

Fresh Food Markets and Community Resilience

GEOG402 Research Project

Jack Hao

Marney Ainsworth

Simon Roper

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Retrieved from People's Grocery (2016).

“The people ... are tired of being the object. They want to be both the subject and the verb” (PPS, 2016a: 33).

“Endogenous resilience will be key for the survival of Christchurch as a community with a future” (Wilson, 2013: 214).

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Abstract

Community development that leads to resilience is essential to recovery in post-earthquake Christchurch. Fostering such community development leads to greater adaptability in the post-earthquake environment, combats some of the effects of socioeconomic deprivation, and increases communities' capacity to respond to future disasters.

This study explores community development and resilience through food markets with social goals, outlining how international and Christchurch markets contribute. International case studies are explored from the literature, and local case studies are examined through interviews with market operators. Findings support that fresh food markets are effective means of community development. To be most effective, fresh food markets must have clear community-based goals, be led by the community they serve, encourage dialogue with customers as a feedback system, offer alternative activities at or near the market in addition to food, are open at a regular place and time, and either use their own resources or have strong local government relationships.

Markets that show these characteristics foster social interaction and engagement, leading to placemaking, solidarity, and community agency. This results in consistent customer bases, and financial viability, contributing to long-term resilience outcomes.

Introduction

The devastating consequences of the Canterbury earthquakes from September 2010 onwards have had a profound impact on how many Christchurch people view the world. Days without water, power and access to food were stark reminders of how existing systems were vulnerable to disruption and destruction (Edible Canterbury, 2016). Additionally, the probability of another large earthquake from the Alpine Fault (Yetton, Wells & Traylen, 1998), combined with a growing consciousness of the negative health impacts of rising inequality, and of industrial agriculture and processed food, has prompted many to look for better ways of securing locally produced, accessible food supplies.

Edible Canterbury is a charter-based organisation that sprang up after the earthquakes to address these issues (Edible Canterbury, 2016). Its *Food Resilience Network Action Plan* has been endorsed by twenty organisations including, in October 2014, the Christchurch City Council. The Plan recognises that encouraging “more localised food production, distribution and access to healthy food” (CCC, 2014b). In November 2014, the Christchurch City Council went further and adopted a Food Resilience Policy. Together, these documents underpin the shared vision of a “food resilient Christchurch with thriving social, economic and physical environments providing healthy, affordable and locally grown food for all people in the best edible garden city in the world” (CCC, 2014a).

Both policy documents emphasise the importance of distributing fresh food through diverse distribution channels such as farmers¹ markets, green grocers, local food cooperatives, community kitchens and boxed food delivery (CCC, 2014a). These are all types of fresh food markets.

¹ There are farmers’ markets which belong to farmers, and there are farmers markets which belong to all involved. This report omits the apostrophe.

Outline and Methodology

Given the importance of fresh food markets to achieving the goals of food resilience, this report considers the following questions:

1. Why is food resilience and community development important in post-earthquake Christchurch?
2. How do fresh food markets contribute to community resilience and community development?
3. What are the essential characteristics of a fresh food market that contribute successfully to community development and community resilience?

It does so, first, by defining the terms *resilience*, *community*, *community development* and *placemaking*. Following a review of the history of fresh food markets, the characteristics of success and inclusiveness are identified.

Case studies outside the Christchurch area were identified according to a literature search based on the community resilience, and community development.

We then report on the results of our local research obtained by interviewing six market operators in semi-structured interviews.

The report concludes with characteristics of markets that lead to the most effective contribution to community development and resilience.

Food Resilience

For Christchurch there are main reasons why food resilience is important. Fostering a culture of community-led development in Christchurch that is also focussed on food resilience will support badly affected communities to overcome the effects of both the earthquake, and some of the effects of social deprivation, while improving preparedness for future disasters.

Disaster Preparedness

All natural disasters involve a 'rupture' where the activities of a community are disrupted. In a classical model, post-disaster pathways follow one of three options (Figure 1), with the best prepared communities 'enjoying' the least possible disruption (given the circumstances), and a pathway of steady adjustment and recovery.

Poorly or underprepared communities may fail to survive.

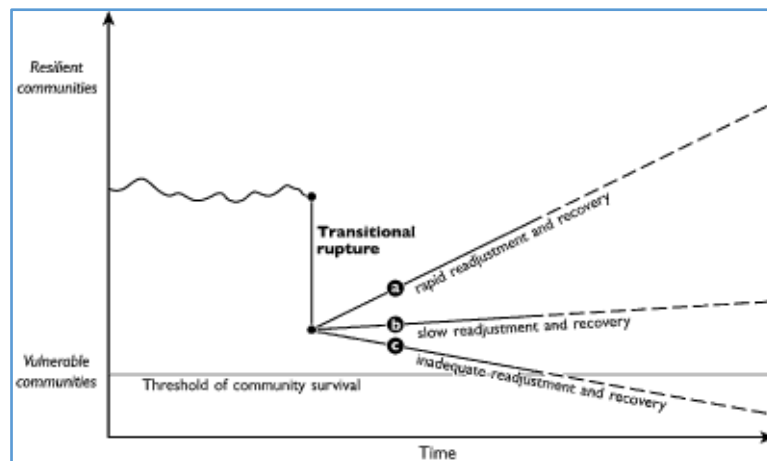


Figure 1: A 'classical' model of transitional ruptures and post-disturbance adaptive strategies. Retrieved from Wilson (2013: 212).

This model is based on recovery from a single event. Christchurch's recovery has been affected by the multiple earthquake sequences. Combined with a lack of preparedness prior to 2010, the situation now exists where strategies for adaptation and readjustment are not clear (Wilson 2013:13).

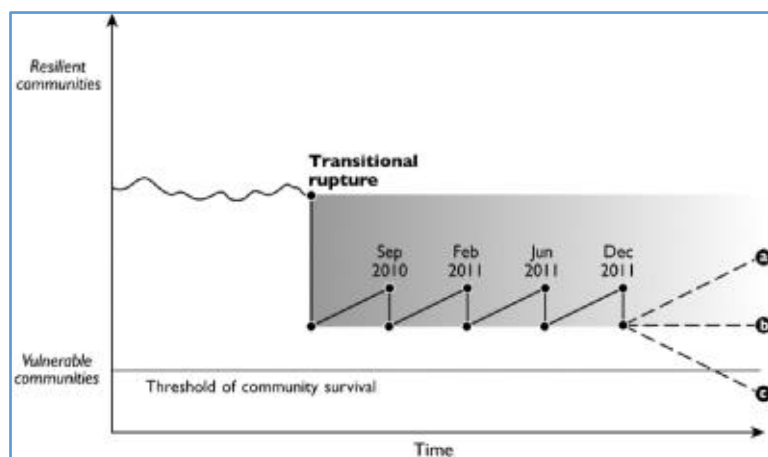


Figure 2: The Christchurch earthquakes since 2010 as a fuzzy transitional rupture with unclear readjustment strategies. Retrieved from Wilson (2013: 213).

Christchurch needs to learn lessons from not being properly prepared. Access to food was disrupted and communities had to take matters into their own hands. As post-Hurricane Sandy New York discovered, disaster response and relief is futile when this is not accompanied, or even exceeded by efforts to build community preparedness (Joseph, 2013: 5).

Exclusion

This lack of preparedness had significant implications for the badly affected communities in the east of Christchurch (CCC, 2015: 27), communities that were also among those overlooked, neglected or detrimentally affected by the immediate post-earthquake official responses (Phibbs, et al., 2015, Thornley, et al., 2015, Cretney, 2015, All Right, 2013, Wilson, 2013: 214).

Deprivation

These worst hit areas are also those with the highest levels of economic and social deprivation in Christchurch. Deprivation is measured by eight criteria (Appendix 1), three of which relate to food - cutting quality by buying cheaper food, using food banks due to not having enough money to buy food, or going without fresh fruit and vegetables.

In Christchurch, the eight of the ten decile nine areas are in the east, as is the most deprived (decile ten) area (Aranui).

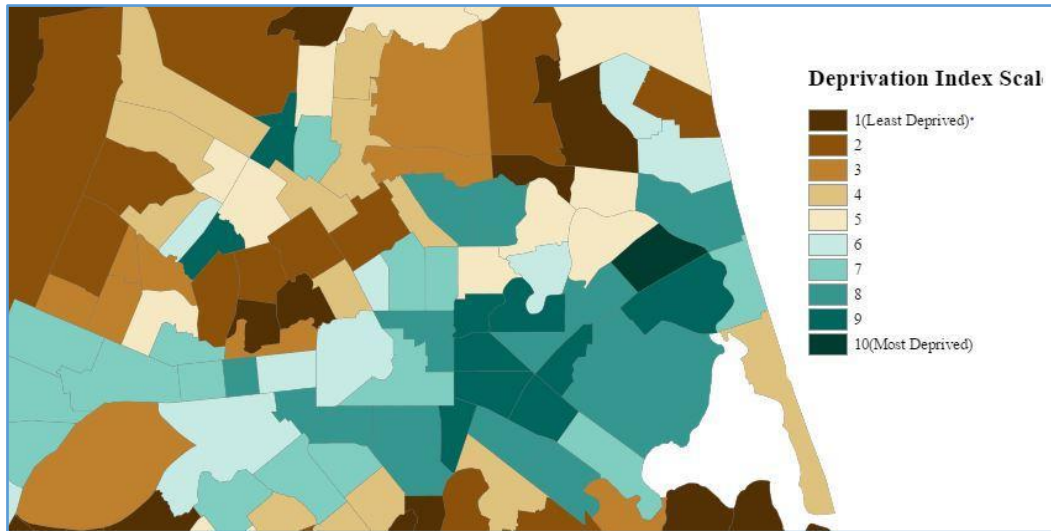


Figure 3: Christchurch Census Areas coded by deprivation. Retrieved from Singh (2014).

Relocalising food production and distribution is an essential part of building strong, internally generated resilience, as the policies of the Christchurch City Council and the Food Resilience Network have recognised in 2014. It is also an essential part of the transition from oil dependency to a strongly sustainable future:

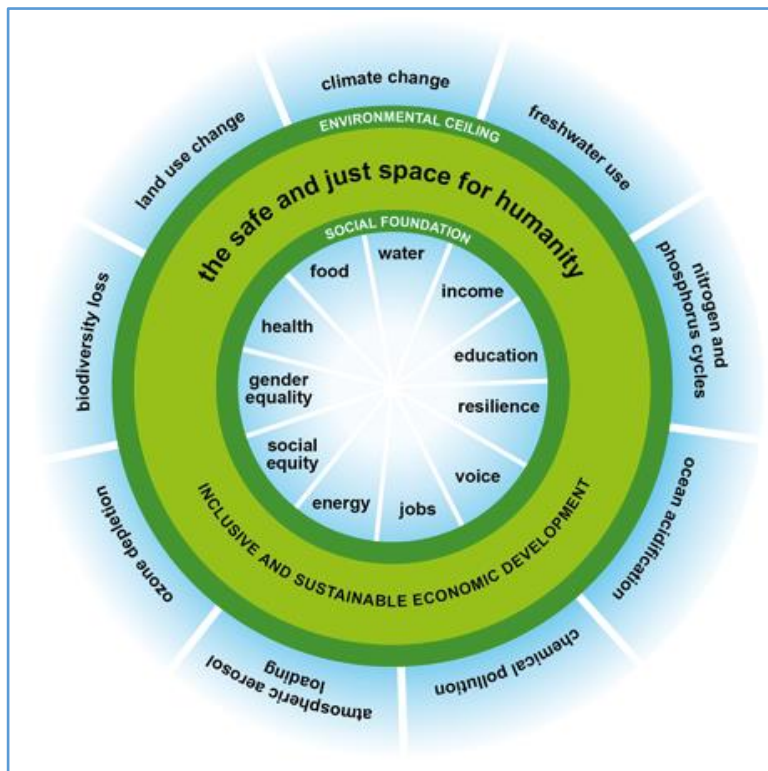


Figure 4: Space for Humanity - Strong Sustainability Model. Retrieved from Brundiers (2015).

Where previous choices have been driven by entrenched attitudes, customs and practices, imposed from above, alternative pathways require conscious choice to create change (Wilson, 2012: 111-144). This means using the transformational potential of the post-disaster environment to do things differently than before, to “maintain a culture of possibility” (CCC, 2015: 23).

Wilson (2012: 209) emphasises that strong resilience is a moral choice that leads and informs a community’s development.

Resilient Communities

What is Resilience?

Resilience is the ability of an individual or community to respond and adapt successfully to change. Communities that have achieved strong resilience are able “to hold together and maintain their ability to function in the face of change and shocks from the outside (Hopkins, 2008: 12)”.

Strongly resilient communities are those that have achieved a balance between the social, economic and environmental needs (capitals) of the individuals, households and stakeholder groups who make up the community (Wilson, 2012).

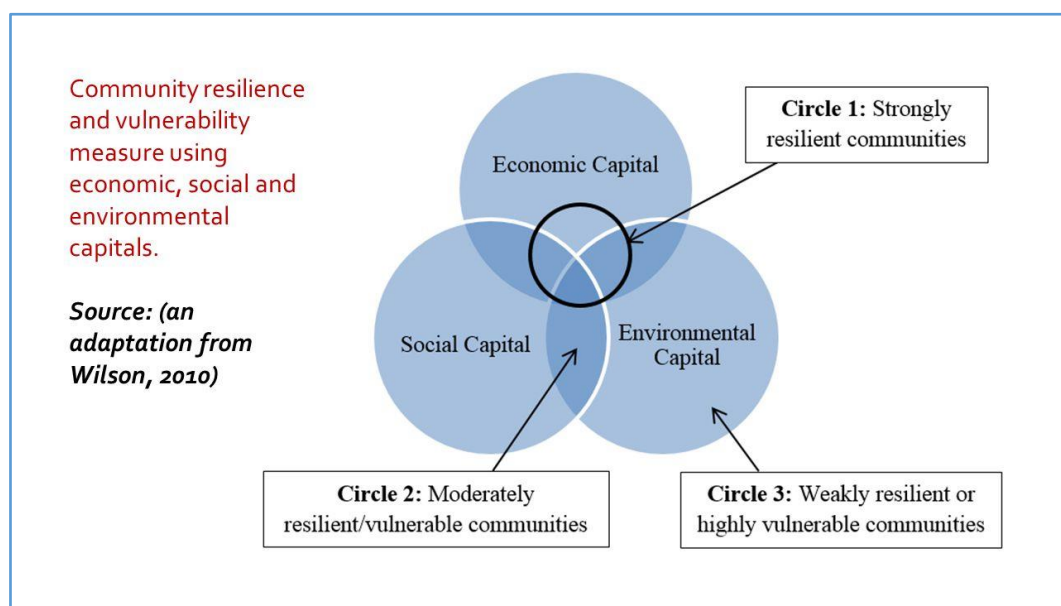


Figure 5: Strong resilience. Retrieved from Kamarudin et al. (2014).

Both Hopkins and Wilson (2012) emphasise that diversity of systems and responses are prerequisites for resilience at a community level. Hopkins argues that ‘rebuilding’ localised resilience is essential for the transition to the lower-energy economy required by peak oil and climate change.

Plough, et al. (2013) note that community resilience involves a ‘paradigm shift’ away from overcoming community vulnerabilities towards identifying and amplifying community strengths or assets.

For Wilson (2012: 209), strong endogenous resilience is achieved using consciously chosen processes of bottom-up participation that lead and inform the community’s choice of resilience priorities. This includes identifying and moving beyond the entrenched attitudes, customs and practices that have driven previous choices

imposed from above. Relocalising food production and distribution is an essential part of building strong, internally generated (endogenous) resilience.

What is a Community?

In the context of resilience, Wilson (2012: 8) defines a community as "an affective unit of belonging and identity and a network of relations, usually within a defined geographical space." This is because resilience is achieved in the context of a specific natural environment, by individuals, separately and together in their social groups. Because communities are not homogenous, resilience must be built from the ground up along a variety of differing pathways - by individuals, households and stakeholder groups.

In practice, however, there are two types of communities, those centred around a location, and those that form around shared interests and circumstances. This second type of community may form to pursue a shared interest, but often they form because a lack of inclusiveness of the people, or agencies operating, in the locality (Bhattacharyya, 2014).

Resilience becomes real only when actions taken in a specific locality aggregate to achieve tangible change at the level of the local community (Wilson, 2012: 34-36).

What is Community Development?

Developing a community towards resilience requires adopting processes that widen and deepen inclusiveness. Bhattacharyya's definition of community development addresses this by defining community development as the process of "fostering social relations that are increasingly characterised by solidarity and agency (Bhattacharyya, 2004: 14)". By solidarity, he means shared identity, norms and meaning. By agency he means "the capacity of people to order their world, to define themselves rather than being defined by others (Bhattacharyya, 2004: xx).

Bhattacharyya's three overlapping principles of community development - self-help, felt needs and participation - imply that community development projects ought to be demand-based, supporting communities to resolve issues they have problematised themselves.

Dixon (2011: i30) emphasises the importance of social networks "local, face-to-face, and small-scale interaction" in achieving community development which is "being-in-common, or working together to achieve both shared and individual ends".

Community development building solidarity and agency also builds social capital. Social capital is the "resources based on connections and group membership" that confer "strength, power and consequently profit on their holder (Bourdieu, 1987: 4)."

In a community development context, social capital is the ability of community members to work together collectively - identifying a shared vision and values,

converting these into goals, priorities and plans they act together to achieve, as this figure suggests:

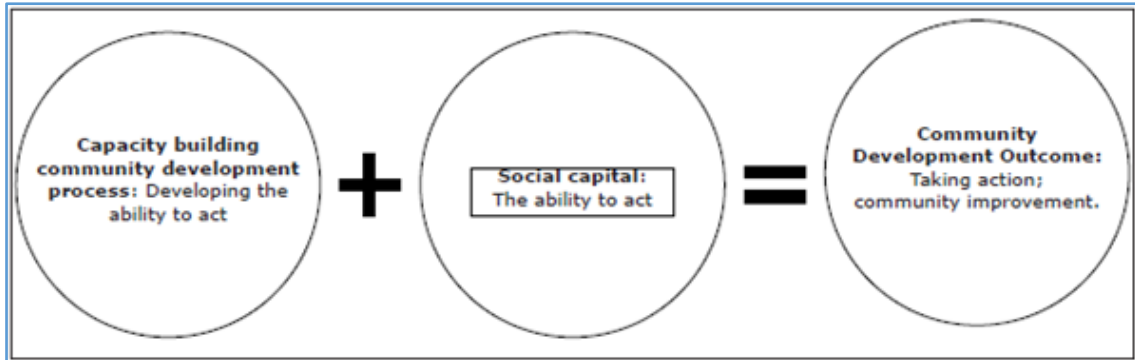


Figure 6: Community Development Chain. Retrieved from Phillips and Pittman (1989: 51).

Wilson (2012: 22-23) notes that without social capital, resilience is not possible. Hence, community development that builds solidarity and agency is integral to resilience.

What is Placemaking?

Walljasper and the Project for Public Spaces (PPS, 2007: 1 - 4) describe neighbourhoods as “the basic unit of civilisation” and placemaking as the result of the efforts of locals who care about the neighbourhood they live in, frequently ‘zealous nuts’ who tend to follow a pattern:

- Identify a problem
- Recognise that waiting for the authorities to act will (likely) be futile
- Shape a general vision
- Make alliances and communicate the idea to the rest of the neighbourhood

Concerned about the professionalisation of placemaking, Arefi (2014) identifies three competing paradigms - top-down (needs-based driven by experts and officials), bottom-up (opportunity based usually spontaneous driven out of a location) and a combination of the two – assets, or strengths, based.

Placemaking Paradigms			
	Needs-based	Opportunity-based	Asset-based
Epistemology	Expert knowledge	Local knowledge	Situated knowledge
Relationships	Top-down / hierarchical	Bottom-up / grassroots	Partnership / networking
Outcomes	Dependency	Clientelism / co-optation / governance	Capacity building
Processes	Plan, upgrade, preserve	Occupy, densify, legalise	Identify, leverage, manage
System/rationale	Dominating	Spontaneous	Mediating
Design/planning mechanism	Top-down / hierarchical	Bottom-up / ad hoc	Participatory equalising
Method of conflict resolution	Legal	Co-optation	Mediation

Table 1: Three Approaches to Placemaking. Adapted from Arefi (2014).

Asset-based placemaking is “both a process and a philosophy” (PPS, 2016a), an “iterative and interactive process” where on-going engagement between community members is essential to create the sense of belonging created when community members are the “maker, not just a recipient of a place (Silberberg, et al., 2013)”. Placemaking, done as an open-source exercise, builds social capital, develops community and restores political voice.

The Project for Public Spaces lists fresh food markets as a key tool of placemaking. By connecting people to spaces, successful markets established using community development processes generate regular customers. In doing so, markets create places that help build resilient social networks, create a sense of belonging that deepens over time, and develops the solidarity and agency of both customers and stallholders alike.

Fresh Food Markets

History

In his review of the history of farmers markets in Canada, Basil (2012) notes that markets established in colonised countries have a different history than those with a long-standing traditional culture, and which is often connected with the history of retailing.

His first phase (1800-1915) saw migrants establishing European-style public markets. An example is the Queen Victoria Market in Melbourne, opened in 1878, and the last survivor of several markets that existed before 1842 when the Melbourne City Council was established to manage them (QVM, 2016).

The second phase is associated with stagnation for reasons including increased regulation and the establishment of supermarkets.

The third phase, from the 1970s onwards, saw a resurgence of fresh food markets as citizen-consumers and small producers joined forces to sidestep industrial food production and supermarket domination, and urban communities took steps to overcome their own deprivations. The theories of Whyte (1980) and Jacobs (1961), mentors of the Project for Public Places (PPS) established in 1975 informed this movement (PPS, 2016c). The 2015 Public Markets Declaration notes that markets are central to neighbourhood resilience (PPS, 2015).

Characteristics for Success

Fresh food markets are well studied and resources (Appendix 4) exist for setting up markets in one of five basic layouts - linear, grid, circular, terraced, and radial; and three forms - street, covered, indoor Flynn (2014). Resources also exist for evaluating the operation of markets across the range of 'capitals' a market creates - economic, human, social and ecological (Jeong, Roubal and Morales, 2015).

Research (PPS, 2016d) shows that a successful market has a dedicated manager. Because this usually means a paid manager, the market operator needs a source of revenue other than stall fees which need to be very low to attract and retain vendors. The type of fee charged may also affect the stability of the market. Season long fees are best, encouraging regular stalls ensuring certainty from a customer's perspective.

Markets emphasising community development agenda have clearly defined placemaking goals to transform, revitalise and recentre communities, and a balance of social, economic and environmental goals. (PPS, 2008, Parham, 2012).

Ideally, the location of the market is decided with the community it serves. This may mean experimenting with locations until the one that best suits the neighbourhood is found. Location is a vital part of generating a sense of community ownership and catalysing neighbourhood development (PPS, 2016f).

Other success criteria for fresh food markets tend to fall into three categories – from the suppliers’ or food producers’ perspective, from the perspective of the community the market serves, and from a public health/ health promotion perspective (food that is safe and nutritious).

From the market operator perspective	From the customer / visitor perspective
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vendors Good product mix Visible location Clarity of vision/location Professional Management Provide value to customers & community Build Partnerships Promotion Solid financial plan Vibrant public space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Full day hours of operation Accessible central location Protection from the elements Navigable aisles Broad selection of goods Affordability Safety Prepared food and seating Multi-level vending Integration of public space and/or pedestrian streets
Adapted from Farmers’ Market America (2008)	Adapted from Flynn (2014).

Table 2: Characteristics of Successful Markets

Fresh food markets are ideal vehicles for promoting the strategies of health-related community development contained the 1986 *Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion* such as developing personal skills, strengthening community action and building supportive environments (WHO, 1986).

Characteristics of Inclusiveness

An analysis of the literature from the perspective of resilience and community development reveals the qualities that contribute to inclusiveness and, therefore, resilience and social capital (PPS, 2016f; PPS, 2016d; PPS, 2008; Parham, 2012: 247; Eversole, et al., 2013; United Way, 2011).

In the US, being able to accept government vouchers as payment has been a crucial means of signalling inclusiveness, and an attitude that low income people have the right to access fresh food (PPS, 2016c).

Other ways that inclusiveness is signalled take advantage of the fact that markets that combine a range of activities are more successful, eg education, health, than those who sell food (and other goods) only.

Means of growing inclusiveness include:

- Having programmes for young people and youth development;
- Clustering activity of other organisations eg clubs, healthcare screening and outreach or schools, so the market becomes a community hub;
- Builds strong relationships with community stakeholders and local government;
- Actively ensuring the market is NOT culturally homogenous by having strategies for:
 - Bringing in new arrivals to the community and introducing them to the market as customers and vendors;
 - recruiting growers and vendors who reflect the range of diversity of the low and medium income target customers;
- Specific capacity building opportunities for otherwise excluded individuals; and
- Access to translation capacity when needed and multi lingual signs.

PPS (2016x) identifies that having ten or more activities at or near a market leads to greater engagement with a place and higher likelihood of people returning.

Fresh food markets are a technique of community development. How food markets and community development intersect is summarised this diagram. Through operating in this way, markets attract community members and encourage returning to the market, helping vendors meet financial goals through consistent custom.



Figure 7: The intersection of outcomes, market and community goals. Adapted from PPS (2008).

International Case Studies

The following case studies have been chosen to show how fresh food markets have successfully contributed to building the solidarity and agency of the communities they serve.

The Mobile Good Food Market, Toronto, Canada

Following research (United Way, 2011) which identified the geographical distribution of poverty and food deserts in Toronto, in particular the isolation and deprivation experienced by residents of high rise buildings, a collaboration of three organisations (including the City of Toronto), established a fresh food market in a converted truck. Supplying food requested by residents, into areas identified in consultation with the residents themselves, the twice-weekly mobile service increases access to fresh, healthy food and also provides a regular meeting point for residents to meet and exchange information (EWAO, 2016).

This initiative was one of a long line activities by FoodShare, Toronto that set up in the late 1980s. Starting with distributing donated food, the group shifted towards activities that built solidarity and agency in the affected communities. This included setting up a community garden (FoodShare, 2016).



Figure 8: The Toronto Good Food Market bus. Retrieved from FoodShare (2016).

Flint, Michigan, USA

The City of Flint is known for the serious and prolonged contamination of its drinking water by lead, and the devastating impact on the low-income population. The market in Flint was established in 1905 in a location away from where the population it served. A placemaking exercise focussed to the market was set up with the goal to “strengthen the link between place, access and health and solve the diet-related problems” (PPS, 2016f). In June 2014, the market was shifted to a new site agreed by the community closer to the community it serves. Other services have been collocated with the market. Research shows that residents now have better access to healthy food, and the market contributes to the community redevelopment by attracting new life and business to post-industrial downtown. In 2015, the American Planning Association announced the market as one of six “Great Places in America” (PPS, 2016f).

Gascoyne Growers Markets, Western Australia

Established in 2001, the Gascoyne Growers Markets in northwest Western Australia have community development goals to improve health outcomes and build social capital by encouraging social integration. Established as a result of a cooperative relationship between health agencies, growers and the local city council, its social capital goals also included building capability in governance skills. Research shows that community pride and local food consumption increased after the market opened. The integration of a public health perspective into a community-based food system has resulted in increased consumption of fruit and vegetables. Other factors contributing to its success are a location convenient for customers; including producers and vendors in governance; and the partnership with local agencies (Payet, 2005).

Cedar Rapids, Iowa

The Cedar Rapids Downtown Farmers Market, set up in 2008 by an alliance of local groups and vendors, shows how markets can encourage community development and greater resilience. Set up after a flood that devastated the downtown area, it was consciously located in a food desert. The specific site was selected following an in-depth research of local food provision and the community’s purchasing capacity. This research identified a program of uses and activities to ensure year-round activity and sustained use. These include special events and entertainment like music concert and cuisine competitions. This market has become a central place for social meeting and communication, and a post-flood symbol of revitalization (PPS, 2016).

West Oakland Peoples' Grocery, Bay Area, California

West Oakland is an inner-city community of 25,000 residents who are predominantly African American and Latino (Peoples' Community Markets, 2016). The West Oakland People's Grocery has three goals: improving local access to fresh, healthy food; stimulating economic growth in West Oakland; and building a close-knit, racially-integrated community (People's Grocery, 2012). Previously, local residents spent 30% of their food budget on transportation to out-of-area supermarkets.

Started in 2002 by three people, the initiative has evolved over several iterations to its current (2013) form of a physical grocery store; a youth program delivering workshops about nutrition, fast food, obesity, gardening; and a site for organic farming that provides produce to local schools, churches and community venues. Its close partnerships with other community groups and organisations has helped to build cross-racial and cross-cultural food systems. Its success shows that linking fresh food, health promotion, education, and collaborative networking contributes to the sustainable community-led development.

Gyrumi, Armenia

Gyrumi was struck by an earthquake in 1988. By 2001, many people were still living in temporary settlements and important civic areas lay abandoned, including the central square. In 2011 a structured placemaking process commenced focussed on the central square. Funded by a government grant, a series of workshops generated ideas that were implemented, on an on-going basis if they proved popular.

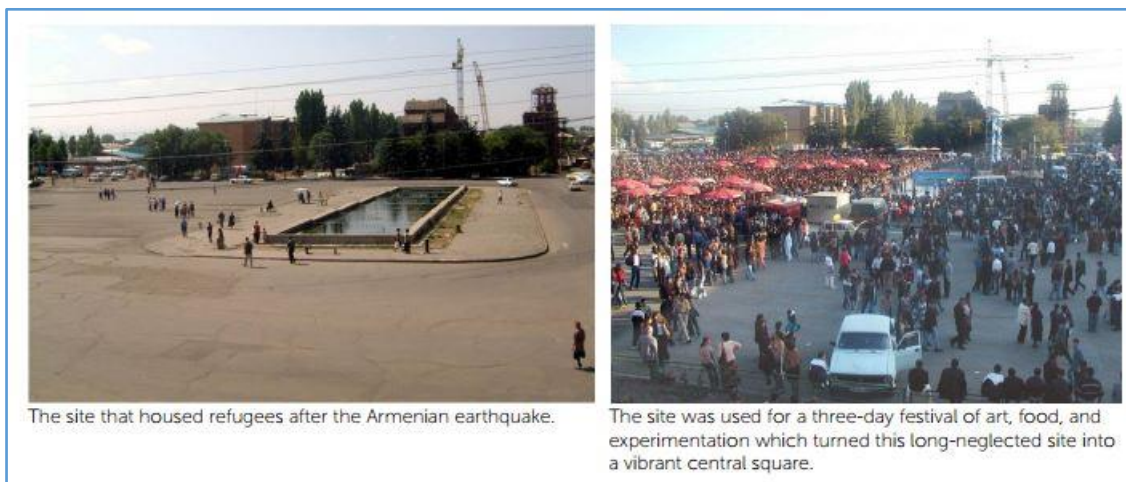


Figure 9: Before and after placemaking, Gyrumi Central Square. Retrieved from PPS (2016e).

Suggestions from citizens included building a regular flower market and holding special events like dances, wrestling matches and children programs. From small beginnings, a cross sector collaboration was generated that exceeded anything existing prior to the earthquake, and which continues to trial ideas contributed from the public (PPS, 2016e: 27-28).

Fresh Food Markets in Ōtautahi Christchurch

Background

Market Square was the site of Ōtautahi's (pre-Christchurch's) traditional market. Originally part of Puari, the village that surrounded the Waitaka Pā that existed between 1000 and 1500, the area known as Market Square was important to Ngāi Tahu as a trading and meeting place (Christchurch City Libraries, 2016).

Later, in the 1850s, it was where Ngāi Tahu Māori traded with the European settlers (Te Karaka, 2013), who in turn set up stalls and outlets on the site. The marketplace was incorporated into the plans for the colonial city:

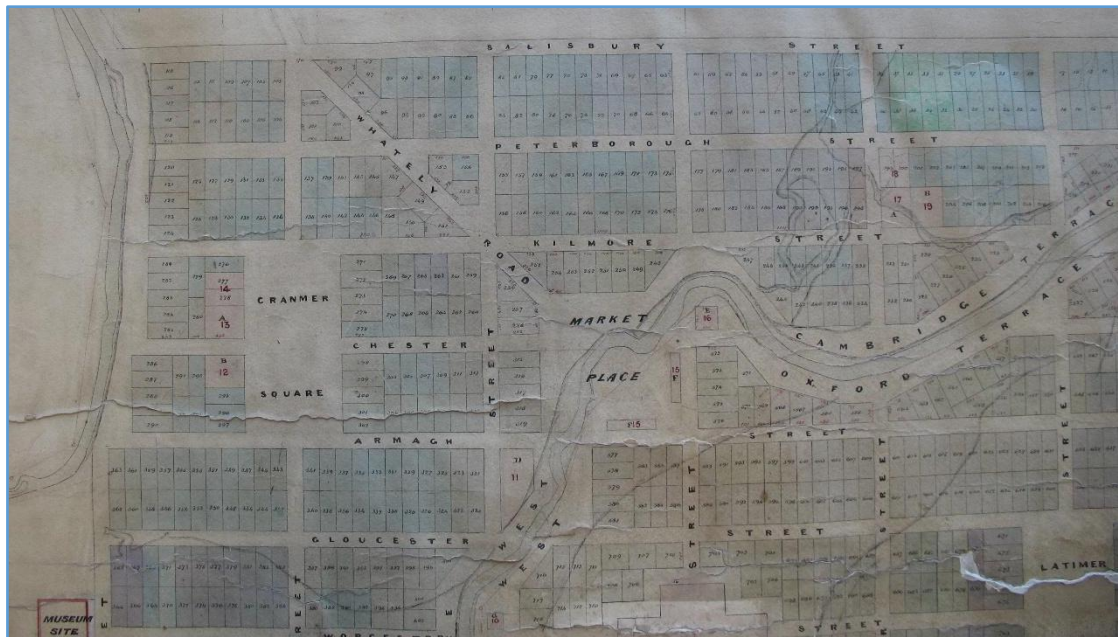


Figure 10: Historical map of Market Place. Retrieved from Lucas Associates (n.d.).

As the “trading heart” it “housed regular market days and fairs” (Pollock, 2013). This thriving activity continued over several decades until the Christchurch City Council to charge vendors rent caused the market to die – by 1896 the markets had abandoned the site. The area was renamed to Victoria Square in 1903 (Bulovic, 2013).

Like elsewhere, the absence of a central fresh food market was replaced by green grocers, self-service grocery stores (from 1950s) and supermarkets (from 1963) (Walrond, 2016).

Of the existing markets, the oldest is the Riccarton Market which started life in 1989 as a car-boot sale market to raise funds for local Rotary clubs (Riccarton Market, n.d.).

Christchurch Fresh Food Markets

Appendix 2 lists the alternative food networks, including food banks and markets, we identified in an online search. After categorising these into existing, ephemeral (no longer existing) and proposed, we selected six for our study.

Five markets were chosen based on contactability, including two existing markets (Mt. Pleasant and Pages Road markets), two ephemeral markets (International and Downtown markets) and one proposed market (Undercover Market). One interviewee, selected based on expert knowledge on food resilience and projects, ended up offering information as an operator of the Peterborough Urban Farm.

We spoke to the market managers in semi-structured interviews (developed according to de Vaus (2014)'s guidelines). Beforehand, we sent sending them our questions aimed to explore how fresh food markets in Christchurch contribute to community resilience, community development and placemaking. A full list of research questions is in Appendix 5.

Interviews were conducted informally. Respondents were encouraged to tell the story of their market as they saw fit. Near the conclusion of the interview, any unaddressed prompt questions were asked directly.

Mt Pleasant Farmers Market

In the aftermath of the February 2011 earthquake, the Mt. Pleasant community was without food, water and power. In response, the community set up the Mt. Pleasant Farmers Market on private land owned by the My Pleasant Community Association, to provide food, water and a social hub for locals.

The market was successful in encouraging solidarity by bringing together people with shared experiences and common needs. Because the market relies on a feedback system from the populace it serves, it is an exercise in community agency. The market also contributes to resilience and social capital, through building capacity to respond to disruption.

The market has been part of a placemaking venture for locals, as the support from community members immediately after the aftershock was given at the first market day. The commitment by the market to operate every Saturday has been vital to its success - the market is built into their weekly routines. This ensures consistent income for vendors, and the market becomes a long-term viable economic option.

In addition to food, the market also serves as a centre for fundraising activities. Locals are encouraged to fundraise, particularly for students' overseas travel. The community raised almost \$2.5 million after the earthquakes to repair damage to their community centre.

The main challenge of the market recently has been the attempted transition from management by an individual champion to a committee. Because a committee is less able to make quick decisions, this looks an unlikely long-term option.

Peterborough Urban Farm

The Peterborough Urban Farm was established as a transitional project to increase food resilience as a part of the Food Resilience Network under Cultivate Christchurch. Its goals are to make people feel closer to food and involved in a community venture, and to provide support for lower socioeconomic groups. It markets its product to local restaurants, door-to-door sales, and supplying Ooooby, a local food distribution network.

To set up new farms in the Network, farm operators wait until they are invited into new areas by community members. These operations are customised by dialogue between customers and market operators, a feedback system that also determines produce grown, pricing, and timebank-eligible activities. The farm works with Cultivate Waste, collecting waste from local businesses for composting, and provides work experience for five interns who set their own goals. Being involved in the market helps develop a connection with the place, and encourages social interaction, increasing solidarity.

By providing access to fresh food and youth internships increases the economic and social resilience of communities, as they gain skills and experience that can be used for future jobs. The social goals of the farm attract people, increase involvement, and make a place that ensures people continue to interact with the farm in the future, securing financial viability.

Christchurch International Market

Concern about the oversight of the needs of un- and underemployed migrants led to the establishment of the Christchurch International Market. Most recently located on Peterborough Street, the market established in 2013 by the Canterbury Business Association as a transitional project to give opportunities around income, training and community integration for migrants and refugees.

The market placed emphasis on training and upskilling vendors, which has fostered a community of interest between migrants and refugees at the market. This community bonds over shared activity and training, increasing solidarity, whilst training and market operations are an exercise in agency.

Training and licensing also increases the economic resilience of vendors, as they have a broader skillset to draw on in their work. Lack of access to public land means the

market needs the support of local government and related organisations to operate. Issues in these relationships have resulted in the temporary closure of the market, stalling further community development and resilience.

Linwood /Pages Rd Community Market

Prior to the earthquakes, a market operated out of the Ngā Hau E Wha National Marae on Pages Rd. It also supplied local rest home. After the marae was closed due to earthquake damage, the market shifted to a backpackers' carpark near the marae.

The Pages Road Community Market aims to provide access to fresh food for lower income people and offer a place for locals to interact. In this way, the market increases community solidarity through social interaction. It serves the Linwood community, located in a low socioeconomic area, in a food desert between New Brighton supermarket and Linwood Avenue supermarket (approximately 7 kilometres apart). Hence, it provides fresh food to people who would otherwise not have access locally. This increases the food resilience of the area, and has helped locals post-disaster. The market continues to operate on Thursday mornings, as it did at the marae, meaning retired, un- or under-employed people are its main customer base. The market operates from private land, so council involvement and setup costs are minimal. Its operators attribute success to variety in stalls, including fresh food, a bakery, spring flower and vegetable plants, children's toys and clothing, as well as local businesses nearby that attract locals.

Proposed Christchurch Undercover Market

The Undercover Market planned for Christchurch's central city has yet to be established.

Aiming to encourage local living and revive activity in the central city, the operators have secured funding from a shed building company, are searching for skilled persons to help set up the market, and have requested land from Christchurch's city council.

Despite an undercover market in the central city featuring strongly in the 2011 Share An Idea community engagement platform, the market has yet to go ahead. Announcements from the city council promised for February 2016 have yet to be delivered.

Downtown Farmers Market

The Downtown Farmers Market was set up in June 2015 at the Commons by two central city community members, supported by Gap Filler. The market opened with approximately 4500 customers on its first day. By October 2015 was failing: a lack of regular customers living nearby meant the market lost vendors. This market is hence an example of an imbalance of community and market goals. The market closed in January 2016.

Conclusions

Our research confirms that fresh food markets are at the intersection of community and resilience. Our research finds that markets that successfully contribute to community development and resilience show the following characteristics.

First, they understand that markets are a means of community development. A successful market is led by the community it serves. This requires close interaction which allows the market operators and vendors to respond to what the community wants.

A successful market is open at a regular time and place inside the community it serves. This improves access for locals so they incorporate the market into their regular routines, leading to greater social engagement and financial viability.

Successful markets are also community led, and encourage a dialogue and feedback system. This shapes market operations and encourages market success, as people feel more involved in how their market operates. This contributes to community solidarity and agency, strengthening community relationships and networks.

Successful markets, particularly in Christchurch, must also be able to take things into their own hands, for example through access to private land, or have effective local government relationships. Those markets that have succeeded have found ways to set up without official assistance or approvals, or have strong local government support.

Markets that show these characteristics encourage social interaction and engagement, resulting in processes of placemaking and building community solidarity and agency.

Limitations

This analysis is limited in applicability. Our local case studies are specific to the opportunities and challenges of post-disaster Christchurch, and so are most applicable in a similar setting.

The international case studies used are literature based and include only markets in Basil (2012)'s third phase. The international markets presented are also mainly from the USA, as this was where literature was most readily available.

This research does not consider the links between the grower and consumer, or other aspects of the supply chain.

Finally, our local case studies do not reveal everything that has made each local market successful. Only those characteristics relating to community development building solidarity and agency has been reported on in literature or offered in interviews were analysed. To preserve anonymity the names of interviewees has been excluded.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Deprivation Criteria

Yes/no answers are required.

Buying cheap food:

In the last 12 months have you personally been forced to buy cheaper food so that you could pay for other things you needed?

Unemployment: defined as no for those 65 and over, and for full-time care-givers/home-makers; otherwise:

In the last 12 months, have you been out of paid work at any time for more than one month?

Being on a means-tested benefit:

In the 12 months ending today did you yourself receive payments from any of these three benefits: Jobseeker Support, Sole Parent Support or Supported Living Payment?

Feeling cold to save on heating costs:

In the last 12 months have you personally put up with feeling cold to save heating costs?

Help obtaining food:

In the last 12 months have you personally made use of special food grants or food banks because you did not have enough money for food?

Wearing worn-out shoes:

In the last 12 months have you personally continued wearing shoes with holes because you could not afford replacement?

Going without fresh fruit and vegetables:

In the last 12 months have you personally gone without fresh fruit and vegetables, often, so that you could pay for other things you needed?

Help from community organisations:

In the last 12 months have you personally received help in the form of clothes or money from a community organisation (like the Salvation Army)?

Source: NZIDep, (2014). *An index of socio-economic deprivation for individuals.*

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Appendix 2: Christchurch Alternative Food Networks, March 2016

Key: **Interviewed**

Name of Market	Location	Established	Open
Akaroa Farmers Market	Madeira Car Park, Akaroa	pre-2011	Saturdays, 9:30am-1pm, Spring-Autumn
Aranui Food Bank	309 Breezes Road, Aranui, Christchurch 8061	2001	Tuesday, Thursday Friday, 10am-12noon
Bromley Monthly Market Day	Bromley Community Centre	2001	Last Sunday of the month, 11-3, or 10-2
Canterbury - Garden City 2.0	Delivered to homes	2013	No longer operating
Christchurch Farmer's Market	Riccarton House & Bush	2003	Saturday from 9am until 1pm all year round
Christchurch International Market	100 Peterborough Street	2015	Currently closed
Christchurch South Fruit and Vegetable Collective (Inc)	12B Bower Ave, North Beach	2014	
Delta Food Store (Food Bank)	105 North Avon Road	1999	10am-2pm, Mondays, Wednesdays & Fridays (except on public holidays) Bread available daily after 10 am
Downtown Farmers Market	Was at The Commons 70 Kilmore St, Christchurch now looking for a new site	Established June 2015 currently on hold	Sunday 9.30am - 2.30pm
Food Together New Brighton Packing & Distribution Hub	Te Waka Aroha / St Faith's Church - Hawke Street, NB Te Puna Oraka - 69B Briggs Road, Shirley	October 2011	Pick up Tuesdays
Lincoln Farmers & Craft Market	Gerald St., Lincoln 7608		Saturdays, 10am-1pm
Linwood Community Market	Mackenzie's Hotel and Backpackers, 51 Pages Rd, Linwood, Christchurch	Pre 2011	every Thursday unless wet.
Linwood Food Bank	378 Linwood Ave	2000	Monday- Friday, 10am – 4pm
Linwood Village /Inner City East Community Market	Linwood Community Arts Centre Carpark, 388 Worcester St, Christchurch	April 2015?	First Saturday of the month except during winter, 9am to 1 pm.
Lyttelton Farmers Market	London Street, Lyttelton	2005	Saturday 10am-1pm

Name of Market	Location	Established	Open
Mt Pleasant Farmers Market	3 McCormack's Bay Road, the site of Mt Pleasant War Memorial Community Centre	March 2011	9.30am to 12.30pm every Saturday
New Brighton Seaside Market	New Brighton Pedestrian Mall	1/11/2013	Saturdays 10am to 2 pm
Ohoka Farmers Market	Ohoka Domain, Corner of Mill and Whites Rd, Ohoka, North Canterbury	2009	Fridays, 9am-12:30pm
OOOOBY - Out of our own backyards	8A Sandford Street, Sydenham, Christchurch 8023	Pre-2015	
Opawa/St Martins Farmers Market	275 Fifield Terrace (between Helios Medical Centre and Rudolf Steiner School)	2013?	Sunday 9am to 12pm
Peterborough Urban Farm	Cnr Manchester and Peterborough St	2015	
Salvation Army Aranui Food Bank	34 Portsmouth St, Aranui	around 2000	Monday- Friday, 10am – 4pm
Salvation Army Linwood Food bank	177 Linwood Ave Linwood	2002	Monday- Friday, 10am – 4pm
Shabby Chic Market Day	Inside and Outside the Rochester Villa, 21 Connal Street Woolston	At least Oct 2011	First Sunday of the month except through winter - 11 am to 3 pm
Sunday Artisan Market	Riccarton House	Pre 2011	10am-2pm Sundays, October-April
The Affordable Fruit and Vegetable Group	St Chad's Church - Carnarvon Street, Linwood. Provides: Delta Community Trust - 105 North Avon Rd, Richmond Lyttelton Harbour Fruit and Vegetable Collective Phillipstown Community Centre, 39 Nursery Rd Aranui Community Trust	2012	
The Diversity Food Market	The Commons, 70 Kilmore St, Christchurch	2016	Saturdays, 4pm - 9pm food trucks & events Sundays, 10am -3pm food trucks & veges
The Riccarton Market	Riccarton Racecourse	1989	Sunday 9am to 2pm rain or shine
Under Cover Market	Inside the four avenues	Proposed 2013	

Appendix 3: Resources and Selected Bibliography

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Appendix 4: Public Markets Declaration

Declaration of the 9th International Public Markets Conference – Barcelona, Spain, adopted March 28, 2015 (PPS, 2015).

As critical public spaces that enable daily exchange between local buyers and producers, public markets — whether publicly or privately operated — have important cultural and historical legacies that we must strive to protect, strengthen, and expand. Unlike other forms of commercial enterprise, public markets are operated by and for the public, and add great value to the economic, social, physical, and environmental health of the communities they serve.

The daily commercial exchange that forms the heart of public market systems—from temporary markets and street vendors to open air markets and entire urban districts—offers powerful opportunities for transforming cities and regions across the globe into thriving, sustainable, and socially cohesive places. In the face of the rapid urbanization of the 21st century, the ability of public markets to generate critical rural-urban linkages, and to drive local and regional employment and economic development, is especially important for the newly urbanizing regions of the global south. With 43 permanent markets and a wealth of indoor and outdoor market activity, our host city of Barcelona is an exemplary “Market City”—every resident is within walking distance to a market, and public markets are central to the character and resilience of each neighbourhood.

Today, despite their long history and numerous benefits, public markets face serious challenges due to insufficient recognition in policy, research, and funding. Many cities do not have appropriate policies or resources to invest in basic maintenance and sanitation, to expand or create new markets, or to manage public spaces effectively to integrate market activity. Other public markets have been devastated by war, demolished or displaced for new development, or allowed to deteriorate as local public authorities have favoured the development of large supermarkets and shopping malls.

The participants of this conference representing over 40 countries – and our followers around the world – hereby commit to:

1. Work strategically to advance the benefits of public markets as:

Nexus points linking urban and peri-urban regions, facilitating exchange between producers and consumers and stimulating local and regional economic development;

Dynamic, inclusive, and safe places where diverse communities can freely exchange and gather regardless of race, gender, age, ability, and socioeconomic background;

Vital centres of local food systems that provide consumers with equitable access to affordable food;

Avenues for the promotion and preservation of local culture and heritage;

Engines for entrepreneurship and employment, especially enabling women, youth, and low-income people to transition from the informal to the formal economy;

Centres of neighbourhoods, animating streets, squares, and other public spaces that spur community renewal and broadly stimulate economic activity.

2. Promote the inclusion of public markets into the political agendas and policy frameworks of our respective city, regional, state, and national governments. This will lead to increased investments in markets for greater organizational and management capacity, improved physical infrastructure and public spaces, and programs to optimize the benefits of markets, especially for marginal and at-risk populations.

3. Advocate for the strategic integration of public markets into the new global development agenda. In the next two years, as the world community adopts new policies for sustainable urban development, equitable food systems, and widespread poverty alleviation, public markets should be recognized as a proven and forward-looking strategy that can be implemented and adapted in multiple regional contexts.

These ambitious goals can be achieved by enabling policy support, public-private collaborations, integrated networks of public market practitioners and advocates, city-to-city cooperation, broad-based information sharing, and local grassroots action in markets and communities around the world.

Appendix 5: Interview Questions

1. What goals did you have when you set up your market?
2. Do you have the same goals now?
3. How does the market support and use local resources?
4. What practical benefits does it deliver? To whom?
5. How does it contribute to the local economy?
6. How does it contribute to community pride/local cohesion?
7. What do you do to include people who are marginalised – socially, economically?
8. If someone wants to set up a market, in your opinion:
 - a. What do they have to get right?
 - b. What are the main challenges?
 - c. What are the key relationships?
9. How do you find out the views and feedback from your customers, community, vendors?

Appendix 6: Summary of Essential Characteristics

Motivations:

The market is a means, not an end

Serves a defined community

Has a balance of human, economic, social and ecological goals

Characteristics:

Located inside the community it serves

Has strong relationships and partnerships

 With the community

 With agencies eg local govt

Combines a range of activities: 10+ (PPS, 2016x)

Becomes a community hub

Active outreach

Challenges:

Is regular and reliable

Has a dedicated manager

Runs as a not-for-profit

Has sources of income other than stall holder fees