their core logic on providing care to people and meeting a basic need. Meeting the stipulations of funders brought in slightly adapted logics and norms (Cairns and Harris, 2011, Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld, 2001, Knutsen, 2012). However, this compromise was not to the extent that it significantly jeopardised the core logics, rather it presented a slight shift away from the logics of the family order that, in the purest form, would offer unconditional support. Part of what made this shift tolerable was the temporality of the arrangements and, in the case of Glasgow SE Foodbank, the benefit to service users.

In contrast, other organizations strategically avoided partnering with organizations that they felt disrupted the alignment of the multiple logics. Data from Kaleyard and Launch showed active avoidance of partnerships that they felt compromised the honesty, simplicity, and efficiency imbued in the logics of the market and the community order. The founder of Kaleyard wanted to be able to work *"on her own terms"* and would choose not to work with,

> *"Anywhere where I feel there is a little bit of red tape or a little bit of bureaucracy or a little bit of hypocrisy happening".* [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

Due to their aim to feed hungry children the founder of Launch initially intended to work with the Education Department. However, they said,

> *"So, I spent a lot of time with education, trying to knock down their door, education board, telling them that we can feed kids. And the headteachers were all saying, 'come on in', opening the gates. But when it got to the Education Board, for whatever reason, it all slowed down…. So, in the meantime, as I waited on the education board, I was getting a wee bit frustrated because all I thought was 'every day that passes we could be feeding hundreds of kids'. And someone introduced me to a charity called Achieve More Scotland."* [Founder and Manager, Launch Foods]

Following this introduction Launch started to distribute meals at the after-school clubs run by Achieve More Scotland. Whilst the founder saw value in working with statutory bodies their early experience of dealing with them led to their perception of slow, bureaucratic processes that could delay their mission. Both these interviewees, therefore, valued their simple and efficient organizational models and therefore avoided the input of more hierarchical and bureaucratic organizations that might have suppressed their more progressive agendas (Milbourne, 2013).

6.4   Summative discussion

This chapter explored community food providers through the lens of institutional logics, drawing on definitions of logics as systems of cultural elements by which people and organizations organise time and space, and make sense of and evaluate their everyday activities (Haveman and Gualtiere, 2017, Thornton et al., 2012). The data highlighted that, collectively, the organizations instantiated the logics of five of the seven orders: community, family, market, religion, and State. Doing so concurred with earlier literature that suggests logic multiplicity prevails to some degree in all fields (Ocasio and Radoynovska, 2016).

Alongside this evidence of logic multiplicity, the chapter corroborates with earlier literature that identities the market, the State, and community as key institutional orders in the non-profit sector (Knutsen, 2012, McMullin and Skelcher, 2018, Skelcher and Smith, 2015, Smith, 2014, Vickers et al., 2017). However, the chapter also responds to the calls to move beyond these three dominant orders (Greenwood et al., 2009, Knutsen, 2012) and highlights that both the religion and family order occupy a fundamental position in informing some third sector organizations. The evidence of these orders in community food providers may be a result of the inherent connection of food with the family unit (Charles and Kerr, 1988, Miller, 1998, Wills and O'Connell, 2018) and the role of religiously based non-profits in providing food aid and meeting wider societal needs (Cloke et al., 2016, Denning, 2019, Flanigan, 2007, Power et al., 2017). Applying institutional logics in this setting has therefore contributed by re-highlighting the omission of the logics of these two orders. The accompanying exploration of the logics has extended the existing limited scholarship on logics of the family order through its application in a more novel setting, other than the family firm (Salvato et al., 2019), and further adds to remedying of the "blind spot" of religion in the institutional logics literature (Tracey et al., 2014).

The evidence presented here also responds to calls to look beyond logic multiplicity as homogenous, by exploring the extent to which the organizations embodied multiple logics, as opposed to simply identifying whether they embody multiple logics or not (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Across the 16 organizations, four clusters emerged, each group exhibiting different degrees of logic centrality and compatibility, therefore evidencing a wide range of ways in which organizations

embody multiple logics (Greenwood et al., 2011, Skelcher and Smith, 2015). Compatibility across the logics emanating from the community, family, religion, and State orders was high, grounded in an overall aim to support people in need. Friedland and Alford (1991) assert that while society consists of distinct orders, the logics of these orders often overlap. Community food providers exemplify this overlap and suggest where there is overlap the compatibility of the logics can be high.

The categorisation of all 16 organizations as aligned organizations (Besharov and Smith, 2014) provides further evidence of the embodying of two or more logics in a relatively peaceful and compatible fashion (Haveman and Rao, 1997, Mars and Lounsbury, 2008, McPherson and Sauder, 2013, Rao et al., 2003). This contrasts with the presentation of multiplicity as confronting organizations with "*incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics*" (Greenwood et al., 2011 pg. 318). This is particularly illuminating given the inclusion of the social enterprise organizations that balance both social and market logics (Doherty et al., 2014). These logics depart from the values and ideology historically associated with third sector organizations (Battilana and Lee, 2014). For four of the six organizations, the logics of the market order exhibited high centrality and compatibility with the logics of the other orders. Two organizations exhibited more contestation towards the market logics but not to an extent that led to incompatibility. The utilisation of Litrico and Besharov's (2019) framework highlighted that integration of the logics in the product sold helped these two organizations to manage the tensions, providing a further strong empirical example of the utility of their framework.

These discussions also add to the existing hybridity literature. As noted in section 3.2.1 Battilana et al. (2017) group the hybridity literature into three themes: one emphasising hybrid organization identities, the second focusing on hybrids as distinct forms, and the third conceptualising hybrids as the combination of multiple societal level rationales or logics. Utilising this last approach, this study perhaps adds further credence to Brandsen et al's (2005) assertion that hybridity is an inevitable and permanent characteristic of the non-profit sector.

A further useful insight from this study is the different organizational responses to logics resulting from interactions with other organizations and meeting the stipulations of funders (Cairns and Harris, 2011, Galaskiewicz and Bielefeld, 2001, Knutsen, 2012). Some organizations pragmatically accept minor adaptations to their core logic, others were able to use the additional logics to the benefit of the users of their services, and others strategically avoid any partnerships that they feel significantly compromise the alignment of their logics. This data illuminates a range of responses to the potential introduction of new or adapted logics through interactions and involvement with other organizations.

7   Community food providers: agency for change

7.1   Introduction

Having explored the 'what', 'how', and 'why' of community food providers the last findings chapter turns attention to their role in the institutional change required to address food poverty in the UK. It uses the lens of institutional work which, as discussed in section 3.4.2, is one means for institutional change (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). The form of institutional work that is currently discussed in literature on community food providers is advocacy although this scholarship is limited. Some early scholarship suggests that community food providers do not tend to participate in advocacy activities (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Dowler and O'Connor, 2012). However, more recent discussions have highlighted that, whilst the focus of grassroots community food providers is on day-to-day service provision, many also value an opportunity to reflect on wider issues of food insecurity and have some appetite for collective advocacy (Macleod, 2015, Marshall and Cook, 2020). This is reflective of a wider body of literature that recognises that third sector organizations can play an important role in addressing social welfare needs through both service provision and creating social change to meet the needs of service users and local communities (Anheier, 2009, Powell, 2007, Shier and Handy, 2015).

Lawrence et al. (2013 pg. 1029) note a distinction between "*research that focusses on connections between institutional work and institutional outcomes, and research that focuses on the work itself*". Much of the existing literature takes the first approach, providing retrospective accounts of work that has led to change. In contrast, this chapter takes the second approach, focusing on the current, everyday work of the organizations, not seeking to find a definitive answer as to whether institutional change has occurred (Zvolska et al., 2019). This approach is advantageous as it captures the "*messy, day-to-day practices*" that individuals engage in that are often missed from retrospective accounts of what occurred before the institutional change (Lawrence et al., 2013 pg. 1029). It also allows researchers to capture institutional work without the requirement for the efforts to be successful (Lawrence et al., 2009) and recognises that actors may not always be able to forecast the future consequences of their present action despite what their intentions may be (Ferraro et al., 2015).

7.2   Target for change

Identifying the target of the necessary social change is the first step in exploring the extent to which the organizations are involved in this change.

In line with the literature discussed in Chapter 2 (sections 2.2 and 2.6), interviewees commonly diagnosed food poverty as symptomatic of wider structural inequalities (Garthwaite et al., 2015). They, therefore, located the required change at the macro level. The food coordinator at Castlemilk Church talks about a need for "*bigger,*

more monolithic change" to underlying inequalities, a "*massive shift needed in how we support folk*". The manager at Anniesland Storehouse talks about a need for "*drastic changes in the political climate*" as well as discussing the prevailing inequalities, inequity, and injustice. The founder of Kaleyard describes the problem of an unjust food system as "*a massive problem that ranges from social to political to financial*". Introduction of the right to work for asylum seekers is the only way that the interviewee from Govan Community Project can imagine that their clients would no longer need support from the food bank. The manager of Drumchapel Food Bank discusses how food poverty is not just a "*lack of food or money*" and talks about inequality more explicitly:

> "*There is always going to be a divide, you know, whether that be a class divide or whatever and that is where these things come from. So, unless there is some radical political change and a redistribution of wealth there is always going to be things [food banks] like this.*" [Manager, Drumchapel Food Bank]

As well as these broad structural observations, interviewees from organizations providing emergency food aid also discussed more specific reasons for clients needing support. The interviewee from Castlemilk Church thinks the introduction of Universal Credit is "*making things harder for folk*" and asserts this needs to be reconsidered by the Government. The manager of Bo'ness Storehouse feels that the sanctioning processes are a major reason people need to use food banks.

> "*But the sanction system is brutal. The way that it is done*" "*It is crazy. But that is the way it is working.*" [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

Associated solutions were, therefore, most often situated in the welfare system such as "*changes to Universal Credit*" or "*better processes at the DWP*". This data echoes a growing body of previous research that evidences the main drivers of food bank use to be benefit sanctions and delays and low paid, insecure work (Garthwaite, 2016a, Lambie-Mumford and Dowler, 2014, Loopstra et al., 2018a, MacLeod et al., 2019, Perry et al., 2014). Accordingly, most data suggested a staunch rejection of food poverty as a failing of the individual, concurring with other literature that refutes suggestions that food poverty is the result of individual behaviours and poor financial management (Garthwaite, 2017, Glaze and Richardson, 2017, Wells and Caraher, 2014).

Garrow and Hasenfeld (2012) suggest the practice frame of an organization impacts their change-driven advocacy. A practice frame is a construction of the client's problems, the causes or diagnosis of the problems, the desired outcomes, and the means to attain them (Hasenfeld, 2000). The authors identify three practice frames: individual practice, services access, and structural change. The desired outcome of change situated in each of these frames differs. The desired outcome of change in the

individual practice frame is improved adaptive behaviour, in the services access frame it is increased access to services, and in the structural change frame it is a reduction in inequality. Therefore, the individual practice frame emphasizes individual change, whilst the services and structural frames shift blame, at least in part, from the individual to the environment. Organizations based in the latter two frames are therefore more likely to engage in social benefit advocacy. Given the data detailed above on the organization's diagnosis of the food poverty problem the community food providers are located in a services access and structural access frame. This means change is targeted at the institutional environment, extending the social rights of an entire vulnerable population (Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2012).

With this siting of the required change, this chapter now continues with an exploration of the institutional work that the organizations undertake, evidencing three forms of advocacy. These three forms are political advocacy, advocacy for public opinion, and everyday advocacy. These three forms encompass both advocacy for service users and, to a lesser extent, advocacy for the organization.

7.3   Political advocacy

Much of the existing literature on the social change activities of third sector organizations investigates political advocacy (Shier and Handy, 2015). Accordingly, definitions of advocacy in the third sector literature encompass a wide range of activities in the political arena, including attempts to change policies or influence the decisions of elite government, facilitation of civic participation, giving voice to citizens, and resisting detrimental social change (Almog-Bar and Schmid, 2013). Data showed that the extent to which the community food providers engaged in political advocacy differed. Those that engaged in political advocacy did so in three ways: calling for policy change, influencing policymakers through established relations, and providing data.

7.3.1   Calling for policy change

Data evidenced that some organizations actively called for policy change although this form of political advocacy was more common in the meso level organizations (discussed in section 5.9). Organizations targeted these calls at both specific policies or more general social policies.

The Trussell Trust[5] and IFAN were making calls for changes to specific policies at the time of data collection. The Trussell Trust was leading a campaign around the 'five-week wait' highlighting that people must wait five weeks before receiving the

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[5] This refers to the Trussell Trust charity which supports the network of food banks rather than the individual food banks themselves.

first payment of Universal Credit. IFAN was involved in a campaign calling for systematic measurement of food insecurity in the UK.

As well as these specific policy asks, IFAN and the Trussell Trust make more generally targeted calls for social change. These calls centre on the need to change the conditions that lead to people requiring food aid by ensuring people have an adequate income to achieve a minimum socially acceptable living standard (Davis et al., 2020). The calls were commonly framed in a vision for a future where there was not a need for food banks and emergency food aid. IFAN website states:

> *"Our vision is of a country without the need for emergency food aid and in which good food is accessible to all." IFAN website [Accessed Dec 3, 2020]*

The types of activities that IFAN participate in to make these policy calls include contributing to open letters to the Government, engaging with the media, contributing public comment, encouraging members to sign relevant petitions, and having a strong social media presence (Bloodgood, 2011, Buffardi et al., 2017). All these actions have an underpinning message calling for an end to food banks through income-based solutions to poverty. The Trussell Trust also regularly voices its dissatisfaction at, firstly, their existence and, secondly, the need for an adequate household income. Social media messages state, "*we do not want to be part of the welfare state, we can't be a part of the system*" and "*No charity can replace the dignity of having enough money to buy your own food*" (Twitter, 26th April 2019).

Individual food banks that are part of these networks also replicate these messages. The financial statements ending March 2018 of Glasgow SW Foodbank, a member of the Trussell Trust network, include the aim,

> "*to be associated with campaigns and other actions to alleviate and end food poverty*"

This evidences an appetite to support these campaigns led by the meso level organizations. Glasgow SW Foodbank also uses their social media to regularly voice their dissatisfaction at having to exist. The Board of Trustees largely undertakes this role through their social media.

> "*We are open "as usual" on Good Friday and Easter Monday. Nothing "usual" about a foodbank in a rich country*" [Twitter, 19.04.2019]
>
> "*To all politicians, left, right and centre, please get serious about tackling severe poverty. My politics are of the left. But putting those with least first is not an issue that should be about right or left. There are ways of thinking about poverty on the right as well as the left that can help in this fight. And once you've put those with least at the centre of your politics, do the hard and realistic thinking you need to stop them from breaking. And ultimately, to stop them from needing to come to us.*" [Facebook, 21.12.2018]

The messaging is therefore operating at two levels. Meso level organizations can communicate messages on a national scale. Both IFAN and Trussell Trust comprise a large network of organizations and are therefore utilising the symbolic capital this confers, and their visibility in the media to highlight the incapability of current institutional arrangements to effectively address food poverty (Greenspan, 2013, Tracey et al., 2011, Wells and Caraher, 2014). The individual food banks are replicating these messages at a more local level. The grassroots organizations can make these calls with a legitimate voice, as they have the experience of delivering the service.

As well as their direct calls for policy change the meso level organizations played a wider role in enabling political advocacy at the grassroots level, and they did so in a variety of ways. The data highlighted three ways this enablement happened: being the voice, encouraging a voice, giving a voice.

Firstly, meso level organizations commonly were the voice of the calls for policy change. IFAN had this role due to recognition that a shortage of time or resources can prevent grassroots organizations from undertaking advocacy (Clear et al., 2018).

> "*The problem is how to prioritise the campaigning work and one of the reasons that IFAN is so important as one of the jigsaw pieces is that the food bank managers and workers and volunteers simply do not have the time to do the campaigning that would eradicate the need for the food banks in the first place. I remember very well my friend working at the food bank articulate that and I've heard it again and again and again, 'we'd love to have more time to [campaign]' and that's why people, often independent food banks and other food aid providers, really welcome IFAN's existence to be there as that voice. To do the campaigning while there isn't the time because the need was growing so rapidly, desperately.*" [Co-ordinator, IFAN]

Similarly, the Trussell Trust brings together the experiences of the foodbanks in the network and unites these to make calls for policy change. Their website states:

> "*That's why we bring together the experiences of food banks in our network to challenge the structural economic issues that lock people in poverty, and campaign to end the need for food banks in the UK.*" [Trussell Trust website, 2009]

Secondly, meso level organizations encouraged the grassroots organizations to make calls for policy change. CFHS facilitated grassroots political advocacy but did so in a less directive way than IFAN. Whilst CFHS is not a formal membership network they communicate regularly with the grassroots organizations through networking events, e-bulleting, newsletters, and social media and very much encourage open and two-way communication. By highlighting relevant policy and encouraging

organizations to respond they create a conduit between policy and grassroots organizations. One interviewee from CFHS discusses this work,

> *"We try to share what's going on. So rather than saying, here's a policy, isn't it terrible, we say here's a policy and you really should read it, you really should give your views on it. But we're not going to tell you what your views should be. No public bodies should be telling people what to think but they certainly should be raising concerns and our concern is that communities have a voice and that goes beyond just the delivery of community food initiatives but also why they have to have them in the first place."*
> [Programme Lead, CFHS]

Thirdly, meso level organizations may give a voice to grassroots organizations through their facilitation of networks. This may be through formal membership as in IFAN and Trussell Trust or more informally through the networking facilitated by CFHS. Previous literature highlights that participation in networks can increase agency for change. Building connections between the network members may increase their involvement in advocacy, either through increased direct individual action or through the coalition (Beaton et al., 2021, Leroux and Goerdel, 2009). Such coalitions can potentially be more persuasive than individual advocates and have greater access to government officials (Fyall, 2016). Furthermore, the collective identity may increase the legitimacy and status of each of the independent organizations (Deephouse and Suchman, 2008).

7.3.2   'Influencing' relationships/ advising policymakers

Rather than these explicit calls for policy change, the data showed that other community food providers sought to influence policy through building relationships with policymakers.

LCFHP had forged good relations with the local council, originating from the contract to supply fruit and vegetables to local nurseries. Building on this relationship they have subsequently been involved in the planning, design, and delivery of two high profile, council-led interventions on food poverty. Firstly, they were members of the steering group that developed the 'food poverty referral pathway'. This referral pathway seeks to divert people away from food banks towards cash-based solutions instead and was a collaborative piece of work involving LCFHP, the council, local food banks, referral agencies, and the financial inclusion team. A large reduction in the numbers of people using food banks in the local area followed.

> "*And in the last year, food bank usage has gone down 22% in North Lanarkshire whereas the rest of the country has been going up. So, the*

referral pathway has been really successful and we are all still working to try and keep these processes working" [Manager (b), LCFHP]

More recently they partnered with the council to deliver an intervention to tackle 'holiday hunger', a term that describes the loss of access to free school meals during school holidays. Holiday hunger was a topical and high-profile issue at the time of data collection. The intervention, 'Club 365', provides free sessions in 23 venues throughout the region during all school holidays, providing a hot lunch, multi-sports games, and activities (North Lanarkshire Council, 2019). The manager of LCFHP discusses how the format of the intervention was based on one of their earlier projects. Referring to the Club 365 project they say it,

"*came from the dissemination of the Make Move Munch information – that's catalysed this thought process.*" [Manager (b), LCFHP]

LCFHP was therefore able to influence the design of these interventions through having a position on the steering group and by providing insight into previous successful approaches that the council could transfer to other settings. This then bestowed them with more symbolic and cultural capital to spread this influence (Bourdieu, 1990). Following the success of the food poverty referral pathways LCFHP have been,

"*sharing our learning big time about the referral pathways*" [Manager (b), LCFHP]

LCFHPs work at the grassroots in the local community has allowed them to participate in policy and programme discussions as a legitimate expert, with authentic expertise and knowledge (Bourdieu, 1990, Dalrymple, 2004, Grundy and Smith, 2007, Onyx et al., 2010). In both cases they utilised an insider, cooperative tactical position, engaging in conversation and negotiations (Clear et al., 2018). An almost cyclical process of legitimacy enhancement has allowed the organization to extend the scope of their influence, legitimating themselves as actors who were competent to comment on food poverty interventions (Tracey et al., 2011). The manager reflects on this influence,

"*We're part of the cross-party group on food. So, we're involved in a lot of national campaigns and whatever as well, trying to input our learnings into these organizations as well. So, fingers crossed we'll leave a wee footprint. And we do get listened to. I think we are one of the bigger third sector organizations on that front.*" [Manager (b), LCFHP]

The manager of Edinburgh Community Food also sought to form and build relationships with key people and organizations. They talk of strategically planned actions to build and foster a positive working relationship with local policymakers. They say,

"The previous chair of Edible Edinburgh was a councillor, she left, and a new councillor came on. And I thought I am going to nurture this guy because I think this can work for us. So, the Sustainable Food Cities conference, he and a policy officer from the council were going to it, so I went. And I used the time to get involved. And he is now talking about Edinburgh Community Food as the go-to organization for community food work in the city. And so it should be. But it is good hearing that coming from a politician." [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

This deliberate use of an opportunity to build relationships with key people has raised the profile of the organization, putting them at the forefront of the sector. This allows the organization access and input to local policy decisions. The manager says,

"First of all, in an Edinburgh context, without doubt, [the fact] that one of the priorities is healthy eating is because of the work that we have done. That is without a doubt. And, previously, [in] the health inequalities framework, Edinburgh Community Food was one of the organizations that was alongside actions within that. Which was a local authority, NHS joint document. So, I would argue that wouldn't have happened if this organization hadn't done what it had done." [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

As well as these examples of direct policy influence building relations, as a form of advocacy, also allows conversations that encourage people to think about the issue of food poverty and potentially challenge the status quo. One interviewee from CFHS discusses how building these relationships then allows organizations to present the case for change.

"It is more about that thing about building the relationship, to understand the issue. To be able to communicate 'these are the issues, this is why they are important, these are the reasons you need to think about this.' Having that two-way communication." [Development Officer, CFHS]

These conversations need not necessarily be with policymakers but with other respected organizations that can unite to form a collective voice. Reflecting on their input to policy one interviewee from BHSG said,

"We do connect with the wider organizations of policy making in the neighbourhood. We get funds from the NHS, the city council, or other funders. So, we do connect with that, join the dots, for example, the GPs working with the voluntary sector. Those type of connections, [are] not necessarily political but [they] can be quite a mover and shaker overall. Once they have the strength of that put together, they can make good choices and decisions, question things more." [Co-ordinator, BHSG]

Grassroots organizations can have these conversations due to their on-the-ground experience. Referring to the ceased emergency food provision project (section 5.6.1) the manager of LCFHP felt the organization could now credibly challenge the need for emergency food aid and call for changes to the root causes of need. They say,

> "*I can, at least from a point that I've tried something, engage in conversation whereas if I didn't do anything and said, 'no that [charitable emergency food aid] is wrong', I'd feel awkward engaging*" [Manager (a), LCFHP]

With this first-hand experience, LCFHP can legitimately have challenging conversations. The organization has, effectively, earned its seat at the table, acquiring cultural capital through its on-the-ground experience (Bourdieu, 1986, Dalrymple, 2004).

Data provided evidence of an additional form of advocacy stemming from relationships with policymakers. This advocacy was for the interests of the organization, as opposed to the interests of the service users. This distinction is often omitted from existing literature (Fyall and McGuire, 2014, Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2012). Edinburgh Community Food has maintained good relationships with influential organizations that have allowed them to secure funding for the sector and to influence the direction of policy in a way that allows them to play a role in achieving policy outcomes. Their ongoing engagement with key policymakers and influencers has led to community food coming *"up the agenda"* [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

> *"I was very keen for us to work very closely with Community Food and Health Scotland and alongside the Government from time to time. So, we have built up a relationship there, so we've always kept that going. They [CFHS] come to us asking for support and help with things that they are doing. And the work that we did, jointly, to get the money, the Scottish Government money, into the community food sector was through that partnership working, putting community food work on the map. Getting it into the obesity strategy, that sort of stuff. We have had a part to play in that."*
> [Manager, Edinburgh Community Food]

Whilst this has clear benefits for Edinburgh Community Food the impact of this advocacy can also extend to other community food organizations in two ways: firstly, highlighting the sector as worthy of funding and, secondly, influencing policy in a way that means the activities of the sector can achieve the policy outcomes. Both these outcomes should increase the funding available to the sector and whilst this immediately benefits the organization it also ensures clients can continue to benefit from the services (Almog-Bar and Schmid, 2013, Coule and Patmore, 2013, Fyall and McGuire, 2014, Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2012). This also shows the organizations have agency to construct the environment to which the organization then conforms,

Edinburgh Community Food has been active in creating and defining institutional demands, shaping the policy context to which they can then respond (Macmillan and Ellis Paine, 2020, Scheid-Cook, 1992).

7.3.3   Collecting and providing data

Data highlighted the final form of political advocacy to be collecting and providing data. Many of the organizations embraced all opportunities to provide data and insight to Government and local councils.

One means of sharing this data was through formal requests from local councils. At the time of data collection, Glasgow City Council launched a 'Food Inequality Enquiry', asking many of the interviewed organizations to participate. The enquiry sought views and evidence of,

> "*The scale of food inequality in the city. What steps we can take to prevent food inequality. How we make best use of existing services and approaches. What the city can do to invest in longer-term sustainable solutions*" [email sent to organizations from city council community engagement officer, 3ʳᵈ Oct 2018]

Referring to this opportunity the interviewee from Govan Community Project said, "*we'll be submitting to make sure the asylum seeker/refugee situation is accounted for*" and the manager of Drumchapel Food Bank commented, "*That was good to know that they were interested to hear from us.*"

Another way of providing data was through telling 'stories' to different audiences.

> "*I am in talks with local councillors, they come out to [the] project, and I tell them the stories of what is happening. And then they feed it back to Government.*" [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

> "*You can speak with councillors, and MSPs and MPs and you can just tell your story.*" [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

The interviewee from Centrestage identified the meso level organisation, CFHS, as playing a key role in converting the data collected at the grassroots into more specific evidence around policy change.

> "*We are out face-to-face with the community, so we report back to them [CFHS]. And they are analysing it all to see what, how can we change, how can we make things better for people, what is the reasoning for people. Is it the fact that it is addiction, is it financial, what is it that is making these people so, yeah that [data] is important.*" [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

By working at the grassroots, the community food providers can share their experiences of working with clients sharing what they observe to be the clients' needs and potential solutions (DeSantis, 2010). This sharing of data is done in

different ways. Firstly, through responding to formal requests for information, and secondly, providing more informal evidence to local influential figures and policymakers. These actions allow the grassroots community food providers to participate in a form of advocacy (Buffardi et al., 2017, Leech, 2006).

As well as these data collected by grassroots organizations IFAN undertook a specific piece of research to collect data on the food aid landscape. In 2017 IFAN undertook research to identify and map 'independent' food banks (i.e., those that are not part of the Trussell Trust network). Until this research, food bank data almost exclusively came from the Trussell Trust, therefore underestimating the number of food banks in the country and the number of food parcels that third sector organizations were distributing. IFAN's research identified that 40% of food banks operating in the UK are independent of the Trussell Trust, therefore highlighting that the extent of support that people sought from the third sector was much greater than previously documented.

The research was widely covered in the media with headlines such as '*Hundreds of 'hidden food banks' reveal true scale of food poverty in UK*' (Bulman, 2018) and '*Study reveals hundreds more food banks than previously recorded*' (Eichler, 2017). IFAN used the research as an advocacy tool to call for policy change (Berry and Arons, 2003 , Leech, 2006).

Alongside the data collected by the organization themselves, interviewees talked positively about the newly introduced measurement of food insecurity in Scotland and the UK (section 1.2.3), and the potential this had to instigate policy change. This was reflected in the seminar report distributed following the CFHS 'Understanding Food Insecurity in Scotland: Making sense of the data' event on the 4th of October. Referring to potential uses of the data on food insecurity prevalence the post-seminar report noted how such data had been collected and used in Canada.

> *"Longitudinal analysis of food insecurity data, and linking it to various survey and administrative data, has provided important evidence of the scale, drivers and impacts of food insecurity which have powerful policy messages."* [Event seminar report]

Similarly, one interviewee noted,

> *"And really recently the Bill was passed for measuring food security which I think is really, really important. Because now, if we get a true understanding of food insecurity and food poverty, if it's there in black and white then surely the Government can't run away from it this time."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

7.4   Advocacy for public opinion

As well as advocacy targeted at policymakers and other influential actors, advocacy can also include influencing public opinion and attitudes (Almog-Bar and Schmid, 2013, Fehsenfeld and Levinsen, 2019, Mosley, 2009b). Data highlighted this as the second form of advocacy by community food providers. The public rather than policymakers are the target of this advocacy. Mosley (2009a pg. 511) suggests such advocacy is undertaken,

> "*when organizations wish to change the way their service population is thought of in society at large (including elites) or when they desire to raise consciousness about the particular struggles their service population faces*".

These efforts can change public perceptions and invite people to be part of a larger conversation about how to improve the situation (Gates, 2014, Shier and Handy, 2015). Data highlighted that the community food providers undertook this form of advocacy, targeted at public opinion, in three ways: education campaigns, challenging othering, and challenging organizational stereotypes.

7.4.1   Education campaigns

Education campaigns may be one means of informing the public. Such education can include information on the issues that individuals are experiencing in their local community, the services the organization provides, and the reasons why clients need these services. Such campaigns can be formal and informal (Shier and Handy, 2015). The manager from Bo'ness Storehouse visits local schools to talk about the food bank, highlighting the circumstances that can lead to people requiring assistance. Following some of these education sessions in a local school, the school then chose to support the food bank. The school now regularly holds food collection drives and 'dress down' fundraiser days. These are used as a further opportunity to raise awareness of food poverty.

> "*Now this last week we have been quite busy, harvest festival time, they have been having harvest collections in the schools and giving it to us. But also, we have been going into the class to tell them where the food is going to go to, so the kids are learning about people who are in need in the town. Because a lot of people don't know what goes on and people's circumstances.*" [Manager, Bo'ness Storehouse]

Other organizations spoke of visiting local businesses to say thanks for donations and using this as an opportunity to highlight why food banks are needed and raise awareness of food poverty and its underlying causes.

There was also some evidence of more ad hoc attempts to educate people about the experiences of people using food banks. The interviewee from Glasgow SW

Foodbank talks of an exchange on Facebook in which they tried to challenge negative stereotypes.

> "*I don't know if you have looked at our Facebook, there was a comment about the need for us which had a reply about 'cut the drink, fags and mobiles' which is a recurring comment... I did try and counter it by saying 'have you been along to a food bank? Because that is not our experiences of people. Families, disabled, ex-service. I went on to his profile and realised he was ex-service, there are quite a few ex-service charities [that] hold our vouchers. So, I was, trying to get him on board.*" [Trustee, Glasgow SW Foodbank]

These types of outreach work can be a subtle form of advocacy (Hudson, 2002, Onyx et al., 2010). The interviewees hoped this would help people better understand the situations that can lead to food poverty, dispelling some of the common myths, moral judgements, and misconceptions that fuel the shame and embarrassment experienced when seeking food aid (Garthwaite, 2016b, Purdam et al., 2015, Wells and Caraher, 2014).

Whilst these two actions are a direct form of education, albeit delivered via different channels, other organizations took a more subtle approach to their advocacy targeted at the public. They did this by weaving the education in with other organizational activities. Drumchapel Food Bank pride itself on organising 'alternative' fundraising events that target population groups who may be less aware of the existence and causes of food poverty. For example, the manager describes organising 'club' nights in the city centre to target a younger or more affluent demographic. They feel this will help to make a wider group of people aware of the issue of food poverty. The staff at Unity Grill use informal conversations with customers to encourage critical thought about food poverty. The manager says,

> "*There is just little hints around the place, like our tagline, 'eat well, do good'. So, people are like 'we're not quite sure what this is but we know it is different'. And that gives us a chance to engage in a conversation about food poverty. Because I think, like I never lose that it is such a political issue. We will always challenge the stigma attached to it. And when people ask, the staff are now so well versed on what food poverty is and how to talk about it. And it is just a natural conversation and if that customer then leaves thinking a bit differently about what food poverty is and who's experiencing it then we have also done something about that as well.*" [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

In these cases, the community food providers embed the advocacy targeted at public opinion into the activities of the organizations, and although this was deliberate, from the public perspective it would appear to be more subtle and unforced.

7.4.2 Challenging othering

Alongside these direct and subtle education campaigns organizations also tried to influence public opinion, implicitly, in their day-to-day operations by challenging othering. Othering describes,

> *"how the 'non-poor' treat 'the poor' as different. It is a dualistic process of differentiation and demarcation that draws a line between 'us' and 'them', which establishes, maintains and justifies social distance"* (Lister, 2015 pg. 142).

Some of the organizations consciously but tacitly overcome this distance through their open and unqualified criteria for participation. In developing the weekly community meal at Castlemilk Church, the interviewee highlighted it as an opportunity for everybody to socialise and enjoy. They say,

> *"It has been something that the steering group, which is made up of people from the church, are aware of and would hope to, they would love it if more people from the Church came along even if they don't need it [the meal]. Establishing that thing that a community meal is a good thing to do even if you are not in the place of not having the food at home. So, I, we did a little bit of a pitch for that. I went along as part of one of the services. [Name removed], who is the minister here, we gave a little bit of an interview slash talk as part of the sermon about the community meals and we had a lunch afterwards that I cooked for. And that, some people came along as a result of that and that was really nice. But there is still other folk that could, and might in time, come along on a Friday night."* [Development worker, Castlemilk Church]

Similarly, Unity Grill offers the same restaurant experience to all customers, regardless of why they are there: there is no demarcation. The manager says,

> *"Everyone is treated exactly the same, whether they have a million pounds or nothing, they are treated exactly the same"*. [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The manager trains staff to be discrete, to ensure nobody feels like they do not belong in the restaurant. The manager says,

> *"Sometimes it might be obvious that people are here because they are in need. But, in my opinion, if customers can't accept that then that is their bad, not mine."* [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The manager at Unity Grill is prioritising the comfort of the in-need customers over any misplaced discomfort from others that arises from othering. There is no secondary or 'distinctly different' option for those experiencing food poverty

(Lambie-Mumford, 2015) but rather a fully inclusive service that everybody can enjoy.

7.4.3   Challenging organizational stereotypes

The third type of advocacy that was targeted at the general public was challenging organizational stereotypes. This advocacy was much less common, only being evidenced significantly by Unity Grill. Similar to the distinction described in the political advocacy section, this was advocacy for the benefit of the organization as opposed to the service users (Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2012).

Unlike political advocacy, advocacy for the organization was not predominantly for funding purposes but rather to influence public perception of the organization. The manager from Unity Grill cited the need for this form of advocacy. As there are not many social enterprises in the local area they say, "*people just can't get their head around*" Unity Grill being "*a restaurant that gives all its profits away*". The association with free meals had led to early depictions of the restaurant as a soup kitchen, with one newspaper article covering the opening of the restaurant with the tagline 'can't pay, wash the dishes instead'. The interviewee describes this as setting the tone that they "*were up against*". One clear manifestation of this occurred when Unity Grill encountered some resistance from neighbouring retailers who deemed their potential clientele to be undesirable.

> "*I guess all the shopkeepers, I don't know if you noticed but this is a really pretty wee street, cobblestones, lots of independents [shops]. So, we have had an uphill battle with them that we are going to bring the tone of the street down and we are going to have all the 'junkies' and the 'alkies' coming round.*" [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

These perceptions were largely driven by the existing food landscape in the town in which there was a divide between food businesses and organizations providing free food. Unity Grill defies this divide.

Being underpinned by different values and norms from the other restaurants in the area meant Unity Grill had to advocate for the organization and challenge stereotypical views about organizations providing food aid. This was needed to help observers make sense of the organization as it diverged from existing assumptions and beliefs about both non-profit and for-profit organizations (Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006, Tracey et al., 2011). To do this, Unity Grill mimicked the attractive aesthetics and the high-quality menus of other restaurants. As cited earlier the manager says,

> "*I hope you will think it is a beautiful space and it looks just like any other restaurant.*" [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

This, and the success of the restaurant have all helped to overcome the preconceived notions around the organization.

> "*There is always going to be people who hate what we do and that is fine, they don't have to come in. But I definitely think that we have created a change in attitude about what we are and what we are trying to do. You know, people who were sitting out on the street begging and the people that come in and say, 'oh. I was talking to this young guy, and I said they should come in'.*" [Founder and Manager, Unity Grill]

The need to advocate to overcome negative attitudes about the organizational form emerged most strongly from data collected from Unity Grill. The founder highlighted why this may be the case, commenting that a social enterprise may not *"look out of place in Glasgow*", but it does in the smaller town in which they are located. The founder of Kaleyard corroborated this point,

> "*Because I think there is a real community spirit in Glasgow, and I think that generally, Glasgow is becoming quite a 'social-enterprise' kind of town. And I think, I feel that Glasgow is on the brink of a social enterprise revolution because there is so many popping up, which is amazing.*" [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

Therefore, the other social enterprise organizations based in bigger cities had to do less work to justify the organizational form.

Having explored these more deliberate actions that can contribute to advocacy, a final form of advocacy will be discussed, 'everyday advocacy'.

7.5 Everyday advocacy

As well as the more deliberate forms of advocacy data suggested an argument for the day-to-day actions of the community food providers being imbued with a form of advocacy. Utilising a term suggested by Walker et al. (2015) in work on the nursing profession this form of advocacy by community food providers has been labelled 'everyday advocacy'. This everyday advocacy was in one of two forms: the case advocacy that organizations undertake, and advocacy imbued in their very existence.

7.5.1 Case advocacy

Case advocacy is when the interests of a particular individual or family are represented. It is different from political advocacy as it generally does not include changing policy (Kimberlin, 2010, Mosley, 2009a). Third sector organizations often provide advocacy directly for clients, enabling them to access or receive particular benefits or services (Clear et al., 2018). As already discussed in section 5.7.1 the community food providers link service users in with a wider suite of support services. These data presented in section 5.7.1 provides strong evidence of this case advocacy that may provide access to resources and services that the clients may not

have otherwise accessed. The case advocacy is, therefore, broadening the scope and breadth of existing institutions, to include previously excluded people (Marti and Mair, 2009). The organizations are operating as resource brokers, facilitating client access to existing resources. They can do so based on their ties with other third and public sector organizations (Small, 2014).

As well as this more formal, resource brokering form of case advocacy the organizations were also able to offer softer case advocacy, in-house. This case advocacy took the form of offering a range of services that support people to improve their situation (Blake, 2019a). By providing a wider range of services inhouse Forth Valley Larder can provide longer-term input to progressing people's lives. Referring to people who initially come in to use the food larders, the manager says,

> "We make sure that they are looked after and then we start to… When they come in, if they are regulars, we can start to tap in to 'is there any other services we could be supporting them with?' So, it's kinda like an all-round care mechanism around them. And obviously, when they are ready for the next part of the journey we do the employability, we do the training. And we can progress their life. So, you are slowly starting to move people sizable chunks and move them on progressively into a better lifestyle than what they are in." [Founder and Manager, Forth Valley Larder]

The interviewee from Centrestage talks of the power of 'believing in people', citing one client who first came for a food parcel and later attended one of the cooking courses.

> "I have seen people who have come into Dignified Food who can't [make] eye contact [with] you, are absolutely, they don't feel worthy. And that same girl, who couldn't [make] eye contact, went on to the 'Eat Course'. And that same girl, very, very quiet. The 'Eat Course' gave her the confidence to go to college to do the cooking. So, she is starting college and she wants to travel the world doing cooking. And I am like, see if you believe you can do that, you will do it. Cause that is half the battle. If you believe in yourself that is it. And the amount of feedback you get from these courses. At the end of the course, the people who give you thank you cards. We got one card from a boy called Martin that said, 'thank you for believing in me when I didn't believe in myself.'" [Project Co-ordinator, Centrestage]

Later they talk about how the 12-week cooking courses build clients' confidence and provides an opportunity to make friends or engage with their wider suite of services. Many interviewees talked of how service users later start to volunteer. These softer

forms of support may complement or be an alternative to the more structured case advocacy that the organizations provide.

Wright (2010) suggests creating positive and empowering experiences when people are facing challenges may in itself be small-scale, incremental social change. Similarly, Guerlain and Campbell (2016 pg. 234) suggest social actions can be "*extended to the collective, everyday practices of people working to improve their lives*" by addressing some of the challenges they face in their everyday life. Adopting this perspective highlights how case and 'soft' advocacy, through initiating change at an individual level may collectively amount to change at a wider level. Perhaps, providing support with necessities reduces the barriers to focussing on larger questions of injustice (Gates, 2014)

7.5.2   Existence as a political act

The second type of everyday advocacy that the data highlighted came from some interviewees who felt that their very existence was in and of itself a political act. This laid the foundations for the rest of the more practical actions explored in this chapter to this point.

Participants suggested that their very existence was a political act in that it highlighted the issue of food poverty, brought it into people's consciousness, and drew attention to the structural failings. This awareness-raising was not as intentional as that discussed previously in the chapter: rather the need for them tacitly imbued politics into the organization from the outset. The manager of Drumchapel Food Bank suggests the increasing number of food banks symbolises the need for a change. Their presence, they feel, has made the problem of food poverty visible, forcing people to "accept that it is happening". They hope this will trigger change.

> *"But I would say some things are starting to change due to the, I suppose, the normalisation of it all. Which a lot of people think is a bad thing. But I think it's a sign of it, at least, being accepted that this is happening. I mean normalisation doesn't have to be a bad thing; it really depends on how you look at it. But I think that people are starting to open their eyes that it is happening round the corner from them. And that is what will help to start to change it.* [Manager, Drumchapel Food Bank]

They hope this awareness will "snowball" and create pressure for change. Similarly, other interviewees discuss their hopes that their organizations may generate alternate thinking and momentum for change, not only limited to food poverty but around wider food issues ingrained in communities and cultures.

> *"But if you can try and create some kind of interest that you are doing something for the better of your community, then maybe you are creating some kind of movement."* [Founder and Manager, Kaleyard]

The founder of Küche discusses how the community meals, focussed on different cultures, tend to attract a similar audience comprising people who are aware of the social issues around food that they are hoping to highlight. However, they also hope that the meals may provide an impetus for people to act on this awareness in some way.

> *"I think that is one of the really difficult things about what we are doing, basically all organizations, is often you are preaching to the same audience. But then I also feel like, you should always try and get a mix of audiences, but I also feel there is a use in getting people like that in your space. If they learn something new, they feel like they have the space to act on it."* [Founder and Manager, Küche]

Rather than generating and facilitating momentum for change in external audiences, the manager at Anniesland Storehouse has witnessed people who are internal to the food bank changing their views around food poverty and they hope this will spread, what they describe as, virally.

> *"So, I think, it would be my hope that, and I do see it, is that people are activated to care more about the situation. My politics have significantly changed as a result of being involved in the food bank. But I am one person in that. But I would see that the people that are involved in what we do, will see, will have a different view of what is happening. So, I see it more as a viral thing."* [Manager, Anniesland Storehouse]

These data highlight examples of relational advocacy, in which organizations are seeking to gain followers for the cause, albeit to different degrees of explicitness (Hampel et al., 2017).

However, an alternate view of this presentation of the existence of community food providers being a form of advocacy was evident in the data from one interviewee. The manager from LCFHP discusses how organizations providing emergency food may perpetuate a system that allows the State to avoid responsibilities. They say,

> *"I don't know if our organization has done the right thing and are we allowing the system to be maintained by offering a service to stop people [going hungry] ... I don't know why it's so quiet. It should be uproar, there should be absolute uproar about this stuff."* [Manager (a), LCFHP]

Previous research has shown that emergency food aid providers feel ambivalence about their work and frustration at what they often see as the state passing responsibility for supporting the most vulnerable onto churches and charities (Macleod, 2015). By questioning whether they have done the right thing the manager is touching on debates as to the sometimes destructive role that third sector

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organizations may play in solving societal problems (Will and Pies, 2017). This weighs heavily on their mind,

> *"If I look at why I retired, four weeks ago or eight weeks ago whatever it was one of the main things was I don't know if our organization has done the right thing. Are we allowing the system to be maintained?"* [Manager (a), LCFHP]

7.6 Summative discussion

Advocacy is an essential, perhaps even a "quintessential function" of non-profit organizations and the wider voluntary sector (O'Connell cited from O'Neill, 1989). It can be a tool for such organizations to address some of the more structural concerns, representing the underrepresented, whilst also serving their clients directly (Almog-Bar and Schmid, 2013, Fehsenfeld and Levinsen, 2019, Fyall, 2017, Minkoff, 2002, Mosley, 2009a, Wells and Anasti, 2019). As a form of institutional work, it may allow less powerful actors to influence the institutional environment. This chapter has explored the advocacy undertaken by community food providers.

However, capturing the outcomes of this institutional work is challenging. There are several reasons why the outcomes of political advocacy, for example, is challenging to capture: it involves many different actors, with the role of each individual being difficult to isolate; it is a lengthy process requiring years of diligent effort; it is complex and non-linear; it is subject to powerful external forces; and is potentially burdensome for third sector organisations to collect data that allows for evaluation (Almog-Bar and Schmid, 2013, Guthrie et al., 2005, Mosley, 2009a). Therefore, this study focussed on the work itself, rather than connections between the work and outcomes, exploring the day-to-day practices that may, or may not, cumulate to create institutional change (Lawrence et al., 2013).

The findings show that the community food providers undertake advocacy to different degrees and in different ways. Due to their aims both IFAN and the Trussell Trust undertake the most explicit advocacy work targeted at a political audience through their calls for policy change. Of the studied organizations they are, therefore, the closest representation of advocacy organizations, one in which advocacy is a core activity. Some of the service focussed organizations also participated in political advocacy using their grassroots identity to achieve legitimacy as advocates (Wells and Anasti, 2019). Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP undertake advocacy adopting an insider, cooperative tactic, exemplified by effective working relationships with policymakers who respect and consult the organizations (Clear et al., 2018). Strategic planning or service delivery allowed these organizations to foster connections and relationships with key decision-makers. The social capital gained through developing these relationships complements the cultural capital they build through their on-the-ground experience, legitimising the organizations as worthy of

consultation in policy decisions. This may then also increase the symbolic capital of the organization (Bourdieu, 1986). Although this insider status can take considerable time and resource to develop the ensuing cooperative nature of the relationship means the organizations can influence the policymakers in a supportive and obliging manner (Clear et al., 2018). This provides the organizations the opportunity to take part and influence processes regarding both public policy and the allocation of funds (Berry and Arons, 2003), the latter highlighting that economic capital can also be generated from this process of relationship building (Bourdieu, 1986). Finally, many of the other community food providers undertook softer political advocacy work, largely through data provision and informal engagement with policymakers. Unlike Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP they exemplified more of an outsider organization, one which communicates less frequently with policymakers, being involved in policy development on a more ad hoc basis (Clear et al., 2018).

Collectively, therefore, the community food providers span across being insider and outsider organizations. The insider position of the older, larger organizations complemented with the outsider position of the organizations that perhaps do not have the time or resources to dedicate to achieving and occupying the insider status.

Like the political advocacy undertaken by the organizations, advocacy to influence public opinion and attitudes varied across the organizations. Such advocacy may disrupt the prevailing cultural and belief systems, by undermining the assumptions that underpin these systems (Marti and Mair, 2009, Lawrence and Suddaby, 2006). It is also a form of relational institutional work in that it may gain followers for a cause (Hampel et al., 2017). Data suggested three key reasons for undertaking this advocacy: countering the othering of the users of their service, raising awareness and consciousness of the existence and reality of food poverty, and challenging stereotypes of the organization (Mosley, 2009a, Shier and Handy, 2015, Gates, 2014, Lister, 2004, Garrow and Hasenfeld, 2012). How they did this varied, from direct responses to more subtle messages weaved into other organizational activities. As with political advocacy, the organizational legitimacy to do this emanates from their cultural capital and a grassroots identity (Bourdieu, 1986, Wells and Anasti, 2019).

Looking across these findings, the chapter adds to the discussion around dichotomous presentations of organizations that categorise non-profit organizations as either providing services or engaging in advocacy (Kiviniemi, 2008, Valentinov et al., 2013, Wells and Anasti, 2019). Such presentations suggest both may bring about change, but service provision seeks change at the service user level, whilst advocacy seeks to change the social delivery system itself, addressing structural inequality (Minkoff, 2002, Netting et al., 2007, Shier and Handy, 2015). Rather than this distinction as one or other, other studies have suggested non-profits can be hybrid organizations that combine both service provision and advocacy. Minkoff (2002) was one of the first to conceptualise service-advocacy hybrids (Beaton et al, 2020). The

hybrids emerged from the traditional service provision form of non-profit organizations layering on political objectives (Minkoff, 2002).

Subsequent scholarship has furthered the concept of service-advocacy hybrids recognising a blurring of boundaries between organizations doing service provision and more advocacy type work'. This takes a more nuanced approach to the categories of service provision and levels of political activity, recognising that organizations can provide a mix of both (Fehsenfeld and Levinsen, 2019, Hasenfeld and Gidron, 2005, Karriem and Benjamin, 2016, Wells and Anasti, 2019) or that the provision of services can be, of in itself, a political act (Brooks, 2005, Gates, 2014, Hyde, 2000, Minkoff, 2002, Wells and Anasti, 2019). This literature suggests service provision and social change can reciprocally strengthen each other (Wells and Anasti, 2019, Brooks, 2005, Gates, 2014). Reconsidering these dichotomous presentations responds to calls by Fehsenfeld and Levinson (2009 pg. 428) that *"when exploring activities of advocacy, we should ask ourselves whether it is possible that service provision and advocacy are concurrent activities."*

Like this smaller body of scholarship, this chapter suggests the need for a blurring of boundaries between service provision and advocacy. Most of the community food providers were first and foremost service providers. However, as the chapter has discussed, this does not limit them to social change activity targeted at an individual level. Rather much of this wider change potential arose as a secondary consequence of this service provision. There are several avenues in which the service provision may enhance social change: providing access to more powerful actors; providing access to the public; enhancing legitimacy; and services being a political act in and of themselves. These avenues are now discussed.

In some cases, providing services allowed the organizations access to other organizations with more or direct political power, enhancing their ability to influence policy change. In others providing services gave access to the wider community, to which they could, directly and indirectly, give messaging around the experiences and structural drivers of food poverty.

As well as providing access, service provision also bestowed the organizations with legitimacy: social judgements of perceived appropriateness (Bitektine, 2011, Deephouse et al., 2017). This legitimacy can be both internal and external. Service provision enhances internal organizational legitimacy as, by its very nature, it brings organizations close to the grassroots and the community members. This gives the community food providers 'downward accountability'. This accountability is often the criteria upon which third sector organizations base their legitimacy judgements (Taylor and Warburton, 2003). Service provision also gives the organization external legitimacy as through their direct work they can provide insight on *"how the details*

of social policy matter in the lives of vulnerable individuals and families" (Mosley, 2009a pg. 527). The service provision is therefore fundamental to organizational legitimacy, that in turn can strengthen their advocacy work.

Finally, boundaries between service and advocacy become increasingly blurred if the service provision itself is the political act, not because of the effect for the organizations or the service users, but the political act is inherent and indivisible from service provision itself. Here we ask, is service provision to those experiencing food insecurity a political act in and of itself?

Integral to this conceptualisation of the change work of the organizations is acceptance of the possibility of a cumulative and collective influence, opening up the field to an eclectic mix of advocacy activities across the diverse sector (Mosley, 2009a). The social change work existed on a spectrum, with varying levels of intentionality, explicitness, and activeness. Alongside the more explicit, perhaps 'traditional' advocacy work was the advocacy that was more implicitly ingrained in day-to-day activities. This advocacy, therefore, remains hidden from immediate view to some extent. It is advocacy that is embedded in everyday organizational practice (Kirk et al., 2015, Mosley, 2013). This spectrum of advocacy can then be complemented by service provision if it is in itself a political act. These varying forms of institutional work may marry up to create a community level groundswell for change even though the role that each organization plays in this varies. Viewing the advocacy of community food providers as a collective of institutional work effectively enhances the agency of these organizations. Those organizations that are less active in advocacy are bestowed with agency based on this being part of a wider suite of institutional work.

Finally, these findings add to debates around the conceptualisation of advocacy as a form of institutional work, calling for a revisit to the original framework of institutional work proposed by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). Reflecting on their framework (Table 3.1), the authors note that scholars should not treat the mechanisms outlined as definitive. Advocacy featured in the framework as political work, referring to the mobilisation of regulatory and political support through direct techniques of persuasion. This does not provide room for, firstly, advocacy targeted at the public and, secondly, indirect routes of advocacy. Zvolska et al. (2019 pg. 674) adjusted this original framework, removing advocacy as one of the mechanisms of institutional work, situating it instead in 'lobbying' and 'litigating'." The complete removal of advocacy from the framework is also open to debate. This analysis suggests that directly politically targeted advocacy can warrant identification as institutional work that does not fit in with Zvolska et al.'s (2019) 'lobbying and litigating' category. However, the broader conceptualisation of advocacy found in this study suggests advocacy permeates many other categories of institutional work,

therefore suggesting a blurring, or nuanced distinction of both the concepts of institutional work and advocacy.

8 Contributions, limitations, and future research

8.1 Introduction

The final chapter brings together all the preceding chapters and reflects on the contributions of the study, detailing the fresh insights and the new understandings that have been found. To do this, the chapter provides a reiteration of the rationale behind each of the research objectives followed by a discussion of the contributions to theory and the extant literature that have been made in meeting these objectives. Each of the 4 research objectives have provided one or two such contributions. This is followed by the identification of further contributions to both policy and practice. The chapter then reflects on the limitations of the study before identifying areas of future research that would both address some of the limitations and further develop the findings of this study. Brief closing reflections then follow.

8.2 Research objective 1: Contributions

The first objective of the research was:

> Provide an up-to-date view of the forms, functions, and services of community food providers – detailing the 'how' and 'what' of these third sector organizations.

This objective primarily sought to contribute to the existing scholarship on community food providers by looking internally at the organizations. This was timely and necessary given the changing landscape in which they operate and the debate as to their role as an actor in responses to food poverty. Recent scholarship has primarily, although not exclusively, focussed on food banks, as one type of community food provider. This is despite early recognition and concerns regarding utilisation of a wider range of community food providers as a response to food poverty (Dowler and Caraher, 2003). Furthermore, Douglas et al. (2015a) found evidence of community food providers changing their suite of services in light of growing requests to support people with emergency food provision.

Within this rationale, and building on the summative discussion of Chapter 5, two contributions have been made. The first is an update to a recent typology of food aid, asserting an emphasis on the pathways between the different functions and to the wider suite of support that these organizations create. The second contribution is the use of community food providers as a source of counterfactual evidence to the perception of social enterprise as a superior organizational form for third sector organizations (Sepulveda, 2015).

8.2.1 Typology of community food provision

Whilst there was some consistency in the functions and services of the organizations this research has further emphasised the heterogeneity of community food providers (Caraher and Dowler, 2007, Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, McGlone et al., 1999). The findings also evidenced sources of this heterogeneity: a range of entry routes to becoming a community food provider; relatively low barriers to entry; fuzzy, porous, and changeable boundaries of community food provision; and a range of internal and external factors impacting on the services provided. These findings reiterate that a clear categorisation of community food providers is problematic.

Given that community food providers are ill-suited to simple classification an organizational typology is likely to have more theoretical potential. Typologies are not a tool to specify decision rules to categorize organizations into mutually exclusive and exhaustive sets. Rather they identify multiple ideal types, each of which represents a unique combination of the organizational attributes (Doty and Glick, 1994). Accordingly, Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti (2020), drawing on insights from across seven European countries, recently established a typology of food charity, shown in Table 8-1. This study identified further features relevant to this typology. Additions and amendments suggested by the findings of this study are italicised in Table 8-1 and discussed further below.

Table 8-1 Typology of community food providers, based upon and adapted from Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti (2020 pg. 222-223)

Type of charitable food aid	Types of project	Key characteristics
Emergency food provision	Food parcel provision Prepared food provision	• The provision is free. • The provision is intended to meet an acute 'hunger/lack of access to food' need and intended to be temporary. The intention of emergency provision is critical here – there may, in fact, be chronic use but the project is intended to provide only emergency help. • The provision is outside the mainstream market. • ***The facilitative quality of food initiates contact, potentially leading to the provision of pathways to other support.*** • ***Social interaction is consciously built into the provision.***
Charitable food assistance	Subsidised food 'shopping' Subsidised prepared food ***Subsidised food for communal preparation and use***	• Providing ongoing support, which may be intended to support ongoing access to a vulnerable or hungry population but is not designed to meet an acute need. • Subsidised (free or reduced cost), with the aim of easing access to food and reducing costs. • May have 'market' characteristics (supermarket food, monetary exchange) ~~***but still outside the primary food market.***~~ • Ways of working would include a membership system, food co-ops, nominal/voluntary contributions and community cafes/lunch clubs. • ***The facilitative quality of food initiates contact, potentially leading to the provision of pathways to other support.*** • ***Social interaction is consciously built into the provision.***

The additional two bullets added as a key characteristic to both types of charitable food aid represent the findings of Chapter 5. Two key features of community food providers, as discussed in Chapter 5, are encapsulated in these bullets. Firstly, the centrality and the overlap of all functions of community food providers with the provision of a social opportunity. Secondly, the relative importance that community food providers give to linking clients in with a wider suite of support. Adding these into the typology widens the analysis from only focussing on the direct food provision functions. Whilst the original typology suggests only subsidised prepared food *"May be about promoting access to food and/or a social function of bringing people together or providing a gateway to services for those that may be in need of further support" (Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti, 2020 pg. 224)* this study suggests this broad description applies to all the community food projects to a greater or lesser extent.

As well as these two additional characteristics this research has identified a further 'type of project', namely 'subsidised food for communal preparation and use'. This addition reflects one of the key functions of community food providers: providing opportunities to develop skills and knowledge that support a healthy diet. This

function supports the utilisation pillar of food security (FAO, 2016). This function was primarily operationalised through community cooking groups which, by their nature, included food provision, and are therefore relevant for the typology. The necessity of this inclusion is evidenced by this study, given that many of the community food providers ran cooking groups or had aspirations to provide them in the future. Adding this to the typology also reflects the findings of the rapid research project that the researcher undertook during a 3-month internship with CFHS (see section 4.3) which found that participants of cooking group classes are often struggling to have enough food to get through the week. Furthermore, class leaders perceive that the provision of food is often a key reason for attendance for people who are struggling to access food elsewhere (Community Food and Health (Scotland), 2017).

The final amendment to the typology is the removal of the assertion that charitable food assistance is 'outside the primary food market'. Whilst this study concurs with the statement that charitable food assistance may have market characteristics the findings presented in section 6.2.3 show that some community food providers strategically work to incorporate elements of the primary market into their offering. As discussed, utilising the primary market is a key feature of Unity Grill. Furthermore, Edinburgh Community Food specifically design products that are not distinctly different from those they sold in a way more aligned to the primary market. Furthermore, this study would argue that the community food providers who offered retail services did so in an alternate way, but not necessarily one that was not within the primary market.

In suggesting these amendments, it is important to recognise why these differences may have arisen. Most obviously the original typology draws from findings across seven European countries, whereas this study looks only at Scotland. In addition, a wider range of services has been included in the original typology, particularly in the prepared emergency food provision type which includes soup runs and school breakfast clubs. Nevertheless, these amendments are a useful endeavour as typologies can be used to identify organizational attributes that are believed to determine relevant organizational outcomes, such as effectiveness or advantage (Doty and Glick, 1994). It is therefore imperative that the full suite of types and characteristics of community food providers are captured for the typology to serve this purpose.

8.2.2   Community food providers and social enterprise

A further contribution of the study is the evidence of differing levels of engagement with the social enterprise approach. Given the associations between neoliberalism and food poverty, described in section 2.6, the potential of social enterprise to create a more socially embedded, equitable economy and to challenge the neoliberal status quo (Ridley-Duff and Bull, 2015, Roy and Hackett, 2017) would suggest promise for this as an organizational form relevant for community food providers. However, previous research, that preceded this study, found that the two case study social

enterprise community food providers evidenced a strong allegiance to charitable origins and a reluctance to fully embrace a social enterprise model (Tonner et al., 2019). Building on this precursor study, the inclusion of more community food providers evidenced a wider range of engagement with social enterprise but, concurrently, some other community food providers were firmly rooted in the grant and donations funded charity model. The heterogeneity of the organizational forms highlights that there is not a unified consensus around social enterprise. This is particularly the case given that the same service was sometimes used to generate income and sometimes not by the different organizations.

This differing engagement with social enterprise provides a counterfactual to suggestions that charities are keenly embracing this model in the UK (Cornelius and Wallace, 2013, Seanor, 2013). Sepulveda (2015) asserts that the changing proportions of income sources in the third sector have been interpreted and presented as evidence of a trend for charities to embrace the social enterprise model. In particular, the author notes the trends for earned income providing a greater source of funding than voluntary income since the mid-2000s. This is not the case for the studied community food providers, whose three key income sources were gifts, grants, and sales. As noted in section 5.3 this may reflect that such public services contracts between the public sector and the third sector are more concentrated in larger organizations (Clark et al., 2009, Mazzei and Roy, 2017) and therefore unlikely to apply to smaller grassroots community food providers. This study, therefore, contributes to the evidence that provides a counterfactual to presented trends on the appetite and enthusiasm for social enterprise in the third sector. Rather, it evidences that this appetite is variable (Mazzei and Roy, 2017). This is important as it highlights a need for nuanced approaches to understanding, supporting, and promoting organizational forms. It also highlights that a range of factors can influence organizational decisions regarding becoming more enterprising.

8.3   Research objective 2: Contributions

The second objective of the research was:

> Investigate the underlying logics that inform community food providers on a day-to-day basis – providing insight into the 'why' of these third sector organizations.

Following on from the rationale of the first objective, the second objective recognised the tensions around community food providers as a response to food poverty, particularly given that many community food providers are aware and frustrated by their limitations as a response to a social issue that is primarily structural (Douglas et al., 2015a, Poppendieck, 1999). An understanding of why these organizations do what they do, from their perspective, enhances the literature that debates their efficacy as an actor in this context.

Within this rationale, and building on the summative discussion of Chapter 6, two key contributions have been made. The first relates to the institutional logics informing community food providers. The second provides a discussion of the omission of the family and religion order from existing third sector scholarship.

8.3.1   Institutional logics informing community food providers

To the best of the researcher's knowledge this is the first study that employs the lens of institutional logics to empirical data collected from community food providers in the UK. The identification of the multiple logics instantiated by these organizations therefore contributes in a new way to the available evidence on community food providers.

Community food providers instantiate logics of five of the seven institutional orders: community, family, market, religion, and State (Thornton et al., 2012). As shown in Table 6-1, at an organizational level the community order was instantiated in the geographic obligation organizations had to their local community, the sense of working as a collective of organizations either explicitly or through general unitedness, and reinforcement of shared ethos's. At an organizational level, the family order was instantiated in the provision of care and kindness, the meeting of a basic need through food provision, and the de-prioritisation of efficiency in operations. The market order was instantiated in internal revenue generation, providing a competitive product or service, and the inherent need to provide a 'usual' service aligned to the primary logics of food provision. The religion order was instantiated in the fulfilment of expectations to serve 'those in need'. Finally, at an organizational level, the State order was instantiated in aims to tackle health inequalities, support priority groups, and extend State support.

These findings provide insight into which institutional orders shape community food providers, informing their goals and how they act in response to food poverty (George et al., 2016, Vickers et al., 2017). Having this insight provides a deeper understanding of what influences the day-to-day services and operations of these organizations (Besharov and Smith, 2014, Friedland and Alford, 1991, Greenwood et al., 2009, Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, Thornton et al., 2012). This helps to explain why the organizations do what they do. Community food providers operate in a contested space, in which their role as a response to food poverty is debated both internally and externally. This insight into what informs their day-to-day can help understand how they navigate this contested space. It may also support meso level organizations seeking to engage grassroots providers in campaigns and explicit political advocacy by highlighting the most pertinent logics for each community food provider. Finally, this insight also provides a link between the day-to-day of community food providers and the institutional system in which they operate (Thornton et al., 2012).

8.3.2   Logics of the family and religion order

A further contribution relevant to the existing scholarship on institutional logics is the identification of institutional orders that are largely missing from discussions on the logics of the third sector. This study concurs with the existing scholarship that evidences logics of the market, the State, and the community orders (McMullin and Skelcher, 2018, Skelcher and Smith, 2015, Smith, 2014, Vickers et al., 2017). However, it also provides evidence that looks further than these three dominant orders, demonstrating that community food providers also instantiate logics of the religion and family orders.

Whilst this identification is in itself a contribution, the instantiation of these logics in community food providers provides an opportunity for further theoretical insight. This is particularly the case as the limited exploration of these two institutional orders in third sector scholarship is also replicated in wider organizational scholarship (Berg Johansen and Waldorff, 2015, Greenwood et al., 2009, Salvato et al., 2019, Tracey, 2012).

Chapter 6 asserts that community food providers instantiate the family order in their provision of care and the religion order by fulfilling the expectation of the Church to support people in need. There was, therefore, relative congruence in how these two institutional orders informed the day-to-day actions of the organizations. This highlights that the logics of these two orders can overlap and interconnect, aligning to Friedland and Alford's (1991) original conceptualisation.

The findings relative to the family order also provide insight into the material dimension of institutional logics, an aspect that is not widely explored in existing scholarship (Jones et al., 2013). Section 6.2.6 highlights that food has an inherent connection with the family unit, in which its provision is a source of love and care (Charles and Kerr, 1988, Miller, 1998, Wills and O'Connell, 2018). This study shows that these values are retained, even when the food is provided outside of the family unit or environment. This suggests that material objects allow logics to transcend the boundaries with which they may typically be associated. The food also allows the organizations to share the institutional order that informs their day-to-day activities with their clients. This gives the food an additional role over and above its use as a facilitative tool as identified in section 5.8.

The findings also add to the debate around the use of surplus food by community food providers. This debate centres on the loss of the values of the market, rendering the food obsolete from the perspective of the primary market (Caraher and Fury, 2017, Tarasuk and Eakin, 2005). Midgley (2014) argues that this food is then requalified with other values. However, this study suggests that community food providers do not necessarily view food through the market lens but rather see it as a means of performing the logics associated with the family order. This latter approach means food is evaluated by the potential it has to operationalise logics of

the family order regardless of how it is sourced, either directly from the primary market or through surplus.

8.4 Research objective 3: Contributions

The third objective of the study was:

> Using the lens of institutional work, explore the extent to which community food providers have agency to contribute to the change required to tackle food poverty in the UK.

This objective was a key point of investigation for the study given the scholarship that asserts that, whilst community food providers have several potential benefits, their impact in terms of addressing food poverty is limited (Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2009, Loopstra, 2018, Tarasuk et al., 2020). Their role as a response to food poverty is therefore contentious despite them seemingly playing a role in this landscape in Scotland, as evidenced by both policy statements and sector publications (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). Understanding their role as an actor in addressing food poverty is of particular importance given the recent mapping in Scotland that identified 744 organizations providing free or subsidised food in response to food insecurity (Scottish Government, 2020a).

Within this rationale, and building on the summative discussion of Chapter 7, two contributions have been made. The first is an exploration of the agency of community food providers as a response to food poverty. The second is additional evidence regarding dichotomous presentations of service provision and advocacy in third sector organizations.

8.4.1 The agency of community food providers

Scholarly recommendations assert that advocacy and campaigning is a key tool by which community food providers may impact food poverty, given the need for policy-driven interventions (Dowler and Caraher, 2003, Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Riches, 2011). Two earlier studies suggest there is an increasing awareness and appetite for advocacy amongst some community food providers in the UK (Macleod, 2015, Marshall and Cook, 2020). However, the extent of this appetite amongst a range of community food providers and what this advocacy activity might be has received minimal attention. This study sought to fill this gap, by taking a practice-based perspective, to explore the day-to-day institutional work that organizations engage in. It did so without seeking a definitive answer as to whether a change has occurred (Lawrence et al., 2013, Zvolska et al., 2019).

As Chapter 7 identified, the community food providers undertake a range of forms of advocacy targeted at both political audiences and the general public. This advocacy included calling for policy change, developing influencing relations and advising

policymakers, collecting and providing data, education campaigns, challenging othering, and challenging organizational stereotypes. Furthermore, their case advocacy with clients and the political act of their existence are forms of everyday advocacy (Walker et al., 2015). The identification of this suite of advocacy develops the existing evidence base that, to date, has not explored the extent and type of advocacy that community food providers undertake.

However, whilst these findings on advocacy are an important addition to the existing scholarship on community food providers as a response to food poverty it is important to note that this study concurs with earlier literature recognising that the core services of direct food provision (both regular and emergency), food retailing, and cooking groups are unlikely to directly impact on food poverty based upon a measurement of food poverty before and after engagement with these services (Kirkpatrick and Tarasuk, 2009, Loopstra, 2018, Tarasuk et al., 2020). However, the identification of the suite of advocacy targeted at a range of audiences highlights agency for these actors as a response to food poverty but in a more indirect way. Their advocacy covers both specific policies and general perceptions of food poverty in the wider population and, therefore, the community food providers are targeting societal-level institutions. These, arguably, exert greater influence on social behaviour compared to institutions at the meso and micro levels (Hampel et al., 2017). The advocacy, therefore, offers the potential for impact in efforts to address food poverty.

In considering the extent of organizations agency for change this study also highlights the need to consider community food providers as a collective (Mosley, 2009a). This recognises that individual community food providers exhibit variation in the scale, intentionality, explicitness, and activeness for advocacy. However, considering community food providers as a collective allows for the possibility of a dispersed form of agency where the actions of individual actors converge to contribute to the same process of institutional change (Dorado, 2005, Hoogstraaten et al., 2020). These varying forms of advocacy may marry up to create a community level groundswell for change even though the role that each organization plays in this varies. This collectiveness amongst the grassroots organizations is further enhanced by the meso level organizations. The meso level organizations have agency of their own but they also work to enable and increase the agency of the grassroots organizations. This further strengthens the collective agency. These findings, therefore, provide fresh insight and contribute to the existing scholarship by giving further credence to the role of community food providers as one actor, in a network, responding to food poverty. It does this by evidencing the inherent, day to day practices of community food providers and analysing them through the lens of institutional work.

8.4.2   Service provision and advocacy dichotomy

A further contribution of the study is additional evidence that challenges the previous dichotomous presentations of third sector organizations as being service providers or advocacy organizations. This evidence concurs with the smaller body of scholarship that suggests organizations can undertake both service provision and advocacy (Brooks, 2005, Fehsenfeld and Levinsen, 2019, Gates, 2014, Hasenfeld and Gidron, 2005, Hyde, 2000, Karriem and Benjamin, 2016, Minkoff, 2002, Wells and Anasti, 2019). Community food providers evidence a blurring of boundaries between organizations undertaking service provision and more advocacy-related change work (Blake, 2019a). Some of the potential for this wider change arose as a secondary consequence of the service provision. Avenues by which the provision of services may provide an opportunity for wider social change include providing access to more powerful actors, providing access to the public, enhancing legitimacy, and services being a political act in of themselves. This study, therefore, responds to calls to evidence whether it is possible that service provision and advocacy are concurrent activities (Fehsenfeld and Levinsen, 2019). As well as providing evidence of this concurrency the study contributes insight into some of the avenues through which this can occur.

Building on this analysis of the potential of simultaneous service provision and advocacy this study also draws important links between this body of work and that which discusses the intentionality of institutional work. The latter body of work asserts that whilst some actors may be motivated by the potential institutional effects of their action others may undertake actions that have institutional effects without this being the intention (Lawrence et al., 2009). In these cases, institutional change may be unplanned. It may emerge organically from the strategies enacted by actors, with any resulting change perhaps even being largely unintended (DellaPosta et al., 2016, Hwang and Powell, 2005, Lawrence and Phillips, 2004, Lounsbury and Crumley, 2007, Mahoney and Thelen, 2010). Given the context within which community food providers work it is unlikely that any institutional change that results from their actions is entirely unintentional. However, the everyday advocacy that the organizations undertake and that which was naturally ingrained in their day-to-day work, suggests the intentionality for change is secondary to the intention to provide services. These dynamics are depicted in Figure 8.1. Figure 8.1 demonstrates differing levels of intentionality for change based upon the extent to which service provision and advocacy are, or are not, concurrent.
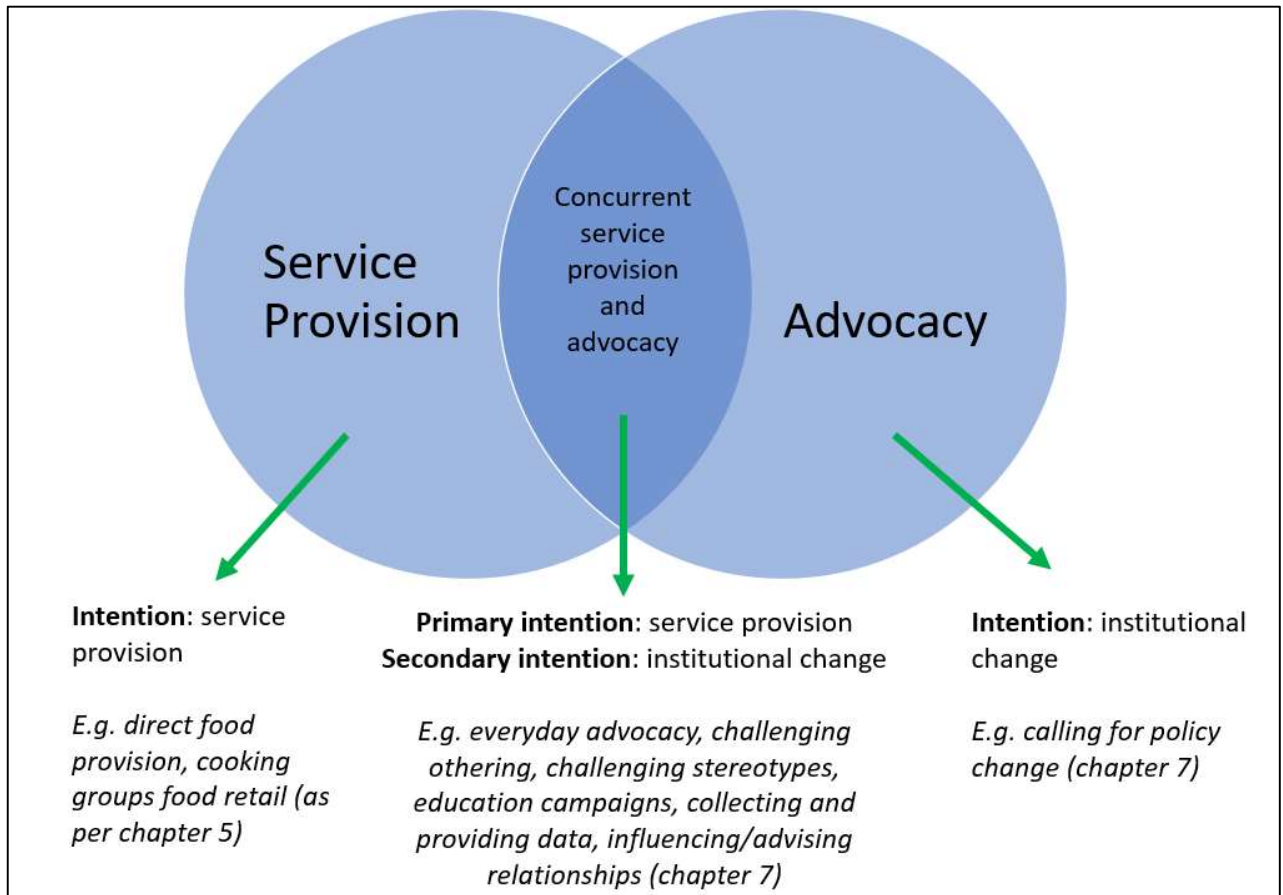
Figure 8-1 Differing intentionality of institutional change relevant to distinct or concurrent service provision and advocacy

8.5   Research objective 4: Contributions

The fourth objective of the study was:

> Provide more nuanced insights on logic multiplicity and organizational hybridity.

To some extent this objective was opportunistic, remaining open to what possibilities application of the institutional logics lens in this context could add to the recent calls of scholars in the theoretical field. As discussed in section 3.5 these calls from Battilana et al. (2017), Besharov and Smith (2017), and Litrico and Besharov (2019) encourage research that, firstly, looks beyond contested logic multiplicity by specifying how logics instantiated within the organizations relate to one another, and, secondly, to consider hybridity as a matter of degree, rather than being binary. Within this rationale and building on the summative discussions in Chapters 5,6 and 7 this study contributes to discussions on the relational and temporal nature of logic multiplicity.

8.5.1   Relationality and temporality of logic multiplicity

Chapter 6 drew upon the framework proposed by Besharov and Smith (2014) to explore how the logics instantiated by community food providers relate to one another. In doing so this study has provided further evidence of the necessity to consider hybridity as a spectrum, rather than a dichotomy (Battilana et al., 2017). Furthermore, the empirical application of the framework to this context is in itself a contribution adding to a small number of studies that have done so in other fields such as medical settings (Martin et al., 2017), performing arts organizations (Knardal, 2020), partnerships (Voltan and De Fuentes, 2016), performance measurement (Alsaid and Ambilichu, 2021) and in entrepreneurial teams (Dufays and Huybrechts, 2015).

The utility of the framework was particularly apparent in the consideration of the different positioning of the social enterprise organizations (Figure 6-2). Despite their combining of social and market logics (Doherty et al., 2014, Pache and Santos, 2013) there was limited tension in the organizations that were enacted as a social enterprise from the outset (Billis, 2010). For Launch, Kaleyard, Küche, and Unity Grill, embracing the market logic, on a very pragmatic level, allowed them to achieve their social mission and to do so in a self-reliant, efficient, and autonomous way. Edinburgh Community Food and LCFHP, also social enterprises, did experience some tension and therefore had lower compatibility and centrality of the multiple logics. However, they were still within the 'aligned' quadrant of the framework (Figure 6-2). This variation in the centrality and compatibility of the logics of the different orders instantiated by the organizations, even within the aligned quadrant, demonstrates the nuance and variability of the relationships between multiple logics. Utilising this framework in a different context therefore reiterates the assertion of Besharov and Smith (2014) that it is necessary to understand how multiple logics instantiated within organizations relate to one another. The study therefore demonstrates the utility of the framework.

All the community food providers display the characteristics of an aligned 'ideal type' organization. The multiple logics instantiated in the organizations offer consistent implications for organizational action and multiple logics exert a strong influence over organizational functioning (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Whilst this relatively peaceful coexistence of multiple logics has been evidenced previously (Mars and Lounsbury, 2008, McPherson and Sauder, 2013) such findings are relatively rare. The alignment likely results from the relative congruence between the logics of the different orders that are instantiated, in particular those of the family, religion, and community orders. Whilst in a different setting this echoes the hypothesis and findings of Ferry and Eckersley (2020) who suggest that organizations with cooperative working cultures combine multiple logics in a cooperative, more peaceful way. Furthermore, the community food providers enact strategies to protect this alignment. They do so by either strategically avoiding

potential threats to the alignment or by temporarily accepting tolerable deviation from the values, in the purest sense, of their informing logics. There was also some evidence of the logics of different orders being foregrounded at different times. This highlights the dynamic nature of both how organizations are informed by logics on a day-to-day basis and how these logics relate to one another. The multiplicity of logics is fluid, rather than static. This provides evidence of both relationality and temporality of logic multiplicity (Besharov and Smith, 2014, Gümüsay et al., 2020, Ramus et al., 2020).

8.6 Contribution to policy and practice

As well as these contributions to theory and the extant literature, the study also contributes to policy and practice.

8.6.1 Contribution to policy

As discussed in Chapter 1 the Dignity Report made a series of recommendations to the Scottish Government around addressing food poverty (section 1.2.3). Many of these recommendations focus on policy levers such as promotion and payment of the 'Living Wage', increased social security, and prioritising investment in benefits advice and information services to maximise people's incomes (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016). These recommendations are supported by evidence on the associations between austerity and food poverty (Blake, 2019a, Dowler and Lambie-Mumford, 2015, Human Rights Watch, 2019, Jenkins et al., 2021, Long et al., 2020, Reeves et al., 2017) and food bank use (Beck, 2020, Garthwaite et al., 2015, Lambie-Mumford, 2018, Lambie-Mumford and Loopstra, 2020, Loopstra et al., 2015b, MacLeod et al., 2019, Perry et al., 2014, Power et al., 2017, Strong, 2020). They are also supported by evidence on the potential for policy-based responses as demonstrated in Canada (Table 2.2) (Brown and Tarasuk, 2019, Ionescu-Ittu et al., 2015, Li et al., 2016, Loopstra et al., 2015a). The findings of this study are not intended to detract attention from the need for and efficacy of policy-based interventions by the State that target household income.

However, Blake (2019a) argues against a sole focus on household income in efforts to tackle food poverty. The author asserts that,

> *"solutions that focus only on redressing financial need are also insufficient as they do not build-up those other resource deficits that are created by neoliberalism and austerity".* Blake (2019a pg. 3)

Blake (2019a) therefore concludes that policy that supports community-specific self-organization capacity and resource needs is required. This is alongside larger-scale policy action to ensure sufficient household resources. This appears to be reflected in the recommendations of the Dignity Report (section 1.2.3) around Government and other investment in the community food sector:

"Alongside the Fair Food Fund, efforts need to be made to better coordinate public sector funding to support the building of a community food movement and this work needs to be done alongside other grant making and social enterprise bodies" (Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, 2016, pg. 39)

This study has provided rich evidence on the different forms, functions, and services of community food providers, reiterating that the services extend beyond the direct provision of food. It, therefore, has the potential to contribute to decisions as to the organizations that may receive this investment, building on the insight provided by the recent mapping (which was largely quantitative) of community food providers in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2020a).

A further contribution to policy is the provision of insight into some trends amongst community food providers happening in the context of the Dignity Report. The data collection for this study was undertaken after the publication of the Dignity Report (June 2016) and in the latter stages of distribution of the Fair Food Transformation Fund that was established following the publication of the Dignity Report. The Fair Food Transformation fund sought to *"support projects that give a more dignified response to food poverty and help to move away from emergency food aid as the first response"* (Scottish Government as cited by Hammond, 2018 pg.2). This study cannot conclude whether any changes in emergency food provision resulted from the publication of the Dignity report and the subsequent funding directive. However, it does evidence that the provision of emergency food parcels, most commonly associated with food banks, influenced the organizations in differing ways. Some provided this service, others actively did not, and others did so in the past. Generally, discussions across these approaches signified congruence with the wider meso level and political steer to transition away from emergency food parcels as the response. The study, therefore, contributes empirical insight into the policy context recently developed around emergency food provision and food poverty in Scotland.

8.6.2   Contribution to practice

The key contribution to practice relates to the findings around advocacy reported in Chapter 7. Calling for policy change is perhaps the most explicit advocacy undertaken by community food providers. This was executed and supported by the meso level organizations. Arguably, the capacity for this explicit advocacy has increased in recent years with campaigning becoming more of a focus for the Trussell Trust (Lambie-Mumford, 2014) and the establishment of IFAN in 2016. Furthermore, CFHS continues to encourage and support grassroots community food providers to input into policy processes. In addition, however, by adopting the lens of institutional work this study has highlighted a range of other forms of advocacy some of which, to varying extents, are implicit in the day-to-day work of community food providers. Recognising this work as a form of advocacy may further strengthen the

agency of community food providers as they have a clear sight of how their work may contribute to tackling the structural determinants of food poverty, the existence of which they are well aware (section 7.2) (Douglas et al., 2015a, Poppendieck, 1999).

The earlier discussion on collective agency, in section 8.4.1, also has practical implications for community food providers. Highlighting the possibility of a dispersed form of agency, where the actions of individual actors converge to contribute to the same process of institutional change (Dorado, 2005, Hoogstraaten et al., 2020), extends the agency of the individual organizations. This then gives a more complete and wide-ranging account of the potential social change that community food providers can be involved in (Enfield, 2017, Lounsbury and Crumley, 2007, Whittle et al., 2011). Whittle et al. (2011 pg. 551) suggest,

> "*the term 'distributed agency' can be used to reveal the more 'mundane' and less prominent, but nevertheless essential, activities of 'others' in the institutional work associated with emergent institution-building*".

Encouraging organizations to consider their advocacy as part of a collective approach promotes their agency whilst also aligns with a rights-based approach to food. This approach requires a network of actors working alongside the State (Dowler and O'Connor, 2012, Lambie-Mumford, 2015). Community food providers can therefore become the 'others' referred to by Whittle et al. (2011) in this network.

8.7   Research Limitations

Having presented the contributions of this research it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the study.

Firstly, it is important to acknowledge the perspectives from which the findings have arisen. In seeking change, those with lived experience of the social phenomenon are important voices (McIntosh and Wright, 2019). This study does not include the voices of the people accessing the services of the community food providers, except for the small number of observations and ad hoc conversations held during on-site visits (Table 4-5). The focus of data collection was purposively chosen to focus on the different types of organizations operating as community food providers, their informing logics, and their role in change. However, whilst an internal look at the organizations was the chosen study design it is important to acknowledge that the outcomes and experiences of the people engaging with the community food providers would provide further insight.

The second caveat relates to the limit on the specificities of organizations that participated in the study. Whilst the recruitment strategy included different sources of judgement sampling (Table 4-4) the heterogeneity of community food providers results in the limitation that other organizations, services, and perspectives may

prevail that have not been captured by this study. This is evidenced firstly by the recent mapping of community food providers by the Scottish Government: 22% of 411 survey respondents indicated that the organization did not run activities or services other than the provision of free or subsidised food (Scottish Government, 2020a). Some of the findings of Chapter 5 regarding the three core functions of community food providers may therefore not be applicable across the whole population of these organizations. Secondly, like the wider third sector, some community food providers are 'below the radar', operating on an informal/semi-informal basis (Community Food and Health Scotland, 2013, McCabe et al., 2010). This subset of community food providers has not been captured in this study. Finally, as discussed in section 4.4, specific inclusion criteria were established to ensure the organizations included in the study were accessible by the general public at large, should they so require. Other community food provision is available for specific population groups (Macleod, 2015, Mann et al., 2018, Shaw, 2020). Furthermore, third sector community food providers sit alongside state-provided support, such as free school meals and community care, in a bigger landscape of food assistance (Lambie-Mumford and Silvasti, 2020). The methodology was purposively designed to meet the research objectives, however, it is important to acknowledge that the study does not include the full suite of community food providers or third sector food aid. However, a major strength of a qualitative approach is the depth to which explorations are conducted and descriptions are written (Creswell, 2007). Studies with a more limited number of organizations are necessary to allow this richness and depth.

An additional caveat is that the data collection was undertaken from July 2018 to March 2019. As evidenced, the boundaries of the community food provision sector are porous and flexible with a range of organizations operating in the space. This dynamic space means fast evolution and studies such as this can only capture what is happening within the time of the study. New organizations, new functions, and new services may have emerged since the data collection. Furthermore, awareness, thinking, and the political context around food poverty also continues to evolve. This has undoubtedly been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, the provision of food aid became a key response as financial and physical barriers to accessing food led to rapid increases in food insecurity (Loopstra, 2020). At a local level, existing community food providers increased their emergency food provision, other organizations started newly providing this service and new 'pop-up' organizations were established to support food access (Lambie-Mumford et al., pending). The makeup and the activities of community food providers have therefore been subject to the shock of the pandemic to, perhaps, a greater extent than other areas of social life.

The final caveat relates to the quasi-ethnographic approach that meant the time spent with each organization was limited. As discussed in section 4.3, this was a

purposeful strategy to enable a wider range of community food providers to be included in the study. This was designed to complement the existing scholarship that either focusses on food banks in particular or does in-depth case studies with one or two community food providers. However, it is important to acknowledge that more time spent with each organization may have uncovered different views and opinions than those collected during interviews. Whilst interviews were conducted with knowledgeable agents that would best represent each organization's viewpoint (Gioia et al., 2012) other stakeholders of the community food providers may have different perspectives on the purpose of the organization (Caraher and Dowler, 2007). Within the limits of the study, this limitation was minimised by the data triangulation which is inherent in ethnographic research (section 4.3) (Cohen and Manion, 2000, Flick, 2007b).

8.8 Future Research

The thesis will end with consideration of avenues for future research. This future research is recommended to address the limitations identified in the previous section and to build on some of the key findings of this study, although these are not mutually exclusive.

8.8.1 Future research to address limitations

One of the limitations of this study is the potential existence of community food providers that are unlike those in the study, particularly those that do not provide a wider suite of functions than direct food provision and those that are 'below the radar' (Community Food and Health Scotland, 2013, McCabe et al., 2010). Purposeful sampling that sought to fill this identified gap would add to the findings of this study by providing insight into community food activity that is more informal. Findings of such research would provide more insight into the forms, functions, and services of community food providers. Furthermore, it would highlight similarities and differences in the institutional orders and the relationships between the logics within these informal community food providers. This may impact how much they engage with and act upon calls to address the underlying causes of food poverty, rather than solely providing food (George et al., 2016).

Future research could also incorporate the voices of those with lived experience of food poverty to capture their experiences of engagement with the community food provider. In particular, this could focus on two areas that this study has flagged as areas of interest. Firstly, future research could explore the extent to which clients take advantage of the pathways, created by the community food providers, between the different functions and services provided (section 5.8). For example, do people accessing emergency food parcels want to and take up the opportunity to link in with a local community meal? This insight is imperative to understand whether the intentions of the community food providers are realised by the clients who are using their services. Secondly, insights from those accessing the community food providers

could explore the extent to which case advocacy could lead to small-scale, incremental social change (Guerlain and Campbell, 2016, Wright, 2010). Providing this evidence would further contribute to the debate as to the efficacy of community food providers as a response to food poverty.

Finally, given the community food sector faced a significant impact because of the COVID-19 pandemic, as noted above, an update to this study that looks inwards at the community food providers themselves would be timely. This is particularly the case given a range of new local actors started providing some form of food aid to support their local communities experiencing increased barriers to food access (Lambie-Mumford et al., pending). Arguably, these new actors, who started providing food aid to address immediate access barriers, may instantiate different logics. For example, foregrounding of the logics of the family and the community orders. Future research could explore if and how this potential change in the relative prevalence of the logics of different orders may permeate across the existing community food providers. There may also be implications for the wider momentum to transition away from emergency food aid in Scotland as envisioned by the Dignity Report (section 1.2.3).

8.8.2 Future research to further develop key findings

A key contribution of the research, as discussed in Chapter 7 and section 8.4.1, is the different forms of advocacy in which community food providers engage. Given this advocacy is a means by which community food providers have agency to address the structural determinants of food poverty this is a fruitful area for further development, particularly given the contention as to their role in this landscape. This future research could explore this advocacy more broadly by including the voices of the target audiences of this advocacy work. This could take the form of data collection and interviews with policymakers. It could also take the form of data collection and interviews with clients of the community food providers, including both those using the services as a result of experiencing food poverty or not. For example, the latter could explore whether the full paying customers of Unity Grill had changed their perception of food poverty following their visit to the restaurant, their reason for engaging with Unity Grill, and their perception of social enterprise as a vehicle for change. Alternatively, and as a complement, future research could seek a deeper insight into one of the types of advocacy. For example, community food providers considered their data collection to be a possible impetus for policy change (section 7.3.3). Further interrogation would determine the extent to which this form of advocacy has an impact. Such research could include following the path of the data collected to different audiences, exploring who/ what it is used to inform, and if/how it is used by policymakers.

Perhaps one of the more surprising findings of the research was the relatively peaceful co-existence of multiple logics that led to the categorisation of all the

community food providers in the study as 'aligned' (section 6.3.1 and Figure 6.2) (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Future research could interrogate this finding further. Firstly, research could monitor the relationship between the logics of the different orders over time, through a longitudinal study. Secondly, research that incorporated perspectives from a wider selection of staff and volunteers would ascertain whether the relative ease with which the multiple logics were instantiated is replicated across a wider cohort of organization stakeholders. For example, whilst the founders of the social enterprise organizations were strategic in their decision to adopt this model, other stakeholders in the organization may have differing opinions given the challenges of combining market and social logics (Dey and Teasdale, 2013).

Finally, as discussed there is a dearth of literature that explores the religion and family order in both the third sector literature and wider organizational studies (Berg Johansen and Waldorff, 2015, Greenwood et al., 2009, Tracey, 2012). Given that the logics of these orders are particularly relevant for community food providers (section 6.2.6) this setting provides an ideal site for research that seeks to explore the influence of the logics of these orders further. More in-depth case study research, with a specific focus on these institutional orders, holds much promise for building on the early contributions made in this thesis.

8.9   Concluding remarks

As noted in section 4.3 this research builds upon the researcher's time spent working in practice in community food provision, both in the third and the public sector. The study was situated at a time when food poverty continued to dominate headlines and the need for this pressing social issue to be addressed was subject to emotive commentary and increasing political attention. Scotland provided a fruitful context for this study given the Scottish Government's, arguably, more progressive approach to tackling food poverty than the other countries in the UK. It is hoped that the evidence presented, and the contributions identified can not only inform theoretical development but also contribute to the body of evidence that seeks meaningful change to address food poverty in the UK.

Problem-driven research on grand social challenges, such as poverty, seeks not only to understand them but, also, to affect them and "*in so doing change the world*" (George et al., 2016, Hampel et al., 2017 pg. 581).

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Appendix 1: Recommendations of the Dignity Report

This appendix details the 19 recommendations made by the Independent Working Group on Food Poverty (2016) in the report, 'Dignity, Ending Hunger Together in Scotland' (commonly referred to as the 'Dignity Report'). The full report is available here: https://www.gov.scot/publications/dignity-ending-hunger-together-scotland-report-independendent-working-group-food/.

Recommendations

1. The Independent Working Group on Food Poverty should continue to work in partnership to help deliver the recommendations in this report.

Dignity

2. Any organisation which secures Scottish Government funding and support to work on tackling food poverty must demonstrate how its approach promotes dignity and is helping to transition away from emergency food aid as the primary response.

Understand

3. The Scottish Government should explore how the right to food can be enshrined within Scots Law.

4. The Scottish Government should introduce and fund a robust system to measure food insecurity in Scotland, alongside wider measures of poverty.

5. The Scottish Government, having established reliable population data on household food insecurity, should set stretching targets to reduce it and explore how these could be integrated within the National Performance Framework.

6. The Scottish Government should lead in communicating clearly and consistently the causes of food insecurity as identified by research.

Prevent

7. The Scottish Government should use all available devolved powers, including procurement rules, to ensure work is a reliable route out of poverty, including payment of the Living Wage as defined by the Living Wage Foundation, and the promotion of decent work more widely.

8. The Scottish Government should use new social security powers to improve the value of social security support, initially prioritising households with children through a top up to Child Benefit.

9. The Scottish Government and local authorities should prioritise investment in benefits advice and information services in order to maximise people's incomes and should carry out a review to enhance the quality of the service provided.

10. The Scottish Government should ensure key stakeholders, especially those with direct experience of the social security system, are fully involved in consultation on the forthcoming Scottish Social Security Bill, the development of the new Social Security Agency, and the creation of its new employment programmes.

11. The Scottish Government should continue to make strong representation to the UK Government with a view to reducing the risk of sanctions, maladministration, error and delay in the UK benefits system.

12. The Scottish Government and local authorities should use all available devolved powers to reduce the costs for energy, rent, transport and the school day for low income households.

13. The Scottish Government and local authorities should prioritise investment in healthy meals at school, and further explore the potential for providing healthy meals as part of school holiday programmes.

Respond

14. The Scottish Government, along with local authorities and all those responding to acute food insecurity, should ensure widespread use of the Scottish Welfare Fund as the first port of call for emergency support and ensure the Fund is administered in a way that allows this.

15. If demand for the Scottish Welfare Fund grows, the Scottish Government should increase investment in it accordingly.

16. Community food providers (including those providing food in an emergency) should work together to improve the quality of the food provided and create opportunities to enable the sharing of meals, the provision of choice, and culturally appropriate nutritious foods.

Invest

17. The social enterprise and community sector should continue the development of community food hubs across Scotland, supported by the recently expanded Fair Food Fund.

18. The Scottish Government, assisted by the Independent Working Group on Food Poverty, should work with non-government donors to increase the capacity of funding and expertise to tackle food insecurity.

19. Local authorities should work with others including those with lived experience of food poverty to develop and implement Community Food Plans, of which a central element should be reducing food insecurity and hunger.

Appendix 2: Descriptions of meso level organizations

This appendix provides brief background information on the five meso level organizations included in the study. Data presented here draws on desk-based research and interviews.

- **Community Food and Health Scotland (CFHS)**

CFHS, at the time of data collection, was part of NHS Health Scotland, a national Health Board working to reduce health inequalities and improve health. As stated on their website CFHS aims to,

> "ensure that everyone in Scotland has the opportunity, ability and confidence to access a healthy and acceptable diet for themselves, their families and their communities. We do this by supporting work with and within low-income communities that addresses health inequalities and barriers (availability, affordability, skills and culture) to healthy and affordable food."

The website also states,

> We value the experience, understanding, skills and knowledge within Scotland's community food initiatives and their unique contribution to developing and delivering policy and practice at all levels.

[https://www.communityfoodandhealth.org.uk/, accessed 20 March 2020]

The activities of CFHS include supporting grassroots community food organizations by providing networking and learning development opportunities, commissioning research and evaluation of community activity, distribution of funding to community food organizations (approx. £80,000 per annum) and providing information.

- **Independent Food Aid Network (IFAN)**

IFAN aims to

> "support and connect a range of independent frontline food aid organizations while advocating on their behalf at a national level"

[https://www.foodaidnetwork.org.uk/, accessed 16 May 2020].

IFAN has charitable status and, at the time of the interview, was largely volunteer led. The founders established IFAN following their research that identified the need for "a new alternative and progressive forum" that represents community food projects that are prepared to challenge the status quo and the institutionalisation of food aid. The report recommended the forum should,

> "engage with government and all contributing sectors to act as a catalyst for change to ultimately stem the growth and end the need for charitable food assistance" [Mayfield, S, 2015 pg. 3, available:

https://www.wcmt.org.uk/sites/default/files/report-documents/Mayfield%20S%20Report%202015%20Final_1.pdf

- **SENSCOT**

SENSCOT works to,

> "ensure that social enterprises in Scotland have the support they need to deliver positive outcomes in their communities."

[https://senscot.net/about-us/, accessed 20 March 2020].

Their main functions are to inform, connect, consult, develop, and represent. The latter includes representing the interests of social enterprises by liaising with the Scottish Government to ensure that policy creation is both fair and effective. SENSCOT supports a series of Social Enterprise Networks (SENs) based on both geographical location and themes, including one on 'Community Food'.

- **Cultural Enterprise Office**

Cultural Enterprise Office as called at the time of data collection, provides dedicated business support for the creative industries, offering support to a range of businesses including social enterprise. CEO is a social enterprise, which evolved from a project funded by Glasgow City Council exploring *"how do we support creative entrepreneurs and creative enterprises to do good things",* to become a national level organization.

- **Nourish Scotland**

Nourish is an NGO campaigning on food justice issues in Scotland. The organization seeks a transformation of the whole food system and, therefore, they work across food issues including health, inequality and social justice, environmental justice, and the local food economy. Their website states that

> "We also link the levels, supporting grassroots community efforts and influencing national policy and legislation – and using each to inform the other".

[http://www.nourishscotland.org/about/vision-and-aims/, accessed 13 Jan 2020]

Regarding food insecurity they formally campaign for a Right to Food, advocating at both policy and grassroots levels. Their 'Dignity in Practice' project, aims to support community food providers to reflect on and transition their practice towards a more dignified response to food insecurity, ultimately seeking a future where nobody requires a food bank.