Sustainable Food: An Inter-Organisational Approach for the London 2012 Olympics

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Abstract

This study examines the role of Mega Sporting Events (MSEs) in creating space for sustainable food systems changes through their food procurement strategies. To do so, I examine the creation and implementation process of the sustainable food procurement strategy for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. I build a conceptual framework based on insights from alternative food network (AFN) scholarship, with the central components being sustainability, relationality and reflexivity. Therefore, I use the

Olympics case study to both test the new conceptual framework, the relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making, and to explore the role of MSE sustainable food procurement in creating sustainable food systems changes. I conduct a qualitative case study, gathering data through participant observation of the catering operations at the Olympic Park, through interviews with people involved in the creation and implementation of the food strategy and through mostly publicly accessible documents about the Olympic food strategy process. This study concludes by answering the research questions about the relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making, and by using the insights gained from the study to update the relational, reflexive framework. I also reflect on the role of MSEs, and the Olympics in particular, in creating food systems change.

Acknowledgements

Glossary of abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning

AAFN	Alternative agro-food network
AFI	Alternative food initiative
AFN	Alternative food network
BoD	Board of directors
BoH	Back of house
CCT	Compulsory competitive tendering
CFN	Civic food network
CSL	Commission for a Sustainable London
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
DEFRA	Department of Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
F&B	Food and beverage
FFLP	Food for Life Partnership
FPC	Food Policy Council
FSA	Food Standards Agency
FSC	Food supply chain
GBS	Government Buying Standards
HCC	Healthy Catering Commitments
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
KPI	Key Performance Indicator
LFB	London Food Board
LGA	Local Government Act
LOCOG	London Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games
MCS	Marine Conservation Society
MSC	Marine Stewardship Council
NF	New fundamentals
NFE	New food equation
NFU	National Farmers Union
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
OPLC	Olympic Park Legacy Commission
PPP	Public-private partnership
SFSC	Short food supply chain
SME	Small and medium sized enterprise
UFS	Urban food strategy
UK	United Kingdom
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Federation

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To Mike Boley, Marion King & Don Kindt.

With eternal thanks to Dee and Paw for helping me pursue my love of education.

1 Introduction

1.1 Mega Sports Events as an Arena for Sustainable Food

> Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope, where once there was only despair.
>
> (Mandela 2000)

This quote is from Nelson Mandela at the first Laureus World Sports Award in 2000, where he introduced the Lifetime Achievement Award to Pelé (Edson Arantes do Nascimento) for supporting peace through international football. Mandela's quote introduces the perceived "power" that sport can have over nations, community members, policy makers, fans and athletes. In his speech, Mandela (2000) also says, "[Sport] is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers." He communicates the idea that sport is desirable for its transformative ability, like overcoming racial divisions. He also supports the idea that sport has the ability to conquer divides, such as the divide between war and peace.[1]

The Olympic Games uses this rhetoric of the *power of sport* to inspire hope and to promote peace,[2] as well as promoting sustainable development. The Olympic Charter (IOC 2011: 11) explicitly states that a fundamental principle of Olympism is to promote peace when it declares, "The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity." Furthermore, the Mission and the Role of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) states that the mission of the Olympic Movement is "to encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable

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[1] He also claims, later in this speech, that sport enhances world peace.

[2] The terms *hope* and *peace* are commonplace throughout the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) publications, and is exemplified in the IOC educational kit titled: Hope: When Sport Can Change the World (Olympic Museum 2011).

development in sport and to require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly" (IOC 2011: 17).

Other large sporting events have also begun to promote sustainability as a part of their events. The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) agreed to monitor and reduce its environmental impact in staging the World Cup tournaments (UN 2005, 2006). In addition, the Commonwealth Games are beginning to promote sustainability (Glasgow 2014 2014).

Academics are also recognizing the importance of large events on the path toward sustainability. Dickson and Arcodia (2010) stress the increasing importance of sport and large events in recognizing and contributing to sustainability. This is especially important as mega sports events (MSE)[3] (and the Olympic Games in particular) "have often attracted criticism for their perceived negative impacts on sensitive locations" as well as their contributions to climate change (Collins, Jones and Munday 2009: 2). Dolles and Soderman (2008: 149) quote the UN Director of Communications as saying:

> The role of sport and mega-sporting events in sustainable development should not be underestimated: "It is an industry with unparalleled global reach and power. Globally, sportrelated turnover amounts to three percent of total world economic activity. In the United Kingdom, for example, sportrelated turnover equals that of the automotive and food industries" (Fault 2007).

Because MSEs have significant economic impacts, it is an important industry (some would argue more important than the auto and food industries) in which to promote increased

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[3] Many scholars have defined the terms mega---events and mega sports events (Getz 1997; Roche 2002; Katzel 2007; Jago *et al.* 2010; Dolles and Söderman 2010; Death 2011). Mega sporting events (MSEs) tend to be one--off events (Death 2011), have sizeable social, economic, political and environmental impacts for the host (Death 2011; Jago *et al.* 2010), attract a global media audience (Katzel 2007; Jago *et al.* 2010; Death 2011) and be organized by national governments and international non---governmental organizations (Roche 2002). Examples of mega---events include World Fairs, World Cup tournaments, large regional sports tournaments and the Olympic Games (Katusiimeh and Mol 2011: 49). This research uses a mega sports event (the London 2012 Olympics) as an arena for addressing food systems sustainability issues.

sustainability. Mol (2010) advocates the importance of mega event organizers to address sustainability in their planning. He states, "Mega events provide an interesting case through which to study the idea of sustainability […]. As high profile and very visible happenings that attract worldwide attention, organizers can hardly ignore common norms on environment, democracy, transparency and equality in the route towards such an event" (Mol 2010: 511). Mol's (2010) explanation of the importance of focusing on MSE is that this industry should at least keep up with popular demand and other industries. He does not address, however, the potential for MSEs to design innovative sustainability solutions that can help lead other industries in their attempts at sustainability.

1.1.1 Sustainability Impacts of Mega Sporting Events

There are varying findings regarding the ability of the Olympics and other "mega-events" to positively impact sustainable development (Bramwell 1997; Searle 2002; Beyer 2006; Loland 2006; Holden and MacKenzie 2008; Hayes and Home 2011; Jia and Lie 2010). Many scholars have studied the impact of sports and sporting events on communities or host cities, and they debate the overall effect of major sporting events (see Crockett 1994). As described below, the majority of this research is around the economic impacts of sporting events (Dickson and Arcodia 2010; Samuel and Stubbs 2012).

Economic impacts include employment impacts (Brunet, 1995; Hotchkiss, Moore and Zobay 2003; Hagn and Maennig 2008), the financial power of tourists (Horne and Manzenreiter 2004; Lee and Taylor 2005; Preuss 2005; Jones and Munday 2007) and infrastructure investments and maintenance (Barker, Page and Meyer 2002; Flyvberg, Bruzelius and Rothengatter, 2003; Death 2011). Studies show both the positive and negative economic impacts on host cities, regions and countries (Izawa 2012). Positive economic impacts of sporting events (especially "mega-events") include short term cash injection, increased sales by local businesses, foreign exchange earnings from international visitors, job creation, poverty alleviation, increased sales and investment (Getz 1994; Mules and Faulkner 1996; Dwyer, Forsyth and Spurr 2000; Jago et al. 2010). Negative economic impacts include increased prices for services and housing, drawing resources from other sectors, impacts upon the exchange rate, legacy infrastructure maintenance as an economic drain (Jago and Dwyer 2006; Madden 2006; Dwyer et al. 2005, 2006a, b; Blake 2005; Matheson 2002).

There is also copious research on the social impacts of major sporting events (Hall and

Hodges 1996; Arcodia, Whitford and Wöber 2002; Fredline *et al.* 2002; Jago *et al.* 2002; Dickson and Arcodia 2010;). Izawa (2012) explains that these studies often focus on the impacts of mega sporting events on local residents. Mair and Whitford (2013: 9, Table 1) state that studies focusing on social and cultural aspects of events have included, "Impact and evaluation studies including social development, structure of a community, social capital, commercialisation of culture, social renewal, group and place identity, urban regeneration." Jago *et al.* (2010) explain that studies have found several negative social impacts of megaevents for local communities, including congestion, noise, crime and reduced funding for local sport (Pillay and Bass 2008; Fredline *et al.* 2003; Matheson and Baade 2003a, b). Additionally, Kim, Jun, Walker and Drane (2015) show that the *perceived* negative impacts for local communities include economic costs, traffic problems, security risks, environmental concerns and social conflicts. Izawa (2012: 10) finds that negative social impacts are for housing and quality of life indicators. Jago *et al.* (2010) also present studies that find positive social impacts of mega-events, which include enhanced community pride and increased sport participation (Burns *et al.* 1986; Fredline *et al.* 2003; Cornelissen 2007; Henwood and Pretorius 2008; Nadvi 2008; Pillay and Bass 2008). Kim *et al.* (2015) show that *perceived* positive impacts include infrastructure and development, economic benefits, community consolidation, socio-cultural exchange, community visibility and image enhancement, and increased opportunities for learning and entertainment. Izawa (2012: 10) finds positive social impacts for urban regeneration and community identity. Other studies present frameworks for using sport as a tool for community empowerment in the realm of "Sport for Development" studies (Schulenkorf 2012; Sherry 2015).

However, there has been considerably less attention given to the environmental impacts of mega sporting events like the Olympics (Carlsen, Getz and Soutar 2001; Collins, Flynn, Munday and Roberts 2007; Jones and Munday 2007; Dickson and Arcodia 2010). When environmental impacts are discussed, scholars tend to focus on measuring the Environmental Footprint (Andersson and Lundberg 2013; Collins, Jones, and Munday 2009; Collins and Flynn 2005, 2008), environmental accounting (Calvin 2008; Jones and Munday 2007; Jones and Munday 2004; Jones, Munday, and Roberts 2003) and environmental input-output modeling (Collins, Jones and Munday 2009). According to Death (2011: 101) the literature is dominated by input-output environmental modelling. Collins, Munday and Roberts (2012) also simultaneously measure both ecological footprint and environmental input-output. Some

scholars study more qualitative concepts such as sports environmental citizenship (Mallen and Chard 2011) and environmental social responsibility in sports facility operations (Uecker-Mercado and Walker 2012). More generally, scholarship around "greening" events has focused on promoting environmentally friendly behaviour (Inoue and Kent 2012) and event waste reduction (Mair and Whitford 2013).

Of these studies, ecological footprint is the only model that accounts for food. The studies using ecological footprint show that food is a significant factor in the overall environmental impact of a sports event. Collins and Flynn (2008: 760) find that the food and drink category is the second highest contributor to visitor's ecological footprint (with alcohol and meat consumption contributing 81% of the total food and drink calculation). Food is second only to visitors' transportation to and from the event (especially for international events where air travel estimations are included).

The ecological footprint provides a sophisticated analysis of the land-use equivalent of an event, which is especially useful for comparative purposes (e.g., across years, across types of events). However, the ecological footprint model cannot provide a socio-political analysis of the food procurement decision-making within the model. Even though scholars have included food as a unit of measurement in environmental impact, there is no precedent for how to study the impact of MSEs on the embedded socio-political dynamics of the agricultural and food (agrifood) system.

1.1.2 Sustainable Public Food Procurement for Mega Sports Events

To date, research has not been conducted on sustainable food procurement of MSEs and the perceived impact on the food supply chain. The lack of research on this subject is predicated by MSEs having only recently begun focusing on sustainable food procurement.[4] Thus, food procurement for a MSE is an unexplored area of academic research, and a potentially meaningful topic because of the idea of the *power of sport* in creating positive, sustainable changes in society. Therefore, this section outlines the research on general sustainable public food procurement.[5]

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[4] London 2012 Olympics is the first Olympic Games to have a sustainable food procurement strategy (Soil Association, Sustain and New Economics Foundation 2007).
[5] The literature reviewed is limited to mostly the Western Europe and North American contexts, and does not go into the

Public procurement is a way governments can use their buying power to influence purchasing decisions within public canteens, which can also promote food sustainability education in schools, healthy eating in hospitals and even jobs in prisons (Sonnino 2009; Morgan and Sonnino 2008). Sustainable food procurement has been approached from many different disciplinary standpoints: public health (Harvie, Mikkelsen and Shak 2009; Doherty, Cawood and Dooris 2011; Niebylski *et al.* 2014), health care studies (Barnett *et al.* 2011), business (Jamali and Keshishian 2009), supply chain studies (Conner *et al.* 2011), policy (Barling, Lang and Caraher 2002; Brammer and Walker 2011) and planning (Morgan and Sonnino 2008). Public procurement is an arena where a new governance tool, the public-private partnership (PPP), is emerging and that has significant potential to accelerate and motivate (catalyse) changes in the food system. This section addresses what sustainable public procurement is and the state of the nascent research about sustainable public food procurement. It then explains roles and interactions between public and private sectors in sustainable public procurement.

1.1.2.1 Public Food Procurement

Uyarra and Flanagan (2010) describe public procurement as the acquisition of goods and services by public sector organisations. Niebylski *et al.* (2014: 2609) defines "healthy food procurement" as:

> a process which encompasses not just how public bodies procure food, but also how they determine what food they want to buy and from whom; receive and store food; prepare and serve food; dispose of waste food; and monitor their costs.

Sustainable public procurement refers to "the act of integrating a concern for broader social and environmental impacts within procurement undertaken by government or public sector bodies" (Brammer and Walker 2011: 455).[6] As one of the key economic activities of governments (Thai 2001; Brammer and Walker 2011), public procurers are important players in moving toward sustainability for three main reasons: (1) public procurers have large

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wealth of literature pertaining to case studies on specific school food contexts. Of the school food literature, I have included only what is relevant to large---scale procurement decision---making and practices.

[6] The UK Department of Environment Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) defined sustainable public procurement as using procurement to support wider social, economic and environmental objectives in ways that offer real long---term benefits (DEFRA 2006).

buying power (demand-side power); (2) the government has the *power to influence* the private sector's practices (supply-side influence); and (3) in democratic societies, the government also has the *responsibility* to use its powers to *promote the public good.*[7]

Public procurement represents a large part of a country's domestic gross domestic product (GDP) – up to 25% of domestic GDP and 16% of the total European Union (EU) GDP (Afonso, Schuknecht and Tanzi 2005; OECD 2009; Brammer and Walker 2011; Morgan and Sonnino 2008; Sonnino 2009). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 427) argue that procurement policies could create demand for more sustainable goods and services, significantly "strengthening the bargaining power of public money." Because of this significant buying power, "public procurement has enormous potential to influence behaviour in the public as well as the private sectors" (Izumi *et al.* 2010: 375), and to spread good practice (Thomas and Jackson 2007).

The government plays a dual role in sustainable procurement, being able to create demand for sustainable goods and services as well as influencing the supply chain through policies and regulations (McCrudden 2004; Walker and Brammer 2009). McCrudden (2004) also explains that government contracting can be used as a tool for social regulation, such as the UK government attempting to lead decision-making in other sectors by setting a good example (H.M. Government 2005: 24). Other scholars agree that the public sector can use its power to influence "the activities of private sector organisations" (Brammer and Walker 2011: 453), especially to support private sector innovation (Edler and Georghiou 2007; Thomas and Jackson 2007; Prajogo, McDermott and Goh 2008; Aschhoff and Sofka 2009; Brammer and Walker 2011).

Many researchers have argued for the importance of public sector procurement in generating sustainable food systems changes, as an essential aspect of the government's responsibility for the public good. Meadowcroft (2007: 308) states, "governments are the only institutions with a general mandate to promote the public good with (at least in democratic systems) clear

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[7] A public good is a term defined by any good that can be consumed by one person in a group without decreasing the availability of the good to others in the group (Olson 2002 [1965]). An example is clean air, which everyone can breathe without decreasing the ability of others to breath it.

lines of accountability to the general population." Therefore, governments have the mandate to promote the public good through public procurement as well, unlike private procurement that can "pursue social responsibility as a choice rather than an obligation" (Walker and Brammer 2009: 128). Walker and Brammer (2009: 128) explain that because the public sector is spending taxpayer's money, the practice needs to be "subject to public review and needs to be transparent and accountable in its purchasing processes." In addition to assuring cost efficiency, "public sector buyers have the additional task of achieving social, environmental (and other) benefits in their purchasing to fulfil the responsibilities of government to society" (Walker and Brammer 2009: 128).

Sustainable public food procurement can also fulfil many environmental and social objectives (McCrudden 2004; Walker and Brammer 2009). For instance, sustainable food procurement policies can benefit local communities by keeping money in the local and domestic markets (Strohbehn and Gregoire 2001; Gregoire and Strohbehn 2002; McCrudden 2004; MacLeod and Scott 2007; Walker and Brammer 2009) and by providing a steady income for local producers (Tropp and Olowolayemo 2000; Strohbehn and Gregoire 2001; Gregoire and Strohbehn 2002; Carlsson and Williams 2008). With regard to food, procurement policies can increase health and knowledge about food in the community (Gregoire and Strohbehn 2002), increase awareness of food and environmental issues (Strohbehn and Gregoire 2001), and help build relationships and community capacity (Gregoire and Strohbehn 2002; Vallianatos, Gottlieb and Haase 2004; Carlsson and Williams 2008). Sustainable food procurement can also decrease environmental damage such as pesticide use (Strohbehn and Gregoire 2001; Gregoire and Strohbehn 2002; MacLeod and Scott 2007) and work to protect farmland around cities and reduce urban sprawl (Vallianatos *et al.* 2004; Carlsson and Williams 2008).

Despite the widespread agreement that public food procurement can affect sustainable food system changes, public food provisioning has only recently become a researched topic (Trionfetti 2000; Brulhart and Trionfetti 2004; Brammer and Walker 2011), and several scholars agree that not enough research has been done (Swanson *et al.* 2005; Günther and Scheibe 2006; Thomson and Jackson 2007; Preuss 2009; Walker and Brammer 2009; Brammer and Walker 2011). Walker and Brammer (2009: 3) state, "given the paucity of previous research on public procurement and its scale and significance, it is important to shed greater light on how public money is spent (McCrudden 2004; Weiss and Thurbon 2006)."

The area of public food procurement that has received the most attention is in the realm of school food (Conner *et al.* 2011: 56). School food is recognised by many scholars as among the most important practices to advance alternative food movements (Kloppenburg, Wubben and Grunes 2008; Izumi, Wright and Hamm 2009), while still receiving criticism for not going far enough in challenging injustices in the food system (Allen and Guthman 2006).

The public food procurement practice is moving faster than the academic literature on the subject; as Thai (2001: 9)[8] explains, "academically, public procurement has been a neglected area of study even though governmental entities and public procurement practitioners have diligently worked to improve public procurement practices." This can also be shown by comparing the number of studies on food procurement versus the number of food procurement practices,[9] which shows that there are far more food procurement practices than are currently being studied.

The small amount of research that has addressed sustainable public food procurement has a tendency to over-focus on the local level (Walker and Brammer 2009), on health and nutrition (DEFRA 2002; Rimmington, Smith and Hawkins 2006) and on the environment (Walker and Brammer 2009), often neglecting fair trade and social dimensions (Rimmington *et al.* 2006). Most research has concentrated on the barriers to sustainable food procurement, especially cost issues (Min and Galle 2001; Brammer and Walker 2011; Walker and Brammer 2009). Peck and Cabras (2011: 319) focus on the barriers to small producers' participation in sustainable procurement, which include especially "high levels of bureaucracy" and the "length of time taken to prepare contracts." Peck and Cabras (2011) find that price is a fall back justification for procurement decisions. They state "for some types of purchase there may be a lack of technical knowledge of the product or service, which

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[8] Thai (2001) bases this claim on an article in the magazine "Purchasing Today" which makes the same argument.

[9] For example, food procurement initiatives have reached thousands of schools, restaurants and catering sites.

Food For Life Partnership in the UK has been adopted at over 3,600 schools (FFLP 2011), Healthy Catering Commitments in the UK have signed up over 40 companies each of which have 700---2,000 sites in the UK, collectively serving millions of customers (FSA 2010) and the Farm to School program in the USA has 10,000 institutional participants (Farm to School Network n.d.).

makes it difficult to judge 'quality'. In the absence of this knowledge, the purchaser may fall back on 'price' as a 'reasonable' way of justifying a decision" (Peck and Cabras 2011: 324).

As procurers attempt to transition to sustainable public procurement, there has been an emphasis on how to get these private companies to provide the sustainable goods and services the public sector wants, as well as how the public sector can transition to providing in-house services; but the public private relationship is more complicated than simply a customersupplier relationship. Thomson and Jackson (2007: 430) argue that the public sector is not leading the private sector into sustainability changes, but that corporations are actually ahead of the public sector. Thomson and Jackson (2007: 430) show that "private sector suppliers [were] complaining that their efforts to offer more sustainable products were being repeatedly rejected by public procurers (EAC 2006). Far from being at the forefront of sustainable procurement, the public sector was lagging behind private sector best practice." Examples include the EAC report (2006) recognizing the best practice of the private sector and by the London Mayor's Procurement Code awarding 23 organisations for best practice in 2012-13, of which 21 were private companies and only two were public organisations.

Other aspects of the EAC report promote how much the public sector is doing toward sustainable procurement and implies that public procurers have the responsibility to push industry to be more sustainable (EAC 2006). They do not explicitly recognise the possibility that there are public procurement officials looking for sustainable procurement options while at the same time sustainable companies are struggling to find a market for their products. A partnership approach could connect these buyers and suppliers and lead to less confusion and more sustainable practices. Barnett *et al.* (2011) explain how partnerships can lead to innovative solutions to sustainable procurement.

Barnett *et al.* (2011: 247) state, "Inter-organisational connections, either formalised as partnerships or loosely linked, constituted an integral part in the process of developing, establishing and diffusing the innovations." In addition, they found that partnerships themselves are thought to be innovative (Barnett *et al.* 2011). Some essential aspects of cooperative partnerships are trust and mutual support, which are relied upon to ensure all parties will adhere to the decisions and commitments made in the partnership. Barnett *et al.* (2011: 247) also emphasise that "the importance of trust was amplified when there was high uncertainty around what would follow." Partnerships can also grow from enabling people to

"construct a common communication framework and a mutually shared agenda" (Barnett *et al.* 2011: 247).

Some connections are formalized within public-private partnerships (PPPs). PPPs are defined as long-term contractual arrangement between the state and a private company, where the "private firm finances and manages the production of goods and/or services for, or on behalf of, the state" (Regan, Smith and Love 2011). PPPs usually consist of a bundling of project phases into a single contract, most frequently bundling the building and operations of a facility to a single private company (Iossa, Spagnolo and Vellez 2007: 17). PPPs fall under a variety of contractual arrangements, which can include a private company provisioning an asset such as a school building for state use or the operation of services for state or public use such as a transportation system (Regan *et al.* 2011). As PPP scholars explain, there is great potential for governments and corporations to work together toward sustainability solutions in public procurement (Regan *et al.* 2011).

There are many reported benefits of a PPP contractual arrangement. Regan *et al.* (2011) show that PPPs result in lower procurement costs, better quality services as well as sustainability and environmental protections. The potential for sustainable food system benefits in public procurement are significant, as PPPs are allowing "new projects to be viewed from the perspective of whole life-cycle operation" (Regan *et al.* 2011: 371). Regan *et al.* (2011) also explain how PPPs allow for new management arrangements that can promote best practices and enhance the "performance of alternative project procurement methods." Enhanced alternative procurement arrangements can also improve "delivery of public assets and services" (Regan *et al.* 2011). Additionally, compared to traditional competitive tendering processes, PPPs have the potential to build social capital and develop long-term relationships with suppliers (Erridge and Greer 2002). Therefore, despite scholars noting the importance of relationships and interaction between the public and private sectors, Erridge and Greer (2002: 504, italics added) explain that little research has been conducted on the "social behaviour or *interactive processes* within partnerships."

1.1.2.2 The Role of MSEs' Food Procurement in Creating Sustainable Food Systems Changes

Even though scholars have included food as a unit of measurement in environmental impact, there is no precedent for how to study the impact of MSEs on the embedded socio-political dynamics of the agricultural and food (agrifood) system. Public procurement literature takes

more of a supply-chain approach but again does not examine the socio-political dynamics of the agrifood system. One body of literature is almost exclusively dedicated to the sociopolitical dynamics of the agrifood system, and this body of literature is about "alternative food networks" (AFN). Therefore, this research focuses on the power of sport to influence the creation of sustainable agrifood systems. I do so by applying AFN scholarship to a radically new setting, by examining the London 2012 Olympics' sustainable food procurement strategy.

1.2 Justification and Structure of the Thesis

1.2.1 Contextualising and Framing the Research

The first three chapters of this thesis contextualise and frame the research. As described below, Chapter 1 contextualises the research in terms of MSEs and sustainable food procurement. Chapter 2 presents the agrifood conceptualisation of "alternative food networks" (AFN) as a possible way to study MSE sustainable food procurement, but points out that the AFN approaches are not specifically situated to study a large-scale MSE procurement decision-making. Therefore, Chapter 3 presents the conceptual framework for the study and operationalises the key concepts of sustainable food, relationality and reflexivity. Chapter 3 concludes by presenting the research questions for this study.

As described in Chapter 1, this thesis focuses on the topic of MSEs and their role in creating sustainable food systems changes through sustainable food procurement strategies. This thesis addresses problems at both the practical and conceptual levels. The main practical problem is determining how MSEs' food procurement strategies contribute to sustainable food systems. The conceptual problem this thesis addresses is to better understand sustainable food systems decision-making, specifically within a MSE sustainable food procurement context.

Chapter 2 sets up the background for this conceptual problem with an examination of alternative food networks (AFNs) and the ways in which agrifood scholars have moved AFNs into new, more nuanced conceptual frameworks for analysing sustainable food initiatives. I identify key characteristics of these conceptual frameworks, recognizing that they each argue for more relational and reflexive approaches to analysing sustainable food initiatives. A guiding question behind this inquiry is: How can we apply what we know (through

scholarship on AFNs) to a radically different context than most AFN scholars typically engage?

Therefore, in Chapter 3, I build on the work of other agrifood scholars and present a conceptual framework for this study: a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making. I operationalise three key concepts, including sustainability, relationality and reflexivity. I conceptualise sustainable food decision-making as a "wicked problem," and define key characteristics of a sustainable food system. Then I operationalise the relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making, so that it can be used to analyse the food procurement strategy for a MSE, the 2012 London Olympic and Paralympic Games.

I conclude Chapter 3 by introducing the research questions for this study. My central research question is: In what ways does a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decisionmaking lead to sustainable food systems outcomes? To better operationalise this research question, I ask three sub-questions. The first sub-question focuses on inter-organisational exchange: What is the overall context and process through which inter-organisational exchange occurs? The second sub-question focuses on the relational aspect of decisionmaking: What is the process for creating/maintaining relationships within a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making? Furthermore, in what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes? The third sub-question focuses on reflexivity of sustainable food decision-making: What is the process for sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews within relational, reflexive decision-making? Furthermore, in what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes? These research questions allow me to focus on both the practical problem of how MSEs can use a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food procurement decision-making to influence sustainable food systems changes ("outcomes"), as well as the conceptual problem of better understanding the relational and reflexive dimensions of sustainable food systems decision-making.

1.2.2 Case study approach

Chapters 4 through 7 outline the empirical data gathered for this research. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology and methods used in this research. The single case study design for this research is about the sustainable food procurement strategy for the London 2012 Olympic Games, and I focus on the creation and implementation of the Olympic food strategy. The strategy creation involved an inter-organisational approach with public and private sectors and NGOs, while the implementation involved a public-private partnership between the

London Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG) and private caterers, along with interactions with accreditation bodies. This study collected 25 in-depth interviews and 39 informal interviews, over 400 hours of participant observation and over 300 pages of documents for analysis.

Chapter 5 gives the background and context of the case study, by providing an overview of the public food procurement context in the UK. Chapter 5 explains that even though the UK has implemented many measures to encourage local governments to move toward more sustainable food procurement, such as using "best value" to make procurement decisions and embedding aspects of the UN Agenda 21 on Sustainable Development, there still exist many barriers to sustainable procurement in the UK, including EU regulations, procurement managers' lack of training in sustainability and price-conscious authorities. However, there are many organisations, such as the Soil Association, that are working to improve public procurement practices. In this context, I introduce the case study for this research: the process through which the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games' created and implemented a sustainable food procurement strategy for the Games. One of the first steps the Olympics took in creating a sustainable food strategy for the Games was to assemble a Food Advisory Group, consisting of about 30 people from 15 different UK-based organisations. The main actors examined in this case study include the London Food Board, Sustain, the National Farmers Union, the London Organizing Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Games and Sodexo. This case study examines the roles of these organisations in creating and implementing the food strategy for the Olympics.

Chapter 6 explains the process of creating the food strategy for the Olympics, using data from interviews with members of the group who created the Olympic food procurement strategy. In Chapter 6, the events involved with the creation of the Olympics Food Vision are separated into three categories. First, LOCOG's Food Advisory Group collaboratively wrote the Food Vision by forming subsequent working groups who wrote different sections of the strategy. Second, there were controversies; the two main food sponsors Coca-Cola and McDonald's were tested in their willingness to support sustainability during the Games. Third, LOCOG contracted and hired the caterers who would serve food at the Olympics and who would be governed by the Food Vision.

Chapter 7 explains the process of implementing the food strategy for the Olympics. This chapter presents data from eight weeks of on-the-ground participant observation during the catering operations at the Olympic Park. In Chapter 7, the implementation of the Olympics Food Vision is divided into three categories. LOCOG worked with the caterers and accreditation bodies to create the sustainable supply chains through which food would be served for the Olympics. Caterers implemented the food services during the Games. The final aspect of the procurement process, which is ongoing, was the extent to which the Olympic food strategy created a food legacy in London, the UK, and beyond.

1.2.3 Discussion and Conclusions

The final two chapters include the theoretical discussion and the conclusion. In Chapter 8, I discuss the research questions for this study and revisit the key concepts from Chapter 3, sustainability, relationality and reflexivity. I discuss the ways in which the London Olympics did and did not use a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making, and I identify key areas of opportunity and challenges for sustainable food decision-making. I conclude Chapter 8 by updating the relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making and suggest how this framework could be useful both practically and theoretically in the future.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by arguing that this study is relevant beyond MSEs' food procurement strategies. It is relevant to an array of sustainability decision-making contexts. Therefore, in Chapter 9, I argue for the necessity of further testing on the relational, reflexive approach to sustainability decision making to determine the framework's practical and conceptual utility.

2 "Alternative" Food Networks

As explained in Chapter 1, this study examines the role of MSE sustainable food procurement strategies in creating sustainable food system changes. This is an area of scholarship that has been previously under-researched, especially in terms of analysing the socio-political processes involved in MSE sustainable food procurement *decision-making*. However, there is a body of research that has long examined the socio-political dynamics of sustainable food initiatives. This body of research examines "alternative food networks" (AFNs). Therefore, I

have looked to the AFN scholarship for a foundation upon which I will build an appropriate conceptual framework to study MSE sustainable food procurement strategies. The main purpose of this chapter is to determine how (and to what extent it is possible) to apply the principles of AFN scholarship to a radically different context than most AFN scholars typically engage.

This chapter first defines "alternative" food networks in terms of the values and practices typically associated with AFNs. Then I present the ways in which scholars have problematised the concept of "alternative." Next, I examine frameworks that are meant to overcome these problems, and I explain the usefulness of each framework in terms of analysing a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy. Finally, I conclude the chapter by pulling out the key concepts that will need to be further defined and operationalised as the key components of a conceptual framework for studying a sustainable food procurement strategy for a MSE. Furthermore, as this chapter shows, "alternative" is a problematic term, and therefore I qualify this term using quotations.

2.1 What is "Alternative"

This section refers to "alternative food networks" (AFN), but also includes alternative agrofood networks (AAFN) and alternative food initiatives (AFI). Goodman (2003: 1-2) explains that the academic approaches to AAFNs scholarship is somewhat different in the US and Europe.

> In a nutshell, North American research typically is in conversation with activist circles, academic and lay, and is concerned pre-eminently with the oppositional status and sociopolitical transformative potential of AAFNS, whereas European research focuses more strongly on incremental institutional change and is addressed, explicitly or implicitly, to an audience of policymakers.

This section describes AFN literature from both Europe and North America, by highlighting two main characteristics of "alternative" food networks, including AFN values and AFN practices.

2.1.1.1 AFN Values

Embedded within AFNs are the values of sustainability, relocalization, social and political embeddedness of food, knowledge, choice, relationships, transparency, community, trust, morality, aesthetics and ecological holism (Andree *et al.*2010; Jarosz 2008; Hinrichs 2000; Holloway *et al.*2007a; Parkins and Craig 2009; Wilson 2013; Follett 2009; Allen and Kovach 2000). Some AFN initiatives aim to facilitate consumers to be more active in the production and provisioning of food (Lamine *et al.* 2012), through consumer coops, solidarity buying groups, community supported agriculture and collective urban gardening initiatives (Lamine *et al.* 2012). Other initiatives focus on reconnecting people to the food they eat. This includes providing information about the food, by offering consumers transparency and information about the production of food, such as grass-fed beef production (Romig 2013). Domestic fair trade (Duram and Mead 2013) also offers consumers more knowledge about the manner of production of their food. Farmers' markets are another example of connecting people to food, by allowing consumers to speak to the farmer who produced the food (Spilková, Fendrychová and Syrovátková 2013). Initiatives also use food as a tool to reconnect people to each other, increasing social ties and networks through urban gardening, community gardens, city farms and rooftop farms (Veen, Derkzen, Wiskerke and Renting 2012).

Many AFNs reportedly rely on and foster trust between participants (Whatmore, Stassart and Renting 2003) as well as a "sense of community." Beckie, Kennedy and Wittman (2012: 338) reports about their farmers' market, "We have people coming to the market and dancing. We have older senior couples actually ballroom dancing at the market. All this stuff gives a real sense of community." Hamilton (2011) argues that local food initiatives can also be a community enhancement tool, providing jobs and education.

Freidberg (2010) explains both the oppositional nature of AFNs and the embedded value of trust, relationships and ethics:

> Concern about the clout of Wal-Mart, Tesco, and their peers is of course a major reason for the vitality of many alternative food networks (AFNs) (Maye et al, 2007). Participants in these networks might argue that the retailers' very reliance on rigid codes of conduct runs contrary to their own vision of an ethical foodscape forged out of personal relationships of trust and loyalty.

AFNs also have an underpinning ecological principle of a "commitment to holism and ecological sensitivity" (Allen and Kovach 2000: 224). Another principle of AFNs is combating the increasing isolation and decreasing autonomy in the food system (Bellows and Hamm 2001), and many AFNs promote democratic and participatory decision-making. Restructuring society and organisations is a way to ensure a democratically organised food system based on public participation and information-based decision-making, which allows for fairness in benefits, wages, environmental protection and power (Levkoe 2006; Anderson 2008; Allen 2010).

2.1.1.2 AFN Practices

AFN practices vary, but most have a foundation in changing the structure of the supply chain. Some AFNs focus on shortening the supply chain with the purpose of opting-out of the corporate provisioning of food (Lamine *et al.* 2012). Examples of short food supply chains include producer-consumer networks, collective producer shops, farmers' markets and school provisioning schemes (Lamine *et al.* 2012). Trauger (2007: 11) describes AFNs as supply chains that "skip the middle man," restore profits to producers, increase face-to-face interaction between producers and consumers, "improve availability of 'quality' food," shorten commodity chains and stimulate local markets.

Another way in which AFNs shorten supply chains is by focusing on "local" food. There are several different ways to obtain local food. Feagan (2008: 161) cites many examples of local direct marketing schemes, "Kirwan (2006), Starr *et al.* (2003), Tippins *et al.* (2002) and Hinrichs (2000) among many, most frequently cite farmers' markets, food box schemes, community shared agriculture (CSA), "pick-your owns", farm shops, end-of-gate sales, farmto school programs."

Marsden, Banks and Bristow (2000) describe three ways in which the structures of "alternative" supply chains vary based on the directness of the producer-consumer interaction. First, there are "face-to-face" interactions, which include "the relations between producers and consumers [that] take place due to a physical co-presence" (Dansero and Puttilli 2014: 629). Secondly, there are supply chain structures based on "spatial proximity," meaning that "production, distribution and consumption take place in the same place/region" (Dansero and Puttilli 2014: 629). Thirdly, "alternative" supply chain structures can also be "spatially extended," meaning, "production and consumption occur in places which are different and far away from each other" (Dansero and Puttilli 2014: 629).

Morgan, Marsden and Murdoch (2006) claims that AFNs include initiatives that are creating local and regional food distribution systems. According to Morgan *et al.* (2006), alternative agrifood systems are "changing competitive spatial boundaries" between alternative and conventional food systems, by creating relocalisation strategies consisting of new producer relations, consumer relations, processing and retailing, institutional frameworks and associational frameworks.

2.2 Problematic Features of "Alternative"

As shown in the previous section, AFNs entail a variety of values and practices. However, there are some problems with applying AFN scholarship to a new context. For instance, Maye, Kneafsey and Holloway (2007: 2) find academics use the term "alternative," but that in practice this term is not used. This evidence prompted them to question "how useful the concept actually is." In light of such concerns from scholars, I reiterate a sentiment explained by Wilson (2013: 723), "this is not to say that critical, innovative work has not occurred under the banner of AFNs, but rather to question whether or not the conceptual framework of 'alternative' encourages or hinders this type of work." Therefore, in this section, I outline the problematic features in AFN research, as described by Tregear (2011), who shows how each of these features is limiting the progression of knowledge in this field of study. Therefore, it is important to identify these problematic features before trying to use AFN concepts for analysing MSE sustainable food procurement.

2.2.1 Insufficient Clarity and Consistency in Usage of Key Concepts

As identified by Tregear (2011), the first problematic feature of AFN research is the tendency to accept unclear and inconsistent terminology and key concepts. The term "alternative" is unclear and inconsistently applied, but then "tends to be employed as a universal term, to denote food systems that are somehow different from the mainstream" (Tregear 2011: 423). She states that this is problematic because the term is being identified by what it *is not*, rather than what it *is*. This phenomenon results in a variety of practices and values all being identified under the umbrella of "alternative," even though the reasons initiatives are labelled "alternative" varies from the short supply chain, the governance and financing arrangements, the characteristics of the products being exchanged or because of the goals and motivations of the actors involved. Tregear (2011: 423) clarifies that the problem with the catch-all category of "alternative" is that it does not properly discriminate and specify what it is looking for.

How do you operationalise a concept that is described primarily in terms of what it is not? Tregear (2011: 423) argues, "the specific properties that different systems or activities may be expected to exhibit require clear articulation in advance of empirical study."

The problems with the binary and oppositional definition of "alternative" is that it "represents a rather limited means of abstracting real world activity" and it has motivated other scholarship to continually rely on explaining AFNs in terms of their binary opposites (Tregear 2011: 424). For example, scholars have created further binaries, such as "alternative" or "oppositional" (Allen 2004) and "strong versus weak" (Watts, Ilbery and Maye 2005), but Tregear (2011: 424) argues that:

> In the long term, the risk with oppositional conceptualizations of AFNs is that scholarship tends towards 'screening for authenticity' activities rather than engagement in deep, balanced, critical examinations of phenomena, with the result that existing orthodoxies about artificially circumscribed systems – that do not represent or explain real world food systems very well – are reinforced rather than re-thought.

The criticism of the binary and oppositional nature of AFNs is a common criticism of AFN scholarship. Maye *et al.*'s (2007: 16) findings suggest, "categorising spaces of economic activity as part of either 'alternative' or 'conventional' systems of supply is too simplistic and arbitrary." Specifically, the binary tends to overlook or simplify the complexity of relationships of power, inequality and oppression. Wilson (2013) argues that by using "alternative" as a conceptual tool, scholars tend to put initiatives into boxes based on their abstract form, which can lead to overlooking the details of an initiative. For instance, Follett (2009: 33-4) explains that AFNs de-emphasise "the political practices that provide for democratic processes of local decision-making (DuPuis and Goodman 2005)." Additionally, many scholars challenge "alternatives" for not addressing issues of equity and social justice (Johnston 2008; Guthman 2003, 2008; Goodman and Goodman 2009; Allen 2010). Goodman and Goodman (2009) note that CSA membership tends to skew toward white, middle class, educated people. Likewise, Guthman (2008) argues that "alternatives" fail to address issues

of class, race and privilege and typically adopt a position of colour-blindness, which "works to shift the responsibility of inclusion and participation to those currently excluded" (Wilson 2013: 722-723). Other scholars emphasise the prominent class distinctions involved in who can afford "alternative" foods such as organic, local and regional foods, including those who

shop at farmers markets, because these items are typically more expensive and therefore less accessible to people with less income (Brown 2002; Guthman 2003, 200b; Freidberg 2004; Moore 2006; Goodman 2009; Morgan 2010; Spilková *et al.* 2013).

Several scholars have suggested moving beyond the binary. DuPuis and Goodman (2005) argue that localism and globalisation are not mere dualistic opposites, but are intrinsic parts of the same system (Lockie 2009). Sonnino and Marsden (2006: 181) call for "a much more nuanced and complex understanding of the relationships between alternative and conventional food chains." Similarly, Lockie and Halpin (2005: 304) demonstrate how the "uncritical aggregation of multiple dualisms" in the agrifood system has left us with terms like conventionalisation, which need to be unpacked before they can be theoretically useful.

Tregear (2011: 425) explains another tendency in the AFN scholarship as a "those denoting socio-economic or cultural phenomena which exist as underlying trends or shifts, not directly observable to researchers." She argues that there are examples of concepts that become dominant and unquestioned justifications and explanations within the scholarship, even though these explanations and justifications should be continually challenged. One example Tregear (2011) uses to illustrate this problem in the AFN literature is the "turn to quality," originally introduced by Murdoch, Marsden and Banks (2000). Tregear (2011: 425) argues that the turn to quality denotes both a real world trend (consumers wanting foods "high in natural qualities") and an explanation of the driving forces behind the trend (e.g., BSE, E. coli), even though "the explanation of driving forces may be open to question." She uses the example of the "turn to quality" to illustrate the "tendencies within AFN scholarship to refer to recently coined terms such as these as if they were unambiguous and unquestionable, instead of employing them cautiously, as theoretical proposals to be explored, debated and tested" (Tregear 2011: 426).

Overall, Tregear (2011: 425) warns against using "fuzzy" concepts by stating:

> Without such care and caution in the usage of all key concepts in AFN literature, scholars not only risk subsequently misinterpreting or misunderstanding each other, opportunities are missed to uncover alternative and potentially more plausible accounts of the evolution of food systems, along with chances to develop more satisfying and robust theories to explain their dynamics.

This quote summarizes Tregear's (2011) argument that AFN scholars are missing opportunities to further their scholarship by not clarifying and inconsistently applying key concepts and their dynamics, and that by sufficiently clarifying and consistently applying these key concepts, agrifood scholars would make great strides in moving sustainable food scholarship and practice forward.

2.2.2 Conflating AFN Spatial and Structural Characteristics with "Inherent" Qualities

The second problematic feature of AFNs that Tregear (2011: 425) outlines is a tendency to conflate the characteristics of an AFN with its inherent qualities.[10] Tregear (2011: 425) specifies that scholars tend to conflate the spatial or structural characteristics of AFNs in the following three areas: (1) desirable outcomes, (2) actor behaviours and (3) food properties.

Tregear (2011: 424) explains the first conflation as, "the tendency to conflate the structural or spatial characteristics of AFNs with socially, economically and ecologically desirable outcomes." Tregear (2011) uses Born and Purcell's (2006) argument of the "local trap" to show how AFNs tend to conflate spatial characteristics with desirable outcomes. The local trap is when activists assume that local food is inherently more environmentally, socially and economically sustainable. One aspect of the local trap is the food miles debate. Born and Purcell (2006) state that arguments about reducing food miles can sometimes exclude more prominent environmental considerations, such as energy or water use. For example, they write, "We need to compare critically the environmental costs of local production of, for example, rice in California or Texas, with all of its water requirements, with the transport of rice from places in the world in which rice production makes more ecological sense" (Born and Purcell 2006: 203). Growing local greenhouse tomatoes is another example of a local trap for regions that cannot grow tomatoes outside year-round, because growing tomatoes in heated greenhouses can use more energy than transporting the tomatoes by train from regions where it makes ecological sense to grow them. Based on Born and Purcell's (2006) argument that spatial scale is not a goal in itself but a strategy to be employed, Tregear (2011: 424) contends that outcomes such as social justice are not inherent to a specific scale, but that

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[10] Tregear (2011: 425) also states, "As with the unclear use of concepts, the existence of conceptual conflations and their implications for knowledge progress has been well recognised (e.g., Hinrichs, 2003; DuPuis and Goodman, 2005)."

"they depend on the orientation of the actors putting the scalar strategy in place." Therefore, instead of assuming inherent qualities based on structural or spatial characteristics, scholars also need to examine actors' motivations and orientations.

The second conflation is between the spatial and structural characteristics of AFNs and the behaviour and values of the actors involved. The assumed behaviours and values include "participants who prioritise goals of justice, equality and sustainability, driven by heightened senses of altruism, morality, or a radical political agenda;" networks with altruistic or political aims; and "left-leaning, participative movements, whose purpose is to oppose the dominant forces of capitalism and its attendant injustices" (Tregear 2011: 424). This creates a situation where researchers might overlook non-virtuous or unjust goals within AFNs because they assume behaviours and values based on spatial and structural characteristics.

The final conflation is between the spatial or structural characteristics of AFNs and the properties of the foods channelled through them. Tregear (2011: 425, citing Nygård and Storstad 1998; Sage 2003; Little, Ilbery and Watts 2009) argues, "an assumption exists in some parts of the literature that foods exchanged on a localised basis, or through unconventional governance arrangements, are inherently healthier, safer and more nutritious." This conflation involves the assumption that spatial proximity determines the mode of agricultural production as well as the assumption that the scale and structure of AFNs offers healthier products than otherwise available. Tregear (2011) states that these assumptions have not been empirically tested, but that anecdotal evidence suggest that local or small-scale production practices do not necessarily lead to less intense production practices or healthier food. In summary, Tregear (2011: 425) contends, "that tendencies towards conflation need to be addressed, so that concepts such as justice, equity and healthiness, and their possible linkages to food systems, can be tackled from a more open, balanced perspective."

2.2.3 Insufficient Acknowledgement of the Problems of Marketplace Trading
The third problematic feature that Tregear (2011) outlines is the ways in which scholars tend to approach the interactions between buyer and sellers within a marketplace setting. She claims that scholars tend to focus mostly on farmers' markets (FMs), that they over-focus on

the positive benefits of FMs,[11] typically portraying FMs as superior to conventional markets. Tregear (2011: 426) states, "Potential problems in FMs, in contrast, receive much less attention, in spite of the existence of critical work."

In particular, Tregear (2011: 426) problematises the "the nature of person to person interactions in FMs" as well as the "process of information gathering and interpretation between vendors and buyers." She explains that some scholars claim the information gained from face-to-face interactions is more reliable and richer (e.g., Sage 2003) or that buyers have more control over the knowledge they can gain about the product (Kirwan 2004). However, research shows that buyer-seller interactions tend to be very brief (on average, 30 seconds twice a month) and buyers are likely to form (sometimes subconsciously) impressions and maybe even misconceptions of the vendor and the products. In summary, Tregear (2011: 427) argues that getting information from face-to-face interactions is not inherently superior to getting information from a label; the types of communication are simply different. Tregear (2011: 427) states, "As such, a balanced approach to the analysis of its contexts and usage is needed, to build new insights and progress knowledge."

2.2.4 Continued Lack of a Consumer Perspective

The final problematic feature in AFN research outlined by Tregear (2011: 427) is a "narrowness of perspective which underplays the contribution that consumers make to food systems." This problematic feature consists of two underplayed consumer issues. The first issue is the consumers' welfare implications from engaging in localised food systems. Tregear (2011) states that AFN literature includes many empirical studies cataloguing the reasons why consumers want to participate in local food initiatives, while "the reasons why consumers do not buy from local outlets tend to receive much less attention" (Tregear 2011: 428).[12] Tregear (2011: 428) argues that this over-emphasis on the benefits of consumer involvement in local food initiatives over-represents the positive impacts of such involvement, giving the impression that the positive benefits must outweigh any negative implications. She states that potential problems exist, especially in terms of the extra time, money and (mostly female) household labour inherent in localised food systems. Therefore,

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[11] Benefits extolled include depth, reciprocity, intimacy and community vibrancy (Tregear 2011: 426).

[12] There are, of course, studies that attend to downstream actors and consumers (e.g., Ilbery and Maye 2005b; Ilbery and Maye 2006; Kneafsey *et al.* 2008; Little *et al.* 2009).

she argues, "that a more balanced and nuanced understanding of the impacts of localisation requires research which explores in more detail the welfare problems, tensions and trade-offs for consumers, as well as the advantages and benefits" (Tregear 2011: 428).

Tregear (2011: 428) explains that the second issue is the "lack of consumer perspective in assessments of the socio-economic value of AFNs." There is a plethora of claims about the benefits of AFNs on the consumer's well-being, and Tregear (2011: 428) employs the following examples:

> In relation to localized food initiatives for example, it is argued that as these systems provide a source of cheap, fresh, unadulterated food, they contribute to consumer health and economic well-being. Furthermore, as they bring consumers into closer contact with types of people that they would not otherwise meet (i.e., upstream food supply chain actors), they contribute to consumers' social and cultural well-being. Finally, as they help consumers to know more about where their food comes from, how it is produced and linked to the earth, they contribute to consumers' educational, even spiritual well-being.

Tregear argues, however, that there is not enough of a focus on what the "consumer" *needs* in the first place. Even though a neighbourhood garden might bring education and spiritual wellbeing, if the primary need of the people living there is a lack of clean drinking water, how is this community garden initiative going to help them? Tregear (2011: 428) explains that a genuine consumer perspective would begin with consumer needs, instead of providing "statements of hope about the spin-off benefits to consumers of food systems whose primary purpose is to address the needs of producer actors." She argues that truly consumer driven approach would better address the actual issues the consumer needs addressed as well as use food as only one of the variety of ways to address the issues.

2.3 Alternatives to "Alternative" Food Networks

In this section, I examine approaches and frameworks that are meant to overcome the problematic features of AFNs. I then address the usefulness of each approach in terms of

analysing a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy. The four approaches[13] include (1) arranging "alternatives" as a spectrum, (2) civic food networks, (3) care as reconnection and (4) a sustainability informed framework.

2.3.1 Spectrum of "Alternatives"

This section examines approaches meant to help explain the phenomenon that both radical approaches to AFNs and AFNs that are more moderate all exist within the realm of what is referred to as "AFNs." These approaches include dip in/dip out, hybridity and strong versus weak alternatives. Ilbery and Maye (2005a,b) examine the process through which food initiatives "dip in" and "dip out" of the "conventional" practices. Ilbery and Maye (2005b: 342) suggest, "it becomes difficult to label a case study 'alternative' or 'conventional' as enterprises continually 'dip in and out' of different supply chains, dependent on environmental context, market forces and business development." The cases Ilbery and Maye (2005a) examine are driven by a strong economic imperative, which explains why they "dip" into conventional supply chains. Ibery and Maye (2005a: 823) state, "'alternative' producers are regularly obliged, or choose, to 'dip in and out' of different conventional nodes downstream of the business, such as abattoirs, processors, and wholesalers."[14] According to their analysis, the "alternative" cases they studied "are not particularly sustainable."

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[13] These four approaches are not the only approaches suggested by agrifood scholars to address the problematic features of AFNs. I chose to include only these four types of approaches instead of cataloguing an exhaustive list because none of the approaches I found that were suggested by agrifood scholars was entirely appropriate for conceptualizing and analysing a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy.

[14] Ilbery and Maye (2005a: 840) elaborate using the following examples: "many alternative producers must `dip into' more conventional nodes. In the dairy sector, this may involve using transport couriers or finding wholesalers that deal with small‑scale artisanal producers (for example, Neal's Yard Dairy, London). In the meat sector, the most obvious link is the abattoir. For on‑farm butchers, the key is to get the carcass back to add value through producing meat cuts, cures, meat‑based products, and so on (that is, 'economies of scope').
Product that is sent for smoking usually goes to small companies who themselves operate in the local AFE. Most producers bemoaned the processing sector in the region (abattoir, cutting and packing, and meat manufacture) as insufficient and underrepresented."

Therefore, Ilbery and Maye (2005b: 331) warn "against the tendency to conflate terms such as 'local', 'alternative', 'speciality' and 'sustainable'."

Ilbery and Maye (2005a: 823) refer to the spaces in which "alternative" food networks "dip" into "conventional" food chain practices as "hybrid spaces." They (2005a: 823) state, "In practice, delimitations between 'alternative' and 'conventional' food supply chains are often blurred and are better characterised as 'hybrid spaces'." Watts *et al.* (2005) introduce *strong and weak alternatives* as a way to conceptualise the degree of hybridity of a food initiative. They explain, "in economic terms, AFNs can be classified as weaker or stronger on the basis of their engagement with, and potential for subordination by, conventional [food supply chains (FSCs)] operating in a globalizing, neoliberal polity" (Watts *et al.* 2005: 34).

Weak alternatives "focus on value-added products with a clear geographical provenance rather than focusing on the nature of the food supply chain" (Maye *et al.* 2007: 7). Watts *et al.* (2005: 30) classify "quality" food production and "defensive localism" as weaker alternatives because these initiatives "emphasize the foods concerned, not the networks through which they circulate. This makes them vulnerable to incorporation, and subordination, within conventional FSCs."

On the other end of the spectrum, strong alternatives encompass food initiatives that "emphasise social and ethical values associated with particular supply chains" (Maye *et al.* 2007: 7). Therefore, strong alternatives are "better suited to create social and political change because they challenge the foundations of the conventional food system" (Follett 2009: 22). Watts *et al.* (2005: 31) state, "one means of building stronger alternative systems of food provision might be to revalorize short food supply chains (SFSCs)." They suggest the potential for revalorization lies within SFSCs' potential to present a spatial, social and economic alternative to conventional FSCs and by providing a wider range of products than conventional FSCs.

These approaches are attempting to deal with the fact that there is overlap between "alternative" and "conventional" food initiatives, and that it is difficult to specify the exact overlaps between the two. However, I am interested in examining approaches that can help move scholarship beyond the problematic features of AFN research. These approaches

(strong/weak alternatives, hybrid, dip in/dip out) are simply attempting to make the "alternative" concept more useful without changing or elaborating the underlying analytical meaning of the term. To reiterate this point, Maxey (2007) states:

> Following Holloway *et al.* (2005), I suggest this 'hybrid' approach, as it is left by Ilbery and Maye (2005), is in danger of leaving 'alternative' and 'conventional' food intact, as distinct entities with distinct logics and implications, each variously "'dipped into' by producers in particular instances" (*Holloway et al.* 2005: 7).

Maxey (2007: 58) also comments on these approaches by stating:

> work within the new geographies of food to date has yet to fully address the binaries embedded within the notion of 'alternative' and latent within the concept of hybridity. Such binaries suggest the presence of two idealised 'pure' categories that are unlikely to fit the more complex and contingent forms found in practice.

I reiterate the concerns of Lockie and Halpin (2005) and Maxey (2007), who argue that by continuing to use the term "alternative," we might "inadvertently naturalise, normalise and legitimise highly problematic practices and products labelled 'conventional'" (Maxey 2007: 58). This approach demands answers to further questions such as to what degree are the actors involved alternative and conventional, and are the practices located mostly within the alternative or the conventional realm? An analysis guided by such questions would serve to reinforce divisions between actors along "alternative" and "conventional" lines, which would be unhelpful in creating practical, meaningful change in the food system for many of the reasons cited in Section 2.2. Instead, I conduct a more in-depth analysis of MSE sustainable food procurement, following the advice of Tregear (2011: 424), when she articulates a critique of these types of approaches:

> although such categorisations might offer some useful ways of thinking about AFNs, the risk is that subsequent studies, when confronted with evidence which confounds expectations about, for example, the beneficial nature and contribution of AFNs, are tempted to account for such evidence by filing it under an 'outlying' (e.g., 'weak') category - representative of inauthentic forms of AFN, corrupted by mainstream systems - rather than using this evidence as a basis for reflecting more critically on original theories and expectations about food systems, to reassess and re-think them more deeply.

Not only are these approaches not suitable for analysing the complex decision-making behind "alternative" food initiatives, but these approaches do not offer an analytical framework for examining a large-scale MSE sustainable food procurement process, with which large corporate actors are involved.

2.3.2 Civic Food Networks

The second approach meant to overcome problematic features of the AFN concept is the conceptual framework of "civic" food networks (CFNs), as presented by Renting Schermer and Rossi (2012).

2.3.2.1 Theoretical Basis of Civic Food Networks

Renting *et al.* (2012: 290) identify the underlying motivations of AFNs as attempting to "articulate alternative economic spaces and transform profoundly the structures and organization of agri-food systems (Leyshon *et al.*, 2003; Seyfang, 2006; Lamine *et al.*, 2012)." Renting *et al.* (2012: 292) argue that there is a need "to explore alternative theoretical perspectives for the study of contemporary food system dynamics." They propose CFNs to act as a complimentary category to be used alongside existing analytical terms. Key characteristics of CFNs include relationships, cooperation, governance, interaction and linkages with other social movements (Renting *et al.* 2012: 292).

CFNs are informed by food democracy, food sovereignty and food citizenship. Food democracy informs CFNs by arguing that all citizens should have knowledge and opportunity of participation in and operation of the food system, rather than being "passive spectators" – thereby giving everyone the chance to shape, actively participate in, be critical of and innovate within the food system (Renting *et al.* 2012). CFNs are inspired by food sovereignty in terms of expanding the role of democracy in creating local autonomous food systems by incorporating an expected notion of citizenship including economic, political, social and cultural citizenry (Renting *et al.* 2012). Finally, the concept of food citizenry informs CFNs through concepts such as place-based civic agriculture and "active food citizens" (Renting *et al.* 2012). Renting *et al.* (2012: 294) quote Wilkins' (2005: 271) conceptualization of food citizenship as "the practice of engaging in food-related behaviours that support, rather than threaten, the development of a democratic, socially and economically just, and environmentally sustainable food system'." Renting *et al.* (2012: 294) also cite Welsh and MacRae's (1998: 237) concept of food citizenship, emphasizing "the need to move beyond food as a commodity and people as consumers."

CFNs stress the importance of the civil sector (non-profits) and citizenry in addressing the problem in the food system through "civil society-based forms of governance" (Renting *et al.* 2012: 294). They also stress the importance of the state and private institutions engaging with civil society and the citizens because they are not currently doing so. The need for CFNs is "that debates about agri-food governance have focused principally on market regulation and state intervention as the main governance mechanisms in the last decades, while much less attention was given to the role of civil society in structuring agrifood systems" (Renting *et al.* 2012: 294). Renting *et al.* (2012: 297) state that civil society-based governance mechanisms are sources of dynamism and innovation, and they show a model for how civil society-based governance mechanisms are being "revitalized." They (2012: 298) claim, "by means of CFNs citizens are increasingly reclaiming influence on the organization and operation of food production, distribution and consumption systems, and by doing so generating new forms of citizen engagement with food."

According to Renting *et al.* (2012: 298), CFNs are important because "growing citizen engagement lead to different social and economic relations between producers and consumers," but also because it further differentiates "alternative" food networks from "conventional" food networks. They state that "CFNs also appear to embody specific production and distribution models that in sustainability performance and food-quality definitions are clearly distinct from conventional food systems" (Renting *et al.* 2012: 298).

Renting *et al.* (2012) identify two areas of action for CFNs. The first area of action is for people to be actively involved in "(re-) constructing alternative systems of food provisioning, which may result from a very close interaction and mutual influence between producers and consumers or even a physical identity of both roles" (Renting *et al.* 2012: 300). The second area of action for CFNs is for people to be civically engaged with "shaping public opinion, culture, institutions and policies by communication, lobbying and political activism."

2.3.2.2 Utility of CFNs for Studying MSE Sustainable Food Procurement

Lamine *et al.* (2012: 385) describe their case studies in terms of being alternative but also "civic" food networks, and they are using the concept of CFNs as an add-on to the existing alternative food networks frame. Doing so suggests that CFNs are not actually a critique of the conceptual utility of "alternative," but an affirmation of "alternative" food networks' utility. This means that embedded in the concept of CFNs are the same problematic features of AFNs.

The conceptual relevance to MSE sustainable food procurement is that Renting *et al.* (2012: 298) claim that the growth of CFNs "opens up new interfaces and spaces of negotiation with market parties and public administrations." This quote shows that CFNs focus on the interactions between civil society, market and government, and it is this inter-organisational approach that I find the most useful aspect of CFNs in terms of studying MSE sustainable food procurement. Another useful suggestion from CFN scholars is that Lamine *et al.* (2012: 398, citing Marsden 2013a) call for future research to examine "forms of 'reflexive governance' that encourage actors to scrutinize and reconsider their underlying assumptions, institutional arrangements and practices, and to acknowledge alternative understandings and framings of the problems at hand."

2.3.3 Care as Reconnection: Seven Analytical Fields

The third approach meant to overcome problematic features of the AFN concept is the conceptual framework care as reconnection (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008) and the associated analytical fields for describing food initiatives (Holloway *et al.* 2007; Kneafsey *et al.* 2008). Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) examine the forms of "reconnection" within food provisioning schemes by utilizing literature on the ethics of care and a framework of seven "analytical fields" for characterizing the relationships within the food schemes. While I do not claim to present the entirety of this framework, I have pulled out a few key points that informed the development of a conceptual framework to study MSE sustainable food procurement.

2.3.3.1 Theoretical Basis of Care as Reconnection

Instead of analysing their food schemes within the framework of AFNs, Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) identify "reconnection" as an underlying principle of "alternatives." They define reconnection within the context of a relational ethic of care. They state that "reconnection" refers to the relationship between producers and consumers, and the networks through which this connection is mediated. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 32) define reconnection as "a *process* rather than an end-state." This process entails action, "it conveys a sense of 'doing and becoming'" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 32). Since people lead multi-faceted lives, reconnection "may not resonate with other important ideologies and practices" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 32). Likewise, reconnection is multi-faceted. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 32) identify three discursive constructions of reconnection, including producers with their markets, consumers with product-process-place as well as people with nature.

Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) study reconnection by utilizing a theoretical framework of a relational ethic of care. The ethic of care is rooted in feminist thought, but its theoretical utility is not limited to feminist inquiry. Embedded within this concept of care are the types of decisions people make, the practices in which they engage and their relationships to others. This concept is innovative partly because it asserts emotions as appropriate for academic analysis, especially because "emotions are understood as intrinsically relational", that emotions "arise and flow *between* people rather than belonging to one person or another" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 41). They do not assert "care" as a line of inquiry that is limited to the private sphere, but they use the notion of care to "expose our interdependence" and they maintain that "care is a social responsibility and should be recognized as such" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008:43). Care therefore guides us to ask questions such as what and who is valued in society, what are people and society's needs and how should these needs be met? Specifically, Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 43) locate their framework of care within the "relationships between identities, motives and practices of producers, consumers and others."

Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 45) argue that care and food are intrinsically linked concepts when they state:

> to discuss the role of care and food consumption is in some ways to discuss the obvious: food is a marker of who we are, what and who we care about. It reflects – and also helps to constitute – our identity as individuals, members of the family or household, or groups of various kinds, communities, and ethnicities or nationalities. How we obtain our food, what we do with it and the symbolic meanings constructed through its consumption are part of our relationships with the material, social and cultural world. Food is of course also a powerful source of emotions – of pleasure and disgust, as well as being quintessentially mundane and 'everyday'. Food is often symbolic of love and care – as in its offering to outsiders as a transferable gift or as a shared meal to which others may be invited as a demonstration of affection and care.

This quote seems to imply that physical closeness is a prerequisite for care, but Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 45) show that even when spatial proximity is far, people can experience a "sense of responsibility toward different and distant others." Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 45) discuss a "relations of proximity" as a way to "reconnect the separated moments of production, distribution and consumption in order to restore to view a previously hidden chain of commitments and responsibilities" with knowledge being a "key factor motivating

responsible conduct." Furthermore, they were able to show, through examining relationships formed locally as well as across long distances, that they were "able to explore the potential for care to relate to people and places beyond the immediate locality or close community" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 49).

The concept of "care" can help bridge the dualistic divide between alternative and conventional food systems. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 44) state, "There's been a dualistic care/non-care distinction between industrial farmers and CSA farmers, it is probably more appropriate to examine the ways in which different farmers care differently, to different degrees and for different things." Likewise, they find that "care is often fraught with conflict" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008:164), because the things we care about can be contradictory or conflicting.

They also present a critical approach that conceptualizes ways of being ethical, without assuming that some actors are unethical – but that different people have different ethical commitments. Instead, people vary in terms of the reflexivity they demonstrate toward their ethical commitments. By identifying these ethical commitments, and what people care about, we can better explain the significance of different actors and their potential as drivers of change. In fact, they find that the choice to care or about what to care "is in practice often constrained by many factors, including time, money, family circumstances, and also constrained by frameworks of care which include elements of responsibility and commitment towards particular producers or providers of food" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 47).

Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) refined their interpretation of care based on the responses in their study and by using Tronto's (1993) four phases of care. The first phase is "caring about," which involves noting the existence of a need and "the recognition […] that care is necessary" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 162). The things their respondents cared about included, "the need for producers to make a fair and decent living, the need for consumers and their families to have access to safe, fresh food, and the need for community and environmental resources to be protected, enhanced and sustained" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 162).

The second phase of caring is "taking care of," which entails believing that something can be done to address the recognized need and then assuming responsibility "for the identified need and for deciding how to respond to it" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 162). They argue that their respondents "exhibited a preparedness to act to meet the needs that they had recognized,

whether these be the needs of their children, spouse or partner, or the needs of the producer or the wider community and environment, or the needs of all of these recipients simultaneously" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 163).

The third phase of caring is "caregiving," which entails a "direct meeting of needs for care" through physical contact with those in need (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 163). They found that "caregiving is most obviously expressed through the preparation of food for loved ones – the physical work of growing, buying, carrying, peeling, cleaning, scraping, cooking, washing up, freezing, and disposing or recycling of food are part and parcel of the care work relating to food" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 163).

The fourth phase of caring is "care receiving," which entails recognizing that "the object of care will respond to the care it receives" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 164). They report "many examples of objects and subjects responding to care: gardens, vegetable plots and animals flourishing; producers sustaining their livelihoods; consumers enjoying healthier, more varied and tasty foods" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 164).

2.3.3.2 Seven Analytical Fields

Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) use care as reconnection as their theoretical framework and they developed an analytical heuristic containing seven analytical fields to examine their specific case studies. These analytical fields include the site of food production, food production methods, supply chain, arena of exchange, producer-consumer interaction, motivations for participation and constitution of individual and group identities, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Analytical Fields for Describing Food Projects

Heuristic Analytical Field	Examples from Sample Food Projects
Site of food production	Community garden, school grounds, urban brownfield sites, farm, rented field, allotments
Food production methods	Organic, biodynamic, consumer participation, horse ploughing
Supply chain	Local selling/procurement, internet marketing
Arena of exchange	Farm shops, farmers markets, home delivery, mobile shops, pick-your-own
Producer-consumer interaction	Direct selling, e-mail, newsletters, cooking demonstrations, food growing work (such as weeding parties), farm walks, share/subscription membership schemes
Motivations for participation	Business success, making food accessible, social/environmental concerns, anxiety avoidance, sensory pleasure
Constitution of individual and group identities	Customers, participants, stakeholders, supporter groups, children's groups, disability groups, women's groups

Source: (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 8, Table 1).

The first analytical field is the *site of food production,* which Holloway *et al.* (2007: 81) explain as "the place where food is grown and/or processed." This includes the physical

location, its permanence in that location and the scale at which the food scheme operates, but it also includes the narrative about that space[15] (Holloway *et al.* 2007; Kneafsey *et al.* 2008).

The second analytical field is the *food production methods,* which demonstrates how the projects "emphasise the ways food is grown and prepared, in particular where these are thought to challenge the prevalence of industrial methods in agriculture" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 81). This analytical field overlaps with the sixth analytical field, motivations for participation, as a project's production methods (and the ways in which they choose to present them) may also be demonstrative of "producers' assessments of consumers' motivations to consume food produced in these ways" (e.g., food produced without the use of pesticides) (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82).

The third analytical field is the *supply chain,* which captures the ways in which "food literally moves between different arenas via different technologies and organisations of movement" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82). Supply chains can range from low tech (face to face at the farmers market) or high tech (ordering online and shipping via international freight). This analytical field also overlaps with the fifth, *producer-consumer interaction*, because "producer-consumer relationships are key to the understanding of these food chains, as they are mediated by the particular mechanisms as they operate" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82).

The fourth analytical field is the *arena of exchange,* which "refers to the concrete and meaningful spaces in which food is exchanged" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82). Holloway *et al.* (2007) and Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) explain that this analytical field refers to both where the exchange occurs but also what type of exchange occurs, including both material and symbolic exchange. Exchanging money for food is an example of material exchange, and exchanging food for community activity is an example of symbolic exchange.[16]

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[15] Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 53---4) explain, "In some cases, for example where commercial farmland becomes part of a community--supported agriculture scheme, the nature and meaning of the space involved changes as particular modes of food production are engaged with and different types of producer--- consumer relationships are established."

[16] Kneafsey *et al.* (2008: 55) explain, "food itself is both material, with particular sensory and physical qualities, and is embedded with significance for both producers and consumers, symbolizing, for example a particular locality, a

The fifth analytical field is the *producer-consumer interaction,* which also involves both the material and symbolic nature of the interactions and relationships, but also the formal and informal "meeting points" between the producers and consumers. Holloway *et al.* (2007: 82) explicate that this analytic field examines more than the means of communication; it involves complex aspects of the interaction, including "intersubjective and spatio-temporal relationships" that influence the ways in which food projects emerge and change over time. The main distinction between the analytical fields of *arena of exchange* and *producerconsumer interaction* is that the latter "emphasizes the social aspects of that connection in contrast to the material dimensions noted in the arena of exchange" (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008: 56).

The sixth analytical field is the *motivations for participation,* which "describes the reasons people have for participating in particular food networks as consumers or producers and relates these reasons to particular forms of behaviour" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82). Holloway *et al.* (2008: 82) state that motivations are constantly negotiated and changing. They clarify, "Motivations and behaviours are thus seen as 'becoming', rather than as a fixed part of stable identities" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82). In this sense, motivations are related to the producerconsumer interactions, because perceived motivations of others can result in a participant's changing his or her motivations, and subsequently his or her behaviour. Because of the complexity and importance of motivations, Holloway *et al.* (2008: 82) state that it is imperative to allow participants in the networks "to describe and explain their own participation."

The final analytical field is the *constitution of individual and group identities,* which "attempts to account for the ways in which particular food networks, first, depend on or assume particular subject positions or identities and second, actually produce or reproduce particular subjectivities" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 82). Individual and group identities can be intertwined within food networks, meaning that food networks are more than something that exists completely externally from the participant; these food networks actually exist within *relationships* between people involved (Holloway *et al.* 2007), and the identities of those

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particular   way   of   growing   food,   or   means of   earning
a   living,   and/or   particular   producer---consumer   relationships."

involved is produced and reproduced through the relationships involved. Holloway *et al.* (2007: 83) clarify this analytic field by stating that it accounts "for the co-constitutive relationships between human identity and the shifting spatial and social formations making up the heterogeneous food networks which people participate in."

2.3.3.3 Utility of "Care" for Studying MSE Sustainable Food Procurement

Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) identify the importance of knowledge within decision-making, and the underlying elements of power and duty in the context of producer and consumer choices. The benefit of this heuristic is that it can be "drawn from any food network, including those where food is produced and consumed within globalized or industrialised systems" (Holloway *et al.* 2007: 81). As stated previously, it is a non-dualistic conceptualization of food schemes. Another benefit of this approach is that it allows the researcher to focus on the power relations within the food supply chain. Holloway *et al.* (2008: 90) state, "describing the arrangements of particular projects across the fields allows us to assess how the projects work in their different ways, and to begin to find out exactly where the potential is found for countering prevailing power relations in food supply systems."

The conceptual framework of an ethic of care and the analytical framework created and utilized by Holloway *et al.* (2007) and Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) is used to analyse food schemes with direct sales supply chains. Direct sales supply chains are not typical of MSE procurement, nor is it the intention of this thesis to conduct a supply chain analysis. Despite critiques of this framework,[17] it is helpful for my research because it highlights the necessity of examining relationships between, personal motivations of and the worldviews of the actors involved in supply chain decision-making. Specifically, the focus areas of this framework that are helpful include: being a non-dualistic conceptualization of food schemes; examining power relations; scrutinizing interactions between actors; and uncovering personal motivations, identities and worldviews of actors.

2.3.4 Sustainability Informed Framework

The third approach meant to overcome problematic features of the AFN concept is Maxey's

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[17] Wilson (2013: 725) critiques Holloway *et al.'s* (2007) heuristic by stating, "Holloway *et al.'s* framework points to the fields of inquiry in which we should look for answers, but it provides no indication of the types of

(2007) sustainability informed framework. Maxey (2007) draws on the general concept of "sustainability" to create a framework for analysing sustainable food. In this section, I describe the framework and explain the useful elements for studying MSE sustainable food procurement strategies.

2.3.4.1 Theoretical Foundations of the Sustainability Informed Framework

Maxey uses the concept of "sustainable" as a way "to consider whether a sustainability informed framework can radically decentre the apparently hegemonic and highly problematic term 'conventional' as it pertains to food" (Maxey 2007: 58). Maxey (2007: 59) argues that sustainability should be understood as a "critical relational process" that can help researchers shine light on the sometimes hidden and manipulated ways in which "sustainability" is socially and politically constructed and negotiated and to make explicit the underlying values and assumptions. He states, "The central aim of this model is to encourage an open, critical process of framing and negotiating sustainability" (Maxey 2007: 64).

The model has six principles that overlap and interconnect (Maxey 2007: 64). The first principle is *physical limits*, "which emphasises that all human activity depends upon a complex range of natural resources which are currently being exploited beyond the Earth's carrying capacity" (Maxey 2007: 64). The degree to which we each acknowledge physical limits "will depend upon our various social, cultural and other positionalities" (Maxey 2007: 64). The second principle is *futurity,* which "means that our levels and type of activity should be maintainable into the future" (Maxey 2007: 64). How far into the future is often debated. The third principle is *equity*, which involves inter-generational equity, social equity and global inequities. The fourth principle is *participation*, which draws from food democracy's

questions we should be asking. In doing so it mobilizes implicit assumptions about the value of particular models and practices. They assume that the task is to merely uncover the nature of activities within each analytical field, and that from there the merits of a particular case will be obvious. Without any clear discussion of how to interpret the difference between a farmers' market or a grocery store as a site of exchange, for example, Holloway *et al.* perpetuate some of the very categories they seek to move away from."

"belief that every citizen has a contribution to make to the solution of our common problems" (Hassanein 2003: 85; cited in Maxey 2007: 66). The fifth principle is *relationships,* which acknowledges relationships "to ourselves, with other humans, other species and the wider world" (Maxey 2007: 67). The sixth principle is *process,* which "explicitly acknowledges that sustainability is not a fixed, ideal end point," but an "active, dynamic process in which we are all engaged" with no fixed (often idealised) endpoint (Maxey 2007: 68).

Figure 2.1 Sixfold Model of Sustainability

Source: Maxey (2007)
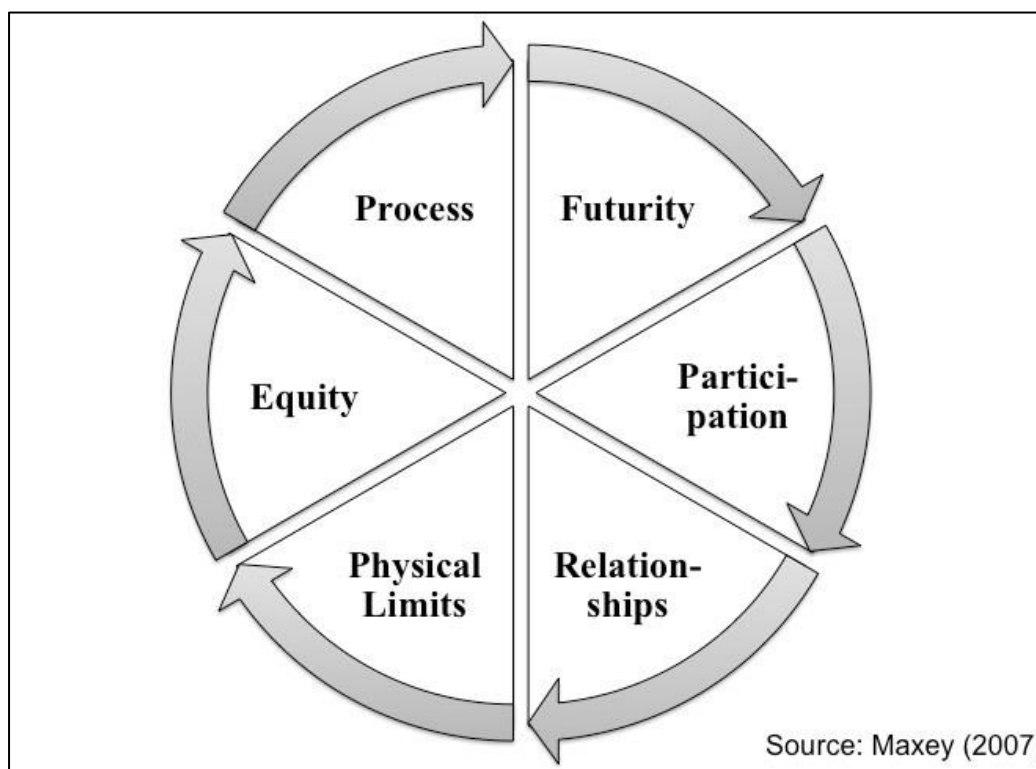
2.3.4.2 Utility of the Sustainability Informed Framework for Studying MSE Sustainable Food Procurement

According to Maxey (2007: 70), this framework is particularly useful due to its relational approach to analyzing food initiatives. Maxey (2007: 70) states:

> "Sustainable food" offers greater scope for disrupting dualistic framing of food provisioning. 'Alternative food' is built upon a binary relationship with 'conventional' or 'mainstream' food. As is so often the case with binaries, this operates to privilege one part of the pair at the expense of the other and to encourage reductionist thinking and practice. Whilst 'sustainable food' is certainly capable of endorsing its own implicit binary (with 'unsustainable food'), the worst excesses of a dualistic framing can be avoided if a more open, relational and process-based approach to sustainability and sustainable food is adopted.

While this sustainable food framework is incredibly helpful in guiding analysis of food initiatives, it alone is not sufficient to analyse MSE sustainable food procurement for the following two reasons. First, Maxey's sustainable food framework does not go far enough in explaining why and to what extent sustainability is contested. Therefore, in Section **Error! Reference source not found.**, influenced by Maxey's sustainability framework, I outline a theoretical definition of sustainable food systems for this study. Second, Maxey's (2007) sustainable food framework does not provide an operationalisation of the key concept, "relationality." Therefore, in Section 3.2, I outline a definition of relationality. I utilize Maxey's (2007) sustainability framework when building a conceptual framework for studying a MSE sustainable food procurement process.

2.4 Foundations for a Conceptual Framework for MSE Sustainable Food Procurement

When taken together, each of the four approaches examined above provide a foundation for a conceptual framework through which I can examine a MSE's sustainable food procurement strategy. These approaches show the importance of not re-creating the problematic features of AFNs. Despite the variety of frameworks used to overcome "alternative" as a binary, Renting *et al.* (2012), Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) and Maxey (2007) make it clear that a focus on interactions, between both similar and different types of actors, leads to a more nuanced approach to studying food initiatives. Most notably, Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) and Maxey (2007) argue for relational approaches to studying food initiatives, which entails examining the actors involved; their attitudes, beliefs and emotions; and their interactions, relationships and participation. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) and Maxey (2007) also stress the importance of examining the processes through which food initiatives are created and maintained, through analytical fields (Kneafsey *et al.* 2008) and a sustainable food framework (Maxey 2007).

As a whole, these approaches are studying initiatives that are comprised of actors who are understood in terms of reflexive processes and within a relational capacity, and who are working to create more sustainable food systems. Therefore, of the approaches examined, the three concepts that are most useful in creating a conceptual framework for studying MSE sustainable food procurement include sustainable, relational and reflexive. However, each of these concepts needs to be more fully operationalised before they can be used for the basis of this analysis. Therefore, these key concepts lay the foundation for the conceptual framework used for this study, as explained in Chapter 3.

3 Conceptualizing a Relational, Reflexive Approach to Sustainable Food Systems

As stated in the previous chapter, I am building on the foundations laid by the conceptual approaches examined in Chapter 2. The purpose of Chapter 3 is to introduce the research questions and build the conceptual framework for examining the interactive decision-making process for a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy. I do so by operationalising the three key terms suggested in the previous chapter: sustainability, relationality and reflexivity.

In this chapter, I operationalise sustainable food systems as a wicked problem and as a process with several characteristics (See Table [18].1). Then, by defining sustainable food systems as a wicked problem that requires an interactional, participatory approach that emphasises co-learning and relationships among food system actors, I operationalise the two governance approaches that inter-organisational actors can theoretically use to create sustainable food systems initiatives. These governance approaches are relational and reflexive governance. Relational governance focuses on relationships while reflexive governance focuses more on worldviews and sustainability interpretations. Relationality and reflexivity when used together create the conceptual framework for this study. I conclude this chapter by introducing and justifying the research questions for this study.

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[18].1 Sustainable Food Systems as a Wicked Problem

To develop an approach to studying sustainable food systems that addresses the problematic features of AFNs and is appropriate for the study of a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy, I first determine a set of conditions for sustainable food systems, by addressing sustainable food systems as a "wicked problem." I argue that sustainable food system initiatives will make better progress in addressing sustainable food system problems by first recognizing the "wickedness" of the problems and then addressing sustainable food systems as a wicked problem. Treating sustainable food systems as a wicked problem is crucial because to address a wicked problem requires different sets of knowledge and participants than an ordinary ("tame") problem.

3.1.1 Wicked Problems

Building on Maxey's (2007) conceptualisation of sustainable food as a contested and negotiated phenomenon, this section explains sustainability as a wicked problem (Batie 2008; Gollagher and Hartz-Karp 2013). Wicked problems are "dynamically complex, ill-structured, public problems" (Batie 2008: 1176). Wicked problems and their causes and effects are difficult to identify, and they are inundated with social, political and bio-physical complexity (Batie 2008). A wicked problem is contested, as there is "no consensus on what exactly the problem is" and the problem definition changes over time (Batie 2008: 1176). Unlike a mathematical problem with an provable answer, wicked problems describe real-world dilemmas that have no solutions, and therefore cannot be solved; instead wicked problems merely become better or worse (Batie 2008; Conklin 2006; Rittel and Weber 1973).

Sustainability is a wicked problem, because it is a highly contested term (Marsden 2013a, 2013b; Maxey 2007; Kitchen and Marsden 2009) and it is a process that we work *towards*, instead of an achievable end in itself (Glaser 2010; Holden 2010; Dolan 2011; Missimer and Connell 2012; Robèrt 2012; Tlusty *et al.* 2012). Rittel and Webber (1973) created 10 propositions that characterise wicked problems. In this section, I explain each proposition and demonstrate that agrifood problems are wicked problems.

Proposition 1. There is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem. For tame problems it is possible to gather all of the variables and formulations continuing the necessary information to understand and solve the problem. Rittel and Webber (1973) state, "This is not possible with wicked-problems. The information needed to understand the problem depends upon one's idea for solving it." They further elucidate:

> The formulation of a wicked problem is the problem! The process of formulating the problem and of conceiving a solution (or re-solution) are identical, since every specification of the problem is a specification of the direction in which a treatment is considered. Thus, if we recognise deficient mental health services as part of the problem, then—trivially enough— "improvement of mental health services" is a specification of solution. If, as the next step, we declare the lack of community centers one deficiency of the mental health services system, then "procurement of community centers" is the next specification of solution. If it is inadequate treatment within community centers, then improved therapy training of staff may be the locus of solution, and so on.

Additionally, the "solutions" for wicked problems vary drastically depending on a person's socio-political stance and values. There are many aspects to the agrifood system, and different ways to conceptualise the "problems" and "solutions" within the agrifood system. For instance, a prominent distinction exists between the different views of the problem of global food security (See Sonnino, Moragues-Faus and Maggio 2014).

Proposition 2. Wicked problems have no stopping rule. Rittel and Webber (1973) use the example of chess players and mathematicians knowing when the solution is found (or when the game is over); while people working on wicked problems cannot ever claim to have "solved" the problem because one can always try to do better. For instance, many scholars argue that we cannot reach a sustainable society or a sustainable food system because sustainability is a *process* (e.g., Meadowcroft 2007; Morgan 2008), not something that can ever be *achieved.* This is similar to what Rittel and Webber (1973) recognise as the "no stopping rule" of wicked problems, because there is never a point where decision-makers can state, "We've reached sustainability." Instead, there is always a way to be even more sustainable.

Proposition 3. Solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad. Rittel and Webber (1973) state, "Assessments of proposed solutions are expressed as 'good' or 'bad' or, more likely, as 'better or worse' or 'satisfying' or 'good enough.'" Because "Stakeholders assess solutions from within their respective socio-political contexts," conclusions are always relative depending on this context (Gollagher and Hartz-Karp 2013: 2344-5). For instance, an initiative to create a more sustainable urban food system might result in increased amounts of fresh local food in the city's grocery and retail sites, but it might also increase the cost of fresh produce, thus exacerbating under-nutrition in lowincome areas of the city. Therefore, an actor could claim this program ("solution") to sustainable food systems is either good or bad, depending on the viewpoint of the actor.

Proposition 4. There is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem. There is no way to truly evaluate the decisions made about wicked problems. We cannot measure interventions in their totality because there is no clear boundary for the situations the "solution" affected. For instance, in the previous example of the urban sustainable food system, there is no test to prove that policy-makers created a sustainable food system.

Proposition 5. Every solution to a wicked problem is a "one-shot operation"; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial-and-error, every attempt counts significantly. Rittel and Webber (1973) illustrate this proposition by stating, "With wicked planning problems [...] every implemented solution is consequential. It leaves 'traces' that cannot be undone. One cannot build a freeway to see how it works, and then easily correct it after unsatisfactory performance." This is a sort of "Catch 22" because "one can't learn about the problem without trying solutions, but every solution tried is costly and produces consequences that, intended or not, are apt to generate additional problems of a wicked nature" (Gollagher and Hartz-Karp 2013: 2344-5). One example of agrifood problems being "one-shot" operations is that changing agricultural practices can have significant consequences on environmental health, wildlife habitat, food prices and farmer incomes (just to name a few) and there are real-life changes that cannot be undone after the "solution" has been put into place.

Proposition 6. Wicked problems do not have an enumerable (or an exhaustively describable) set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan. There is not a way to make a list of all of the possible solutions and compare them objectively because each "solution" depends on values and attitudes of the actors proposing the solution, and because there might always be solutions that have not been thought of yet (Gollagher and Hartz-Karp 2013). For instance, AFNs are only one example of the types of changes that could be made to the agrifood system.

Proposition 7. Every wicked problem is essentially unique. Rittel and Webber (1973) explain that while problems might have similarities, there will always be a reason why an exact solution in one situation will not work exactly the same in another situation. Gollagher and Hartz-Karp (2013: 2344-5) further explain:

> Every problem is novel and unique. For every problem, large numbers of contributing factors are embedded in a dynamic social context. The result is that problems are unlikely to have been encountered previously, and no two are exactly alike; indeed, each differs substantially from others. Over time, experience may suggest that some approaches to solving a problem are better than others. But in its details, every wicked problem is unique.

For instance, Glover, Shinew and Parry (2005) show a community garden to have democratic affects on communities, but they can also have positive health effects for the people involved (Armstrong 2000).

Proposition 8. Every wicked problem can be considered to be a symptom of another problem.
For a wicked problem, it is difficult to clearly demarcate the boundaries of the problem, including the beginning and the end. The problem might seem to have evolved from a different problem in the past. For a wicked problem, it is difficult to clearly state definitively when the problem began, who/what it affects, and who/what caused it. Morgan and Sonnino (2010) state that issues of food and agriculture sustainability are symptoms of the global resource inequality problem, causing poverty, pollution and hunger. Additionally, agrifood problems are exacerbated by the wicked problem of climate change (Morgan and Sonnino 2010).

Proposition 9. The existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution. Rittel and Webber (1973) state that:

> "Crime in the streets" can be explained by not enough police, by too many criminals, by inadequate laws, too many police, cultural deprivation, deficient opportunity, too many guns, phrenologic aberrations, etc. Each of these offers a direction for attacking crime in the streets. Which one is right? There is no rule or procedure to determine the "correct" explanation or combination of them.

An important aspect of wicked problems is that there is no "correct" view of the problem (Horn and Weber 2007) because different stakeholders will have many different views and understandings of the problem, the potential trade-offs and solutions (Batie 2008). This proposition explains that there can be drastically different proposed solutions, depending on how the "problem" is identified. The global food security example illustrates this point as well. If the problem is defined as a lack of food, then the technological solution is that farmers should grow more food. However, if the problem is defined as people lacking *access* to food, then the solution is to distribute food more equally.

Proposition 10. The planner has no right to be wrong. A planner has to deal with the social consequences of how his or her plan affects the people it is meant to serve. A planner is liable to his or her research consequences, while scientists studying tame problems can run unsuccessful tests and devise hypothesis that are disproved while receiving no real world consequences to having been wrong.

Rittel and Webber (1973: 169, italics added) make the point that:

> Our point, rather, is that diverse values are held by different groups of individuals—that what satisfies one may be abhorrent to another, that what comprises problem-solution for one is problem-generation for another. Under such circumstances, and in the absence of an overriding social theory or an overriding social ethic, there is no gainsaying which group is right and which *should* have its ends served.

Because sustainability is a wicked problem, not a normal, "tame" problem, sustainability issues can only truly be addressed if they are identified as wicked problems. Batie (2008: 1176) explains that "normal science assumptions and approaches are inadequate for addressing the complexities of wicked problems in a policy context" and we need to focus on using science, especially social science, to help develop "alternative policies." Therefore, wicked problems need to be understood from the viewpoints of different social and political contexts (Batie 2008). Scholars also need to understand more about the process of collective decision-making, how worldviews are developed and about the values that guide the sustainability processes (Sabatier 1988; Batie 2008).

Box 3.1 Sustainable Food System Definitions in the Literature

"A sustainable food system would incorporate social-justice issues into a more localized system; alleviate constraints on people's access to adequate, nutritious food; develop the economic capacity of local people to purchase food; train people to grow, process and distribute food; maintain adequate land to produce a high proportion of locally required food; educate people, who have been increasingly removed from food production, to participate in, and respect, its generation; and integrate environmental stewardship into this process."

(Hamm and Baron 1999: 55)

"One that is accountable not only to all current stakeholders and the natural environment, but also to future generations that otherwise will bear the formidable costs of present-day exploitation and resource extraction from communities and their spaces."

(Anderson 2008: 605)

"Genuinely sustainable food systems
- where the core goal is to feed everyone sustainably, equitably and healthily;
- which addresses needs for availability, affordability and accessibility;
- which is diverse, ecologically-sound and resilient;
- which builds the capabilities and skills necessary for future generations."

(SDC 2009: 10)

3.1.2 Sustainable Food Systems Characteristics

Next, I set the parameters for what constitutes a sustainable food system for this study, by defining some conditions for sustainable food systems and by incorporating aspects of Maxey's (2007) sustainable food framework. I am not defining the boundaries of a sustainable food system because I define sustainable food systems as a wicked problem, which therefore has undetermined boundaries. For instance, I could define the sustainable

food system to include everything and everyone that food touches or affects, but this is a useless distinction because it does not exclude anything. I can, however, offer a nonexhaustive list of the conditions that scholars have used to describe sustainable food systems.

As shown in Box 3.1, very few researchers have offered succinct definitions of the term "sustainable food systems" (e.g., Hamm and Baron 1999; Anderson 2008). Many scholars point to definitions created by sustainable food NGOs or government organisations, such as Sustain (UK), the Wisconsin Foodshed Research Project (USA) and the Sustainable Development Commission (UK). Because sustainability is a wicked problem, it is not surprising that few scholars have offered clear definitions of the concept.

As a launching point for this thesis on sustainable food systems, I define a set of conditions for sustainable food systems; using key concepts from the agrifood literature (see Table 3.1). The first condition is *equity and fairness*. A sustainable food system should work toward geographical and financial access to safe, nutritious, adequate, dietary and culturally appropriate food and information about food to allow for active and healthy lifestyles for all people at all times (Hamm and Baron 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Morgan and Sonnino 2010; FAO 2013). It should also work toward equity, fairness, social justice by recognizing the needs of all (Krug 1999; Lang 1999; Maxey 2007; Anderson 2008; Johnston, Biro and MacKendrick 2009). The sustainable food system also promotes universal access to land and the opportunity to grow food themselves (Hamm and Baron 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Morgan and Sonnino 2010; FAO 2013).

The second condition is *cultural* enrichment through food. A sustainable food system should engender a society in which people are educated about food growing, food culture, traceability and food varieties, and where the food system is respected as a form of art and culture (Hamm and Baron 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Regattieri, Gamberi and Manzini 2007; Jones *et al.* 2012). It should also engender a society in which people have real relationships with urban and rural populations (Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Krug 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Maxey 2007), and it should work towards creating a culture in which institutions are accountable and responsive to citizens changing needs (Allen 2010) now and into the future (Maxey 2007).

The third condition is good *governance*. A sustainable food system should be governed through local, autonomous, community-based, participatory and inclusive decision-making processes, which includes all stakeholders and community members, resulting in people being actively engaged in the food system (as food "citizens") (Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Hassanein 2003; Windfuhr and Jonsén 2005; Levkoe 2006; Maxey 2007; Anderson 2008; Johnston, Biro and MacKendrick 2009; Allen 2010). Governance should also be conducted in a way that promotes community well-being and enables communities to tackle the problems that face them (Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Krug 1999; Hassanein 2003; Windfuhr and Jonsén 2005). Governance should also promote regulations that enhance environmental well-being (Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000), regionalise food systems (Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Krug 1999) and promote a systems approach, which integrates different perspectives and promotes system adaptability (Gottlieb and Fisher 1995; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Feenstra 2002).

The fourth condition is a value-oriented *economy* (Ilbery and Maye 2005), which promotes a good standard of living for all, maintaining high and stable levels of economic growth, developing local economic capacities to buy and grow food, and ensuring the right to food for all (Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Desmarais 2007; Anderson 2008; Bello 2008; Alkon and Mares 2012). The economy should also help ensure good working conditions, fair prices, and fair wages for food system workers (Hamm and Baron 1999; Ilbery and Maye 2005) and it should promote trade through cooperative means (Ilbery and Maye 2005).

The fifth condition is the farming and social *practices* involved in the food system. A sustainable food system should work toward using less energy and minimizing transport by growing more seasonally and locally (Hamm and Baron 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Jones *et al.* 2012). It should recognize the extent to which humans are exploiting the natural world and work towards protecting the environment by prudently using natural resources, replenishing soil, increasing soil and water quality, using locally appropriate seeds and focusing on regenerating the environment by practicing environmental stewardship (Hamm and Baron 1999; Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Maxey 2007). It should also enhance social well-being by promoting diversity of consumer choice and nutritional well-being through eating healthy food in a balanced diet based on fruit, vegetables and minimal animal proteins (Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye

2005; Jones *et al.* 2012). A sustainable food system should also enhance community wellbeing by encouraging labour-intensive agriculture and involving more people in food growing, processing, distributing and cooking (Hamm and Baron 1999; Krug 1999); and enhance animal welfare by promoting biodiversity of plants and animals and organic growing without biological or chemical contaminants (Kloppenburg *et al.* 2000; Ilbery and Maye 2005; Jones *et al.* 2012).

Table 3.1 Sustainable Food System Characteristics

Category	Characteristics
Equity/ Fairness	• Geographical and financial access to safe, nutritious, adequate, dietary and culturally appropriate food and information about food to allow for active and healthy lifestyles for all people at all times • Equity, fairness, social justice, recognizing the needs of all • Universal access to land and the opportunity to grow food themselves
Culture	• Engender a society in which people are educated about food growing, food culture, traceability, and food varieties, and where the food system is respected as a form of art and culture • Engender a society in which people have real relationships with urban and rural populations • Create a culture in which institutions are accountable and responsive to citizen's changing needs now and into the future.
Governance	• Local, autonomous, community-based, participatory, and inclusive decision-making, which includes all stakeholders and community members, resulting in people being actively engaged in the food system (food "citizens") • Governance in a way that promotes community well-being and enables communities to tackle the problems that face them • Regulations that enhance environmental well-being • Regionalise food systems • Promote a systems approach, integrating different perspectives and adaptability
Economy	• Change to value-oriented economics • Promote a good standard of living for all, maintaining high and stable levels of economic growth, developing local economic capacities to buy and grow food, and ensuring the right to food for all • Ensure good working conditions, fair prices, and fair wages for food system workers • Trade through cooperative means
Practices	• Use less energy by growing more seasonally, locally and minimizing transport • Protect the environment by prudently using natural resources, replenishing soil, increasing soil and water quality, using locally appropriate seeds and focusing on regenerating the environment by practicing environmental stewardship • Enhance social well-being by promoting diversity of consumer choice, eating healthy food in a balanced diet based on fruit and vegetables and minimal animal protein • Enhance community well-being by encouraging labour-intensive agriculture and involving more people in food growing, processing, distributing and cooking • Enhance animal welfare by promoting biodiversity of plants and animals and organic growing without biological or chemical contaminants

In short, working toward a sustainable food systems entails creating a system of food supply and consumption that encourages (a) equity and fairness in society, (b) cultural involvement, (c) participatory and community-building governance styles, (d) a value-oriented, fairnessbased cooperative economy and (e) practices that enhance environmental and social wellbeing.

3.2 A Relational, Reflexive Approach

The conceptual frameworks examined in Chapter 2 suggest that the concepts of relationality and reflexivity are key components of addressing the problematic features of AFNs. Therefore, this section provides operational definitions of these terms so that they can be used as the conceptual framework for studying a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy. In this section, I first describe relational governance, reflexive governance, and their origins and critiques, and then I discuss how these two concepts are combined to form a cohesive conceptual framework for this study.

3.2.1 Relational Governance

Relational governance is a term that is used in corporate social responsibility (CSR), political science and public administration literatures (Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens 2012: 324). According to Poppo and Zenger (2002: 709), the idea of relational governance is based on "the values and agreed-upon processes found in social relationships (Macneil 1977, 1980; Noordewier, John, and Nevin 1990; Heide and John 1992)." I identify five key aspects of relational governance, including inter-organisational exchange, trust, co-responsibility, adaptive decision-making and long-term relationships.

Inter-organisational exchange is a key part of relational governance. Definitions for this term vary. Tomkins (2001) describes inter-organisational relationships as having to be formed as the result of a contract, and there are many uses of this term in supply chain management literature referring to companies working together within a supply chain (Madhok and Tallman 1998; Dekker 2004; Dyer and Hatch 2006; Chang 2011; Cheng 2011). Albareda *et al.* (2007: 396) also refers to this as "intersectorial partnership" since there are organisations from each of the public, private and civil society sectors. Albareda *et al.* (2007: 395) explains the relationships between the inter-organisational actors:

> This framework makes it possible to observe the three social agents of governments, businesses, and civil society stakeholders not as poles or opposites which repel each other, but as agents collaborating in an interrelated area.

Cheng (2011: 839) explains, "Relational governance is embodied in both the structure and the process of inter-organisational relationships, especially the exchanges between organisations." I use the term *inter-organisational* to mean exchanges between organisations from civil society, business and the public sector. This term is appropriate for this research because in order to address the problematic features of AFNs, we need an approach that integrates actors from different organisational settings and backgrounds.

The next tenet of relational governance is trust. Adler (2001: 217) defines trust as:

> […] the subjective probability with which an actor assesses that another actor or group of actors will perform a particular action, both before she or he can monitor such action (or independently of his or her capacity ever to be able to monitor it) and in a context in which it affects his or her own action. […] Another narrower and more benign definition is confidence in another's goodwill.

Relational governance relies on the human capability of trust to hold people responsible for inter-organisational exchanges, rather than the legal and economic capability of contracts. Poppo and Zenger (2002: 711) explain: "Empirical work generally shows that relational governance is associated with trust and that trust improves the performance of interorganisational exchanges (Palay, 1984; Heide and John, 1990; Mohr and Spekman, 1994; Zaheer and Venkatraman 1995; Saxton, 1997; Zaheer, McEvily, and Perrone 1998)." Mendoza and Vernis (2008) discuss the difference between organisations with traditional (transactional) contracts and those with relational contracts. A basis for relational contracts is "mutual trust, rather than economic incentives" (Mendoza and Vernis 2008: 391). The main advantage of relational governance, as Mendoza and Vernis (2008: 391) point out, is that contracts governed by a relational approach foster trust and "form the basis for long-term collaborative relationships (Bovaird, 2004, p. 206)." Trust enhances relational quality, a term defined by Jamali and Keshishian (2009: 281) "as the extent to which the principals and agents of alliance partners feel confident in dealing with their counterparts' organisations."

Several scholars (Whatmore and Thorne 1997; Murdoch and Miele 2004) have suggested that small-scale agriculture can be successfully marketed and sold through relational means, and

they argue that this relational approach based on trust is far superior to an impersonal, contractual or solely market-based approach. Nevertheless, these scholars dismiss the idea that a market exchange can be based on trust even at a larger scale or that large-scale corporate actors can genuinely foster that trust from their consumers.

The third main tenet of relational governance is the concept of co-responsibility. Mendoza and Vernis (2008: 392) define co-responsibility as **"first, the recognition of interdependencies and the identification of common interests that lead to shared objectives; second, common agreement on the respective contributions necessary for their attainment; and third, effective articulation of the responsibilities assumed by each party."** Co-responsibility is especially important when integrating actors from different sectors, backgrounds and organisations because it is a concept that can foster dialogue between opposing viewpoints by focusing first on commonalities of interest, similarities in values and agreements on what each organisation or actor could contribute toward a joint solution to a sustainability problem. Mendoza and Vernis (2008) also point out how creating synergy between the public, private and civil society sectors is paramount in relational governance. They state, "The relational logic seeks to accomplish the greatest possible synergy between the resources, knowledge and capabilities of the public sector with those of civil society and industry" (Mendoza and Vernis 2008: 392).

Just as adaptability is a key characteristic of sustainable food systems, the fourth main tenet of relational governance is adaptive decision-making. Poppo and Zenger (2002) explain that contracts usually have "adaptive limits" caused by the rigid structure of contracts themselves. They explain that relational governance can encourage adaptive response by having a "bilateral commitment to keep-on-with-it despite the unexpected complications and conflicts" (Poppo and Zenger 2002: 708). In short, relational governance encourages continuance and bilateralism between organisational relationships when change and conflict arise. Poppo and Zenger (2002: 711) elucidate that relational governance encourages adaptive responses, and "lowers transaction costs and facilitates adaptive responses." This means that relational governance allows for flexible decision-making based on trusting relationships instead of rigid one-size-fits-all decisions pre-negotiated within contracts.

Poppo and Zenger (2002) also show that relational governance alone is not sufficient to solve sustainability crises. Instead, a combination of contractual and relational governance gives

the actors in an inter-organisational relationship the best chance for success. They explain, "The presence of clearly articulated contractual terms, remedies, and processes of dispute resolution as well as relational norms of flexibility, solidarity, bilateralism, and continuance may inspire confidence to cooperate in interorganisational exchanges" (Poppo and Zenger 2002: 712).

However, while traditional contracts can occur between organisations that are connected only by contractual, economic terms, relational governance requires personal relationships between people of each organisation in order to be successful. Thus, the fifth tenet of relational governance is long-term relationships. Poppo and Zenger (2002: 712) state, "familiarity, based on years of personal relationships, is necessary to develop relationally governed exchanges." This is not to say that relational governance can or should completely replace traditional contracts, but it can be incredibly useful in facilitating trust and relationships necessary for complex decision-making such as in the realm of sustainable food systems.

Agrifood scholars emphasise relationships, including long-term relationships between producers, processors, retailers and consumers (Berry 1978; Feagan 2007). They also emphasise the ways in which food growing and cooking can foster community relationships, especially through activities such as community gardening (Teig *et al.* 2009). However, they do not discuss how food is a tool to foster relationships between actors with diverse epistemic backgrounds within sustainable food decision-making.

The definition of relational governance above does not emphasise any one actor over the other as the initiator or the leader in relational approaches, but emphasises the importance of co-responsibility between the actors. Albareda *et al.* (2006) do not make the explicit assumption that these organisational forms hold equal amounts of power or persuasion in societal decision-making, but they explicitly address their co-responsibility for creating solutions.

Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) offer a critique and an improvement for relational governance, based on this assumption of organisational power equality. They explain that other scholars' interpretations of relational governance result "in a failure to recognise and appreciate the degree of power inequalities among the actors and does not account for the actual and latent conflict amongst them, nor is there sufficient recognition of the role played

by politics and the issue of legitimacy sought by policy actors." Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 322) state:

> The micro-level analysis which we have conducted in relation to this specific case has heightened our awareness that a sizeable proportion of the extant empirical research on relational governance is undertaken from a macro-perspective. Such an approach can mask the power imbalances, the political conflict and the ambiguity in the relationships between the societal actors.

One major criticism of the relational model of CSR is the lack of acknowledgement of existing power relationships in society and between these types of organisations. For instance, a charity-based non-profit will not have the economic power of a large multinational corporation and therefore enters a room in which an inter-organisational collaboration is supposed to occur with significantly less voice, influence and power than the large corporate players.

Furthermore, Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 322) criticise Midttun (2005), Albareda *et al.* (2006), Albareda *et al.* (2008) and Lozano *et al.'*s (2008) approaches to governance in general, as these authors do not engage with the long line of political science literature that is concerned with the interaction between government, society and business. Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 322) state:

> This well-developed understanding of "governance" has prompted the conclusion that the relational governance model (Midttun 2004, 2005) and its exploitation (Albareda *et al.* 2006, 2008; Lozano *et al.* 2008) fails to capitalise on much of the available, relevant political science based literature on governance and public policy. In our view, this omission leads to an oversimplification of the roles of, and relations between, the three sets of actors: namely, government, business, and civil society.

Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) claim that previous relational governance literature fails to properly embed the concept in political science theories, thus leading to an oversimplification of actors, their roles and their relationships. Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 332) state, "We reject the idea that there is clear separation between the three sets of governance actors with distinct and discrete boundaries" (Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens 2012: 332). They explain this phenomenon through the decreased ability or willingness of the state

to approach solutions to problems such as globalisation has led to a "blurring of the lines between state and non-state actors" (Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens 2012: 321-2).

Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens' (2012) argument reiterates that there are not clear lines between these sets of governance actors in terms of responsibility for wicked, complex problems, such as those of sustainable food systems. Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 331) argue that scholars need to realise that "government, business and civil society […] may rely on each other for critical resources such as knowledge, leverage, access, and information." Because the resources Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) mention are paramount to addressing societal issues, and these resources are distributed (unevenly) across organisations in society, there exists a need for different types of organisations to come together with their relative strengths and weaknesses and address areas of co-responsibility for societal problems and benefits.

Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) also argue that other scholars using the relational governance framework assume that cooperation is the main way organisations relate to one another (and as a way to avoid conflict), but they state that relational governance does not only involve cooperation between organisations; it necessarily involves conflict as well. They criticise: "the relational governance model and analytical framework both appear to contain a veiled normative assumption that co-operation and co-responsibility is achievable and desirable" (Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens 2012: 331).

Therefore, Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 331) argue for viewing conflict between organisations in a new light, without assuming "that all three sets of actors [civil society, government and business] share common objectives and engage in mainly cooperative relations," because "actors are as likely to be characterised by as much by conflict as by cooperation." In short, scholars should not assume that cooperation is the norm or that it is a goal for organisations, nor should it be considered as an objectively "better" approach to governance. Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012: 332) argue, "conflict is a common occurrence and that cooperation and co-responsibility maybe neither desirable nor achievable." Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) suggest that conflict can help organisations achieve their outcomes, and that scholars should not assume that cooperation is the only path that leads to achieving desired outcomes.

Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) explain that a relational model should capture and recognise the complex relationships involved in the inter-organisational process. Some of the aspects of these complex relationships include: power inequalities, resource imbalances, motivations to gain political suasion, the presence of conflict between groups, the blurred boundaries of organisations (not fitting clearly into civic, state or business) and the motivation for groups to secure legitimacy of other groups in society.

Therefore, the conceptualisation of relational governance used for this research is summarised here. Relationality involves the following components: inter-organisational exchange, co-responsibility, trust and adaptive decision-making. Inter-organisational exchanges are between organisations from civil society, business or the public sector. Interorganisational exchange can also integrate diverse sets of actors from different organisational settings. Co-responsibility occurs when actors in an inter-organisational exchange (1) recognise their interdependencies, (2) identify common interests which lead to shared objectives, (3) create common agreement on the respective contributions necessary for the attainment of these objectives and (4) effectively articulate the responsibilities assumed by each party. Trust is a subjective calculation that people use to determine if they believe another actor will act as they have said they will. Long-term relationships help facilitate trust. Adaptive decision-making encourages continuance and bilateralism between organisational relationships when change and conflict arise.

3.2.2 Reflexive Governance

Relational governance helps explain the interactive qualities of inter-organisational decisionmaking, but another key characteristic that relational governance touches on, but is a key aspect of sustainable food systems, is participatory decision-making. Another approach to integrating public, civil society and private sectors in inter-organisational exchanges is through reflexive governance, which has its foundations in participatory and deliberative democracy.

Participatory democracy is defined by Roord *et al.* (2012: 140) as "active participation in the decision-making process by all stakeholders." Deliberative democracy is defined as "a process where citizens voluntarily and freely participate in discussions on public issues" (Kim, Wyatt and Katz 1999: 361). Participatory approaches are also referred to as civic engagement, community deliberation, collective decision-making and anything that builds community in the process of decision-making (Blewitt and Tilbury 2013).

A concept that is more recent than deliberative and participatory democracy is reflexive governance, based on Habermas's (1992, 1996) theory of deliberative democracy (Brousseau, Dedeurwaerdere and Siebenhüner 2012: 14). Reflexive governance also emerged from studies of environmental risk (Beck 1992) and environmental governance (Brousseau *et al.* 2012), and Marsden (2013a) explains that reflexive governance has gained attention in debates about science and technology policy (Wynne 1993), network governance (Rhodes 1997) and sustainability (Voß, Bauknecht and Kemp 2006). Reflexive governance further provides an explanation of how we might integrate public, private and third sectors in joint decision-making.

Before explaining what reflexive governance is, I first discuss the ways in which reflexive governance scholars discuss the need for reflexive problem-solving. Similar to the concept discussed in the wicked problems section, where scholars differentiate between wicked and tame problems, the need for reflexive governance can be explained by differentiating between rationalist problem-solving and reflexive problem-solving. Voß *et al.* (2006: 5) defines rationalist problem solving:

> Rationalist problem solving depends on both the analysis of system dynamics to predict the effects of alternative options and the precise definition of goals and assessment of options to determine which is the best to be implemented through powerful interventions and sophisticated control systems. This kind of problem solving seeks to eliminate uncertainty, ambivalence and interference from uncontrolled influences.

This approach often leads to unintended consequences caused by the failure to recognise the ways in which these specialised policy departments overlap in the real world. For instance, transportation and environmental policies often overlap, insofar as they both affect wildlife habitat, albeit in different ways. If these two policy realms do not consider each other when making decisions, this can lead to unintended consequences (Voß *et al.* 2006). Voß *et al.* (2006: 5-6) contend that "These unintended consequences cause new, often more severe problems that are more difficult to handle because they require setting aside specialised problem solving."

Voß *et al.* (2006: 5-6) refers to these problems that are created by rationalist thinking as "second-order problems" (a term from Jahn and Wehling 1998), and uses sustainability as the classic example of a second-order problem. Voß *et al.* (2006: 5-6) states:

> Second-order problems work successively to disrupt the structure of modernist problem solving because to grasp them – to reconstruct them cognitively, to assess them and to get competences together to act on them – they require putting aside the isolation of instrumental specialization, widening filters of relevance, trading off values and engaging in interaction with other specialists.

Beck (1993) explains that the problems created by rationalist problem-solving require a new way of thinking to be addressed. Voß *et al.* (2006: 5-6) elucidates, "In short, these problems require transgressing the cognitive, evaluative and institutional boundaries, which, paradoxically, undermines the modernist [rationalist] problem-solving approach." The paradox is that rationalist problem-solving needs to evolve from a complexity reduction strategy "into expansion and amalgamation to contend with the problems it generates" (Voß *et al.* 2006: 5-6). Problem-solving evolves into reflexive problem solving, also called reflexive governance.

The remainder of this section explains what reflexive governance is and what competencies are needed to practice reflexive governance. Feindt (2012: 160, italics added) states that,

> reflexive governance occurs when institutional and procedural arrangements involve actors from *various levels of governance* and/*or various epistemic backgrounds* in an effort to *reflect* on and possibly *adapt* their cognitive and normative beliefs; in ways that take into account and acknowledge *alternative understandings of the problems*; in an attempt to integrate *multiple approaches to problem solution*.

Integrating the different actors involves bringing actors from different cognitive and normative beliefs and experiences together, where they can learn about each other's worldviews and help integrate new approaches to problem solving. Therefore, reflexive governance is an appropriate governance *process* to address how the different sectors can work together to create sustainability changes.

Reflexive governance focuses on actors scrutinizing and reconsidering "their underlying assumptions, institutional arrangements and practices" (Hendriks and Grin 2007: 333). This scrutiny and reconsideration is based on two aspects of reflexivity: social and cognitive reflexivity. The social reflexivity is a "dynamic adjustment of collective beliefs among a variety of social actors" (Brousseau and Dedeurwaerdere 2012: 35). Cognitive reflexivity is when a revision of the cognitive framework occurs, because new knowledge changes a

person or group's worldview as well as their conceptualisation of "the issues to address and the hierarchy of problems to solve" (Brousseau and Dedeurwaerdere 2012: 35). The basis of a reflexive approach is to help participants negotiate, renegotiate and change relationships, processes, rules and meanings (Feindt 2012: 167). Feindt (2012: 167) explains, "The processes of meaning-making that emerge in such reflexive, participatory and deliberative arrangements have been described as reframing (Rein and Schön 1993; Schön and Rein 1994)." Feindt (2012: 167) also explains that participants bring into the discussion their own frames (their discourses and experiences) that constitute the meanings influencing their practices. He also states, "reflexive arrangements are set up to change" these frames and practices.

Reflexive governance requires self-awareness and self-reflection for individual actors, and a large aspect of *learning* from other actors in the process. This learning helps actors change their frames and practices. Reflexive governance constitutes a form of *continual learning*, about both the scientific underpinnings of the problem and the diverse frames and practices used to address the problem (Voß *et al.*2006). Hendricks and Grin (2007), cited in Marsden (2013a: 131) point out the importance of actors to learn about, scrutinise and reconsider their "underlying assumptions, institutional arrangements and practices."

Voß *et al.* (2006: 7) describes how actors learn from each other and adapt their cognitive frames and practices. They state, "By initiating procedures through which problem perceptions, assessment criteria and action strategies of different actors can be exposed to each other, actors can begin mutually to adapt their perceptions, criteria and strategies." Therefore, reflexive governance is a process that allows actors to adapt their thinking to address the complex problems at hand. The actors involved must first share their worldviews, perceptions, definitions and practices with the other actors in order to begin to move forward to changing their own framings and practices.

Reflexive governance includes changing worldviews within a participatory, deliberative process. Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012) help define how this process works by defining four competencies participants need for successful reflexive governance. They argue that developing these competencies "should be systematically taken into account in the design of these processes" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 310). These competencies include

interaction, deliberation, adaptation and uncertainty. Table 3.2 lists these competencies and their subcomponents.

Table 3.2 Reflexive Governance Competencies

Competencies			
Interaction	**Deliberation**	**Adaptation**	**Uncertainty**
Ability to interact in heterogeneous groups of different stakeholders and to build new forms of cooperation	Ability for deliberative forms of knowledge generation, involving transdisciplinary forms of learning where different bodies of knowledge from science and other societal groups bring together their knowledge	Ability to be highly flexible and adaptive in iterative developments of strategies and institutions in reflexive governance processes, including the abandonment of previous decisions and governance solutions	Ability to make reasoned adaptation decisions under the uncertainty of climate change impacts
Subcomponents			
Ability to relate well to others Ability to cooperate Ability to manage and resolve conflicts	Motivation to learn Ability to perceive, understand and tolerate others' beliefs, knowledge claims, interests and values Ability to deal with complexity Ability to find integrated and creative solutions	Ability for selfreflection/reflectiveness Ability to accept failures as a natural part of the management of complex tasks/"failurefriendliness" Ability to identify innovative and creative solutions	Ability to understand uncertainty Tolerance for uncertainty Ability to make reasoned decisions under uncertainty

Source: (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 304-8)

The first competency is the *interaction competency*. Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012: 300-1) state that because governance involves "a diverse set of actors including regulatory agencies, non-governmental actors, as well as other stakeholders," we need a way to integrate these different actors in the governance process (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 300-1). A reflexive governance approach is a way to integrate these diverse actors into the policy process, including the "processes of policy goal formulation and strategy development, as well as in the implementation of solutions" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 300-1). Therefore, the interaction competency involves the "ability to interact in heterogeneous groups of different stakeholders and to build new forms of cooperation," and having the specific interpersonal abilities to relate well to others, to cooperate and to manage and resolve conflicts (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 304-5, Table 15.1).

The second competency is the *deliberation competency*. Because stakeholders come from different backgrounds, have varying value claims and might be encouraged to "clash and struggle for greater attention in governance processes," reflexive governance must include deliberative forms of knowledge generation (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 301). This involves "transdisciplinary forms of learning in which different bodies of knowledge from science and other societal groups bring together information and experience (van Asselt and Rijkens-Klomp 2002; Kasemir *et al.* 2003; Siebenhuner 2004; Voss and Kemp 2006)" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 301). To promote learning and sharing of information and experience, the deliberation competency includes the motivation to learn and the abilities to perceive, understand and tolerate others' beliefs, knowledge claims, interests and values; to deal with complexity; and to find creative solutions that integrate different bodies of knowledge (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 304-5, Table 15.1).

The third competency is the *adaptation competency*. This competency is based on the idea that processes need to be dynamic over time because they will need to respond to new developments that form inside or outside the governance process (e.g., a flood or change in administration). Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012: 301) reference Voß and Kemp (2006) by stating, "Reflexive governance thus has to be adaptive, and involved actors have to regularly reassess the applicability of the policies they decided." This adaptability requires "an iterative development of flexible strategies and institutions," which is "most adequate to encounter dynamic external and internal processes" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 301). Therefore, the adaptation competency includes the abilities for self-reflection/reflectiveness, to accept failures as a natural part of the management of complex tasks/"failure-friendliness" and to identify innovative and creative solutions (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012).

The fourth competency is the *uncertainty competency*, which Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012) develop as a result of a study on reflexive governance in response to climate change. Therefore, they define this competency as the "Ability to make reasoned adaptation decisions under the uncertainty of climate change impacts" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 308). The uncertainty competency involves the abilities to understand uncertainty and to make reasoned decisions under uncertainty, as well as having tolerance for uncertainty (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012). To study reflexive processes by focusing on the four competencies, Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012: 301) argue that we need a micro-level assessment of the psycho-social process "in which individuals and collective actors think and learn about

complex problems, communicate and cooperate, deal with conflicting interests and solve conflicts, make decisions and adapt decision, and implement and change strategies."

I offer one critique of reflexive governance competencies as described by Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012). My critique takes the same line as Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens' (2012) critique of relational governance, insofar as reflexive governance calls for cooperation and a dealing with conflict between stakeholders. However, it might be the case that cooperation is not always the most productive way to reach a sustainability decision, and perhaps conflict sometimes "works" to create sustainability initiatives. Nevertheless, I focus more on the *functions* of cooperation and conflict within a reflexive governance situation, which distances my conceptualisation of reflexive governance from Grothmann and Siebenhüner's (2012). This leads to questions about what *forms* of interaction, deliberation, adaptation and uncertainty appear within a reflexive governance approach?

Marsden (2013a) calls for a more reflexive approach to policy creation in the food system. He states, "it is clear that a more reflexive governance approach is needed so as to 'unlock' dominant paradigm thinking amongst its main and powerful stakeholders, and to open up debates to wider interests (not least, such as the health, nutrition and urban community planning interests)" (Marsden 2013a: 132). Marsden (2013a: 123) also calls for the creation of "policy spaces for more place-based forms of reflexive governance."

For this research, I refer to the following definition of reflexive governance, based on the theories discussed thus far. Reflexivity involves sharing worldviews through an interactive, deliberative process through which uncertainty and adaptation are key priorities of any "solutions" to the problem at hand. The basis of a reflexive approach is to help participants negotiate, renegotiate and change relationships, processes, rules and meanings by paying special attention to the frames (their discourses and experiences) of the actors involved (Feindt 2012: 167). These frames are important because they constitute the meanings influencing practices. Through a process of recognising and sharing frames, reflexive governance is intended to help people change their frames through a continual learning process about both the scientific underpinnings of the problem and the diverse frames and practices used to address the problem (Voß *et al.* 2006).

I reformulate the "competencies" addressed by Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012) as "guidelines" as to how a reflexive governance process should occur to successfully address

complex social problems like sustainable food systems. I do so by adding in the language and concepts from Feindt (2012) and Voß *et al.* (2006). First, interaction entails exchange between members of an inter-organisational group. Reflexive governance interaction involves a deliberative aspect, where the actors share their worldviews (frames) with one another and they identify their preferred approaches to problems with a major focus on continual learning. Other aspects of deliberation are recognizing uncertainty, recognizing the complexity and wickedness of the problem, and making a goal of adaptive decisions. In reflexive governance, the adaptation aspect is part of the initial plan, to incorporate into any solution the ability to be flexible during the implementation phase of a solution.

3.2.3 Relationality and Reflexivity Combined

3.2.3.1 Compatibilities
Within a conceptual framework based on the relational, reflexive approach to decisionmaking, a diverse set of actors can come together, learn from each other and make decisions that can satisfy their diverse goals and values. While they might not ever be able to reconcile their differences or their values, they might learn to work within these differences toward a more sustainable future.

The wicked problems propositions include the assumption that "wicked problems" can never be solved, and that stakeholders cannot necessarily agree on values differences – and there are aspects of reflexive governance that seem to be contradictory to this sentiment – insofar as a reflexive governance competency is interaction, which as Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012) describe it, involves cooperation and conflict resolution. However, I update this aspect of reflexive governance and do not assume that cooperation is the best way for complex decision-making to occur. Instead, I study the *forms* of interaction between diverse stakeholders paying special attention to both conflict and cooperation and the outcomes of each. A point of accord between these concepts is that both reflexive governance and wicked problems define complex problems as "unsolvable" (second-order problems). Voß *et al.* (2006: 7) state that "only unambiguous and confined problems can be 'solved' in a deliberative manner" and that a reflexive governance approach consists of a procedural approach to engage distributed decision-making activities with the goal of making decisions that allow for addressing complex "second-order" problems.

I also want to offer possible criticisms to this approach. Scholars offer concerns about the ways to approach wicked problems (Ballard 2007), especially about which groups of people are invited to participatory decision-making settings. Approaches to wicked problems differ widely depending on the cultural context and the issue of concern, and as mentioned previously, sometimes "dealing" with wicked problems can result in making the problem worse. These problems can lead to further fragmentation (Conklin 2001) between groups as their values and worldviews become explicit to their political opposition. Testing the utility of this framework with empirical observations means that I can critique, adapt and further refine it so that it is useful for both theory and practice.

3.2.3.2 Putting the concepts together

Placing relational governance and reflexive governance characteristics and competencies within a single framework allows for a robust analysis of sustainable food systems decisionmaking. This section defines the conceptual framework for this research, the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making.

One key aspect of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making is creating or maintaining relationships, which relies on interaction. Interaction entails exchange between members of an inter-organisational group in a participatory format. Inter-organisational exchanges are between organisations from civil society, business or the public sector. Participatory interaction also entails building community in the process of decision-making (Blewitt and Tilbury 2013).

Another key aspect of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making is sharing worldviews (frames), which relies on a deliberative process. The deliberative process involves actors identifying their preferred approaches to problems with a major focus on continual learning (also called "co-learning"). Deliberation should occur around three key areas: uncertainty, adaptability and complexity. Uncertainty entails recognizing the uncertainty of the knowledge of the problem and its solutions. In the relational sense, adaptive decision-making encourages continuance and bilateralism between organisational relationships when change and conflict arise; and in a reflexive sense, adaptation is incorporated into the solution or plan through maintaining the ability to be flexible during the implementation phase of a solution. Complexity entails recognizing the complexity and wickedness of the problem throughout the decision-making process.

Within the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making, actors feel co-responsibility and trust. Co-responsibility occurs when actors in an inter-organisational exchange (1) recognise their interdependencies, (2) identify common interests which lead to shared objectives, (3) create common agreement on the respective contributions necessary for the attainment of these objectives and (4) effectively articulate the responsibilities assumed by each party. Trust is a subjective calculation that people use to determine if they believe another actor will act as they have said they will. Long-term relationships help facilitate trust.

Finally, within the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making, actors undergo colearning. Through a process of recognising and sharing frames, the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making is intended to help people change their frames through a continual learning process about both the scientific underpinnings of the problem and the diverse frames and practices used to address the problem (Voß *et al.* 2006). In this study, continual learning is referred to as "co-learning" to emphasise the extent to which actors learn from each other.

To summarise, a key concept of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making is relationships, which are characterised by interaction. Interaction involves interorganisational exchange and participatory decision-making. Another key concept of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making is sharing worldviews through a deliberative process – including deliberation around uncertainty, complexity and adaptation. Within a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making, actors feel co-responsibility for the problem at hand and trust between one another. Actors also undergo a process of colearning. Figure 3.1 illustrates the key concepts of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual Framework: Relational, Reflexive Decision-Making
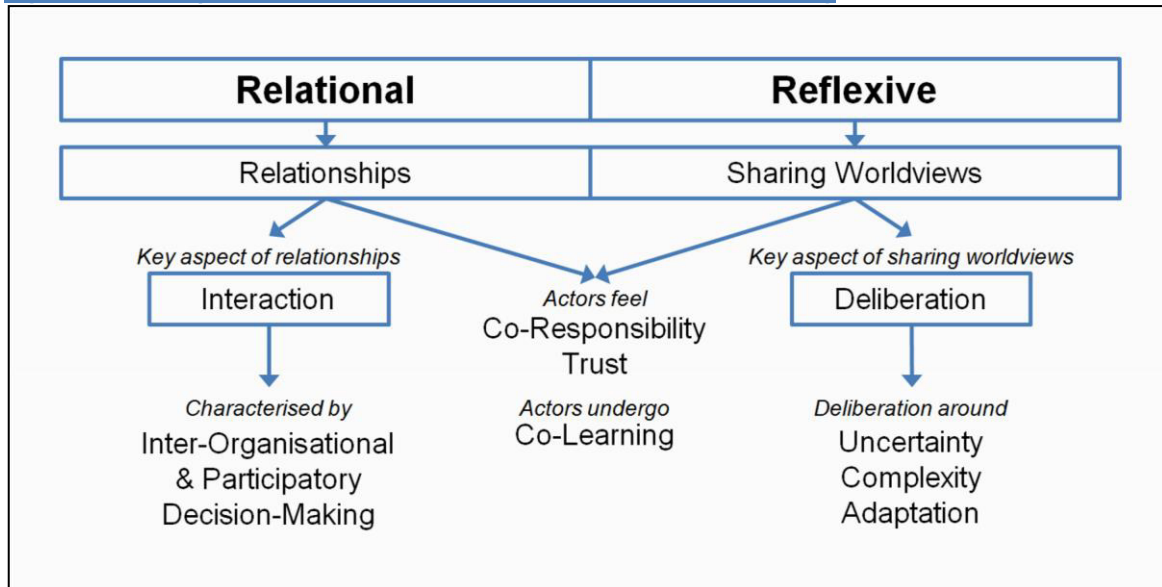
3.3 Research Questions

Based on the key features of the conceptual approaches described in Chapter 2, I have identified three key concepts through which I can explore the sustainable food procurement strategy of a MSE. The concepts include a relational and reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making. Therefore, the research questions for this study interrogate the relational and reflexive aspects of sustainable food procurement decision-making for a MSE.

Box 3.2 Research Questions and Sub-questions

Research Question: In what ways does a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making lead to sustainable food systems outcomes?
> **Sub-question 1:** What is the overall context and *process* through which inter-organisational exchange occurs?
> **Sub-question 2:** What is the process for creating/maintaining relationships within a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making?
>> **Sub-question 2a:** In what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes? **Sub-question 3:** What is the process for sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews within relational, reflexive decision-making?
>> **Sub-question 3a:** In what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes?

To study reflexive processes by focusing on the four competencies discussed by Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012), we need a micro-level assessment of the psycho-social process "in which individuals and collective actors think and learn about complex problems, communicate and cooperate, deal with conflicting interests and solve conflicts, make decisions and adapt decision, and implement and change strategies" (Grothmann and Siebenhüner 2012: 301).

There already exist spaces within which actors are using an inter-organisational approach to agrifood sustainability initiatives, and I focus on two emerging literatures about policy spaces where a relational, reflexive approach could theoretically occur. One policy space is in Food Policy Councils (FPC), and the other is within sustainable public food procurement initiatives. The next chapter explains the case study I chose to study. Briefly, the case study includes an inter-organisational group (very much like a FPC), which creates a sustainable food procurement strategy. This strategy is then implemented through a public-private partnership (PPP).

An underlying question that arises from reviewing the AFN literature is: How can interorganisational actors work together toward a sustainable food system? How can actors from different spheres work together, while recognizing the different values and worldviews they each bring to the exchange? What relationships and interactions would characterise a situation where these actors work together and agree on a strategy or course of action toward sustainable food systems?

The conceptual framework, using a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food systems initiatives, shows that it is *theoretically* feasible for inter-organisational actors to work together to recognise different values and worldviews and to agree on a strategy or course of action to work toward sustainable food systems. This study tests if it is *practically* possible for these inter-organisational actors to work together, recognise worldviews and agree on a course of action to work toward sustainable food systems. Therefore, I am testing the conceptual framework by asking the main research question:

Research Question: In what ways does a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making lead to sustainable food systems outcomes?

Because a relational approach, as defined in the conceptual framework, necessarily includes actors from different types of organisations (referred to as inter-organisational exchange), the first sub-question refers specifically to the inter-organisational nature of the decision-making and implementation process. I ask:

Sub-question 1: What is the overall context and process through which inter-organisational exchange occurs?

I operationalise the terms in each research question in Table 3.3. Sub-question 1 is meant to interrogate the social, political, environmental setting in which a plan is created by examining the series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve the particular end. The specific phenomenon, inter-organisational exchange, is operationalised as exchanges between organisations from civil society, business or the public sector.

This study examines the *processes* of the interactions between inter-organisational actors within sustainable food systems decision-making. Following the relational governance model, I examine the types of relationships between the different types of actors involved in the decision-making process. For this research, I define "decision-making" as the process of making decisions in an inter-organisational exchange. Decision-making also involves the manner and context of the creation and implementation of a sustainable food procurement strategy. As shown in the relational governance model by Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012), these relationships and interactions can also be characterised by cooperation or conflict. Therefore, the next sub-question asks:

Sub-question 2: What is the process for creating/maintaining relationships within a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making?

For this research, I identify relationships as the key aspect of relationality. As shown when discussing relational governance earlier in this chapter, this relationality allows decisionmakers to work with diverse actors in an inter-organisational setting. I reiterate the definition of relationality for this discussion. Relationality involves the following components: interorganisational exchange, co-responsibility, trust and adaptive decision-making. Interorganisational exchanges are between organisations from civil society, business or the public sector. Co-responsibility occurs when actors in an inter-organisational exchange (1) recognise their interdependencies, (2) identify common interests which lead to shared objectives, (3) create common agreement on the respective contributions necessary for the attainment of these objectives and (4) effectively articulate the responsibilities assumed by each party. Trust is a subjective calculation that people use to determine if they believe another actor will act as they have said they will. Long-term relationships help facilitate trust. Adaptive decision-making encourages continuance and bilateralism between organisational relationships when change and conflict arise.

For this research question, I specify relationships to include three key aspects: (1) interorganisational exchange, (2) participation from diverse actors (participatory approach) and (3) co-responsibility (including trust and long-term relationships). With this definition in mind, I ask:

Sub-question 2a: In what ways does the relationship process lead to sustainable food outcomes?

Guided by theories of reflexive governance, I examine different actors' understandings of the concept of sustainability and sustainable food; mainly how they came to understand sustainability this way and if the inter-organisational process encouraged them to view sustainable food systems differently. Another aim was to discover any tensions or similarities within different actors' sustainability interpretations. I ask:

Sub-question 3: What is the process for sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews within relational, reflexive decision-making?

For instance, I want to know if actors openly discuss or reference sustainability throughout the sustainable food initiative creation and implementation. If so, what is the manner in which they discuss the term? Do they seem enthusiastic, sceptical or annoyed by sustainability? How do people act or respond when asked directly about sustainability? When asked, how do they describe what sustainability means? Do they have a narrow or robust understanding of sustainability? The tensions that I am interested in can include implicit or explicit tensions, or tensions that were raised before, during or after interactions with the other decision-makers and practitioners.

Table 3.3 Operationalisation of Research Question Terms

Term	Operationalisation
Relational	Involving the following components: inter-organisational exchange (defined below), trust, co-responsibility, adaptive decision-making and long-term relationships (as defined earlier in this chapter).
Reflexive	Involving the following competencies: interaction, deliberation, adaptation and uncertainty (as described earlier in the chapter).
Decision-making	For this research, I define "decision-making" as the process of making decisions in an inter-organisational exchange. Decision-making also involves the manner and context of the creation and implementation of a sustainable food procurement strategy.
Implementation	The phase of a plan where it is put into action. This can also be called the delivery stage.

Sustainable Food System	A "sustainable" food system is defined first as a wicked problem, then as a system of food supply and consumption that encourages (a) equity and fairness in society, (b) cultural involvement, (c) participatory and community-building governance styles, (d) a value-oriented, fairness-based cooperative economy and (e) practices that enhance environmental and social well-being (as described earlier in this chapter).
Outcomes	What happens after the implementation has been completed. Also called the results of the plan.
Context	The social, political, environmental setting in which a plan is created.
Process	A series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end.
Inter-Organisational	Exchanges between organisations from civil society, business or the public sector. Inter-organisational exchange implies interaction from a diverse set of actors from different organisational settings.

For this research, I identify "sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews" as the key aspect of reflexivity. As shown when discussing reflexive governance earlier in this chapter, this reflexivity allows decision-makers to undergo a process of co-learning with diverse actors, to share values and worldviews between inter-organisational actors. Again, I reformulate the "competencies" addressed by Grothmann and Siebenhüner (2012) as "guidelines" as to how a reflexive governance process should occur to successfully address complex social problems like sustainable food systems. First, interaction entails exchange between members of an inter-organisational group. Reflexive governance interaction involves a deliberative aspect, where the actors share their worldviews (frames) with one another and identify their preferred approaches to problems. Other aspects of deliberation are recognizing uncertainty, recognizing the complexity and wickedness of the problem, and making a goal of creating an adaptive decision. In reflexive governance, the adaptation aspect is part of the initial plan, to incorporate into any solution the ability to be flexible during the implementation phase of a solution.

For this research question, I specify sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews that are generated through a deliberative decision-making process, which includes co-learning between actors and deliberation about uncertainty, complexity and adaptation. With this definition in mind, I ask:

Sub-question 3a: In what ways does the process of sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews lead to sustainable food outcomes?

These research questions are important because of the new approach I am using to study sustainable food systems. It is important to understand the process of inter-organisational interactions of actors who are all involved with working on sustainable food initiatives because inter-organisational involvement *might* be a step toward a more sustainable future.

I am not arguing that corporate involvement is necessarily helpful in moving toward sustainable food systems. I am arguing that researchers should allow for the possibility that it *might* or *could* be helpful. This possibility frames the analysis and interpretation of the data, because we can view it in a larger temporal context, where actors (including powerful and powerless; public, private and civil society actors) are recognizing, discussing and deciding on sustainability as a part of a *process* to move toward a more sustainable food system. It is this *process* of interaction and decision-making that this research examines, within the context of a MSE sustainable food procurement strategy decision-making process.

In short, the purpose of these research questions is to better understand the impact of MSE's sustainable food procurement on sustainable food systems, and it is through the framework of a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making that I examine the sustainable food strategy of a MSE.

4 Methodological Considerations

This study answers the research questions by examining a case of sustainable food systems initiative creation and implementation for serving sustainable food at the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

4.1 Research Approach

Because the research questions focus on processes, interactions and worldviews, the research approach is rooted in the constructionism perspective that embraces subjective realities and interpersonal understandings of sustainability. As is explained in this chapter, qualitative research methods are therefore at the heart of this project.

4.1.1 Actor-Oriented Approach

Because this research focuses on different types of actors and their interpretations of sustainable processes, I use a methodological approach that focuses on actors, relationships

and processes; in short, an actor-oriented approach. An actor-oriented approach allows for an intense focus on the unique conceptualisation and understanding of each particular actor involved in the phenomenon of interest. This approach embraces the inherent complexity of social and ecological systems and uses the complexity as a variable in understanding a situation. It offers a critical understanding of a phenomenon by focusing on underlying issues, be they power, inequality, conflict or issues of access (Miller *et al.* 2010), and on the processes that construct a situation, such as interaction, negotiation, action, understanding, discourse and knowledge (Long and Cruz 2003; Miller *et al.* 2010).

The term "actor" does not refer to just an individual person. It can refer to anything that has an influence or a "say" in decision-making, which can include an individual person, a group of people or a non-human entity (Murdoch 1997). Individuals consist of single people, while groups of people can include formal or informal groups, such as an organisation, association, union, board of directors or a group of friends. Non-human entities can include natural objects (i.e., the weather, trees, and squirrels), infrastructure (i.e., streets and telephone systems), culture (i.e., plays and paintings), or policies (i.e., written documents). Each of these actors can have an influence on the process that is of theoretical interest to the researcher, since the actors are tied to the process itself and to the social network that surrounds them. Therefore, the actor is more than just an individual (or organisation or tree); the actor *is* the network, what Callon (1987) and Latour (1987) explain as the "actornetwork".

For the purposes of this research, an actor is defined as having three key properties: agency, knowledge and power. Agency is a multi-scalar property, meaning that individuals, groups, communities and societies all have agency (Au 1998), rather the "management of interpersonal relations and the kinds of control that actors can pursue *vis-a-vis* each other" (Long 2001: 19). The second property of an actor is knowledge, which is related to agency. Knowledge, as defined in this research, is a social process, meaning that knowledge is created, interpreted and defined through social situations, such as through conversation, interaction and experiences with others. Each actor has unique means of knowledge creation and a subjective understanding of knowledge. Arce and Long (1992) explain that "knowledge is constituted by the ways in which people categorise, process and impute meaning to their experiences and emerges out of a complex process involving social, situational, cultural and institutional factors." Because knowledge can be used to exert control over others, it is a "fundamental property of human agency" (Arce, Villareal and

Vries 1994: 169). The third property of an actor is power, which refers to the kinds of control networks exert in society, relating to the influence and dominance of particular types of knowledge and ways of acting. Power is not a fixed property belonging to any one person, but rather "a consequence of micro-social negotiations" (Arce *et al.* 1994: 170). Much as the actor itself cannot be defined separately from the network, power is not an individual property, but rather a property of the network. Therefore, power is both a product and a result of the actor-network. The three properties of an actor are also highly dependent upon each other. This actor-oriented approach is highly relevant to this research because, as is explained in this chapter, the case study researched here is the food strategy creation and implementation for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, which is a case where actors are embedded in a social network, with agency, knowledge and power.

4.1.2 Constructionist Approach

The actor-oriented approach used in this study is rooted in the epistemology of social constructionism, which scholars referred to as "construc*tivism*" and "construc*tionism*" interchangeably. This approach is characterised by a rejection of an objective reality and a commitment to qualitative research methods. Schwandt (2000: 197) explains that the most basic premise of constructionism is the idea that "the mind is active in the construction of knowledge," meaning that knowledge is something we interact with and create. He points to the idea that knowledge is an active, not passive, process. He explains, "the mind does something with […] impressions, at the very least forming abstractions or concepts" (Schwandt 2000: 197). Constructionists explain that the world is not "out there" separate from individuals, but that people construct the world around them. Fundamentally, knowledge is a human phenomenon, not a natural phenomenon. Actors "do not find or discover knowledge so much as [they] construct or make it" (Schwandt 2000: 197). This construction process refers to a shared social reality where knowledge is created "against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, [and] language" (Schwandt 2000: 197).

The Thomas Theorem illustrates this socially constructed understanding of the world. Sociologist Robert K. Merton (1948: 193), who stated, "If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences", popularised the Thomas Theorem (Thomas and Thomas 1928: 571-2). The social phenomenon affecting our realities range from "historical, political, and cultural trends to face-to-face interactions" (Au 1998: 299), and Berger and Luckmann (1967) explain this concept as "social constructionism" in their seminal book *The Social*

Construction of Reality. To determine and study these realities, constructionism is mainly concerned with the lived experience of social actors, "or the world as it is felt and understood by social actors" (Au 1998: 299). Because of this focus on lived experiences, the key aspects of social constructionism include an emphasis on interaction, knowledge and language (Berger and Luckmann 1967).

Social constructionism focuses on *interaction*, "because reality is seen to be created through processes of social exchange" (Au 1998: 299), and interaction is the key area where "collective generation of meaning among people" takes place (Au 1998: 299). The second key emphasis of social constructionism is *knowledge*. Knowledge is a result of a group activity/membership and social interaction. Au (1998: 299) explains that the process of knowledge is constructed by the social group and intersubjectivity is established through the interactions of the group. A common topic in constructivism studies is the creation of knowledge, "especially knowledge developed as a consequence of membership in a given social group" (Au 1998: 299). Again, knowledge is not seen as an individual activity, but as an inherently social one. Social constructivism focuses on the social, intersubjective nature of knowledge (Mehan 1981; Au 1998). Understanding an actor and its agency necessitates an understanding of the knowledge creation process.

Beyond interaction and knowledge, the third important component of social constructionism is *language*. Au (1998: 299) states: "Social constructivists argue that the very terms by which people perceive and describe the world, including language, are social artefacts" which are found within discourse, practice and communication. Because of the focus on language, the basic tenets of constructionism overlap heavily with interpretive research. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz made popular the idea of interpretive research methodologies in his books *The Interpretation of Culture* (1973) and *Local Knowledge* (1983). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) explain his contribution to the constructivist approach:

> Geertz argued that the old functional, positivist, behavioural, totalizing approaches to the human disciplines were giving way to a more pluralistic, interpretive, open ended perspective. This new perspective took cultural representations and their meanings as its point of departure. Calling for "thick descriptions" of particular events, rituals, and customs, Geertz suggested that all anthropological writings are interpretations of interpretations. The observer has no privileged voice in the interpretations that

are written. The central task of theory is to make sense out of a
local situation.

Au (1998: 299) also explains that constructivists tend to examine texts to gain insight into the "processes of meaning-making […] and the varied nature of knowledge".   The process of communication, where the use of verbal and non-verbal language (social artefacts) is necessary, is a key component in gaining constructivist insights (Au 1998). Again, a focus on language reiterates the importance of focusing on interaction. Gergen (1994: 263-264), cited in Schwandt (2000: 198) states "It is human interchange that gives language its capacity to mean, and it must stand as the critical locus of concern." The following sections discuss the main features of constructionism, including the perception of objectivity and its association with qualitative research methods.

4.1.2.1 Objectivity

One key aspect of constructionism is that objectivity is not the primary goal of social science inquiry. Moreover, Turner (1991: 23) argues that "objective social reality is not part of the 'nature of things' but exists only as a product of human activity." Denzin and Lincoln (2000) further explain by stating: "we can know a thing only through its representations." Since representations are subjectively interpreted and change from individual to individual, "objective reality can never be captured" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). For these scholars, an objectively knowable reality cannot be reflected perfectly in science because there is not *one* way to see the world. Au (1998: 299) contrasts constructivism with other ways of knowing by stating: "Constructivists reject the naive realism of the positivists, the critical realism of the post-positivists, and the historical realism of the critical theorists, in favour of a relativism based on multiple mental constructions formulated by groups and individuals" (also see Lincoln and Guba 2000). Andrews (2012: 39-40) states that this idea is consistent with Berger and Luckmann (1967) and Hammersley (1992) "in that reality is socially defined but this reality refers to the subjective experience of everyday life, how the world is understood rather than to the objective reality of the natural world." Therefore, social scientists can only attempt to understand *how* others understand the world.

This understanding of objectivity in science goes back to the 19th century German sociologist Max Weber who argued: "There is no absolutely 'objective' scientific analysis of culture... All knowledge of cultural reality... is always knowledge from particular points of view" (Weber 1994: 374). Weber made a point to challenge the popular meanings of objectivity,

instead of rejecting objectivity all together (Palonen 2009: 528). His main critique was that social science is necessarily subjective, and academics cannot insist on an objective understanding of social phenomenon, because objectivity is equated to correctness, implying there is a correct way to understand a social phenomenon. Weber explains that objectivity is something that scientists can value in their research, but is not necessarily obtainable. He argues that "statements of fact are one thing, statements of value another, and any confusing of the two is impermissible" (Weber 1994: 374). Schwandt (2000: 197) argues that Weber's analysis of objectivity supports constructionism, which explains that knowledge cannot be objective because it "is not disinterested, apolitical, and exclusive of affective and embodied aspects of human experience, but is in some sense ideological, political, and permeated with values." Therefore, knowledge is inherently tied to social processes; within knowledge, values, objectives and agendas are communicated, reinforced and co-created. Knowledge is a social process, of which each person has his or her own subjective understanding and subjective way of communicating. The core of constructionism is that because each human is rooted in his or her own subjectivity, it is impossible for any human to see the world objectively.

Even within constructionism there are different understandings of objectivity. Weak constructionism is a "moderate version of social constructionism" developed by Longino (1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1996) which purports that there are different ways of knowing, including socially constructed knowledge and empirically based knowledge (Schwandt 2000: 199). This perspective supports a "social epistemology in which ideological and value issues tied to sociocultural practices are interwoven with empirical ones in scientific inquiry" (Schwandt 2000: 199). As opposed to weak constructionism, this research tends to follow the radical constructionism (also called "strong" constructionism) of Gergen (1994) who sees "social constructionism as a means of broadening and democratizing the conversation about human practices and of submitting these practices to a continuous process of reflection" (Schwandt 2000: 200). Strong constructionism is also characterised by a solid commitment to the rejection of a humanly knowable objective reality (Schwandt 2000: 200).

4.1.2.2 Qualitative Research

As stated above, constructionist perspective is qualitative by nature. This research is mostly qualitative in nature, which is defined by Lune, Pumar and Koppel (2010: 80) when they state, "Qualitative data collection strategies focus on the particular qualities of events and

circumstances that cannot be reduced to numbers." Qualitative data collection is different from quantitative data collection strategies (Lune *et al.* 2010).

As is discussed in the next section, the variables used in this research are not pre-defined; instead, they emerge from the analysis (as explained in the analysis section). Pre-defined categories allow the use of quantitative data while data gathered in a narrative or descriptive format is considered qualitative (Kumar 2011: 138). Constructionists tend to examine processes, interactions and negotiations, which are difficult to quantify and therefore best captured using a qualitative research method.

The main difference between qualitative and quantitative can be explained by the amount of restrictions on flexibility, structure, sequential order, depth and freedom of the research design (see Kumar 2011: 138). Kumar (2011: 138) explains that quantitative methods tend to utilize these restrictions while qualitative methods lean toward less restriction. Much like constructionism in general, "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 3). Therefore, a qualitative approach offers flexibility and depth in research that allows this study to go in-depth into the process of the strategy creation and implementation for the Olympics. In summary, this study is mostly situated to an actor-oriented, constructionist, qualitative approach to inquiry.

4.1.2.3 Researcher Positionality

As part of a constructionist, qualitative approach to inquiry, I recognize that a researcher interprets the world through the lenses of his or her own experiences and identity (Harraway 1996). Harding (2013: 172) states, "In recent decades, there has been a movement towards social scientists discussing their own role in collecting and analysing data and producing findings, in acknowledgement that their decisions are likely to have an impact on the outcome." Gobo (2011: 22) defines this process of researcher reflexivity as, "the self-aware analysis of the dynamics between researcher and participants, the critical capacity to make explicit the position assumed by the observer in the field, and the way in which the researcher's positioning impacts on the research process." There are key aspects of my experience and identity that are relevant for understanding my interest in this research project and my strengths and limitations in collecting data through participant observation for this research. In this section, I explain the relevance of my employment background, my gender, age and American dialect in collecting and interpreting data for this project.

First, there are key aspects of my personal background and employment experiences that make this a particularly interesting project for me, help explain my interest in working with large companies and shine light on my values and assumptions going into this project. Prior to participating in this research, I had several years of food service experience, working in kitchens, as wait staff and in retail settings, being employed by large catering companies and restaurant chains and small local grocery stores and restaurants. Through working with these companies, I gained an appreciation for the work that goes into preparing and serving food at a commercial scale as well as the difficulty of sourcing local food from small-scale producers in a fast-paced, commercial, corporate-owned setting. Most notably, my experience working with the fast-food restaurant, Chipotle, during graduate school in Michigan, USA, inspired me to study food at a large scale. Chipotle prides itself on serving "food with integrity" which includes organic beans, free-range meat and local food. They are able to secure a national supply of some organic and free-range products throughout their hundreds of stores in the US, but the company leaves *local* food procurement to the discretion of the local store manager. At the Chipotle in East Lansing, Michigan, the store manager told me that she simply did not have time to find local food. It became clear to me that there are corporations with goals of supporting sustainable food systems, but they simply have not invested in gaining the requisite knowledge or allotting time to do so. I view this as an opportunity for agrifood scholars to engage with these corporate actors to help create justifications and plans for large-scale sustainability changes. In terms of my positionality influencing my data analysis and interpretation, my background in food service and my experience working with large corporations influenced my attitude toward food service and catering employees in particular. My previous experiences make me more likely to view corporate and profitoriented actors in a positive light, giving them the benefit of the doubt when it comes to their underlying attitudes and values regarding sustainability. Therefore, in my discussion and conclusions, I have been careful about presenting a critical view of the catering companies and all of the actors involved in the Olympic case study.

Second, three personal characteristics are relevant to my participation in this research: my gender, age and dialect. Identifying as a cisgender female might have influenced the ways in which both male and female interviewees and participants responded to my questions and presence. It is impossible to determine to what extent gender played a role in response rates for requests for interviews, but it is worth noting that I only had one female refuse an

interview, and the rest of the refusals were male. A risk of being a female in her late twenties conducting research is that older or male participants might not take me as seriously as if I were older or a male, but this was not the case, as I was treated with respect and taken seriously during interviews. However, during my time conducting participant observation, there were many older males and females that did not take my mission as a waste auditor seriously, but I got the impression that my gender and age did not have an influence on their choice to voice their negative attitudes. Lastly, being from the United States, my American dialect sometimes impeded communication with the mostly English catering employees. As a result, I had to ask for explanations on certain terms and slang, and while transcribing interviews, I had to ask English colleagues to interpret some sentences for me. Because I was still able to collect copious amounts of data, I am confident these personal aspects did not negatively affect the quality of the data, my analysis or my interpretations.

4.2 Case Study Methodology

4.2.1 Negotiating Access to a MSE Case Study

I was able to gain access to Sodexo's catering operations at the Olympic Park through a working relationship between two Cardiff University professors and an executive director at Sodexo. This director was excited about my research on sustainable food procurement and seemed to believe that Sodexo was ahead of the curve in the realm of catering sustainability, and he wanted to work with a researcher to help push Sodexo toward more sustainable endeavours. Therefore this director put me in contact with Sodexo's operating director at the Olympic Park.

Because of my food service experience, Sodexo's Olympic Park operating director and I decided it would be best if I worked with Sodexo as a member of catering staff during the Olympics so that I could be a full participant during the Games-time catering operations. Therefore, I applied for a job with Sodexo, was interviewed and trained for working with Sodexo, and filled out the necessary paperwork (including a background check) to have access to the Park during the Games. I then met with an operations manager at the Olympic Park to discuss my role during the Games, and he asked if I could help Sodexo with their onsite, back-of-house waste management instead of working as a regular member of staff. In

short, I assumed the role of Sodexo's "waste auditor" for the duration of the Olympic and Paralympic Games and did so in a volunteer capacity. From 16th of July until 9th of September 2012, I was at the Olympic Park almost every day for 8-12 hours a day. Before the Games, I was in charge of setting up recycling and compost bins in every concession, training managers and supervisors in recycling and composting, and during the Games I was in charge of monitoring the recycling and composting and reporting to the management team at daily meetings. My role was therefore that of a participant in the catering operations. Fulfilling this role allowed me access to every Sodexo concession and every member of the Sodexo management team.

4.2.2 Case Study Selection

The research questions for this study call for an in-depth understanding of interactional processes (such as conceptualisations and negotiations) with many possible, yet no predesignated, variables and with no control of the research environment. A case study research design meets all these requirements. Yin (2009: 4) writes, "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena." Interaction between people is a complex phenomenon. It's not a simple "yes" or "no" question of *Did you interact?* But a more complex question of *Who interacted, where, for how long, how did it go, were there disagreements, were lasting bonds or friendships created?* Case studies can help us understand these complex inter-relationships (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 2-8).

The research questions call for a case study that involves: (1) an inter-organisational decision-making process including actors from the public sector, private sector and civil society actors (2) making decisions about sustainable food. Again, the research goal is to better understand the concepts of relationality and reflexivity between actors from different backgrounds and types of organisations (inter-organisational exchange) as it relates to sustainable food decision-making. As is explained in this section, the Food Visioning and catering for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games meets both of these requirements.

This case study was chosen over other types of inter-organisational exchanges because there are not many food sustainability initiatives high profile enough to entice large corporate actors (like McDonalds, Coca-Cola and Sodexo) into truly engaging with the process. The Olympics are the most watched event in the world (Douglas 2012), engaging with some of the largest food corporations in the world, and therefore I argue it is the best case study available to explore interactions between inter-organisational actors within a sustainable food

systems initiative. The time-limited aspect of the Olympics also makes it an ideal case study, because unlike other procurement activities, this case study has a temporal beginning and end. I study the food strategy of the London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (LOCOG), an organisation that was created specifically for the Olympics and was disbanded after the Olympics. The time-limited aspect also creates an aspect of hyper-realism, where otherwise normal relationships and decision-making processes are intensified. This intensity refers to the short time-frame of the Olympics, the hyper-corporatisation of the event, the large amount of publicity and the sheer number of people involved. The intensification works to the social scientists' advantage because it draws out differences that might not have been as apparent in a "normal" setting. In short, the setting intensified the relationships, amplifying differences between people and magnifying key points in the food strategy process.

Case study research is appropriate when "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2009: 18). Case studies are common in agrifood studies, mostly because sustainability itself is a highly complex phenomenon, is context-specific and has fluid boundaries. Yin (2009: 18) explains, "The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points." The variables of interest in this research include, but are not limited to, the process of strategy creation and implementation, attitudes of individuals involved, relationships between actors involved in the strategy making and actors' interpretations of sustainability and of each other. Since the research is focused on the happenings of the real world, there is no control over the phenomenon being studied. Yin (2009: 13) states that a case study is most appropriate when "A 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control" (Yin 2009: 13).

Here I describe some of the temporal boundaries for the London Olympics' sustainability strategy. In 2005, London won the bid for the 2012 Olympics Games. London's bid was predicated on a strong emphasis on sustainability and a dedication to the "legacy"[19] the Olympics leaves for the host city. The London bid proposed to dedicate 75% of the Olympic

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[19] "Legacy" is a term used by the International Organising Committee (IOC) and London 2012 to refer to the specific ways the Olympics will have a positive influence on London and the UK more generally. .

spending on legacy, building the site in one of the most disadvantaged areas of London, greening the area by restoring brownfields into parks and creating wildlife sanctuaries along the river going through the Olympic park (Schorr and Stevens 2011). London's bid also proposed a sustainability plan which included using recycled building materials, renewable energy and sustainable food requirements. In the original bid there is a proposed action stating that the Olympics would have a "sustainable procurement policy applied to materials, services, food and merchandise" (London 2012 2004a: 77). LOCOG was also publicly funded (Minton 2012), meaning LOCOG had to follow the rules of public procurement practices in the UK and EU.

LOCOG assembled an inter-organisational decision-making group, the Food Advisory Group, to write the Food Vision that specified the standards. This Food Advisory Group consisted of people from NGOs, government, LOCOG and corporations (LOCOG 2009). The Food Vision was designed to create sustainability and quality standards for the caterers who would be providing the food during the Olympic Games. Also discussed as a part of the food procurement strategy was the strategy's impact on the wider food system in London, referred to as the "Olympic Legacy" (LOCOG 2009).

The case study of the Olympic food procurement has clear links to this study's research questions, because it involves an inter-organisational approach, because the private sector (e.g., Coke, McDonald's) was involved in the creation of the sustainability strategy, and because the private sector (mainly corporate caterers) was responsible for implementing the public sector's sustainability requirements. Private companies involved in creating the standards include food and beverage sponsors McDonald's, Coca Cola and Cadbury. London 2012 also relied on the private sector to deliver the sustainable catering initiatives. Some of the caterers for the Olympics included Amadeus, Baxter Storey, Aramark, Bunego, Sodexo, Compass and Global Infusion.

There is a need for the agrifood research to take into account empirical understandings of how sustainability policies are created and implemented. By doing so, this research updates the agrifood theories by bringing in business literature concepts, theories of relational and reflexive governance and real world accounts of inter-organisational governance. A case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" just as this study's research questions require (Yin 2009: 18).

Case studies are grounded in "lived reality" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 2-8) and are based on studying a phenomenon in its natural context (Cavaye 1996: 229). The empirical evidence can then be compared against the existing theories – which "can facilitate rich conceptual/theoretical development" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 2-8). Additionally, case study research is valuable in developing and refining concepts for further study (Cavaye 1996: 229).

The Olympics are a microcosm of the commercialised, profit-driven food system, and this case provides the opportunity to examine the corporate actors' reaction to, conceptualisation of and practice of a sustainability initiative in relation with the public sector organisation, LOCOG, and civil society actors within the Food Advisory Group. In addition to corporations implementing the sustainability requirements, the corporate involvement in the sustainability initiative was further accentuated with the corporate sponsorship and the largescale nature of the Olympic Games. The Olympics provided an excellent opportunity to examine the corporate sector and their relationships with other sectors because of this *hyper*corporatisation. The corporate involvement in the Olympics is immense, with Tier One sponsors Coca Cola and McDonald's having decision-making power in the composition of the food standards for the Games.

Figure 4.1 Units of Analysis
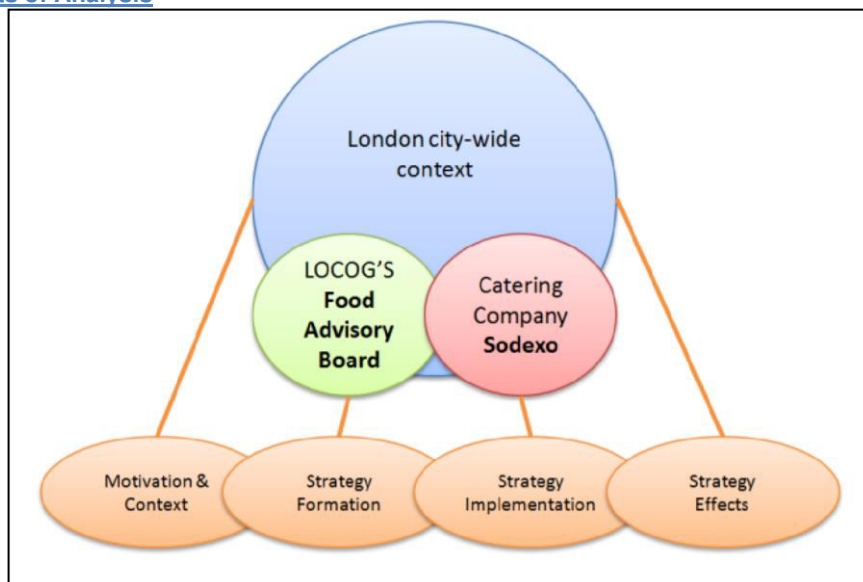
4.2.3 Case Study Type

Case studies vary depending upon the focus of the study (holistic or embedded case studies) the number of cases included (single or multiple[20] cases) and the rationale for the case study (critical, extreme or revelatory case studies).

Case study design varies depending on the focus of the study, which can be either holistic or embedded, and is closely tied to unit(s) of analysis. Yin (2009: 52-3) explains, "Within the single case may still be incorporated subunits of analyses, so that a more complex – or embedded – design is developed. The subunits can often add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case." Holistic case studies examine "only the global nature of an organisation or a program" (Yin 2009: 50).

This case study examined the Olympics' sustainable food procurement strategy (also referred to as the Food Vision, food strategy and food standards) creation, implementation and impact, which involved a convergence of numerous diverse actors across London and the United Kingdom. The main public body was the Olympic Committee itself, which was mostly publicly funded (Minton 2011), and had to adhere to the rules of public procurement in the EU (Interview W26). The main corporate actor examined in this study was the caterer Sodexo, who had catering contracts to serve food within the Olympic Park during the Olympic and Paralympic Games. To gain understanding of the London food context, this study also included the London Food Board, appointed by the mayor of London. This organisation and the strategy process itself make up the main units of analysis for this case study, as shown in Figure 4.1.

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[20] Multiple case studies enable the researcher to relate differences in context to constants in process and outcome (Cavaye 1996: 229), and allow researchers to focus on the "significance of the idiosyncratic" between different cases (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 2---8). A multiple case study lends itself to greater external validity (Yin 2009), but a single case study is appropriate depending on the rationale for the case itself.

Figure 4.2 Research Timeline

			2012												2013			
			January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April
London Food		Participant	■		■	■	■	■		■		■	■		■			
		Interviews		■		■		■			■							
Catering		Participant								■	■							
		Interviews							■	■	■	■	■	■	■			
Food Advisory		Interivews				■		■		■	■	■	■	■				
		Document									■	■	■	■				
Analysis		Transcribing				■		■			■	■	■	■	■			
		Analyzing								■	■	■	■	■	→→	→→	→→	→
		Writing	■			■								■	→→	→→	→→	→
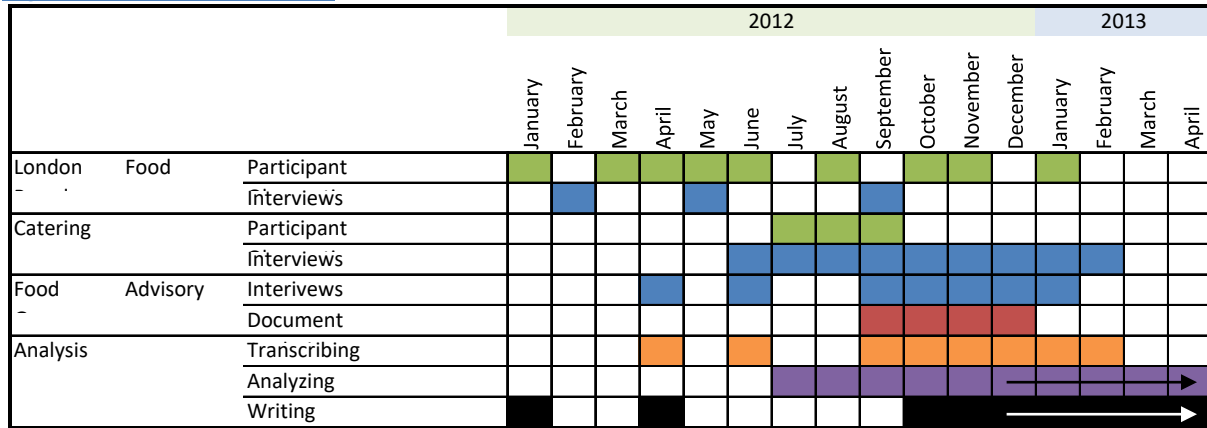
Having more than one unit of analysis within a single case study makes this a single case study with an embedded case study design (Yin 2009: 50). As shown in Figure 4.1, within the London context, the research examines an extension of LOCOG, the Food Advisory Group, which created the food strategy for the Olympics. The research process included gathering general information about LOCOG, and then conducting an in-depth study of the Food Advisory Group, as if it were a case study on its own. Another case study embedded within the larger London food context is one of the corporate caterers (Sodexo) that was contracted for the Olympics food delivery. Additionally, as a way of understanding and gauging the London food context, I examined a holistic case study, consisting of an organisation that is highly involved in sustainable food initiatives in London, the government-led London Food Board.

It is important to establish the methodological reasoning for choosing a single case study design. Rationales for single-case designs include having a revelatory case, having an extreme case and having a critical case. A *revelatory* case study is when "an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to social science inquiry" (Yin 2009: 48), which then reveals new insights. There are also *extreme* or *unique* cases, studying situations that have not happened previously (Yin 2009: 47). Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001: 2-8) state, "case studies facilitate the exploration of the unexpected and unusual." *Critical* cases are used to test a well-formulated theory that is believed to be true. A single case can confirm, challenge or extend a theory, and it can be used to correct or amend a theory's propositions (Yin 2009: 47).

The case study of the Olympics is supported with all three of these rationales. First, the Olympic case study is a *revelatory* case because it was the first Olympics with sustainable

food standards, and it is the largest (peacetime) catering event in the world (LOCOG 2009). This case is also an *extreme* or *unique* case (Yin 2009: 47). As stated previously, the Olympics is a hyper-corporatised event, where the food corporations are highly involved with the strategy creation and implementation process of the Food Vision. The hypercorporatisation makes this an extreme case, and the uniqueness is that private, public and civil society sector actors come together to create a food strategy in an inter-organisational process. It also is a *critical case* in testing an entrenched conviction in the agri-food literature that corporations cannot meaningfully contribute to sustainability (Yin 2009: 47).Because this study is revelatory, extreme, unique and critical, it is appropriately justified as a single case design.

There are also many strengths and some weaknesses associated with using case studies. First, case studies are generally a qualitative approach to inquiry, due to the complexity and nature of the variables involved. Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2001: 8-10) explain that "complexity examined is difficult to represent simply" and that case studies "do not lend themselves to numerical representation." Because of the qualitative nature of case studies, they usually "cannot answer a large number of relevant and appropriate research questions" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 8-10). Case study research allows for in-depth data collection, which entails gathering a lot of information about a small number of incidents, cases or participants (as opposed to having a large number of cases or data points and getting very little information from each one). Because the data gathered in case studies is in-depth, there are only a few research questions that can be thoroughly addressed in a single case study. However, case studies allow for the study of a large number of variables and different aspects of a phenomenon, while these need not have been previously determined (Cavaye 1996: 229). Because of the in-depth data gathering, the time and financial investment to gather the data can be "very expensive, if attempted on a large scale" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 810). The time investment is large as well, because typically "There is too much data for easy analysis" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 8-10).

This research attempted to take advantage of the strengths of case studies, while addressing (and therefore minimizing) the weaknesses of case studies. This case study primarily involves a qualitative approach, using qualitative methods such as interviewing, observation, and document analysis to gather qualitative data. I examine a small number of questions (one main research question), but I explore a large number of variables, mostly because the

variables are not pre-defined and are allowed to emerge from the data gathering and analysis process.

There are some methodological concerns with case studies regarding generalizability, validity and reliability. In any scientific inquiry, the generalisation of the study is of utmost importance. Yin (2009: 15) states that "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a 'sample,' and in doing a case study, [the goal is] to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation)." Case studies "are not generalizable in the conventional sense" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 8-10), meaning that "it is not possible to generalise case research findings statistically to a population" (Cavaye 1996:229). The generalisations are theoretical, instead of statistical. Additionally, "case research may establish relationships between variables, but cannot always indicate the direction of causation" (Cavaye 1996:229).

The case study is a means to generalise to the theoretical concepts, and its purpose is not to statistically generalise about sustainable events or even the overall experience of caterers during the Olympics. The analytic generalisations sought in this study regard relational and reflexive governance within sustainable food decision-making, as it relates to interactions and decision-making between inter-organisational actors.

As with any research method, there are validity and reliability issues with case studies. In a case study, one achieves construct validity through *multiple sources of evidence*, through establishing a *chain of evidence* during data collection, and having "the draft case study report reviewed by key informants" (Yin 2009: 42). A case study "Relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion" (Yin 2009: 18). There are different types of triangulation, including source and method triangulation. Source triangulation is including more than one data source to answer each research question, and method triangulation is using more than one method to answer each research question. Case studies rely heavily on the researcher as the data gathering "instrument." Data is strongest when "researcher expertise and intuition are maximised, but this raises doubts about their "objectivity" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 8-10). Mostly because of this question of research objectivity, case studies are "easy to dismiss, by those who do not like the messages that they contain" (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2001: 8-10). Additionally, "during case

research one has no control over independent variables and this may limit the internal validity of any conclusions" (Cavaye 1996: 229). Tactics for reliability include using a "*case study protocol* to deal with the documentation problem in detail and the development of a *case study database*" (Yin 2009: 45, italics in original). Without a well-documented study, there is no chance of repeatability (one of the key components of reliability) (Yin 2009: 45).

This research utilizes a case-study protocol to increase validity and reliability, which is shown in Appendix A: Case Study Protocol. The data sources were triangulated through the use of documentary data, observation and interviews, as well as having the case study narrative reviewed by key informants. These practices helped ensure the validity[21] of the data was as strong as possible. Additionally, each unit of study involves data from at least three separate sources, as shown in Table 4.1. For instance, at least three people who were involved in the same activity were interviewed before analysing that data as a means of source triangulation to ensure validity of the research findings.

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[21] Validity "calls attention to, among other things, the need for accuracy of measurements. In essence, it asks whether we are really measuring what we think we are measuring, or merely discussing something similar. This question has two essential dimensions: Do the measurements we construct accurately reflect the contextual meaning of our variables? And, have we accounted for everything?" (Lune *et al.* 2010: 79). In this study, validity is increased by focusing on the context of the research setting, including the process through which the policy is created and implemented, and the organisational ties and backgrounds of individuals involved in the process. As Lune *et al.* (2010: 79) explain, "Qualitative research can take the context of a study into account, which typically strengthens the validity of the measures. This is the case because qualitative studies tend to emphasise more in--depth analysis of specific situations and populations. This type of research also prides itself on its ability to decipher hidden meanings and latent structures in addition to the obvious observations." This study does not use coding to "decipher hidden meanings" in interviewees' language, but uses each interview, observation and document to help construct the overall context and process through which the food strategy was created and implemented. Further strengthening the validity of this study is the reliance on "obvious observations" from the data to answer the research questions. Additionally, the data used to draw conclusions is clearly demarcated in the text of the thesis and readers are welcome to engage directly in dialogue with the data and the resulting analysis and conclusions in this study.

4.3 Research Methods

The Olympics case study provides the framework for the research design, where the strategy creation and implementation *processes* are the key focus. This research divides the strategy process into six different stages, including strategy motivation, conceptualisation, negotiation, formalisation, implementation and impact. Each of these stages of the strategy process address different aspects of the research questions listed above, and the stages help to operationalise the research questions. Table 4.1 shows the sub-questions that emerged from the operationalisation of the main research questions, as well as the data sources that were needed to answer each sub-question. The research design employed a mixed methods design. Yin (2009: 64) states "mixed methods research can enable you to address broader or more complicated research questions than case studies alone." As shown in Table 4.1, the data sources included interviews, documents and observation.

Table 4.1 Triangulation of Data Source: Research Method per Research Question

Research Question	Participant Observation	Document Analysis	Interviewing
Relationships	Working with Sodexo at Olympic Park Food Board meetings Observing London	Emails Minutes / Agendas of Meetings News articles Document Food Policy	Food Advisory Group Members LOCOG representatives Members London Food Board
Sustainability interpretations and worldviews	Working with Sodexo at Olympic Park Observing London Food Board meetings	Emails Minutes / Agendas of Meetings News articles Document Food Policy	Food Advisory Group Members LOCOG representatives Members London Food Board
Sustainability outcomes	Working with Sodexo at Olympic Park Food Board meetings Observing London	Emails Minutes / Agendas of Meetings News articles	Food Advisory Group Members LOCOG representatives Members London Food Board

4.3.1 Observation and Participant Observation

Because the research questions relate to the interviewees' perceptions and conceptualisations of the sustainable food initiative's creation, implementation and impacts, I gathered data on

these questions by listening and observing, paying special attention to when actors discussed the sustainable food strategy, their relationships with others and sustainability in general. These nuanced aspects of participants' perceptions and conceptualisations are not easily deciphered by asking direct questions, because people are not always conscious of the manner and frequency with which they speak or they might respond with a neutral answer for social desirability (Patton 2002). Thus, a strength of observation is observing these nuances first-hand through access to the backstage culture of a group, which allows for a more indepth understanding of the phenomenon (Kawulich 2005). The backstage culture can vary from the front stage culture found in public sources of information, like websites, reports, newspaper articles and press releases, and therefore the backstage culture is integral to understanding the relationships and attitudes of individuals involved in the procurement strategy process.

In this research, the units of analyses for observational methods included (1) the London Food Board (LFB) meetings and (2) the catering operations of Sodexo during the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Observation of the LFB took place in 2012, during meetings that took place before and after the staging of the Olympics. The participant observation of the catering system occurred during the Olympics, which included setting up the catering facilities before the Olympics (early July 2012) until the end of the Paralympic Games (September 2012). The observation of the LFB meetings played two main roles in the research: (1) to provide background for the food activism and food policy developments in the city of London, including gaining awareness of the motivation for the Olympic Food Vision and (2) to gauge the perception of the citywide impact of the London Olympics food procurement standards.

There are two main types of observational methods used in this research, including observation and participant observation. Observation is also referred to as "naturalistic observation" where a phenomenon is observed in its natural environment without interference from the researcher, therefore observing without becoming a participant in the group (Evans and Rooney 2010). Participant observation is necessary when the researcher needs to have access to the group and to develop an "understanding [of] the setting as an insider while describing it to and for outsiders" (Patton 2002: 268). Observations can be either covert or overt, depending on the degree to which the research reveals him/herself as a researcher. The advantage of covert observation is that people act naturally, unaware that they are being studied. Few researchers practice covert observation due to ethical considerations.

Especially in sociological research, there are few times where the benefits of covert observation outweigh the costs (Patton 2002: 270). This study utilized the methods of observation and participant observation, which are referred to by many terms, including "field-based observations, […] participant observation, fieldwork, qualitative observation, direct observation, and field research" (Patton 2002: 262). Observation of the LFB can be characterised as *observation* because the researcher was observing interactions and discussions, but was not involved in the discussions. The observation of the Olympic caterers is characterised as *participation* because I was involved with the day-to-day activities of the catering operation and had the roles and responsibilities of a staff member. The observations for this research took place in a workplace or public setting where the phenomena were naturally occurring.

As with any research method, observation and participant observation have strengths and weaknesses. As with other qualitative methods, weaknesses include the small number of research questions and variables explicitly addressed by the research, but a strength is the large number of emergent variables that come out of the data. The time investment of observation is significant, depending on the frequency and duration of observations. As with any form of observation, there is always a chance for researcher bias and the possibility that the perspective of the researcher might affect his or her conclusions or interpretations, especially when there are cultural differences between the participants and the observer (Kumar 2011). Another possible disadvantage is that the observer might miss one observation while writing down another, and an observer in general cannot see everything that happens and will inevitably miss some of the phenomenon (Kumar 2011).

The main data gathered during participant observation is the field notes (Patton 2002: 303), upon which the analysis relies. Patton (2002: 303-4) explains that field notes should be descriptive; they should include "your insights, interpretations, beginning analyses, and working hypotheses" as well as the nature and intensity of the researcher's feelings. Also writing field notes takes "as long or longer than did the observation" and this time needs to be planned for (Patton 2002: 306). To gain deep insight into the observed phenomenon, field notes can be taken by using the "narrative recordings" method. This is when the researcher takes notes during the interaction, and then elaborates on these notes after the interaction, the result is in "detailed notes in narrative form" (Kumar 2011: 142). Observations can also involve the use of "categorical recording" which focuses on pre-determined elements of the

observation, such as levels of involvement of the participants, what people are wearing, gender and age.

During observations of the London Food Board meetings, I kept a written record of the people attending as well as the discussion and the interactions between the actors, using the narrative recording technique. During the participant observation of the Olympic Games catering operations, I kept a written record of the day-to-day activities of the catering operation, including expressed attitudes and behaviours of the people involved, expressed attitudes concerning sustainability and any behaviours that demonstrated sustainability (e.g., recycling, sharing knowledge about food waste). Again, the narrative recording technique was used for the catering observations, and some categorical coding was used. The protocols for these categorical observations are included in Appendix C and D. In summary, the main advantages of observation and participant observation in this research are the in-depth insight into the observed phenomenon and the ability to observe the "backstage culture" as described in the previous section.

Throughout the analysis chapters, I report conversations I had with Sodexo employees and my observations from being present during the catering operations. These conversations and observations are recorded from memory. Immediately after a notable conversation or observation, I would hand write or voice record what happened as accurately as possible. It must be noted that using such a technique means that the words might not be verbatim, but each day I got better at recording observations from memory and I am confident that I have accurately captured the essence of the conversations and observations during my time at the Olympic Park. In the analysis chapters, I demarcate a quote or observation written from memory by including "field notes" as a way to differentiate between quotes written from memory and quotes from voice recorded interviews.

4.3.2 Interviews

Interviews were an important basis of data collection for this study, because they allowed further exploration of the feelings, intentions and conceptualisations of the actors. There are two main types of interviewing techniques, in-depth and informal, and the primary difference is in the number of structured or unstructured questions. The in-depth interview consists of "repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words" (Taylor and Bogdan 1998:77). In-depth interviews can be structured

with pre-designated, specific questions for the interviewee or unstructured with few predesigned specific questions. The second type of interview is the informal conversational interview, also known as an ethnographic interview, which is always unstructured. Informal interviews are easily coupled with fieldwork, as the researcher asks clarifying questions throughout his or her time in the field. Patton (2002: 342) explains, "The informal conversational interview is the most open-ended approach to interviewing"; it is also called "unstructured interviewing" (Fontana and Frey 2000: 652). During an interview, a researcher can ask open-ended or closed questions. Open-ended questions are when possible responses are not given and the interviewee can respond in his or her own words, while closed questions are where possible responses are given and the interviewee must answer according to a set of pre-designated responses (e.g., strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree).

In this study, the units of analyses for interviewing include the members of the London Food Board, managers and employees of catering companies and the LOCOG Food Advisory Group. Interviews can be generalised to the sample population or as part of a case study to generalise to theoretical propositions instead of statistical generalisation. Interviews have the advantage that information can always be supplemented with observation and non-verbal reactions. A further advantage is that questions can be explained or repeated in a way that is better understood by the respondent (Kumar 2011: 149-50), which makes interviews especially appropriate when asking about the complex concept of sustainability.

A disadvantage of interviewing can be the time and money it takes to travel if respondents are dispersed across a large geographical area (Kumar 2011: 150). For this research, time and money investments were mitigated by the use of video (Skype) and telephone interviewing, instead of relying on travel for each interview. Most interviews with caterers were conducted on site at the Olympic Park, interviews with Food Advisory Group members were almost exclusively through Skype or over the telephone. One interview with a London Food Board member took place at City Hall after a London Food Board meeting, while the remaining LFB interviews were over the phone or Skype.

The types of questions asked in an interview are extremely important for the validity of the data gathered. Patton (2002: 365) explains that people respond to different dimensions

(levels) of a question, and a question should be explicit about the level[22] of data requested, resulting in clear and comparable data. Other types of questions can be problematic as well. For instance, a "Why?" question can be interpreted as an affront, making a person feeling he or she needs to justify his or her opinions. Also, a "Why?" question assumes a cause and effect relationship, and respondents often do not know the cause and/or effects of their actions. Instead, it is better to ask a more specific question, such as "what do you think are the possible causes of…"

Researchers can obtain more in-depth data by having probing questions within the interview (Kumar 2011: 149-50). One manner in which an interviewer can capture complex information is through the capability to clarify and explain questions to respondents (Kumar 2011: 149-50). Kumar (2011: 149-50) explains that in an interview "It is less likely that a question will be misunderstood as the interviewer can either repeat a question or put it in a form that is understood by the respondent." Additionally, probing helps make sure the respondent answers the question in full, and helps the respondent fully understand the dimensions of the question. Another advantage of interviewing is that the information can be supplemented. Kumar (2011: 149-150) explains, "An interviewer is able to supplement information obtained from responses with those gained from observation of non-verbal reactions." The techniques used in this research to gain supplemental information include paying attention to voice inflection and facial expressions, then using these sources of information to ask follow-up questions to help the interviewee express his or her attitudes and opinions.

Interviewing validity and reliability depend on the nature of the interviewer, the interaction between researchers and interviewees and the notes. Validity is aided by supplementing information in interviews with information from observations and documents (Kumar 2011: 149-50). Reliability is dependent upon the quality of the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee and the quality of the interviewer is determined by the skills he or she brings to the interview (Kumar 2011: 150). Distorted responses can occur for a multitude of reasons, "due to personal bias, anger, anxiety, politics, and simple lack of awareness since

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[22] The levels of questions and responses include: programmatic, personality, information, social influence, economic, outcomes---based, personal motivation, or philosophical (Patton 2002: 364). I primarily asked questions at the *information* level.

interviews can be greatly affected by the emotional state of the interviewee at the same time of the interview" (Patton 2002: 306). Also, interviewees do not always accurately remember a situation. Patton (2002: 306) states, "Interview data are also subject to recall error, reactivity of the interviewee to the interviewer and the self-serving process" (Patton 2002: 306). The self-serving process refers to a bias where interviewers express self-appraisals of their performance (Spector 2006). Additionally, a "researcher may introduce his/her bias" into the interview by asking questions in a judgemental tone or by interpreting answers according to previous knowledge (Kumar 2011: 150). In this research, I address these concerns by asking open-ended questions, and by addressing any assumptions interviewers made of interviewees with direct questions to the interviewees[23].

Semi-structured interviews should be conducted with a pre-tested interview guide, which also helps to increase the validity and reliability of the data. Interview guides help ensure the "desired coverage of the areas of enquiry and comparability of information across respondents" (Kumar 2011: 162), making the data more systematic, ensuring that questions are asked the same way to all the respondents (Patton 2002: 343). An interview guide also helps make sure "that the interviewer/evaluator has carefully decided how best to use the limited time available in an interview situation" (Patton 2002: 343). The interview guide can also ensure that the conversation flows as well as possible. The use of prefatory statements, announcements, summarizing transitions and direct announcements between questions helps the conversation flow in a straightforward, simple and logical manner (Patton 2002). In addition, the use of probes and follow-up questions help ensure the respondent can understand the question and answer it in a useful manner, ensuring that the researcher gets the best data possible (Patton 2002). The interview guides for the in-depth interviews are in Appendices Appendix C: Interview Questions for Food Advisory Group members and Appendix D: Interview Questions for Corporate Caterers, and the process of how questions were created is in Appendix B: Creating Questions for Interviews. There was no interview schedule for the informal conversational interviews because as Patton (2002: 342) explains,

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[23] For instance, if an interviewee works for a corporation, the researcher might assume he or she has always worked for a corporation. Instead of relying on this assumption as a piece of information, the researcher asks the interviewee what types of companies or organisations he or she has worked with in the past.

"No predetermined set of questions would be appropriate under many emergent field circumstances where the fieldworker doesn't know beforehand what is going to happen, who will be present, or what will be important to ask during an event, incident, or experience."

An interview guide should also be pre-tested, ideally with people in a similar situation to the study population (Kumar 2011:158-9). The point of the pre-test is to "identify problems that the potential respondents might have in either understanding or interpreting a question" (Kumar 2011:158-9). Pre-testing can help the researcher focus on the wording of the questions, which "can make a significant difference in the quality of responses elicited" (Patton 2002: 360). While a formal pre-testing of the interview guides was not available, the interview guide was evaluated by academics before use, and the questions asked obtained high quality data. In-depth interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours, with an average duration of one hour.

Analysing the interview notes is an important part of the research process, and one thing to be aware of is that people often speak with multiple voices (Silverman 2010: 227). A positivist approach sees this as a *problem* to be explained while a constructionist approach sees this as a *finding*. Silverman (2010: 227) suggests, "When analysing your interview data, look for prefaces [like 'speaking as a mother now'] and try to identify the range of subjective positions your respondents invoke." For this research, interview notes were typed (during telephone interviews) or written by hand (during in-person interviews), and tape-recorded when possible. The transcribing process adds time to the data gathering process, but outweighs the cost as it allows for a more in-depth analysis of the respondent's exact responses. The possibility of interviewees' recall error was mitigated by interviewing several people who were present at the same event, and by comparing against written records such as minutes of meetings and news articles. Table 4.2 shows the distribution of interviews by sector. Table 4.2 also shows that during observation and participant observations, there were many opportunities for informal interviews resulting in more reliable and valid data. Additionally, like the other data gathered for this research, the interviews were used for theoretical generalisation.

To give a breakdown of who was interviewed, most of the people who attended Food Advisory Group meetings were at the executive or director level of their organisation. I conducted eight in-depth interviews and nine informal interviews with Food Advisory Group

members. I was unable to obtain interviews with representatives from the three main corporate sponsors at the Olympics, Coca Cola, McDonald's and Cadbury's, nor did I interview any representatives from the government agency DEFRA.[24]

In the empirical chapters, I refer to different hierarchies of the catering employees. The levels included director, operations manager, manager, supervisor and staff member. The operational structure at the Olympic Park is also shown in Figure 7.2 later in the thesis. Director refers to people who are at the director or executive levels of the company. I interviewed eight people at this level from several different caterers who served food at the Olympics. Operations managers were in charge of a departments on the Olympic Park. These departments included logistics, ordering, chefs, human resources, concessions, health and safety, accounting and technology. For some of these departments, there were up to four operations managers because the size of the operation was so large. I interviewed nine operations managers. For every operations manager, there were at least two assistants, called managers. There were also chef managers who ran the kitchens and a team of chefs. Supervisors were in charge of a team of usually around 20 staff. Usually supervisors operated a single concession and supervised between five and 10 staff members. There were also chef supervisors who ran a team of chef staff members. Staff members were the cashiers, dishwashers, baristas, supply stockers and waiters. There were also chef staff members in the kitchens. I gathered information from managers, chef managers, supervisors, chef-supervisors, staff and chef staff members mainly from participant observation and informal interviewing.

Table 4.2 Interviews by Sector

Sector	Number of In-Depth Interviews	Number of Informal Interviews
Private Sector	17	30
Public Sector	9	10
Civil Society	4	4
Total	*30*	*44*

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[24] Even though I did not obtain interviews from Coca Cola, McDonald's, Cadbury's, or DEFRA, I was able to determine the extent to which they participated in the Food Advisory Group meetings by asking others about these members' contributions and participation during meetings and by reading the written minutes of meetings.

4.3.3 Documentary Analysis

Documentary data utilized for this research included newspaper articles, policy documents and public procurement tender documents. Each of these sources of information provided an important aspect of the procurement strategy story, which is critical for this in-depth case study.The approach taken towards documents in this research is that of Atkinson and Coffey (2011: 77), who argue, "Documents are not neutral, transparent reflections of organisational or occupational life. They actively construct the very organisations they purport to describe." Also, "Documents are 'social facts', in that they are produced, shared and used in socially organised ways," and they are not transparent and straightforward representations of processes (Atkinson and Coffey 2011: 79). Prior (2011) explains the dual relation of documents in society. They are used by humans to communicate, but they become "agents in their own rights" with effects that outlive their human creators (Prior 2011: 94). Prior (2011) also recommends that documents be studied in the context in which they were created, not as independent or inert things on their own. Furthermore, she suggests that "it is forever beneficial to ask how documents are produced; who, exactly, produced them; and how the production process was socially organized" (Prior 2011: 101). Within each document, it is important to focus on the language chosen because "language represents and contributes to the (re)production of social reality" (Mayr 2008: 8).

To use a research method to the best of its capability, it is important to examine the issues involved in using that method, as well as having a way to evaluate the research method. Documentary analysis involves analysing written forms, and can involve both qualitative and quantitative aspects, for example, counting how often a word is used (quantitative) or evaluating how power changes over time (qualitative). A qualitative and constructionist approach to document analysis supports the presupposition that language is a primary source of reality construction. Similar to the other qualitative methods in this chapter, documentary analysis projects can only answer a small number of research questions at a time, but the number of variables that emerge from the data can be immense. This research focused primarily on the qualitative aspects of document analysis, examining the steps taken in creating the procurement strategy. The quantitative aspects included how often "food" is mentioned in the original bid for the London 2012 Olympics.

Documentary analysis is time consuming, as it requires the reading and re-reading of texts, coding and re-coding (Gill 2006: 217). This method took many weeks to complete, but the

financial investment was low because all the documents analysed were freely available. Most documents were publicly accessible on the Internet with the exception of Food Advisory Group documents.[25] One can easily become overwhelmed with the amount of documentary data available, especially when dealing with media reports. A sampling procedure is necessary to ensure a reasonable data sample. Similar to the case study, analysis from documents can only be generalised to theoretical propositions, unless the sample is statistically representative.

The data that was gathered for this research was only generalisable to the case study. As discussed in the case study section, the case study data is only used for theoretical generalisation, not analytical (or statistical) generalisation. Similar to the previously examined methods, there are few research questions addressed, but the variables involved are many, especially as the variables emerged from the open coding process (explained in the Analysis section of this chapter). A typical measure of reliability, inter-coder reliability, was not an issue in this study because only one coder (meaning only one researcher analysing the data) was involved in the analysis of this data. The most valuable contribution documentary data lends to this research is the important information that was corroborated or contradicted by the other data sources, interviews and observation. Therefore, with the three main forms of data collection, the case study was designed to achieve triangulation of the data, where the research does not stand on any one source of information on its own. Table 4.3 shows the data types and quantities used for this study.

Table 4.3 Data per Method and Unit of Analysis

Unit of Analysis	Method		
	Interviews	**Observation**	**Document Analysis**
Caterers	Catering Interviews • 17 in-depth • 30 informal	Participant Observation of Olympic Catering • 8 weeks • >400 hours	Field Notes • >300 pages Interview Transcriptions
Food Advisory Group (including LOCOG)	Food Advisory Group Interviews • 8 in-depth • 9 informal	Unable to observe, as meetings occurred before the study began	Interview Transcriptions Field Notes Emails Minutes/Agendas of Meetings Food Policy Document

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[25] I obtained Food Advisory Group minutes of meetings, meeting agendas and personal communications from a Food Advisory Group member with permission to use these documents for my research.

London Food Board	London Food Board Interviews	Observation at London Food Board	Interview Transcriptions Minutes of Meetings Meeting Handouts
	• 5 interviews	• 11 meetings • >33 hours	

4.4 Analytical methods

Atkinson and Coffey (2011: 80) state, "it is important to establish a methodological framework for documentary analysis." All of the data in this research was in written form at the time of analysis, as interviews were transcribed and field notes were typed. Atkinson and Coffey (2011: 81, italics added) also state that "It is usually unhelpful to approach the analysis of documentary materials from an *initially* critical or evaluative stance. It is more helpful to adopt a more interpretative standpoint [at first]." The first step was conducting document analysis on all texts by coding content that was relevant to the research questions, and then the next step was to approach the documents again with a more critical stance.

When conducting document analysis, it is important to begin by reading and re-reading the content to develop familiarity (Gill 2006: 217). In the initial stages of coding, "it should be done as inclusively as possible, so that all borderline instances can be counted in rather than out" (Gill 2006: 218). Gill (2006: 218) suggests that coding is a "way of organizing categories" and that everyone develops his or her own strategy for coding. Coding has two related phases, including pattern recognition examining for variability and consistency, and forming hypotheses and checking them against the data (Gill 2006: 218; Potter and Wetherell 1987).

From the data, I developed themes around the main concepts expressed in the research questions. At their most general, these themes were relational, reflexive and legacy (outcomes). Within the relational theme, the data tended to fall into two categories: conflictual and cooperative relationships. Within the reflexive theme, the data tended to fall into three categories: sustainability worldviews, sustainability learning and sustainability contradictions. Within the legacy theme, there were two main categories: successful or unsuccessful. These themes and categories were then analysed by comparing them to the definitions of relationality and reflexivity as described in Chapter 3.

The data management and analysis software, NVivo, was used in this research to analyse and manage all the data. Walsh (2003) states that NVivo allows for large databases, linking

between databases and cases resembles the "by hand" method of coding, while achieving confidentiality by being able to password-protect any files. NVivo allows for easy transfer of PDF files (i.e., newspaper articles, webpages, reports, scanned documents), Word documents, sound files and video files into the database and allows for coding of each file format. NVivo has a transcribing service, which keeps track of the timing of the interview and allows for easy transcription of interviews. This program also assists in analysing data by performing the important tasks of coding, searching, basic text statistics and other types of qualitative data analysis (Duriau and Reger 2004). The main limitation of NVivo is that it is only on the University computers and cannot be taken out into the field, limiting the ability of conducting ongoing preliminary analysis.

There are three main databases for this project. One database includes the context for the Olympic food strategy creation and implementation. This includes observation notes from the London Food Board (LFB), interview audio files and transcripts from LFB members, media reports, House of Commons reports, minutes of LFB meetings, the bid documents for the Olympic Games and informal interview notes. The second database includes the strategy creation process with interview, audio files, transcriptions, minutes of meetings, emails between Food Advisory Group members, media documents and policy documents. The third database contains the data pertaining to the strategy implementation process, which includes interview notes, interview audio files, interview transcripts, observation notes from catering at the Olympic Park, informal interview notes, pictures taken at the Olympic Games and Sodexo training materials. All files are stored up on a password protected computer, and backed up on a password protected network server.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Patton (2002: 407) states: "Because qualitative methods are highly personal and interpersonal, because naturalistic inquiry takes the researcher into the real world where people live and work, and because in-depth interviewing opens up what is inside people– qualitative inquiry may be more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than surveys, tests, and other quantitative approaches." Because of the intrusive nature of interviewing and observation, it is important to examine the ethical considerations of the methods in this research design. The risk involved with the methods used for this research are lower than typical in-depth qualitative research methods, because this research explores public data and individual accounts of group events, does not examine personal or traumatic events, and is

not interested in illegal activities. The issues of ethical concern in this research design include informed consent, confidentiality, data access and ownership and reciprocity.

Informed consent is a concern for interviews and observation, but does not apply to publicly accessible documentary data. In keeping with the principles of informed consent, the participant was told in writing and verbally of what was expected of him or her, what the research was about, and of the voluntary and confidential nature of the research. However, this study also allowed for the possibility of a participant choosing to be identified instead of having his or her responses anonymised. Patton (2002: 412) explains "Informed consent […] does not automatically mean confidentiality. Informed consent can mean that participants understand the risks and benefits of having their real names reported and choose to do so." This study used informed consent documents, which are provided in Appendix G. Informed consent procedures for this study are as follows. Before interviews, the participant was given at least seven days notice of the intent of the research and given a consent form, which he or she could either sign in person or email back to me with his or her consent to be interviewed. I also read the consent form to the interviewee before each interview, just to be sure he or she fully consented and understood the research process. The consent form had information for the interviewee to contact myself, my supervisor or the Cardiff University Ethics Board with any questions about the research or the ethical issues involved with the research. During my participant observation at the Olympic Park, I carried around informed consent handouts (See Appendix G: Informed Consent Forms) to give to anyone I spoke with, and I identified myself as a researcher as much as possible. Because Sodexo incurred the most risk with my participant observation, I had written consent from a Sodexo director and verbal consent from Sodexo managers and supervisors for observing and recording the operations at the Olympic Park. Because there were over 2,000 Sodexo employees, of which I interacted with several hundred on a daily basis, it was impossible to constantly identify myself as a researcher.[25]

In any research, confidentiality is of the highest importance. This research involved work with employees and executives of corporations who have an interest in keeping their employment with their company, therefore confidentiality was guaranteed for all participants to ensure more truthful answers. This research also involves interviews with politicians and public figures who are concerned about being quoted in the media. In addition, some of the public forums being observed for this research operate under Chatham House Rules, and therefore need to be anonymised. Linked to confidentiality is the issue of data access and

ownership. All interview information and data will be kept for a minimum of five years or at least two years post-publication, in accordance with Cardiff University's data protection guidelines.

Reciprocity is the final ethical concern for this study. Reciprocity involves "the issues of whether and how to compensate interviewees" (Patton 2002: 412). To make sure this research benefits the respondents, as well as the researcher, copies of relevant thesis chapters will be provided to the interviewees, key informants, and other interested people. This provides the opportunity for LOCOG and NGOs to write summarizing reports based on this

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[25] Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013) explain that researchers conducting participant observation should use three ethical criteria. The first is the public or private nature of the venue. Guest et al. (2013: 102) state, "As long as the behavior—public or private—is generally free, the observations you make are appropriate... with informed consent." I make the observations at the level of public behavior—public space and speech, both via the movements of people through the space and collect data, without gaining individual informed consent appropriate from each individual, because I did not receive individual consent from each Sodexo employee at the Olympic Park. I was observing their public behavior and the Olympic Park was a semi-public venue and discourse.

The second criterion Guest et al. (2013) identify is the kind of data one collects and how one analyses it. Because I collected data on waste management concerns in an interpersonal semi-public operational setting, data without personal exchanges I overheard to gather and analyse qualities of individuals involved, I did not collect data about anyone's personal or intimate record anything or used to individual, and I did not collect data about the individual involved that could be traced back to the lives, and individuals that could be traced. In short, I did not incriminate the individuals involved.

The third criterion is how the researcher presents him/herself. Guest et al. (2013) explain that if a researcher, given the chance, presents him/herself as a researcher, then he/she has implied consent. During my time as a researcher at the Olympic Park, I always presented myself as a researcher at every chance I got, and therefore can assume that I had implied consent from Sodexo staff.

research, while the copyright will remain under the researcher's name. Additionally, there was a high degree of reciprocity for the participant observation with Sodexo during the Olympics because I provided over four hundred hours of work, written reports and consultations for the company free of charge. Several of the directors and operations managers were verbally appreciative for my help with the waste auditing.[26] As reciprocity for their help in conducting interviews, I worked with Sustain free of charge, by helping them conduct catering interviews which contributed to a post-Games report written by Sustain. Additionally, I interviewed members of the Russell Partnership, and in the spirit of reciprocity I volunteered my time to help them write a new food strategy for a corporate client.[27]

4.5.1 A Note on Citations for Interviews

This research protects the anonymity of all research participants. Because some interviewees are quoted several times throughout the thesis, there was an increased risk of a breach of anonymity – as a reader might be able to connect an interviewee's identity based on his or her aggregated responses. Therefore, I have cited each quote with a unique code, and only I have access to the identity of the interviewee who articulated the quote. Likewise, I refer to the interviewees as "he" or "she" but these do not always correspond to the actual gender of the interviewee. Randomizing the gender is another measure to protect anonymity of the research participants. Only when the source of information is from a publicly available item are people identified by name. When the information is publicly available, it is cited in the appropriate academic manner.

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[26] Additionally, there were no other ethical issues that arose with conducting the participant observation at the Olympics. I was open and honest about my role as a researcher, but because I was also participating in the catering operation, I was of staff. There were, however, several Sodexo just another member who expressed shock when they found out I was volunteering and not receiving payment; they were mildly interested in my role as a researcher but mostly could not believe I would do this work for "free."

[27] The name of this client is confidential.

5 Case Study Overview: Organisational Framework for the "Most Sustainable Games Ever"

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and set the context for the Olympic food procurement process and introduce the key organisational actors within the interorganisational framework for the London 2012 Olympic Games sustainable food strategy creation and implementation. This chapter first explains the recent developments in UK public procurement, providing a context for the Olympic and Paralympic food procurement process. Next, this chapter examines London as a Case Study City, explaining its status as a world city and introducing several key actors in the inter-organisational framework for the London Olympic food strategy process. Next, I introduce the London Olympics, how London won the bid and the motivating factors for creating a sustainable food strategy for the Games. Finally, this chapter introduces the Food Advisory Group that created the food strategy for the Olympics.

5.1 Public Procurement in the UK

Over the past 30 years, UK public procurement has transitioned from relying on in-house and cost inefficient goods and services to contracted-out cost efficient goods and services. This transition to contracting-out the goods and services has resulted in an increasing reliance on the private sector in public services and procurement (Reimer 1999; McCrudden 2004; Thomas and Jackson 2007; Peck and Cabras 2011). McCrudden (2004: 264) explains, "During the 1980s and 1990s, extensive changes occurred in the delivery of public services, in part under pressure from global economic constraints. This involved a combination of privatisation, contracting-out and deregulation." The transformation toward contracting-out government spending to the private sector began with the 1988 Local Government Act, which also introduced compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) in the UK, "which contracted-out services to the private sector, exposing local government spending decisions to market forces" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 427).

Several scholars have noted the negative consequences of the CCT practices. Contractingout public services increased the reliance on large catering companies who could handle an entire food procurement contract with a large authority (Reimer 1999; Peck 2011). Peck (2011: 328) states that the emphasis on large contracts "increased rates of acquisition as small firms were taken over by large businesses." Union leaders argued that CCT was taking away well-paid public sector jobs, which had gender and minority equality measures, and replacing them with low paid contracted-out services, whose employees "were more likely to be women and ethnic minorities" (McCrudden 2004: 264); this shows that CCT was not protecting disadvantaged people, but further exploiting them. CCT also negatively affected school food procurement, creating "a less skilled workforce, a loss of kitchens (as a processed-food culture took over) and a service ethos widely deemed to be inimical to healthy eating" (Morgan and Sonnino 2008: 93). There was also a significant "debasement of the food itself" (Morgan and Sonnino 2008: 93), as the only "quality" by which food was judged was price; the other qualities such as taste, provenance and appearance became less important. These tendencies were common in all realms of public procurement, including hospitals (Sonnino and McWilliam 2011), military bases (Morgan and Sonnino 2008), prisons (Walker and Preuss 2008) and universities (Mikkola 2008). Morgan and Sonnino (2008) identify this trend as the neo-liberal era in public food procurement in the UK.

5.1.1 Movement toward Sustainable Development

In 1992, the UN published Agenda 21,[28] which prompted national governments to promote sustainable development (SD) through their public procurement practices. Agenda 21was a result of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Inspired by Agenda 21, in 1994 the UK became the first European nation to create a national strategy for SD "which essentially outlined pressures created by existing policies on ecological systems" (Russel 2007: 190). The 1994 SD strategy was

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[28] Agenda 21 is a United Nations agenda developed at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janerio, Brazil, from 3 to 14 June 1992. This agenda defines tenets of and recommends in what ways sustainable development should be developed in a variety of countries. The aspects of sustainable development fulfilling the tenets of sustainable development. The aspects include, for example, combating poverty, changing consumption patterns, protecting the atmosphere and conserving biodiversity (UN 1992).

written with a conservative government in office (Russel 2007) and updated in 1999 by a Labour government. Russel (2007:190) explains:

> The election of the Labour government in 1997 injected fresh impetus into the [sustainable development] process and broadened its scope to more strongly incorporate the economic and social pillars of SD alongside the environment. For instance, the 1999 SD strategy (HMG, 1999) prioritized not only the management of environmental resources, but also a sustainable economy, sustainable communities and international co-operation and development.

Additional SD strategy was published in 2005, which further emphasised the implementation aspects of the strategy (Russel 2007). These strategies (1994, 1999, 2005) do not directly address sustainable food procurement, but they prioritised sustainability in the UK, especially on the community and local levels (Russel 2007). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 422) explain the impacts of the UK's SD strategy: "By 2000, 93% of UK local authorities had Agenda 21 policies that outlined their broad positions on sustainable development and explored methods for consultation and co-operation across local government and the community (Hansard 2002)."

Table 5.1 Agenda 21 Excerpts

7.19.	Promoting the development of small-scale economic activities, particularly the production of food, to support local income generation and the production of intermediate goods and services
4.23.	Governments themselves also play a role in consumption, particularly in countries where the public sector plays a large role in the economy and can have a considerable influence on both corporate decisions and public perceptions. They should therefore review the purchasing policies of their agencies and departments so that they may improve, where possible, the environmental content of government procurement policies, without prejudice to international trade principles. Moving towards environmentally sound pricing
4.24.	Without the stimulus of prices and market signals that make clear to producers and consumers the environmental costs of the consumption of energy, materials and natural resources and the generation of wastes, significant changes in consumption and production patterns seem unlikely to occur in the near future.
4.25.	Some progress has begun in the use of appropriate economic instruments to influence consumer behaviour. These instruments include environmental charges and taxes, deposit/refund systems, etc. This process should be encouraged in the light of country-specific conditions. Reinforcing values that support sustainable consumption

4.26.	Governments and private-sector organizations should promote more positive attitudes towards sustainable consumption through education, public awareness programmes and other means, such as positive advertising of products and services that utilize environmentally sound technologies or encourage sustainable production and consumption patterns. In the review of the implementation of Agenda 21, an assessment of the progress achieved in developing these national policies and strategies should be given due consideration.

<div align="right">Source: (UN 1992)</div>

5.1.2 Transition to Best Value

Agenda 21 is not legally binding but the UK government endorsed its recommendations as a plan of action for local authorities (Smith 2010). As a part of these Agenda 21 initiatives, the UK government made changes to public procurement rules. The 1999 Local Government Act (LGA) introduced the concept of "best value" to local authorities so that wider considerations than just price were taken into account for procurement decisions (Thomas and Jackson 2007).

In 2000, the UK government announced that "public procurement in the UK is based on a set of guiding principles, including transparency, competitiveness, accountability, efficiency, legality and integrity, that have the ultimate aim of supporting the delivery of 'best value for money' in public procurement" (Brammer and Walker 2010: 457). HM Treasury (2000: 7) defines "best value for money" as "the optimum combination of whole life cost and quality (or fitness for purpose) to meet the customer's requirements."

Box 5.1 Best Value Principles

(1)A best value authority must make arrangements to secure continuous improvement in the way in which its functions are exercised, having regard to a combination of economy, efficiency and effectiveness.
(2)For the purpose of deciding how to fulfil the duty arising under subsection (1) an authority must consult—
(a)representatives of persons liable to pay any tax, precept or levy to or in respect of the authority,
(b)representatives of persons liable to pay non-domestic rates in respect of any area within which the authority carries out functions,
(c)representatives of persons who use or are likely to use services provided by the authority, and
(d)representatives of persons appearing to the authority to have an interest in any area within which the authority carries out functions.
(3)For the purposes of subsection (2) "representatives" in relation to a group of persons means persons who appear to the authority to be representative of that group.
(4)In deciding on—
(a)the persons to be consulted, and
(b)the form, content and timing of consultations,
an authority must have regard to any guidance issued by the Secretary of State.

<div align="right">Source: (UK Parliament 1999)</div>

As shown in Box 5.1, the UK government explains that "best value" is left to the discretion of the local authority, and the local authority must consult with its tax-base when they make spending decisions. Best value is therefore a change from CCT because while CCT demanded that authorities pursue the lowest costs in their contracts, best value demands

community involvement in decision-making (as shown in Box 5.1) and therefore allows the local authority to pursue goals other than just lowest costs in their procurement decisions. The transition to best value allowed for local public procurement officers to incorporate sustainable development principles into their procurement activities. This change allowed procurement officials to include requirements for local or environmentally friendly products into contract proposal requests. The LGA 2000 added to the LGA 1999 by giving "new discretionary power to principal local authorities to promote the economic, social and environmental well-being of their local communities, requiring local authorities to consult with their communities in drawing up Community Strategies (ODPM 2001)" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 427).

In 2003, the UK government published the National Procurement Strategy (NPS) for Local Government. This strategy laid out a framework for local governments to engage in capacity building to develop procurement expertise (Thomas and Jackson 2007). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 427) explain,

> The LGA 2003 then gave those local authorities reaching a certain level of competence new "freedoms and flexibilities" to borrow money, remove ring fencing from social services money and trade expertise with other public bodies. Non-statutory guidance from the ODPM encouraged councils to consult with other public bodies, and business, voluntary and community groups through the formation of local strategic partnerships (LSPs).

The LGA 2003 also includes amendments to provide "best value grants" to parishes and communities, to allow for more community involvement in procurement decisions. These subsequent LGA (2000 and 2003) revisions focused on community well-being, as illustrated above.

In 2005, joint government agencies[29] issued a small business good practice guide to encourage public procurement officials to purchase from small businesses and by 2006 over 100 Local Authorities had signed up (Thomas and Jackson 2007). These strategies made it easier for small businesses to participate in supplying for public procurement (Thomas and Jackson 2007) because they were being included in the authorities' public procurement consultation processes. Therefore, LGAs (1999, 2000, 2003) empowered local governments

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[29] ODPM, DTI, and LGA

to go beyond CCT practices and create ways to provide local, environmentally friendly foods in public canteens, through tendering based on "best value."

5.1.3 Challenges to Implementing Best Value in the UK

Between 1994 and 2003, many UK local governments adopted procurement policies that prioritised "best value." Nevertheless, there still have been several challenges to procure sustainable food. The first challenge is the 2004 Gershon Review. The Gershon Review recommended the following outcomes for the UK government: "Efficiency gains of over £20 billion in 2007-08 across the public sector, over 60 per cent of which are directly cash releasing; [and] a gross reduction of over 84,000 posts in the Civil Service and military personnel in administrative and support roles" (Micheli *et al.* 2005: 68). Micheli *et al.* (2005: 68) state "the main focus of [the Gershon Report is] productivity and efficiency. Quality is often neglected or seen as a complication." Additionally, in 2006 the National Procurement Service published a report "Two Years On" which "virtually ignored green procurement" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 430). The Environmental Audit Committee (EAC) reported it was ''a great shame that Gershon did not make it explicit within his Review that the drive to produce efficiency savings should not be at the expense of […] sustainable procurement policy" (EAC 2005: 7).

Thomas and Jackson (2007: 431) argue that as a result of the Gershon Review, "By the end of 2006, local government had achieved £3 billion of savings one year ahead of target, with most improvement in adult social services followed by procurement." Therefore, many of the gains achieved by local governments in pursuing "best value" in procurement were undone through the implementation of the recommendations of the Gershon Review. Thomas and Jackson (2007: 431) state, "Given that local government procurement is generally accountable to the finance department and hence to the Treasury, it is not difficult to see why green procurement was given such a low priority especially after the Gershon review." Thomas and Jackson (2007) gather that the Gershon Review did not define targets and incentives for green procurement and therefore diverted attention away from environmental issues in the UK.

Thomas and Jackson (2007: 428) also show that "procurement decisions continue to be made on the basis of price despite government preferring 'whole life costs' for over 25 years." While the UK policies seem to promote procurement decisions based on best value, the local authorities' ability to pay for procurement is continually decreasing (Thomas and Jackson

2007), therefore making the implementation of best value tendering problematic for these local authorities.

The second challenge is confusion over EU regulations of free trade (Morgan and Sonnino 2009). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 431) explain, "Due to concerns about contravening the EU principle of free movement of goods, procurement officials have been reluctant to take account of the environmental impacts of transport." The EAC remarked that the strict regulations and financial controls "would constrain even the willing" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 431).

The third challenge is re-educating procurement managers. Thomson and Jackson (2007) show that procurement managers are more likely to justify their choices based on price, rather than ethical or environmental concerns. They state, "for many areas of procurement, there is no obvious 'right' decision and procurement decision makers must use their own judgement. They find it is generally easier to justify a decision on the basis of price than on wider benefits such as long-term economic benefit, environmental or social benefits" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 432).

Part of the reason managers are more likely to justify their decisions based on price is because they have not usually been trained to do otherwise (Thomas and Jackson 2007). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 428) state, "many practitioners of procurement receive no formal training and even if they do, sustainability is often not part of the curriculum." Creating cultural changes within procurement managers presents a major obstacle to green procurement (Thomas and Jackson 2007).

Partly because procurement managers are making decisions based on price, private companies are sometimes unable to provide greener procurement for the government. Thomson and Jackson (2007: 430) cite, "private sector suppliers [were] complaining that their efforts to offer more sustainable products were being repeatedly rejected by public procurers (EAC 2006). Far from being at the forefront of sustainable procurement, the public sector was lagging behind private sector best practice." The private sector complaints help highlight that the relationships between public sector procurement managers and private sector contractors are characterised by differences of opinions, complications, and unaligned efforts when it comes to sustainable procurement.

5.1.4 Successes in UK Public Food Procurement

The UK has begun to green its procurement practices, even though "there is little political leadership from federal government on sustainable development" (Thomas and Jackson 2007: 425). Additionally, green procurement advocates are increasingly arguing that green procurement leads to social and financial benefits (Bailie *et al.* 2001). Thomas and Jackson (2007: 440) state, "economic arguments have become a strong ally to the green movement in the drive towards sustainable development." Local procurement, especially, has been promoted in the UK as a way to support small and local suppliers (Powys Public Procurement Partnership 2002; Thomas and Jackson 2007).

Below, I present three examples of UK procurement initiatives that allow for local supply and aspects of whole-life costing while complying with EU regulations. Morgan and Sonnino (2008: 93) explain that radical school meal policy-change began to happen after Scotland launched an initiative called *Hungry for Success* in 2002. In 2005 and 2006, England and Wales published similar reports (respectively). According to Morgan and Sonnino (2008), England's report was the closest initiative to a holistic "ecological approach" to school meals, partly because of their view on integrating sustainable development goals, such as including small and local farmers, into the food procurement process.

Since the school meal initiatives began, procurement initiatives have become more prevalent in the UK, with some notable examples including the Food for Life Partnership and the Healthy Catering Commitments. The Food for Life Partnership (FFLP) is an initiative in England "committed to transforming food culture [by reaching] out through schools to give communities access to seasonal, local and organic food, and to the skills they need to cook and grow fresh food" (FFLP n.d.). To help schools achieve the goals within the FFLP, they created three sequential marks, Bronze, Silver, and Gold, to promote sustainable development. The requirements for "Bronze" status are to serve 75% fresh ingredients, involving students and parents in designing school meal programs, and providing teaching opportunities about where food comes from, how its grown, and how it is cooked (FFLP n.d.). The requirements for "Silver" status build on the requirements for Bronze and include providing organic and local food, ethically source meat and a higher degree of parental and student involvement in cooking clubs and food-related events (FFLP n.d.). The requirements for "Gold" status include creating food hubs within the school to service local food culture to the community, providing 75% fresh, 50% local and 30% organic foods and having a school

meal uptake of at least 70%, while involving parents and children in growing cooking food by being involved in a farm (FFLP n.d.). The popularity of the FFLP is shown by the 3,800 schools across England who have Bronze, Silver or Gold status as of 2011 (FFLP 2011).

Another public procurement standard is the Healthy Catering Commitment (HCC). HCC focuses only on healthy food, and can therefore co-exist with the FFLP accreditation. HCC focuses on decreasing fat, salt, sugar and portion sizes; increasing fruit, vegetables and whole grains; and promoting healthy eating to staff and/or students, patients or customers. While FFLP is designed only for schools, HCC is a standard available to any restaurant or canteen across sectors. The success of HCC is shown by the many canteens and restaurants that have achieved HCC across the UK (FSA 2010). According to the FSA (2010), they have worked with over 40 large restaurant and catering companies in the UK, each of which service between 700 to 2,000 sites across the UK, which means they are collectively serving millions of customers. Additionally, 19 of the 32 London boroughs have signed up for HCC in their public canteens (Sustain 2012).

As the popularity of FFLP and HCC show, there is a trend of sustainable and health procurement initiatives in the UK where procurement officials award catering contracts based on more than just cost. Public procurers are increasingly insisting caterers' source local, organic, healthy food and hire trained chefs to cook these ingredients.

5.2 London as a Case Study City

5.2.1 London as a World City

London is described as a world city (Morgan and Sonnino 2008), given its cultural diversity, large population, and historic significance. London has been one of the largest cities in the world for over 200 years. Johnson (2013: 7) states, "In 1811, London became the first modern city to have more than one million inhabitants." In a city of over 8 million residents (Johnson 2013), the cultural diversity is immense, with residents from almost every nation in the world speaking over three hundred languages in London (London 2012 2004b).

London is also a current and historic food centre of the world, being the home to over 12,000 restaurants in the city (Morgan and Sonnino 2008). The historic significance of food in London is that it has long relied on global imports to sustain the urban population. Steel

(2008: 84) explains, "records from the tenth century onwards show the medieval city regularly supplementing its grain supplies from the Baltic." After colonizing Jamaica, Britain began importing Caribbean sugar in the 1600s, greatly improving the wealth and the variety of foods available to the British (Steel 2008: 86). In the late 1700s, "a tenth of the population was living in the capital, a quarter of them engaged in port trades, dealing with goods flowing in from every part of the world" (Steel 2008: 85-6). As Steel (2008: 86) explains, "food is an intricate part of why London became the urban metropolis it is today," and food continues to be an important part of the city's culture and politics. Sustain (2012a) shows that in 2012 a majority of the London boroughs were actively involved in creating a more sustainable food system through public procurement and community activities. Sustain reports what each of the 33 London boroughs is accomplishing in terms of community food growing and beefriendly initiatives, and whether or not the borough has signed up to public procurement initiatives including Food for Life Partnership, Fair trade coffee, sustainable fish, free-range eggs and Healthier Catering Commitments (Sustain 2012). According to Sustain (2012), most boroughs have contributed to community growing initiatives (67%) and serve Fairtrade coffee (70%), but most boroughs have not yet begun working on serving only free-range eggs in public procurement contracts (70%).

Table 5.2 Boroughs that are Involved with Sustainable Food Initiatives

		Sustainable Food Initiatives						
		Capital Growth	Food for Life	Fair Fish	Sustainable trade	Animal Welfare	Healthier catering	Bees
How many boroughs have accomplished this initiative?	Accomplished	22 (67%)	8 (24%)	23 (70%)	11 (33%)	10 (30%)	20 (60%)	8 (24%)
	Just Beginning	2 (6%)	15 (45%)	2 (6%)	15 (45%)	0 (0%)	3 (9%)	15 (45%)
	Nothing	9 (27%)	10 (30%)	8 (24%)	7 (21%)	23 (70%)	10 (30%)	10 (30%)

Source: (Sustain 2012)

Sustain's (2012) report shows that much of the food activity in London is limited to the local authorities, the boroughs. This is because London has a complex governance structure, being technically classified as a regional government. A Mayor and a 25-member London Assembly are housed in an organisation called the Greater London Authority (GLA), which is the greater London regional government. The Mayor has "a duty to create plans and

policies for the capital covering transport planning and development, housing, economic development and regeneration, culture, health inequalities, and environmental issues including climate change, waste disposal and air quality" (GLA n.d.). The rest of the governing responsibilities are left to the 33 local Boroughs within the region of London, including public food procurement and local zoning ordinances. Because of the complex governance structure, it is difficult to accomplish London-wide sustainable food initiatives, but there are organisations working on food changes, some of which were directly involved in creating and implementing the sustainable food strategy for the Olympics.

5.2.2 Key Actors in the Inter-Organisational Framework for the London Olympics' Food Strategy

The key actors involved in creating and implementing the food strategy for the Olympics were: London Food Board (LFB), corporate sponsors (Coca-Cola and McDonalds), Sustain, NFU, LOCOG and Caterers, including Sodexo.

5.2.2.1 London Food Board

The London Mayor from 2000 to 2008, Ken Livingstone, commissioned the writing on the London Food Strategy to Brook Lyndhurst who began the consultation process in October 2004 and published "Healthy and Sustainable Food for London: The Mayor's Food Strategy" in May 2006 (LDA 2006). The LDA (2006: 1) reports that the London Food Strategy was created to address the following problems:

> Obesity and diet-related illnesses account for a huge number of premature deaths in London, with many on low incomes suffering disproportionately. In many parts of London, people struggle to access affordable, nutritious food. Many of those involved in the food system are barely benefiting from it economically and the environmental impact of the food system is considerable.

Livingstone wrote that food has to be tackled in order for his "vision of a sustainable world city" to be achieved (LDA 2006: 1). Box 5.2 shows the list of problems cited in the London Food Strategy.

Box 5.2 Problems with the London Food System

- ○ Too many people in London, particularly young people, are suffering from obesity.
- ○ Too many people in London are not able to exercise the choices enjoyed by the majority.
- ○ Too many people in London are unaware of the way food is grown and produced, with consequences that work back through the food system to farms and farmers.
- ○ The environmental consequences of the food London eats are also profound.

- London's food system, including the transportation of food, contributes to the emission of climatechanging gases such as carbon dioxide. Food-related waste is also a major component of London's overall waste.
- For those working in the food sector, wages are often low. For those growing food, contracts are often extremely demanding. London has lost many street markets in recent decades.
- There are concerns that London's 'food security', its ability to cope in the event of major disruptions, is not as great as it should be.

<div align="right">Source: (LDA 2006: 8)</div>

The specific objectives of the London Food Strategy fall under five broad themes: health, environment, economy, culture and food security (LDA 2006: 10). To address these issues and to implement the food strategy, the Mayor also created the London Food Board. Jenny Jones (the Deputy Mayor of London from 2003-2004) was the first chair of London Food in 2006 when the London Food Strategy was launched. Since 2008, Boris Johnson has been Mayor of London, and he appointed Rosie Boycott as the chair of the London Food Board (Sparrow 2008). The LFB consists of 36 members and the members were broken into implementation groups until 2012, and since 2012 the subgroups have been organised around specific projects. The implementation groups had been divided upon four themes: Communities and Citizens, Public Sector Food Procurement, Business and Commerce, and Boroughs.

The Communities and Citizens Group was in charge of helping reconnect citizens to the food system. The website states, "The London Food Board wants to recast the traditional relationship between Londoners and their food – to see them not just as consumers but as citizens and as part of local communities" (GLA 2012b). The second implementation group was Public Sector Food Procurement, which was about public procurement across London, including hospitals, school food and government offices. Their goal was to "prioritise healthy and sustainable food" across London's public institutions (GLA 2012d). The third implementation group focused on Business and Commerce, which was described by stating, "One of the best ways to make food in London more sustainable is to strengthen supply chains into the capital particularly using the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games as an opportunity to make sustainable food much more widely appreciated and available in London" (GLA 2012c). The fourth group was Boroughs, which was responsible for creating collaboration and coordination among the London Boroughs. The group discussed "specific issues and [provided] an opportunity for networking and sharing of best practice" (GLA 2012a). Implementation of the food strategy has also been organised around themes, with

specific goals such as increasing recycling rates in London and researching the feasibility of a food hub[30] in London. These goals are listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Themes in the London Food Strategy

1. Ensuring commercial vibrancy
- Producer collaborations and logistics and distribution partnerships, to help smaller producers to compete in the market, and to encourage new entrants
- Innovation,
- Support for specialist food manufacturers and processors,
- Economic food clusters in London
- Spatial planning system
- Better provision of training
- Better promotion of food tourism and food culture

2. Securing consumer engagement
- London 'Reward Card' scheme
- High profile campaign
- Large London retailers to promote healthy eating choices
- Expand opportunities for small-scale food production
- Support London food events and festivals
- Support for pregnant mothers and those with infants

3. Levering the power of procurement
- Develop public procurement support services and tools
- Exemplar procurement practices within the GLA family
- Increase the amount of organic and local food provided through public sector services
- Improve smaller producers' access to public and private sector contracts

4. Developing regional links
- Encourage innovation among producers
- Producer collaboration and cooperation
- Research the feasibility of developing a secondary food hub
- Local and sub-regional logistics partnerships
- Promote opportunities for producers to sell into the London market

5. Delivering healthy schools
- Increasing the time spent on cooking and food education
- Research and promote the positive benefits of nutritious food for children
- Improve the nutritional quality of school meals
- Improve children's access to healthy, quality food outside of school meals
- Increase the number of schools taking part in farm/city farm visits

6. Reducing food-related waste and litter
- Expand and improve recycling services
- Establish kitchen waste collection schemes
- Research the attitudes, awareness and behaviours of Londoners

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[30] The London Food Strategy (LDA 2006) explains what it means by a food hub: "Research the feasibility of developing a secondary food hub distribution system that operates in parallel to the mainstream distribution network and distribution mechanisms enables smaller farms to share resources and access the London market. This research should take account of the current review of London's existing markets at Covent Garden Market, Billingsgate, Smithfield, Spitalfields and Western International."

- Encourage composting and/or recycling by London's major food markets
- Pilot initiatives with major retailers in London to reduce packaging

<div align="right">Source: (LDA 2006: 15-9)</div>

According to a LFB report in May 2011, they achieved many policy contributions. One contribution was having several LFB members who were also on the London 2012 Olympics' Food Advisory Group, "contributing extensively to the development of the London 2012 Food Vision, covering Olympic and Paralympic catering standards, the first of its kind for a major international sporting event" (LFB 2011: 21). They also stated the policy contribution of having several LFB members "contribute extensively to the Conservative Party Public Sector Food Procurement Taskforce convened by Zac Goldsmith MP" (LFB 2011: 21). This taskforce "developed recommendations for a healthy and sustainable approach to food served in the public sector, which if implemented would have significant benefits for Londoners" (LFB 2011: 21). Also, along with LFB members, especially Sustain, the LFB "has contributed to and supported development of policy work on sustainable procurement, with cross-party support, as part of the Good Food for Our Money campaign" (LFB 2011: 21). LFB has also supported other campaigns, such as Fairtrade London and Sustainable Fish City. In addition, "An affiliation system has been developed to put this relationship on a more formal footing" (LFB 2011: 21).

Civil Society

- Bio-Regional
- Fairtrade Foundation
- Community Food Enterprise
- Friends of the Earth
- Chartered Institute of Environmental Health
- Growing Communities
- Sustain: The alliance for better food & farming
- Food Cycle
- Fare Share
- National Farmers Union
- Academy of Culinary Arts
- School Food Matters
- Author and expert on food waste
- Food Grower
- Garden Organic

London Food Board

Public

- Greenwich Cooperative Development Agency
- London Borough of Waltham Forest
- London Borough of Bexley
- London Borough of Havering
- Greater London Authority
- National Association of British Market Authorities
- Regional Public Health Group
- Capel Manor College
- City University London
- Covent Garden Market Authority

Private

- London Farmers' Markets
- Thornton's Budgens
- Café Spice Namaste
- Russell Partnership
- Surya Foods
- Sainsbury's
- Sustainable Restaurants Association
- The Olive Grows
- Restaurateur
- Divine Chocolate Ltd
- TCA Consulting

Because of its membership diversity and due to the space it provides for actors from different sectors to come together around food issues, LFB is well positioned to facilitate an interorganisational approach to policy making in London. However, so far London has not made significant gains on London or UK public policy—mostly because of the nature of borough governance which leaves the City of London with limited powers, especially when it comes

to food. Therefore, the LFB is in a position where the most meaningful impact they can create is to bring different actors together to work inter-organisationally. Figure 5.1 illustrates the number of members from all three sectors. As is discussed in the next chapter, the LFB were involved in creating the food policy for the Olympics, and the LFB and its members sometimes played a significant role in enhancing the sustainability requirements for

the Food Vision. The next section introduces some of the key actors in the London 2012 Olympics' food strategy creation and implementation.

5.2.2.2 Sponsors: McDonald's and Coca-Cola

With a market value of $99.9 billion, McDonald's is the 180th largest company in the world and the 6th most "valuable brand" in the world according to the Forbes Global 2000 list (Forbes 2013). Coca-Cola's market value is $173.05 billion with the 3rd most valuable brand in the world and the 79th largest company in the world (Forbes 2013). With a profit of $9 billion in 2012, Coca-Cola spent $3,342 million on advertising. With a profit of $5.5 billion in 2012, McDonald's spent $788 million on advertising. The International Olympic Committee (IOC 2012a) states:

> McDonald's is the world's leading global foodservice retailer with more than 33,000 restaurants serving more than 64 million customers in 119 countries each day. More than 80% of McDonald's restaurants worldwide are owned and operated by independent local men and women.

McDonald's is a long-time Worldwide Olympic Partner, having sponsored the Olympic Movement since 1968, "when the company airlifted hamburgers to U.S. athletes in Grenoble, France, after they reported being homesick for American food. Since then, McDonald's has served its menu of choice and variety to millions of athletes, their families and fans" (IOC 2012b). As their sponsorship rights, "McDonald's is the only branded foodservice retailer to feed the athletes, coaches, media and spectators on site at the Games" (IOC 2012b). IOC (2014 n.p.) states, "The Coca-Cola Company maintains the longest continuous relationship with the Olympic Movement. The company sponsored the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, and has supported every Olympic Games since."

5.2.2.3 Sustain

Sustain is an alliance organisation consisting of "around 100 national public interest organisations working at international, national, regional and local level" (Sustain n.d.). The organisation formed in 1999 as the result of a merger between the largest food interest group in the UK and the largest agriculture and environmental interest group in the UK.[31] Their

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[31] Sustain "was formed by merging The National Food Alliance and the Sustainable Agriculture Food and Environment (SAFE) Alliance, both of which had been established for over 10 years" (Sustain n.d.).

mission statement explains that Sustain "advocates food and agriculture policies and practices that enhance the health and welfare of people and animals, improve the working and living environment, enrich society and culture and promote equity" (Sustain n.d.).

5.2.2.4 NFU

The NFU began in 1908, and is the main lobbying body for farmers in the UK, with a membership of 55,000 farmers (NFU n.d.). They lobby for British Farmers in the Welsh National Assembly, UK Parliament as well as the EU in Brussels. The NFU helps British farmers with taxes, legal assistance, business guides, land surveying, energy needs and market opportunities (NFU n.d.). Of the groups involved in the Food Advisory Group, the NFU was the only one representing British farmers.

5.2.2.5 LOCOG

This thesis explains at several points the extent to which LOCOG's roles and responsibilities were contested throughout the strategy creation and implementation processes. Here I am merely introducing the organisation and the range of its responsibilities. The Committee for a Sustainable London 2012 (CSL) explains what LOCOG's responsibilities were for the London Olympic Games, as shown in Box 4.3. They write that LOCOG is a private company who is responsible for "staging the Games, for the provision of temporary venues and sites, for the temporary overlay at existing and new venues and for the official live sites." LOCOG is the official organising committee, as recognised by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and International Paralympic Committee (IPC). Even though LOCOG was a private company, a LOCOG interviewee explained that LOCOG had to act as a *public* procurer. He said, "One of the reasons that the procurement process had to happen was […] because it was *part* public procurement [and] they needed to show the process was in place and that the tender and the selection criteria was fair" (Interview K26). To help ensure a fair process and to include UK sustainability experts in their planning, LOCOG created advisory groups around their key sustainability themes: climate change, waste, biodiversity, inclusion and healthy living (London 2012 2011: 2). There was a Technical Advisory Group that worked on Carbon Footprint (London 2012 2011: 51), a Waste Advisory Group (Interview A26) and an Energy Advisory Group (Interview C30). One of the Advisory Groups was also the Food Advisory Group. A Food Advisory Group member said, "[The Food Advisory Group] came a bit later than some of the other things, because stuff like waste was part of the statutory part

of the game's commitment on sustainability. So waste already had a Waste Advisory Group"
(Interview E17).

Box 5.3 LOCOG Responsibilities

The Organising Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs) organise the Olympic Games.
- The organisation of the Olympic Games is entrusted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the country of the host city as well as to the host city itself. The NOC forms, for that purpose, an OCOG which, from the time it is constituted, communicates directly with the IOC, from which it receives instructions.
- The OCOG executive body includes: the IOC member or members in the country; the President and Secretary General of the NOC; and at least one member representing, and designated by, the host city. In addition, it generally includes representatives of the public authorities and other leading figures.
- From the time of its constitution to the time it is dissolved, the OCOG must comply with the Olympic Charter, the contract entered into between the IOC, the National Olympic Committee and the host city (Host City Contract) and the instructions of the IOC Executive Board.
- The Organising Committees grow from small organisations of tens of employees to reach several thousand only seven years later. The Organising Committee starts its work with a period of planning followed by a period of organisation which culminates in the implementation or operational phase at Games time.

The main tasks for the Organising Committees of the Olympic Games are:
- To give equal treatment to every sport on the programme and ensure that competitions are held according to the rules of the International Sports Federations (IFs);
- To ensure that no political demonstration or meeting is held on Olympic sites;
- To choose and, if necessary, create the required installations: competition venues, stadiums and training halls; to arrange for the required equipment;
- To lodge the athletes, their entourage, the officials;
- To organise medical services;
- To solve transportation problems;
- To meet the requirements of the mass media in order to offer the public the best possible information on the Games;
- To organise cultural events that are an essential element of the celebration of the Olympic Games;
- To write the Final Report on the celebration of the Games in the two official languages and distribute it within two years after the end of the Games.

Source: (Olympic.org 2014)

5.2.2.6 Sodexo

One private sector company heavily involved in public procurement[32] in the UK is the
catering company, Sodexo. Sodexo is a multinational corporation based in France, with the
UK regional headquarters in London. Sodexo began in 1966 in France as a catering
operation, and today its main services are catering, hospitality and facilities management.
They are a large company with many catering contracts, many of which, Sodexo managers
claim, are requiring sustainable and healthy food (Interview B30). In Sodexo's sustainability
strategy called "The Better Tomorrow Plan" published in 2009, they highlight their

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[32] With 35,000 employees at 2000 locations across the UK and
Ireland – Sodexo is one of the largest companies in the
world (Sodexo n.d).

sustainability accomplishments and plans. "The Better Tomorrow Plan" reports that Sodexo has committed to sourcing only Fairtrade products at all of its facilities worldwide by 2015. They also have a commitment to sustainable agriculture shown by Sodexo promoting edible schoolyard gardens and making examples of three locations as "best practice" in the 2009 report. In their corporate sustainability report, Sodexo states, "We will support local community development in all the countries where we operate by 2015," but they do not specify how they will do so in the report (Sodexo 2012). Sodexo has goals that relate to environmental and labour fairness, demonstrated by Sodexo having a commitment to Fairtrade. However, worldwide, Sodexo only sources 18.6% of their coffee from Fairtrade suppliers. Additionally, there is no mention of other products that come from low-income countries, beyond these following products: coffee, cocoa, sugar, tea, bananas, honey, cotton, wine, fresh fruit and chocolate (Sodexo 2012: 79). Sodexo supports the "Group Sustainable Agriculture Standard," but the report does not explain what the Group Sustainable Agriculture Standard entails.

Sodexo is a member of several sustainability organisations[33] and has been ranked in the Dow Jones Sustainability Index for nine consecutive years. Sodexo has been awarded the RobecoSAM Sector Leader[34] and RobecoSAM Gold Class[35] in 2011, 2012, and 2013, and they were awarded the RobecoSAM Sector Mover[36] in 2013. Interviews with Sodexo managers further demonstrate Sodexo's sustainability activities. One interviewee from Sodexo explained that of the catering contracts Sodexo has, the private companies (like banks) are more likely to require sustainability initiatives than the public sector organisations (like schools and hospitals) because private companies are willing to pay more for the sustainable procurement, while the public sector budgets are very low and public sector procurement officials "do not seem to care" (Interview G39). Several of Sodexo's managers spoke highly of Sodexo's sustainability requirements, having had experience sourcing local food, using fresh ingredients and using Fairtrade products (Interview B35; Interview C11;

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[33]   The   list   from   the   Sodexo   (n.d.b)   website   includes   the
following   organisations: Business   for   Social
Responsibility   (BSR),   Ceres,   Ecova,   Environmental   Protection   Agency   (EPA),
Healthy   Mondays,   James   Beard

Foundation (JBF), Sustainable Food Lab, United States Green Building Council (USGBC), World Wildlife Fund (WWF).

[34] "For each sector, the company with the highest score is named the RobecoSAM Sector Leader, and is considered to be the company within its sector that is best prepared to seize the opportunities and manage the risks deriving from economic, environmental and social developments" (RobecoSAM 2014: n.p.).

[35] "Companies whose score is within 1% of the Sector Leader's score receive the RobecoSAM Gold Class award" (RobecoSAM 2014: n.p.).

[36] "Within the top 15% of each sector, the company that has achieved the largest proportional improvement in its sustainability performance compared to last year is named the RobecoSAM Sector Mover" (RobecoSAM 2014: n.p.).

Interview D27). A Sodexo director explained that Sodexo is at "the top of its class" when compared to the sustainability accomplishments of other caterers (Interview F80). This director also said that it is a smart business move to provide sustainable food because clients are only going to increasingly demand sustainability and this is a way Sodexo can continue to distinguish itself from the other catering firms (Interview F80). As the largest UK catering firm, and with a history of working at past Olympics catering (i.e., the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics), Sodexo was awarded one of the largest catering contracts for the London Olympics as well (Interview J19).

5.3 The London Olympics

The modern Olympic Games began in 1896 in Athens, and the fourth Olympiad was held in London in 1908, making London one of the first nations to host the modern Olympics. London was also the largest city in the world at the time with a population of over 6 million people (Chandler 1987). After a 12-year Olympic Games break due to World War II, London hosted the fourteenth Olympiad in 1948, and then in 2012 became the first city to host the modern Olympics three times. Athens (1896 and 2004) and Paris (1900 and 1924) are the only other cities to host the Summer Olympic Games more than once (The Olympic Museum 2007: 16).

5.3.1 Bidding for the Olympics

The Olympic Games are organised and governed by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), based in Switzerland, which makes many of the important decisions surrounding the

Olympics, including those about the official Olympic sponsors, and the site for each Olympics. A group formed consisting of the British Olympic Association and government ministers, coordinated by David Luckes, called "London 2012" (House of Commons 2003: 7). London 2012 wrote the application (the bid) for London to hold the summer 2012 Olympic Games. London 2012 had approval and recognition from many people and organisations in London, including the Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, and an active community organisation in East London, where the main Olympic Park was built (Minton 2012).

London heavily stressed sustainability in the bidding process, by including into the document carbon emissions reduction, waste reduction and green procurement (London 2012 2004a). Additionally, London 2012 published a sustainability report with Bioregional and the WWF called "Towards a One Planet Olympics" (Bioregional and WWF 2005). Procurement referred mainly to building materials but food was briefly mentioned in both the bid documents themselves (London 2012 2004a) and the Pre-Olympics sustainability report (Bioregional and WWF 2005). As shown in Appendix H: Mentions of Food in Olympic Bid Documents, the 180 page-long Olympic bid document mentions food a total of three times. Food is mentioned in the environmental theme of the document, in a table illustrating the "Key-point action plan." One goal for the Olympics was to have a "Zero Waste Games" and in pursuit of that goal, the proposed action was "Sustainable procurement policy applied to materials, services, food and merchandise." Food as a waste management concern is reiterated in an example project where scholars conducted a "resource flow analysis" of materials input, energy and water use, and waste output of sport and event venues. Food is mentioned in brackets as a part of the "materials input." The third mention of food is in a sentence that refers to the problems urban areas face, including "food production and distribution." These references to food are shown in Appendix H: Mentions of Food in Olympic Bid Documents. The Pre-Olympics sustainability report was written by BioRegional and WWF and called "Towards a One Planet Olympics: Achieving the first sustainable Olympic Games and Paralympic Games." This report places "local and sustainable food" in a list of principles that also includes "sustainable transport" and "zero carbon" for the Games. Both the sustainability report and the bid documents mention food vary rarely.

The number of times food is mentioned in the Olympic Bid documents illustrates the importance placed on food in the original stages of the Olympic planning. For some of the people involved in creating the food strategy for the Olympics, there was a sense that food had been an afterthought. One interviewee stated, "Food came along a bit later. It was almost like it was another paragraph that nobody [had noticed]. I used to joke that people went and found that there was another sentence that said 'and sustainable food' and wondered what it meant. And then realised that it needed a whole process to be dealt with within itself" (Interview A27). One member of LOCOG said, "Within the original bid document it talks about the greener games, but it doesn't really cover food, I mean it was one line in the bid document" (Interview F70).

The other Olympic Bid documents were written responses to questions or concerns from the International Olympic Committee. These responses do not mention food at all. The report titled "Response to the questionnaire for cities applying to become Candidate cities to host the Games of the XXX Olympiad and the Paralympic Games in 2012" does not mention food in any capacity, and corroborates the above interviewee's sentiment that sustainable food was not a priority in the initial stages of the planning for the Games.

Food importation was briefly mentioned in one of the documents from the IOC. In written evaluations of the five finalists' bids for the Olympic Games, the IOC briefly summarised how each city would handle food importation by the national teams of other countries (IOC 2005). Food was not mentioned in any other capacity. These written responses from the IOC and the London organizing committee show that food sustainability was not a primary consideration for the IOC in choosing the host city.

In 2005, during the 117th IOC Summit, the IOC announced that the final winner for the 2012 Olympic bid was London. After London won the Olympic bid, the planning and construction of the Olympic Park in East London began. An organisation created to build the Olympic infrastructure, the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA), began building the stadia, as London began updating its transportation infrastructure. The updates that were needed primarily included increasing rail service capacity, such as updates for the London underground Jubilee Line, a new line from St Pancras International Station to Stratford Station and updates of the Channel Tunnel Rail Line (House of Commons 2003: 12).

5.3.2 Motivating the Food Strategy Process for the Olympics

After London won the Olympic Games in 2005, the first activity around food for the Olympics was put forth by three UK-based NGOs including Sustain, the Soil Association and the New Economics Foundation. Because food had not been emphasised in the bid documents some UK NGOs worked to try to raise the profile of the sustainability potential for Olympic food. Before the Food Advisory Group was created, and before any LOCOG work on food had been done, Sustain, the Soil Association and the New Economics Foundation jointly authored a vision document for Olympic Food.[33] These NGOs wrote a report titled "Feeding the Olympics" which called for organic, local and seasonal food for the Olympic Games. One of the NGOs (Interview A15) commented on this report, saying:

> [The report] was kind of challenging [LOCOG] before it even really existed, to say this is how it can be done in practice: sustainable fish, Fairtrade, and high animal welfare, looking at what the animals are fed on, and organic, […], plus the healthy eating stuff. Plus the question mark about sponsors.

According to the NGO representative, this report "caused some discussions among people like the London Food Board" and created a situation "that when David Stubbs[34] and his team were in place to start looking at the sustainability, food was already marked as something that should be looked at" (Interview B19). A member of the Food Advisory Group agreed that the report "caused some discussions among people like the London Food

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[33] The introductory section of this report is titled: "Food and the Olympics: The opportunity of a lifetime," in which the authors state why the report was written: "This report is the first step in a campaign to ensure that the food associated with the London 2012 Games matches the food values enshrined within the Olympic Charter, and the promises made in the London bid for the "most sustainable games ever". Specifically, the bid promised "to support consumption of local, seasonal and organic produce". The report also states, "With this report we hope to strengthen the resolve to meet these promises by providing both a rationale and a practical plan of action for making the London 2012 Olympic Games the first Games to serve sustainable food. In this context, we understand 'sustainable food' to mean food that is mainly fresh, local, seasonal and organic, with a large proportion of food from plants and a low proportion from animal sources" (Soil Association, Sustain and New Economics Foundation 2007: 3).

[34] LOCOG Head of Sustainability

Board" (Interview C31). One of the NGO members mentioned that "Feeding the Olympics" helped the thinking for the Food Advisory Group for the Olympic Games (Interview A19), but LOCOG representatives did not cite this report as initiating any activity around food. A LOCOG representative stated in an interview that this report was unhelpful in creating the Food Vision because it was unrealistic, as it called for organic foods that were not available in the supply chain at sufficient quantities and price at the time (Interview A2).

LOCOG representatives did mention NGOs as having an influence on pressuring LOCOG to hold a Food Advisory Group and to write a sustainable Food Vision. One Food Advisory Group member explained that the Chief Executive at the Fairtrade Foundation "went to see LOCOG David Stubbs, and she was often mentioned as a motivating factor, because they had some ethical trade initiatives stuff in their procurement policy and had not yet worked out how that could be played out in the food side of things" (Interview C21). According to LOCOG representatives, "The stakeholder pressure was huge. There was lots of emphasis on creating a Food Vision from the stakeholders" (Interview C16).

When asked who were the stakeholders who put pressure on LOCOG, this interviewee identified the London Food Board and Sustain. Additionally, these stakeholders, "NGOs and other partners" pressured the Olympic Bid Committee to include food in the original bid for the Olympics in 2004 (Interview B27). When asking Food Advisory Group members about the motivating factors for creating the Food Advisory Group and writing the Food Vision, a LOCOG representative explained that "food was obviously part of the broader sustainability goals" of the Games (Interview Y71). Some Food Advisory Group members also commented that LOCOG members seemed genuinely committed to the idea of sustainability. One Food Advisory Group member (Interview H38) stated:

> I think, genuinely LOCOG, or the onus of LOCOG, wanted to do things better. I think they realise that they would probably be under the microscope on a number of different issues. Being London, it tends to—New York would probably say they lead the way—but London tends (particularly in Europe) to lead the way in environmental and welfare pressures. And they realise that everyone would be looking at them, wanting to trip them up. So you kind of think, that they presume, let's try to get ahead of the game. And if you bring all the potential critics into the tent, perhaps there will be less [criticism]. And they probably were quite successful in that.

This quote expresses many perceptions of LOCOG's agendas, suggesting they were motivated by creating ways to avoid criticism and by wanting to fulfil the expectations of London as an environmentally friendly and welfare-conscious city, as the eyes of the world would be upon them. The quote also points out the strategic thinking in bringing "potential critics into the tent" to decrease the chances of getting negative attention in the media.

Another Food Advisory Group member explained that LOCOG wanted to provide better food options than the previous summer Olympic Games in Beijing. This interviewee (Interview J40) said:

> The word 'Beijing' was used in awful lot in early discussions because Beijing food had been so particularly appalling. So people were all conscious of that. And people like James Cracknell[35] came into the meeting once, because he was one of the Sustainability Champions for the Games, and he personally reported on how dire the food had been in Beijing. So that was always a bit of a shadow from before, to not have that reputation tarnish these Games.

This quote supports that sustainable food was not the only motivation for having a Food Vision, but that a main motivating factor was avoiding negative media attention by having food that would please spectators and athletes. This section has shown that there were multiple motivating factors for LOCOG to write the Food Vision; namely, LOCOG wanted to promote London as a sustainable city, do better than Beijing, avoid negative reviews of spectator experience and avoid opposition from London and UK NGOs.

5.4 Creating an Olympic Food Policy for a World City

The process of creating the Food Vision was a four-step process: (1) tendering for a consultant to organise the Food Vision process, (2) putting together a Food Advisory Group of stakeholders to write the Food Vision and (4) writing the food procurement strategy while conferring about a "Food Legacy."

5.4.1 Convening the Food Advisory Group

During interviews, LOCOG – and many of the private companies involved with the Olympics – often mentioned the large quantity of food necessary for the Olympics. Many of the LOCOG publications and presentations began with a reminder of the sheer size of this event,

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[35] James Cracknell is a British rowing champion and double Olympic gold medallist.

as shown in Box 5.4. The most repeated line was that "The Olympics is the largest peacetime catering operation in the world" (LOCOG 2009).

Box 5.4 Numbers for the Games

o   26 world championships within 27 days o television audience of over 4 billion +   o   over 205 national teams o 9 million ticket sales o 17 million meals o media center at 60,000 meals a day o athletes village at 45,000 meals a day o 70 venues across London and UK

Sources: (Russell 2010; LOCOG 2009)

Because of the large numbers and sheer size of the event, LOCOG contracted a consulting company to write the food procurement strategy and help negotiate and contract with caterers. The first LOCOG activity toward creating the sustainable food strategy included calling for and hiring a consultancy that could write the document through stakeholder consultations in a Food Advisory Group. The LOCOG tender document called for "An opportunity to provide Catering and Food Services consultancy support to the London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Limited (LOCOG)" (CompeteFor 2008). The responsibilities for this consultancy were to develop a "sustainable food strategy," involving a stakeholder advisory group with interest group consultation (CompeteFor 2008). This call for a consultancy was announced February 2008, and the estimated start date for the consultancy selected was June 2008, as shown in Table 5.4 (CompeteFor 2008).

The scope for the food procurement consultancy work was not limited to sustainable sourcing, but involved market analysis, crowd modelling, space requirements and logistical concerns on the site. A LOCOG representative (Interview N26) explained:

> It wasn't until 2007 when we really started on anything [related to food]. The initial approach was to work with consultants on three different areas. First was the scoping exercises, the second one is a market readiness to see what all could be done, the third was sustainability and how it should be woven into the procurement process.

Table 5.4 Timeline for Consultancy Contracting

Catering and Food Services Consultancy Support - Sustainable Food Strategy

CompeteFor response deadline	21 April [36]
Estimated tender close date	30 May 2008
Estimated contract award date	31 May 2008
Estimated contract start date	1 June 2008

Source: (CompeteFor 2008)

The Russell Partnership was contracted by LOCOG to write the procurement document for food (Russell 2010). David Russell (2010) from the Russell Partnership stated in a public London Business Network presentation that the Russell Partnership was appointed in May of Because hiring many different caterers to operate on Olympic Park site is a large and complicated operation, the Russell Partnership created a quantitative model[37] to predict customer numbers and flows, peak times and equipment and space requirements. Russell (2010) explains that the model brought together "challenges with ticketing, finance, legal, customer groups and accreditation" and the model showed "how these various aspects linked together, and influence the Food Vision going forward." One Food Advisory Group member (Interview D16) explained the consultancy's involvement by stating:

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[36] to think through that strategy. He explains that "the brief was: write a catering strategy" (Russell 2010), and he explained that the process was fairly open for the consultancy to decide the way forward.

Russell (2010) also explains that no other Olympics had written a Food Vision or tried to implement sustainability criteria: "The first thing that we learned was that this was the first. This was the first time a Food Vision had been written for the Games, so [there were] no documents to go back and say this is the process and the methodology and how to approach this" (Russell 2010). To begin, the Russell Partnership examined what other Olympics had done with food procurement. They "looked at previous Olympic models where a master caterer was appointed, where it was virtually one caterer that did everything across the whole Games" (Interview F69). Russell (2010) explains that the master caterer approach was not the way LOCOG wanted to handle the 2012 Olympic Games, and instead they would hire several caterers, because one of the Olympics' sustainability goals was to use small and medium-sized businesses.

[37] This model consisted of tables representing concessions, and they estimated peak customer flows based data from previous Olympics.

The Russell Partnership were involved at that time as well. They were looking a little more at the logistics and ordering and crowd management and how you look at designing menus that will not result in loss of waste. In how you predict how many people might come, all of that stuff, the other side of the catering that's not food ingredients themselves.

Even though the modelling was not concerning the "food ingredients themselves," there were sustainability implications for setting up new supply chains. Another Food Advisory Group member (Interview F71) explained this process:

The Russell partnership was looking at modelling likely demand. So it was looking at the numbers of people, the different types of people they were feeding, and what that might mean in terms of food. So it would start to ask the question: What if we say that we want some type of sustainable meat or assured meat? How much would we need? And would it be achievable?

As this quote illustrates, the Russell Partnership's model was perceived by some Food Advisory Group members as a useful tool that would help the Group create achievable sustainability requirements for caterers. As an example of the complexity of the model, Table 5.5 shows the ways they separated "key user groups," meaning who the Olympic caterers would be serving.

After the modelling activities were completed, the Russell Partnership began convening a Food Advisory Group in order to begin working toward a catering plan for the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The people who chaired the Food Advisory Group meetings included members from the Russell Partnership and members from LOCOG who worked together to achieve the same goals: a workable Food Vision for the Olympic and Paralympic Games.[38]

LOCOG (with the help of the Russell Partnership) began convening a Food Advisory Group in 2009. As one interviewee explained, "We got to a point where we wanted to open the thinking […] up to the rest of the skill base in the industry" (Interview E3). Therefore, they convened a group of experts to think through the "Food Vision" process. Russell (2010) said, "We could not do that alone so one of the first ideas was to pull together different bodies to

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[38] In order to retain confidentiality of interviewees, the remainder of this thesis refers to both Russell Partnership members and LOCOG staff and executives as "LOCOG".

actually help us through that process." A LOCOG representative explains the process of establishing the Food Advisory Group as putting "together a team of experts, to mould them into the team to make the Food Vision" (Interview G27).

Table 5.5 Seven Key User Groups for Olympic Catering

	User Group	Explanation
1	**Athletes**	16,500 thousand athletes who have food requirements that are fuelling them at the very highest level during their peak performance during that time
2	**Officials**	housing and feeding the technical officials; providing food for them that is simple, straightforward, hassle free in terms of delivery
3	**Olympic and Paralympic Family**	4000 Olympic and Paralympic Family, who support the Olympic movement through this process
4	**Workforce**	168,000 people who are involved in delivering the games, they need to be fed, and many of them are volunteers – and food becomes a very important part of their experience during the games
5	**Broadcasters**	the media will convey our message across the world in terms of London and the UK leading the marketplace, the food marketplace, in moving the world forward.
6	**Spectators**	9 million ticket holders, the biggest group in terms of food
7	**Hospitality**	corporate sponsorship hospitality team

Source: (Russell 2010)

Russell (2010) describes that the emphasis was on creating a network of people who could achieve a sustainable Food Vision that would really motivate the catering companies involved to procure more sustainable food. He says they wanted "to create a vision that challenges the industry going forward" (Russell 2010). To achieve this goal, they relied on a wide network of experts in the UK to create a sustainable Food Vision. They invited 30 people to attend from different organisations across the UK, and Russell (2010) says, "Each of whom had their own networks that we wanted to be able to use" (Russell 2010). For instance, the NGO Sustain is an alliance organisation who has a membership of over 100 companies (Sustain n.d.), the NFU is a union with over 55,000 members (NFU n.d.), and the Foodservice Consultants Society International has over 1300 members all over the world (FCSI n.d.). The entire list of organisations is shown in Table 5.6.

The network approach allowed a manageable size for the Food Advisory Group and allowed wider indirect involvement of hundreds of organisations in the UK. This indirect involvement was achieved by relying on the networks of each of the Food Advisory Group organisations. Russell (2010) explains:

> So actually this wasn't just a talking shop. This was a group of individuals who had huge networks beyond these individual

meetings. So 30 of us would meet together, and those 30 individuals would go out and talk to their own individual networks and sets of people. So all in all, potentially, we had 900 individuals engaged in providing support and advice for us, and actually helping us through some of the big challenges here.

They invited organisations to be involved in the Food Advisory Group instead of allowing an open invitation, because LOCOG expressed an interest in keeping the primary group small enough to still be workable. There were other organisations who expressed interest in being involved with the group, and if they were not included in the primary Food Advisory Group, they were able to be involved in the subgroups (which are discussed the next chapter, in Section 6.2). One incentive to keep the group small was simply the feasibility of meetings. One interviewee stated, "The difficulty with all these, of course, is the more people you involve the more difficult it is to get them to meetings, to arrange meetings, etc" (Interview C19).

With a 30-member group, the perception from interviewees was that there was representation from all of the necessary groups. One interviewee explained that they made sure to get representatives from all of the "relevant areas" in the private sector, policy arenas and civil society (Interview G30). One type of organisation that could not be directly involved in the Food Advisory Group was the contract catering companies, "because the contract caterers cannot be involved with writing the policy that they are going to have to adhere to" (Interview H36). Instead, LOCOG "wanted to actually develop the story for the contract caterers and then present that to them all and say: these are our hopes and aims, and these are the expectations that you'll be expected to deliver at the Games" (Interview C20).

The group of people who were involved in the Food Advisory Group came from the various organisations listed in Table 5.6. About the people involved Russell (2010) states, "This was a group of individuals who were willing to commit their time to support the thinking process in terms of delivering independent, specialist, supported advice to the thinking related to the Games."

Table 5.6 Organisations Represented in the Food Advisory Group

Member organisations

1. British Hospitality Association
2. Cadbury

3. Chartered Institute of Environmental Health*
4. Coca-Cola
5. DEFRA
6. Food and Drink Federation
7. Food Standards Agency
8. Foodservice Consultants Society International*
9. London Food Board*
10. McDonald's
11. National Farmers Union*
12. Professional Association for Catering Education*
13. Russell Partnership*
14. Sustain: The Alliance for Better Food and Farming*

*Organisations I interviewed for this research.

Source: (LOCOG 2009)

In interviews with LOCOG members, the key aspect mentioned was that they brought all of the relevant stakeholders into the same room where they could interact and work together to create a Food Vision. LOCOG representatives said, "we basically tried to have all the stakeholders" (Interview E2) and that "the thing the Food Advisory Group did was it brought disparate parts of the food industry together into a room that potentially had never sat around a table before" (Interview D8). This process, of bringing people from different backgrounds and having them work together to create a sustainable Food Vision, is discussed in terms of the research questions for this study in Chapter 8. Russell (2010) explains the diversity in the group: "It was a broad group of people, everybody from producers and farmers, […], through to suppliers to distributors for how we delivered the logistics related to the Games, […] pressure groups relating to sustainability, all the aspects of government needing to be integrated […] with the legal responsibilities" (Russell 2010).

Several Food Advisory Group members said that LOCOG performed well in the task of organizing and chairing the group. Some of the interviewees explained that the group was meant to be a "collaborative process" and felt that they had achieved this goal (Interview O26). One interviewee pointed out that the Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 (CSL) reviewed "the entire advisory meetings process. So they came to see how the process actually worked and then to write it up and say, 'okay are they actually doing a collaborative process and actually getting to the heart of sustainability?'" (Interview M48). According to this interviewee, CSL found that "the Food Advisory Group was the most perfect

representation of what they were trying to do. And the second [best representation] was the Carbon Footprint group" (Interview L18).

The Carbon Footprint group was assign to establish a framework and methodology for measuring the carbon emissions for the Games. They did so by estimating the expected emissions of a "normal" Games, and then identifying ways to decrease the emissions for the London 2012 Games. Therefore, this group had several experts in carbon footprint measuring involved (London 2012 2009).

Table 5.7 Presentations and Workshops CSL Attended for Evaluation

Date	Activity Attended
12 December 2008	London 2012 – stakeholder workshop re food
25 February 2008	London Foodlink
7 April 2009	London 2012 – stakeholder workshop re food
16 September 2009	London 2012 Food Advisory Group
22 October 2009	Lunch at Broxbourne
29 October 2009	GLA Officers Food Group
11 November 2009	London 2012 Food Advisory Group
19 November 2009	Observation of ODA Scorecard audit
7 December 2009	Launch of London 2012 Food Vision

Source: (CSL 2010: 35)

According to a CSL publication in 2010, CSL members attended nine of the Food Advisory Group activities, listed in Table 5.7. Before the Food Advisory Group officially met, there was a large Stakeholder Briefing held. CSL explains this process: "LOCOG held two stakeholder briefings in December 2008 and April 2009 to inform industry on the emerging sustainable food and catering strategy and to gain a sense of supply capacity. The Food Vision was launched to an industry audience in December 2009. LOCOG has also been undertaking a series of one to one briefings with industry" (CSL 2010: 19).

CSL explains that "The group met six times in 2009 (March, May, July, August, September, November)" (CSL 2010: 19). To give an overview of the Food Advisory Group meetings and process, one of the LOCOG representatives (Interview V49) explained:

> In the first phase, there were four or five team meetings [within LOCOG]. And that was establishing the framework for the Food Vision. And then there were six subsequent [Food Advisory Group] meetings that actually started to develop and define the document. It was really about signing up, in terms of people being comfortable with that, obviously. When you start to look at documents in asking people to input, they would actually go away

and input and develop sections themselves. So then, they were integrated into the document, and then there were two to three meetings in terms of finalizing that document.

The overall timeline is also shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8 Timeline of Olympic Food

	Timeline	Activities
1908	1908	London Hosts fourth Olympiad
1948	1948	London Hosts fourteenth Olympiad
2005	July 2005	London won the bid to host the thirtieth Olympiad
2006	March 2006	London Olympic Games and Paralympic Games Act 2006 created the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA)
	December 2006	ODA begins building Olympic Park
2008	2008	LOCOG commissioned to deliver the Games
	June 2008	LOCOG Hires Russell Partnership to Create Food Advisory Group and Write the Food Vision
2009	2008-2009	Food Advisory Group meetings
	12 December 2008	London 2012 – stakeholder workshop re food
	25 February 2008	London Foodlink
	7 April 2009	London 2012 – stakeholder workshop re food
	16 September 2009	London 2012 Food Advisory Group
	22 October 2009	Lunch at Broxbourne
	29 October 2009	GLA Officers Food Group
	11 November 2009	London 2012 Food Advisory Group
	19 November 2009	Observation of ODA Scorecard audit
	December 2009	LOCOG publicly launches the Olympic Food Vision
2010	January - May 2010	LOCOG hires Caterers
	January 2010 - March 2012	Caterers begin setting up supply chains, with LOCOG and Accreditation Body help
	December 2010	Olympic stadium lights switch-on
2011	February 2011	Velodrome officially opens
	March 2011	2012 Olympic tickets go on sale
2012	January 2012	ODA begins handing over Olympic Park to LOCOG
	January 2012	LOCOG and Caterers begin setting up temporary spaces for concessions and restaurants on-site at the Olympic Park
	January - September 2012	Caterers begin food service at the Olympic Park
	January - July 2012	Test Events at the Olympic Park
	July 2012	*Workforce feeding commenced
	July 2012	*Olympic Games
	July - Aug 2012	*Workforce feeding during break
	August - September 2012	*Paralympics
	September 2012	Breakdown begins - LOCOG and Caterers break down temporary spaces for concessions and restaurants on-site at Olympic Park
		*observed by researcher through participant observation

5.5 Summary

Chapter 5 shows that even though the UK has implemented many measures to encourage local governments to move toward more sustainable food procurement, such as using "best value" to make procurement decisions and embedding aspects of the UN Agenda 21 on Sustainable Development, there still exist many barriers to sustainable procurement in the UK, including EU regulations, procurement managers' lack of training in sustainability and price-conscious authorities. However, there are many organisations, such as the Soil Association, that are working to improve public procurement practices. In this context, I introduce the case study for this research: the process through which the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games' created and implemented a sustainable food procurement strategy for the Games. One of the first steps the Olympics took in creating a sustainable food strategy for the Games was to assemble a Food Advisory Group, consisting of about 30 people from 15 different UK- and London-based organisations. The main actors examined in this case study include the London Food Board, Sustain, the National Farmers Union, LOCOG and Sodexo. This case study examines the roles of these organisations in creating and implementing the food strategy for the Olympics.

6 Negotiating Sustainability: The Procurement Strategy Creation Process

The London 2012 Sustainability Plan, published in November 2007 and reissued in 2009, sets out how London placed sustainability at the heart of its bid for the 2012 Games and confirms that this remains central to the vision for 2012. This plan builds on the Sustainability Policy formally agreed by the Olympic Board in June 2006. It further expands on the commitments set out in 'Towards a One Planet Olympics' developed by the London 2012 bid company, WWF and BioRegional during the bid. The original commitment to sustainable food is clearly enunciated in the London 2012 bid documents. The overall aim was to 'support the consumption of local, seasonal and organic produce, with reduced amount of animal protein and packaging'.

Source: (CSL 2012: 5)

This chapter is explaining the process through which the food strategy was created, while keeping in-mind the research questions about relationality, reflexivity and sustainable food outcomes. Further analysis relating this process to the research questions is in Chapter 8. I

explain the strategy creation process by separating the events involved with the creation of the Olympics Food Vision into three categories. First, LOCOG's Food Advisory Group collaboratively wrote the Food Vision, by forming subsequent working groups who wrote different sections of the strategy. Second, there were controversies; the two main food sponsors Coca-Cola and McDonald's were tested in their willingness to support sustainability during the Games. Third, LOCOG contracted and hired the caterers who would serve food at the Olympics and who would be governed by the Food Vision.

6.1 Food Advisory Group Meetings and Working Groups

This first phase of the food procurement process was the creation of the food strategy. The Food Advisory Group broke into topic-specific working groups who established the standards that formed the backbone of the Olympics Sustainable Food Vision. This section presents data about the Food Advisory Group meetings gathered through (1) internal Food Advisory Group meeting documents (given to me by a Food Advisory Group member), (2) interviews and (3) publicly accessible documents.

The first meeting of the official London 2012 Food Advisory Group was held on 20 March 2009. The agenda shows that after a round of introductions, the terms of reference for the group were to be distributed, Russell Partnership was to present their work to date, the timetable for the Food Advisory Group was to be distributed, they were to have a general discussion and discuss future meetings and possible specialists to invite (Food Advisory Group Agenda, 20 March 2009). The minutes for this meeting show that the Head of Catering, who would be in charge of hiring caterers and implementing the Food Vision, had not yet been decided. The only item on the agenda that was not shown to have been discussed in the minutes was about deciding what further specialists they wanted to invite to meetings. A Food Advisory Group member (Interview R23) described this first meeting:

> The first meeting of the Food Advisory Group was around that research. Which was: this is the findings, and this is the modelling. And based on those we want to go forward on these five themes.[39] But that's the modelling, the nitty-gritty. So

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[39] The five key aspects were: (1) Food safety and hygiene, (2) Choice and balance of food options; (3)

> throughout the Food Advisory Group, the Russell partnership played a very strong role. They led a lot of it because they had done all the work, but they had done it at a modelling level. And then the importance of the people on the [Food Advisory Group] was to make it real.

The minutes display a presentation of the work that had been completed up to that point, shown in Table 6.1. LOCOG also commissioned another consultant, Deloitte, to draft a sustainability strategy, and Deloitte presented their strategy at this first meeting. One Food Advisory Group member commented, "The Deloitte [report] was looking at: What is the status of the contract catering industry now? How capable would it be of delivering these ideas? Is it scaled up? Can it do it? It was looking very much at the industry to say what it was like" (Interview M51). Another member of the Food Advisory Group did not appreciate Deloitte's involvement, explaining it as a "dreadful process" and as "absolutely useless." This interviewee said the report "just had a few boxes with arrows between them," and that the sustainability thinking of the people in the Food Advisory Group was already far more advanced than what Deloitte had achieved in the report. The Food Advisory Group member also said the Deloitte report was a "strategic overview, and we didn't need a strategic overview. We knew what we needed to do. We needed the detail" (Interview M53). The interviewee explained because the report was not what the Food Advisory Group needed, they did not use the information the report contained. He said, "We all looked at the document that cost too much money and went, 'We will start from scratch'" (Interview M53).

Even though only one interviewee described Deloitte in negative terms, there is no evidence from the minutes of meetings that Deloitte or their report were involved in the group after this initial presentation at the first Food Advisory Group meeting.

Table 6.1 Workstreams of Food Advisory Group

Workstream	Responsibility
1. Sustainable Food Strategy	draft strategy was completed by Deloitte in December 2008
2. Understanding the scale and scope of catering at the Games	tasked to The Russell Partnership
3. Understanding industry capability	tasked to The Russell Partnership
4. Working out how the process becomes reality in terms of delivery	tasked to The Russell Partnership

Sustainable food sourcing and supply chain; (4) Environmental management; and (5) Promoting skills and education (LOCOG 2009).

The minutes show that McDonald's was also involved in this first meeting. They voiced their experience with sustainability, including their work on the carbon footprint of beef, animal welfare and nutritional investigations on how to improve the nutrition of food. They also expressed interest in wanting to focus on educating catering staff and creating policies to influence consumer behaviour (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 20 March 2009). The Food Advisory Group members from the organisations listed in Table 5.6 each introduced themselves and briefly explained the expertise they brought into the group. In the first meeting, LOCOG also explained the expected timeline for writing the Food Vision and contracting caterers, as shown in Table 6.2.

Food Advisory Group member's perceptions of the Food Visions' purpose varied greatly. Many interviewees stated that the Food Vision was about detail and clarity so the caterers would know what they were expected to do. A LOCOG representative emphasised the importance of setting mandatory requirements for the caterers by stating, "The key thing with all of it has got to be: if the event organisers don't require it then the caterers will not do it" (Interview G28). The strengths of the Food Vision mentioned by interviewees were the definitions and the baseline standards that would help caterers perform their sustainability sourcing (Interview F73). One Food Advisory Group member said, "Specifying what [sustainability] means in practice is the absolutely *key* element in that London 2012 Food Vision, which made it helpful in the end" (Interview D30). Another member of the Food Advisory Group said that the Food Vision was a "strategy document, with no real specifics," showing there was some disagreement among Food Advisory Group members as to the usefulness of this strategy document (Interview R22).

Table 6.2 Projected Food Vision Timetable

Date	Activity
7th April 2009	Stakeholder briefing
April - September 2009	Prepare the groundwork for procurement of caterers - Create 'the vision'
October 2009	Publish Food Strategy for the Games
Early 2010	Main caterers to be lined up Work on special requirements

Source: (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 20 March 2009)

In the second meeting of the Food Advisory Group on 5 May 2009, LOCOG had not yet appointed a Head of Catering. The minutes state, "We have found it difficult to bridge the gap between the high-level strategic thinking and the operational aspects" (Food Advisory Group, Minutes, 5 May 2009). LOCOG also announced that the following two months would be used to develop working groups that would address specific topic areas. Working groups topic areas were organised around seven themes: (1) Fish and Seafood; (2) Dairy and Livestock; (3) Crops; (4) Secondary / processed produce;[40] (5) Education, training and customer service; (6) Alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage policy and procedures; and (7) Waste and re-cycling and packaging. One of the LOCOG representatives (Interview J36) explained the justification for breaking into groups:

> Rather than just bringing 45 people together in one room at one time, and saying, 'Let's all have a big discussion about this,' we basically brought everyone together and said, you've all identified what all the big challenges are. We'd now like you to go off to identify what you think is the best solution for this, and then come back and present it to the group.

The specific wording from the internal Food Advisory Group document is presented in Box 6.1. This box shows that the main purpose of the working groups was to write realistic catering standards that pertains to specific topical areas. The areas highlighted in Box 6.1 include: (1) defining appropriate, practical and deliverable targets for the strategy, (2) defining higher standards in event catering, (3) good customer experiences and (4) a positive legacy for London 2012.

Box 6.1 Subgroups Explanation

At the first meeting of the London 2012 Food Group on 20 March 2009 participants were asked to nominate priority topics to be assessed in the context of the London 2012 Food Strategy. Particular emphasis was placed on defining appropriate, practical and deliverable targets for the strategy. These should contribute to defining higher standards in event catering, enhancing client experience and creating a positive legacy for London 2012. The aim is to integrate sustainability and operational requirements into an overall Games Food Strategy to be published in autumn 2009. To get to this point it was agreed to establish a number of small working groups to focus on specific topic areas. LOCOG and/or Russell Partnership representatives will endeavour to participate in each group's discussions but the essential driver will be to advance each workstream with a view to reporting back to the full London 2012 Food Group session on 7 July 2009.

Source: (Food Advisory Group Sub-Group Nominations, n.d.)

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[40] In the minutes of meetings, this group is called "Secondary / processed produce," but all interviewees referred to this group as the "Health and Safety group."

LOCOG decided on what the subgroup topics would be (shown in Table 6.3), and Food Advisory Group members then nominated chairs of the subgroups. From those nominations, LOCOG assigned subgroup chairs and directed the Food Advisory Group members to work on their respective topic areas and then report back at the next Food Advisory Group meeting. The different groups and the organisation that chaired the group are shown in Table 6.3. A LOCOG representative explained, "we set some key challenges for them to look at [in] different areas" and "[we] challenged them to come back on those different aspects to see what was achievable" (Interview H40). After the working groups met, LOCOG planned to "hold a full day session in mid-July to review findings from each group" (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 5 May 2009).

Table 6.3 Food Advisory Sub-Working Groups

Topic	Sub-Group Head Organisation
Fish & Seafood	Sustain
Dairy & Livestock (including Poultry & Eggs)	NFU
Crops (cereals, fruit, vegetables, salad)	NFU
Secondary / processed produce	FSA
Education, training and customer service	Thames Valley University
Alcoholic and non alcoholic beverage policy and procedures (including tea and coffee)	Coca-Cola
Waste and re-cycling and packaging	Covered by LOCOG Waste Technical Advisory Group

Source: (Food Advisory Group Sub-Group Nominations n.d.)

6.2 Working Groups

Of the seven working groups listed in Table 6.3, only three dealt directly with sustainable food sourcing. These groups were the Fish and Seafood group, the Dairy and Livestock group and the Crops group. The two organisations that chaired these groups were a prominent UK sustainability NGO, Sustain, and the National Farmers Union (NFU). As a part of the working groups, Sustain and NFU both engaged with people and organisations outside of the Food Advisory Group members. Some caterers participated in these subgroups as well.

6.2.1 Fish and Seafood Group

Sustain headed the Fish and Seafood Group, and "got 50 organisations to feed in on that [process]" (Interview G32). A member of LOCOG commented that Sustain "had loads of meetings with everyone you can think of connected to fish. They had all of these meetings

and they would report back to the bigger group" (Interview X60). In an interview with a Sustain member, he explained that "The mentality was: Let's really go for it on the Sustainable fish, and make this a world beating standard" (Interview I24). He explained, "LOCOG seemed to be up for that because of the shocking statistics on the decline in fish populations," and said, "That was almost an accepted thing right from the start that there should be an iconic issue and that should be the top sustainability measure" (Interview R20).

A member of Sustain explained that the subgroup underwent a "process to look at how to unpack the notion of healthy and sustainable food in a way that would make sense for the Games" (Interview X66). In terms of the physical meetings for the Fish and Seafood group, the engagement was primarily through email and during in-person meetings between Sustain and other organisations, including accreditation bodies, LOCOG, caterers and other NGOs. The fish accreditation bodies used for the Food Vision were the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) and the Marine Conservation Society (MCS). Both MSC and MCS certify fish supply chains that originate in sustainable fisheries. A member of Sustain said she easily spent "hundreds of hours" working on the Food Advisory Group and the fish sub-group (Interview M54).

6.2.2 Animal and Produce Groups

A representative from the National Farmers Union (NFU) headed the two groups that involved farmers, the Dairy and Livestock Group and the Crops Group. As part of the activities for this group, NFU brought together "the right people in the room to talk about supply chains, accreditations, sorting out certifications, Red Tractor [and] Freedom Food" (Interview I25). The NFU representative played a mediating role between environmental NGOs, welfare NGOs, caterers, accreditation bodies, farmers and government agencies (Interview J38). One Food Advisory Group member commented that the NFU representative "also fielded some of the criticism on behalf of LOCOG" (Interview N32). One NFU representative (Interview B17) said:

> If you think about it, we've all got our ideologies or our own biases about what we're trying to do but essentially you got single issue groups that might be solely concerned about welfare, solely concerned about the environmental, or something like that, and me, who is solely concerned about trying to ensure as much of the food [at the Olympics] is British and how can we pull these things together?

The NFU representative said, "We were asking how we can make this the most sustainable games in terms of welfare, in terms of the environment, so we looked at different standards" which included Freedom Food,[41] Leaf Marque,[42] Organic[46] and Red Tractor[43] (Interview W25). The groups met many different times to examine looking at all of these different standards. These conference calls usually included about 10-15 people and lasted between 23 hours (Interview H39). The main accreditation body these groups made mandatory in the Food Vision was Red Tractor, which assured local (British) produce, meat and dairy for the Olympics. The most common justification for choosing Red Tractor was that it was the only standard with an existing supply chain large enough to handle the immense demand of the Games.

6.2.3 Putting it into Words: Writing and Reviewing the Food Vision

After the subgroups met to discuss their specific topics, the chair of each subgroup reported back to the larger Food Advisory Group on 7 July 2009 and 5 August 2009. The plan was that "Each group [is] allocated 40 minutes. This is comprised of Presentation & Recommendations (15-20 minutes) and Discussion (15-20 minutes)" (Food Advisory Group Agenda, 7 July 2009). On 7 July 2009 (Food Advisory Group Agenda, 7 July 2009), the following groups presented:

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[41] Freedom Food is certified by The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) and ensures welfare standards for the following types of animals: Beef Cattle (including veal), Chickens, Dairy Cattle (including veal), Ducks, Hatcheries (all poultry), Laying Hens, Pigs, Salmon (farmed Atlantic), Sheep and Turkeys (RSPCA 2014).

[42] Leaf Marque is a standard that certifies that the product comes from a farm where farmers "care for the countryside and wildlife" by using on-farm biodiversity practices that contribute to wildlife working with the Soil Association. The organic standard claims that in several areas such as conservation" (Soil Association n.d.).

[46] The group discussed that organic was higher than the EU minimum animal welfare and nature using the Soil Association standards such as "are GM, certified website (Soil Association n.d.).

[43] The Red Tractor logo is your guarantee that your food supply chain is produced to quality standards in the UK, independently inspected from farm to pack" (Red Tractor n.d.). The Red Tractor website explains: "The Red Tractor logo is critical to ensure quality and origin. Every critical step of food is produced and assured from farm to ensure farmers, growers and producers

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    ✎ Equipment supply and utilisation,
    ✎ Dairy and Livestock (including poultry and eggs),
    ✎ Fish and Seafood, and
    ✎ Crops (cereals, fruit, vegetables, salad).

On 5 August 2009 (Food Advisory Group Agenda, 5 August 2009), the following groups presented:

    ✎ Alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages and procedures (including tea and coffee), ✎ Manufactured food and catering,
    ✎ Education, training and customer service, and ✎ Waste recycling and packaging.

At the fifth Food Advisory Group meeting on 16 September 2009, Jan Matthews the Head of Catering, Cleaning and Waste was introduced (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 16 September 2009). A LOCOG representative stated, "Jan Matthews came on board in the Summer 2009, which was three years out. She was involved in the final production and editing of the Food Vision itself—even though she wasn't there for the entire Food Visioning process" (Interview P83).

At this meeting, there were also presentations about sustainability of their products from the three main food sponsors, McDonald's, Cadbury and Coca-Cola. One of the LOCOG members explained the Food Advisory Group members' reactions to these presentations by saying, "I think the [Food Advisory Group] were absolutely amazed actually because between the three of them they were doing far more than anybody had ever imagined" (Interview C17). However, none of the Food Advisory Group members interviewed for this research corroborated this sentiment.

At this meeting, the minutes show that "David Russell presented the proposed outline structure, main themes and objectives of the Food Vision to the group" and explained the timeline for the Food Vision, aiming to launch the document in early December 2009 (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 16 September 2009). The other main timeline item was to have a Tier One caterer on in a contract by the end of July 2010.

Between the fifth and sixth meetings (September-November 2009), the Russell Partnership and LOCOG members wrote the Food Vision (Interview T61). To write the Food Vision, they used the feedback from the subgroup presentations (Interview D19). The Food Vision draft was emailed to Group members for comments and at the sixth Food Advisory Group meeting on 11 November 2009, the Food Advisory Group reviewed the Food Vision.

Food Advisory Group members expressed opinions of the standards negotiating process and criticised the NFU for not fighting for stronger welfare standards. One interviewee said, "the hardest battle was to get the animal welfare stuff and, in a way, partly because the NFU were leading on it. So they wanted Red Tractor as the baseline standard. And there was a lot of worry that explicitly going for RSPCA Freedom Food would mean a lot more costs for the menus" (Interview W10). DEFRA was also criticised for arguing against environmental measures in the Food Vision. According to an interviewee, a member of DEFRA said in one of the Food Advisory Group meetings, "Let's not go overboard on the environmental standards" (Interview U50) and one Food Advisory Group member reported being "livid" about this comment responding, "What is the 'E' in your name stand for? That is in the name of the title of your department? 'Environment.' That's right" (Interview S59).

A major point of contention was over what standards would be mandatory for the caterers and what standards would be voluntary. A member of LOCOG explained, "the main areas of contention were about standards. The NGOs wanted the highest standards, but the highest standards [were] not affordable" (Interview Q38). For instance, there were several NGOs arguing for RSPCA Freedom Food chicken because it had more stringent animal welfare requirements than Red Tractor chicken. A National Farmers Union representative explained that their goal was to promote British farmers, and therefore they supported Red Tractor standards over all else. A LOCOG member stated, "There were a lot of arguments about Red Tractor. The NGOs didn't like it, but the Farmers Union did like it" (Interview F68). A representative from LOCOG summed up the view on the mandatory and "aspirational" (meaning voluntary) standards in the Food Vision by saying, "Here are some base numbers that we think we can achieve; Here are some aspirational challenges that we want to see if we can *stretch the target*" (Interview P88). This statement shows that this LOCOG member viewed the mandatory standards as what they thought was possible, and the aspirational standards as what might be stretching the bounds of achievability. Therefore, these aspirational standards were really seen as "challenges" to tell the industry to prepare for having to meet these sustainability goals in the future.

Table 6.4 London 2012 Food Vision Sustainable Food Standards

Benchmark standard	Aspirational standards
All food must achieve this standard or a demonstrable equivalent and comply with the LOCOG Sustainable Sourcing Code	**As many of these standards should be achieved, or a demonstrable equivalent where food is available and affordable**
Plant-based produce (fruit, vegetables, salads, cereals)	
Red Tractor Assured, UK Grade 1 or 2 (where Grade 2 relates only to appearance).Where available, British, seasonal and of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage. Where products are not available from the UK, and not available under the Red Tractor Assurance Scheme, they will need to be fully traceable. Bananas to be Fairtrade. Tea, coffee and sugar to be Fairtrade	LEAF Marque certified Organic Products that are ethically traded/sourced (including Fairtrade certified and/or Rainforest Alliance certified) (see Cadbury Cocoa Partnership case study) GLOBALGAP certified or comparable standard
Dairy produce (milk, cream, butter etc except cheese)	
British, Red Tractor Assured, of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage. Chocolate products to be Fairtrade or ethically sourced.	Organic (see McDonald's case study on British organic milk) Products that are ethically traded/sourced (see Selkey Vale Farmers case study)
Cheese	
For British cheese, must be made from British milk and Red Tractor Assured, ie traditional British cheeses such as Cheddar must be British. For non-British cheese, must be fully traceable. For both, of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage.	Organic Products that are ethically traded/sourced
Eggs	
British Lion Mark free range (see McDonald's case study on UK free range eggs), of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage.	Organic Products that are ethically traded/sourced
Beef, lamb, veal, mutton*	
British Red Tractor Assured, (see McDonald's MAAP/ UK beef case study), of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage	Organic Products that are ethically traded/sourced
Poultry (chicken, turkey, duck etc)	
British Red Tractor Assured, of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage. Across the Games a minimum of X%* RSPCA Freedom Food Certified chicken will be available	Free range Organic RSPCA Freedom Foods certified Products that are ethically traded/sourced
Pork products (pork, ham, bacon, sausages)	
British Red Tractor Assured, of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage. Across the Games a minimum of X%* RSPCA Freedom Food Certified pork will be available	RSPCA Freedom Foods certified Outdoor reared, straw based system Organic Products that are ethically traded/sourced
Fish and seafood	
All fish demonstrably sustainable** with all wild-caught fish meeting the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (includes Marine Stewardship Council certification and Marine Conservation Society 'fish to eat'), of high quality, fit for purpose and free from damage or spoilage	Utilisation of diverse species and shellfish to reduce pressure on sensitive stocks Farmed fish raised to high standards of welfare and fed only with demonstrably sustainable feed Products that are ethically traded/sourced

- Halal and Kosher meat are subject to very specific preparation requirements and are not currently available under the Red Tractor Assured scheme. Where used they should be of the European Halal Standard, with Kosher food being prepared in conjunction with the Beth Din.

* Percentage to be agreed, once menus have been submitted and agreed with contractors **

Based on the following principles:

- Exclude the worst: complete exclusion of those species and stocks identified by the Marine Conservation Society (MCS) as 'fish to avoid'.

- Promote the best: inclusion of all Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) (or equivalent) and MCS 'fish to eat' list.

- Improve the rest: require systematic approach to traceability and demonstrable sustainability for the rest, with reference to FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries; new IUU regulation; fishery sustainability status; seasonality to avoid spawning seasons; use of a diversity of species (including shellfish).

One Food Advisory Group member explained, "On the outset, I would say that there was some tension in terms of people just not understanding. But we gave people the opportunity to understand what the capabilities were" (Interview N44). He said, after everyone understood what the capabilities were, the tensions turned out to be over ideology. A LOCOG member explained, "I think people have passions about this. Those passions can either be ideological or commercial" (Interview S46). Therefore, the Food Advisory Group consisted of people who have different ideologies, either about the issue they campaign for at their NGO, or the legal requirements at a government agency or commercial commitments at a private company. A LOCOG representative claimed that they gave the Food Advisory Group members the time and space to really talk about sustainability and discuss how they were going to achieve it. Therefore, LOCOG played the role of the mediator in this process, helping the different groups with different viewpoints come together and discuss what sustainability solutions and opportunities exist for food procurement for the Olympics. However, there was limited success of bringing diverse actors together within this format, as one Food Advisory Group member expressed never having spoken to anyone representing McDonald's (Interview V35).

However, according to several interviewees, at Food Advisory Group meetings, they did not define sustainability, or discuss what sustainability means. Instead, there were discussions about *how* they were going to create a sustainability strategy – and what specifically would be included in the Food Vision. One interviewee stated that if someone had stood up and asked everyone to define sustainability, "we would have booed them off the stage" (Interview G45). This interviewee also suggested that it was more important to talk about specifics because "it's the action that matters" (Interview G45).

6.2.3.1 Food Advisory Group Members' Conceptualisations of Sustainability Some of the contentions between what food standards would be included in the Food Vision become clearer after examining the Food Advisory Group members' interpretations of sustainability. There were different levels of knowledge about sustainability among the Food Advisory Group members. Some members expressed feeling that sustainability was not something they knew much about and it was not part of their job to be involved in sustainability, whereas

others expressed feeling that they knew quite a bit about sustainability and being involved with food sustainability was very much a part of their job.

One Food Advisory Group member said his involvement in the group had been a "learning process" and an "educational process". A member of LOCOG interviewed had "never researched food sustainability and basically knew nothing about it [previously]" (Interview I19). This interviewee also stated, "that's why we needed an advisory group" (Interview I19).

A few people involved with the Food Advisory Group said that food sustainability was not their focus in participating in the group, and that their focus was more about the operational and technical aspects, such as food safety and equipment (Interview P87). One Food Advisory Group member (Interview T64) explained his personal view of sustainability in the following question:

> *Jessica*: Were there key ways that the Food Vision embodies your personal view of sustainability?
> *Interviewee*: Well, no. To be honest, I am probably not sufficiently close to the debate.

This interviewee also explained, "I don't have a huge amount of ideology or indeed knowledge about what sustainability is" and went on to explain that sustainability "is not my job" and, "therefore I'm not as close to some of the other issues as some of the others would be" (Interview T64). While for other Food Advisory Group members, knowledge about sustainability was more intuitive. This interviewee stated, "I think people get nervous about getting into the food sustainability issues in advance, but they don't realise that actually some of it is completely straightforward" (Interview L36).

Even though none of the interviewees remembered discussing specifically what sustainability meant at Food Advisory Group meetings, each interviewee explained the way he or she viewed sustainability. These conceptualisations varied from person to person. There are several aspects of sustainable food that were mentioned by Food Advisory Group members, which can be separated into three categories: social, environmental and economic.

The social aspects of sustainability mentioned include food safety, healthy food, education, and animal welfare. Safe food was discussed as the number one priority by several interviewees. David Russell explained in a public presentation, "We got to the point where

there were really five key issues[44] that were important to us in consolidating the vision. The first was the food safety and hygiene aspect. Whatever happens, the safety of the spectators and athletes when delivering the food for them is our primary thinking. So that had to be at the front of our minds in terms of delivery" (Russell 2010). In addition to food safety, there were many other concerns and priorities of the members in the Food Advisory Group. Two of these other issues were healthy diets and public health (Interview F86; Interview J45).

Another Food Advisory Group member explained, "we need more education and learning to help people to know their food and food system better" (Interview G31). Animal welfare was discussed in terms of Red Tractor assurance standards. This interviewee explained that they chose Red Tractor because it has "five key elements [that] cover welfare of animals and environment and so on and so forth so that you know that it is an ethical way of delivering the animals and the welfare of the animals" (Interview Z94). Another interviewee discussed one way the more expensive high welfare meat could be made more affordable, by explaining that a more sustainable way of operating an event would be to look at the menus holistically. This interviewee said, "Another [thing that needed] a bit more effort thinking about [was] how you can use your meat products in a way that's efficient so that you can afford higher welfare" (Interview J53), and she explained how they managed to afford RSPCS chicken in the Athlete's Village by changing the menus to use whole-carcass chicken resulting in a better price.

Several Food Advisory Group members also mentioned environmental aspects of sustainability. One member expressed disappointment that CO_2 was not a priority for the Food Vision. This interviewee explained that "[Using animal products] so outweighs everything else in terms of carbon. You know they were talking about being a low carbon Games, but we didn't really touch on carbon in the 2012 Food Vision. Because if you deal with carbon, you deal with waste and you deal with livestock. And everything else is minor in comparison" (Interview D12). This interviewee expressed several problems associated with a diet consisting of a lot of animal protein, including deforestation and climate change, but also using grain to feed livestock instead of people creates social justice problems as well. This

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[44] The five key aspects were: (1) Food safety and hygiene, (2) Choice and balance of food options; (3) Sustainable food sourcing and supply chain; (4) Environmental management; and (5) Promoting skills and education (LOCOG 2009).

interviewee explained, "farm animals are currently eating their way through grain that could be fed to people, they're also eating their way through grain that is grown on land that has been deforested, which obviously is a major problem for climate change" (Interview B5). Another Food Advisory Group member discussed environmental problems in more abstract terms merely claiming to support activities that were "for the planet" (Interview I23). In this case, it is unclear if "for the planet" is a broad generalisation of the way the person feels or an attempt to mention the environment as an effort for social desirability.

Many Food Advisory Group members also mentioned the economic dimension of sustainability. Different members raised this economic aspect in very different ways. One interviewee explained, "sustainability comes from being able to sustain a business and there is no point in us having all this wonderful food if the people then decided it was too expensive and it all got thrown in the bin" (Interview Y72). This interviewee prioritises sustaining a business economically as the primary concern of sustainability. Along these lines, a Food Advisory Group member (Interview W27) stated:

> The key point that I would make to them is sustainability in the first instance is actually being able to sustain something. So, for example, if you decide that organic is a sustainable way of going—if you then can't sell the product because nobody will buy it then it is not sustainable. […] It's great. Sustainability is lovely but actually if it's too expensive and the world can't afford it, it's not sustainable.

Another economic aspect that group members brought up was the emphasis on supporting the local economy by buying local food and hiring local workers. One member expressed how positively the Olympics affected the local job market, by focusing on "giving skills and employment to people who'd never been in work before" (Interview A14). Another focus was on paying the workers well. Since it costs more to live in London than anywhere else in the UK, the UK minimum wage does not provide a "living wage" in London. Therefore, the City of London created a London Living Wage, and when this idea was brought up at Food Advisory Group meetings, LOCOG said they were requiring the London Living Wage of all Olympic contractors (Beard 2010). There was also an emphasis on supporting local suppliers, and for the Olympics, "local" had to be defined. They discussed what constituted local, and one interviewee explained they "looked at EU procurement [and] it considers the whole of Europe [to be local]" (Interview O31). For the Food Vision, local was defined as "British" (LOCOG 2009). One interviewee explained this by saying, "We wanted to

celebrate UK food" (Interview F72). To ensure local food, the Food Advisory Group chose Red Tractor because it was a way to ensure that the food was "British and traceable" (Interview Q39). The other economic aspect that several interviewees mentioned was the emphasis on Fairtrade. One Food Advisory Group member said that they had to "be Fairtrade on coffee because London is seen as a Fairtrade city" (Interview S42). This interviewee listed off several Fairtrade products they were able to source, including coffee, sugar, bananas, oranges and wine.

Some interviewees' expressed that sustainability was an *individual* goal. One member of the Food Advisory Group explained that sustainability was an additional individual burden, just like eating healthy and exercising. This interviewee stated, "We all need to be eating a little healthier, taking more exercise; we all need to do all these things that we should be doing more of. And sustainability is one of these things" (Interview A13). This statement illustrates how some people view sustainability as just another of a long list of cultural expectations individuals are supposed to adhere to (like brushing your teeth and having a job).

Some interviewees stressed the importance of specificity and practicality of sustainability actions. One member of LOCOG explained that sustainability initiatives need to be specific: "Because you can say happy generalities about sustainable food, like to be local, fresh and seasonal, which doesn't mean anything unless you actually specify what that would look like" (Interview R1). Another member of LOCOG explained how they tried to embed practicality into the Food Vision, by stating that a "plan needs to have degrees of flexibility in it, so you're able to, when something occurs, to be able to handle it in a way that doesn't make it difficult to operate" (InterviewD17). These quotes show that practicality and flexibility were valued as key ways to approach sustainability.

One interviewee also mentioned that a sustainability initiative is always going to be contextspecific, that is dependent upon the principles and goals that are most important to the decision-makers. He said, "[The Food Vision] showed that certain things are achievable but there has to be recognition that it's a principle-type approach and those principles have to change depending on the circumstances of the area and the activity that you're trying to get into" (Interview M52). This interviewee was suggesting that because the scale of the Olympics, they were not able to buy all high-welfare and organic food products. Another

interviewee reiterated that the approach to sustainability is contextual, and it is based on the scale of the event. He (Interview L21) said:

> If you are catering at much smaller events you might be able to do other things. But we are talking mass-market. We're talking lots, millions of people. And then it becomes much more difficult. Within the current system, if we could, we'd all grow some of our own fruit and veg, wouldn't we? But my garden isn't up to that. And it therefore, it comes back to pragmatism.

This interviewee is explaining that having a large-scale event significantly limits the extent to which sustainability is achievable, revealing the assumption that only small-scale initiatives are able to contribute to sustainability. This raises a practical question: What does this mean for large urban areas, and for large universities, military bases, prisons and schools? Is sustainability simply not possible at a large scale?

6.2.3.2 Trade-offs and Contradictions

Food Advisory Group members perceived there to be many choices inherent in the creation of the food strategy. Several of these choices and priorities were mentioned directly by the Food Advisory Group members as "trade-offs" and "contradictions." Many of the Food Advisory Group members perceived sustainability to be incongruent with other priorities, such as using small suppliers, serving "quality" food, sourcing from local suppliers, serving affordable options or setting up supply chains quickly. Another perceived contradiction was between environmental health and animal welfare.

There was a perceived contradiction between using small and medium sized enterprises (SME) and having sustainability standards. LOCOG voiced a variety of challenges in trying to include SMEs in the Olympics supply chain. There was a "view that [health and safety standards] did limit the amount of smaller suppliers into the supply chain" (Interview J39). Small-scale producers could not afford the accreditation certifications, while large companies could. Therefore, the accreditation requirement disadvantaged the smaller companies – to a point where the buyer had to choose between small *or* "sustainable" producers. One Food Advisory Group member explained that LOCOG had higher traceability standards than were required by law, and this was justified by a member of LOCOG by saying, "we knew that if there would be a problem we had to be able to get food out fast" (Interview E6). This interviewee also explained the traceability requirements by saying, "The big businesses will have systems in-place because they need to, the medium [companies] may just do the

minimum and we could not have that, so we increased that requirement and made it very clear from the outset that was there" (Interview E6). This quote demonstrates a perception that large businesses have already invested in higher standards of traceability than is legally required, while smaller companies are doing the bare minimum, which was not sufficient for the Olympics. Therefore, traceability requirements were perceived as a barrier to involving SMEs in the supply chain for the Olympics. One interviewee described the large-scale aspect of the Olympics as a barrier to sustainability in reference to providing small-scale and locally grown produce. However, other interviewees expressed perceiving large-scale companies as more proficient at providing sustainability criteria such as food safety, accreditation certifications and traceability systems. Therefore, even though LOCOG expressed a desire of supporting local SMEs, the majority of the suppliers were large companies, many of which were from Britain.

Another perceived contradiction was between sustainability and the "quality" of a product. One interviewee mentioned that from the consumer's perspective large-scale catering corresponds with low quality food products. This interviewee explained, "if you're mass catering you're always going to have a relatively low quality end product [like cook and regenerate and], it could compromise the sustainability message" (Interview K24). She clarified by explaining that convincing customers to eat sustainable food is unlikely to be convincing if the products do not taste good or look nice. She said, "Just having sustainable food for the end-user without quality is unlikely to swing that argument" (Interview N30). Another Food Advisory Group member had a different opinion and perceived quality and sustainability to be synonymous by claiming that sustainably sourced foods yield higher quality foods. She mentioned that conventional chicken breasts are full of water, which cooks out leaving a chicken breast half the size, while this situation does not occur with organic chicken. She also mentioned that British lamb is higher quality than lamb from elsewhere in Europe because of the lower fat content of British lamb. She said, "the better the animal welfare etc. of the food the better the quality of the product" (Interview R25).

Another perceived contradiction Food Advisory Group members discussed in interviews was between local and sustainable. One Food Advisory Group member stated that the goals of the Food Vision were "about being sustainable but also trying to make sure that as much as possible came from Britain" (Interview Y74). This comment shows that the interviewee distinguished between sustainable and local, implying they had to choose one or the other.

The interviewee (Interview Y74) explained further, by saying that they also could not require both local and organic, because:

> The cost would be prohibitive for a number of people trying to buy food at the Olympics. And [there is a question] about where the supply would come from because only three percent of the UK production is organics in certain areas. And if you make it the 'Organics Games' and are trying to make it genuinely about Britain you're going to suck in all organic production from Britain leaving existing customers of that produce with nowhere to go which isn't sustainable over the long term.

He also explained that this was just one of the choices they had to make because "there were a number of different things we were trying to accommodate" (Interview Y74). Another trade-off that Food Advisory Group members perceived was about the cost of sustainability. The perception was that food is going to cost more if it is more sustainable. One LOCOG member (Interview N27) stated:

> The first thing I learned is that sustainability costs money, which is quite bizarre. If you take something like the MSC and the MCS […] fish that is supposedly sustainable and is supposedly in abundance, [it] was more expensive than going out and taking fish that were supposedly at risk, which is just bizarre. It's crazy. And that cost us money.

Another cost was sourcing food with the Freedom Food accreditation. One Food Advisory Group member discussed more of the nuance of what sustainability means, and how within that definition, there are inherent trade-offs. He (Interview I20) explained that the NGOs viewed Red Tractor to be:

> a fairly low-level assurance mark and they wanted, where possible, everything to be at the Freedom Food level. But to be honest with you, it was two things, one was that the time frame that we had meant that actually we probably wouldn't have had the volume that we needed. And two, the cost was going to be such that it was not viable.

Therefore there was a perception that higher welfare meat and sustainably caught fish will invariably cost more money than the conventional alternatives. However, there is a difference because LOCOG required MSC fish even though it cost more, but did not require Freedom Food *because* it cost more. The main difference is that MSC is a global certification

and LOCOG made the decision to prioritise fisheries health over sourcing local fish. While for chicken, turkey, pork, lamb and beef, local was prioritised over any other requirement.

Another perceived contradiction was between environmental and animal welfare values. One Food Advisory Group member explained the compromises she perceived within sustainability choices. As an example, she said that the desire to have high animal welfare standards might contradict the ability to obtain animals raised without GMO feeds. This interviewee said, "You can have all the welfare standards in the world, and you think that therefore this is really good, but the feed comes from some parts of Brazil or somewhere, on ex-Amazonian rainforest or something, and all of a sudden you end up with something unsustainable" (Interview K25). Even though it might be possible, realistically, to have high animal welfare and GMO-free feed, this is seen as a dichotomous choice for this interviewee. Another Food Advisory Group member explained that there are contradictions in animal welfare and environmental impact, as this interviewee stated, "invariably the more intensive poultry production is, the better the environmental footprint is" (Interview I22). This interviewee followed up by describing the contradiction between free-range chickens and environmental health; "Now that is a very difficult one for people to balance. Because they love the idea of everything being free range, but suddenly that's not as good environmentally" (Interview I22). This quote demonstrates the ways in which different Food Advisory Group members conceptualized sustainability differently; as each of them internalised different priorities, trade-offs and contradictions. As I discuss in Chapter 8, the variety of worldviews these group members brought into the Food Advisory Group process was never discussed or shared during the Food Advisory Group meetings.

6.2.4 Finalizing the Food Vision Document

While there were many perceived contradictions between Food Advisory Group members' conceptualisations of sustainability, the group successfully created a Food Vision document, which was then used as the basis of the food procurement for the Games. At the sixth Food Advisory Group meeting, the Food Vision was discussed and the Food Advisory Group "signed off" on the document. One LOCOG representative said that "the only people who even had any questions or any issues with it were again Sustain and [London Food Board], but then they eventually signed off on it as well" (Interview J35). These specific standards are shown in Table 6.4.

After the sixth meeting, LOCOG held the official Launch of the Food Vision. One LOCOG representative (Interview B28) explains:

> We had a launch of the Food Vision on 7 December 2009 where we invited all the potential caterers anybody that had shown any interest. We put out a request for information just so that if people were interested in tendering for the Games they were invited along and we also invited those people that have been on the [Food Advisory Group], we invited some of the trade press along and we launched it at the LOCOG offices on 7 December 2009, [when] it went out into the public domain.

6.3 Sponsorship Sustainability Controversies

During the Food Advisory Group process there were two additional controversies involving the two Tier One food sponsors Coca-Cola and McDonald's. These sponsors were tested in their willingness to support sustainability during the Games. These two examples of controversies illustrate the nature of the interrelationships between the different actors. The first was about having free drinking water available to spectators during the Games, and the second controversy is about McDonald's signing up to the Food Vision commitment of serving only British chicken.

6.3.1 Coca-Cola's Tap Water

One issue that was covered in the press and mentioned at the Food Advisory Groups several times was whether or not there would be free drinking water for spectators at Olympic venues. The main public concern was preventing a situation where spectators would be forced to buy expensive bottled beverages from Coca-Cola, because they would not be allowed to bring their own bottle of water or fill up an empty bottle inside the venues. There was pressure from several high profile people in London to ensure that free drinking water would be available to spectators at the Games. Some of these people included the London Mayor, members of Parliament and members of the London Assembly. Ellsbury (2012) explained one advocate's contributions when writing:

> Tom Brake, an Olympics spokesperson and London Member of Parliament, actively worked to ensure that the Olympic organisers would provide tap water to spectators and athletes. 'Everyone wants the 2012 Games to be the most sustainable on record. That must mean free non-bottled water for all visitors to the Games,' he said.

A Food Advisory Group member said that Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, and Jenny Jones, a high-profile member of the London Assembly, were both "very supportive of it as an iconic issue" (Interview O32). However, a Food Advisory Group member pointed out that the tap water issue was not something only a few people pushed, instead, it was a "cultural conversation, [meaning] there were lots of people in the media and externally to the London 2012 Food Advisory Group process, bringing up the notion of the water" (Interview G33). One issue raised in media articles is that UK tap water is the best in the world, and this would be an opportunity to showcase that water (Water UK 2008).

A Food Advisory Group member explained, "the interesting thing is that LOCOG were really quite sensitive to stories like that coming along […]. They felt that this was a really high profile issue, so they wanted to get it right" (Interview S47). In November 2008, the Chief Executive of LOCOG said they will "ensure the provision of free drinking water to the public at Games venues" (Prigg 2008). Because Coca-Cola was the Tier One sponsor with rights over serving all drinks at the Olympics, serving free drinking water was ultimately a CocaCola decision. Food Advisory Group members reported Coca-Cola to be "quite helpful" (InterivewB20). The result is that water fountains were located throughout the park, clearly marked with signs. It turned out that at the Games, "there was drinking water freely available [and] it was clearly extremely popular" (Interview U38).

6.3.2 McDonald's British Chicken

This notable situation in the food sustainability story includes the Tier One IOC sponsor, McDonald's being exempt from complying to the sustainable food standards. Because the Food Vision was written for caterers for the Olympics, and since McDonald's was a sponsor, not just a caterer, McDonald's was not technically required to comply with the Olympic Food Vision. One example of McDonald's not following the Olympic standards is the case of deciding to serve British chicken at the restaurants in the Olympic Park. With only six months to go before the Olympic and Paralympic Games, it became public that McDonald's would not be sourcing British chicken. A news report stated, "[LOCOG Chairman] Sebastian Coe admitted recently McDonald's was exempt from a rule in the Games' Food Vision demanding all poultry came from the UK" (Shankleman 2012: n.p.).

Because McDonald's was not being required to follow the Food Vision rules, "The London Olympic and Paralympic Organising Committee (LOCOG) faced a barrage of criticism" (Shankleman 2012: n.p.). McDonald's had decided to only source 10 percent of its chicken

from Britain, but lobbying began. One report states, "The National Farmers Union and other pressure groups have repeatedly complained that the company has not worked as hard as other food chains to use UK-sourced food" (Environmental Leader 2012: n.p.). A LOCOG representative also explained how LOCOG pressured McDonald's to serve British chicken by saying, "We'd always had conversations with McDonald's about the fact that from a publicity perspective it wouldn't be good for them if everybody else was delivering British food and actually they weren't" (Interview L19). According to a member of the Food Advisory Group, the media coverage on this issue was immense and Jenny Jones at the London Assembly, as well as the NGO Compassionate World Farming put pressure on McDonald's. Jenny Jones wrote letters to and spoke with Boris Johnson, the London Mayor, and Sebastian Coe, the LOCOG Chairman. Compassionate World Farming initiated a campaign called "Chicken Out" which supported British and high welfare chicken (Interview Q44).

In their UK restaurants, McDonald's supply chain at the time consisted mostly of non-UK chicken, and a LOCOG representative explained, "at that point they were using significant amounts of chicken from the Far East, Singapore and Asia and also from Brazil and they also were bringing in chicken from France. Now at that point […] probably about two percent of the chicken that they were using was British" (Interview H37). McDonald's also expressed interest in supplying more UK chicken, but they currently were not achieving this goal (Interview T62). A LOCOG representative said that McDonald's "made a big thing of supporting British farmers and so on and so forth and we were making a point to them that it doesn't square the circle. You can't say you're supporting British farmers when actually you're not using their chicken" (Interview M49). The LOCOG representative said that "McDonald's was adamant about not doing something different just for the Games, but whatever they did for the Games, they wanted to be sure they could use it in the business going forward" (Interview V52). A Food Advisory Group representative explained, "there was quite a lot of resistance from [McDonald's] to do anything one-off for the Games" (Interview T66).

McDonald's then changed their plan and announced that they would serve only British poultry at the Games. A Food Advisory Group member said this was due to the media coverage of the issue (Interview T67). The McDonald's statement was, "We have taken the decision to only serve British chicken in our four restaurants at the London 2012 Olympic

and Paralympic Games. We are a proud partner of the London 2012 Games and have been a good customer of British farming for decades" (Shankleman 2012: n.p.). Despite McDonald's interest in not changing things just for the Games, a Food Advisory Group member explained that "they switched their existing British chicken supply into the Games so that they could say that British chicken was being used for the Games. And I don't think that that did affect any of their supply chains; it was not a legacy commitment" (Interview F74). At the same time, though, a LOCOG representative was confident that this did help McDonald's further achieve their commitment to British farmers. This representative said, "I know they've got a plan now to bring in more and more British chicken into their system" (Interview P84).

The main point of this story, and the tap water story, is that public opinion, media coverage, and lobbying was able to change the actions of IOC sponsors, Coca-Cola and McDonald's.

This is especially important because there was no one with "any jurisdiction or legal powers or any major influence of the sponsors" but at the same time "lobbying happened in this country" (Interview P89).

6.4 Appointing the Catering Companies

6.4.1 Hiring the Caterers

In a public London Business Network presentation in September 2010, LOCOG Head of Catering, Cleaning and Waste, Jan Matthews explained that she was still evaluating catering tender documents, but that she was on track to have the top five contracts and two to three smaller contracts signed by Christmas 2010 and the rest of the contracts signed by March 2011. The Olympic Games began July 2012, meaning many contracts were signed 18 months prior to the start of the Games. Jan Matthews said, "We're well ahead of any other Olympics at this point. And the big plus for us is that […] if we get [the Athlete's Village] signed before Christmas, it will be the first services contract for Games time to be signed up. Which is a first for any Olympics." The Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 (CSL) confirmed that the catering tendering and contracting was done well in advance, as shown in Table 6.5. They stated, "LOCOG has focused on catering activities well ahead of previous organising committees" (CSL 2010: 20). CSL explained that the added lead-time for the caterers was meant to give the caterers a longer time to plan for and deliver the high standards for the Olympics. CSL wrote, "The longer lead times allow for meaningful engagement with

industry and detailed planning and sourcing, all of which will be key to delivering to the standards expected" (CSL 2010: 20).

Table 6.5 Contracting Timeline for Catering Services for London 2012

Item	Date to by completed by
CompeteFor response deadline	1 February 2010
Estimated tender close date	14 June 2010
Estimated contract award date	3 September 2010
Estimated contract start date	1 December 2010

Source: (CompeteFor 2010)

One of the goals LOCOG aimed to achieve was to include SME food businesses in the catering for the Games, instead of just the large catering companies and suppliers. Allowing caterers enough time to achieve this goal was a main reason for setting up catering contracts so far in advance. LOCOG achieved inclusion of a variety of companies by designing a tendering system that contracted with 15 large contractors ("Tier One contractors") and then relied on those caterers to subcontract other specialised caterers or use small and medium sized companies as suppliers (Matthews 2010). As shown in Box 6.2, the tender document for Tier One caterers explains LOCOGs plan for including smaller companies in the operations of the Olympics.

Box 6.2 Catering Tender Document / Advertisement / Request for Proposals

> Should you be a supplier interested in being a part of London 2012 but are not willing or able to deliver contracts of this size and profile there may be opportunities for you to work for the Tier 1 supplier(s) as a Tier 2 service provider. We will be working with the Tier 1 suppliers to determine how they can make business opportunities accessible to small and medium sized organisations. This will offer small and medium sized organisations the potential to work with the Tier 1 supplier(s) as subcontractors or suppliers (Tier 2 suppliers). This will form a key part of our Tier 1 supplier selection process.

Source: (CompeteFor 2010)

Many of the Food Advisory Group interviewees explained justifications for wanting to use small and medium sized companies. One Food Advisory Group member said, "Another commitment of the Games [was] not to just use the big boys, but to give some of the smaller and medium businesses the *opportunity to grow and to develop* through this" (Interview U36). Another justification for using smaller companies was the perception that they might be better at procuring local food. One member of LOCOG said, "We might find that some of these are really brilliant at delivering East Coast Fish and we might find someone who's brilliant at delivering Yorkshire puddings from Yorkshire […]. So we want to be able to bring all of those caterers together" (Interview U34).

LOCOG also wanted to have about 800 smaller concessions run by "one-man-band concessions or small companies" (Interview P85). LOCOG members pointed out that a combination of large and small companies can work well in a large and diverse catering operation like the Games because the venues themselves vary from quite small to very large. One interviewee stated, "So you take the Athletes Village; nutrition is going to be a big part as will volume, well actually that meant a big caterer had to do that" (Interview G29). At the same time, some venues are more appropriate for smaller caterers, as this interviewee stated, "Where as in Eaton Dorney, which is a much smaller venue, that could be operated by a smaller caterer who might throw their whole heart and soul at delivering that in a more effective way" (Interview G29).

Another key part of the tender process was the Food Vision. A LOCOG member stated "when caterers were tendering they all had access to the Food Vision and kept that in mind when they were actually writing their tender documents" (Interview X61). To create a legal basis for enforcing the Food Vision, LOCOG made the Food Vision a part of the contracts for caterers (Interview C18). One LOCOG member explained "The Food Vision just became appended to the contract, so we basically said to them […] by signing up to the contract, you're signing up to delivering the five aspects of the Food Vision" (Interview H35). Therefore, the contracts "created the delivery mechanism for [LOCOG] to ensure that [caterers] complied with [the] food standards" (Interview E4).

When speaking about the Food Vision's impact on the contracting process, a member of LOCOG said, the process was made "easier" by the Food Vision. He said, "I think you've got some real pillars there in terms of intention." The interviewee explained that caterers could refer to the Food Vision throughout their procurement and food delivery processes, and that the Food Vision "added both sophistication and simplicity to what we did" (Interview E7).

6.5 Summary

Chapter 6 presents the empirical data about the process through which the interorganisational group (the Food Advisory Group) created the food procurement strategy for the Olympics. To tell this story, I used interviews, minutes of meetings, and publicly accessible speeches and documents. This chapter helps us get closer to answering the research questions by

describing in detail the relationships between LOCOG and the members of the Food Advisory Group. By having this information, I can better delve into the analysis of these relationships and inter-organisational processes in Chapter 8 Conceptual Discussion: London 2012 Sustainable Food Procurement. The remainder of the section summarises the important points of the food strategy creation process.

The Food Advisory Group met six times in large group meetings, and they had several separate working groups organised consultations external to the large Food Advisory Group. Three subgroups were involved directly with creating food standards for the Games, (1) the Fish and Seafood Group, (2) the Dairy and Livestock Group and (3) the Crops Group. The NGO Sustain and the National Farmers Union led these groups. These groups reported to the Food Advisory Group, and using the information from the subgroups, LOCOG then wrote the Food Vision consulting the Group members via email throughout the writing process. They created both mandatory and voluntary standards for the Olympic and Paralympic caterers. There were many points of tension between Food Advisory Group members based on their interpretations of sustainability and their attitudes about each other. Many of the Food Advisory Group members perceived sustainability to be incongruent with other priorities, such as using small suppliers, serving "quality" food, sourcing from local suppliers, serving affordable options or setting up supply chains quickly. Another perceived choice was between environmental health and animal welfare. In December 2009 LOCOG published the Food Vision and began hiring caterers. By December 2010, the largest catering contracts had been awarded, including the Olympic Park contract with Sodexo.

7 Implementing Sustainability: The Procurement Delivery Process

This chapter explains the process through which the food strategy was implemented, using primarily data from eight weeks of participant observation with Sodexo at the Olympic Park. In this chapter, the implementation of the Olympics Food Vision is divided into three categories. (1) As soon as caterers were contracted, LOCOG began working with caterers and accreditation bodies to create the sustainable supply chains through which food would be served for the Olympics. I use interview data and publicly accessible documents to report on the supply chain setup. (2) During the Games, caterers implemented the food services, about which I gathered data using participant observation. (3) The ongoing final aspect of the procurement process was the extent to which the Olympic food strategy created a food legacy in London, the UK and beyond. I use interview and publicly accessible data to report on the food legacy aspect.

7.1 Establishing the Sustainable Food Supply Chain

Many catering interviewees explained that the Food Vision standards were not difficult to implement because their companies had already incorporated these standards into their normal business practices well before the Olympics. Several caterers explained that the Olympic Food Vision requirements were not difficult for their companies because they were in line with the company's existing sustainability commitments. One caterer said, "Nothing was particularly new" for their company during the Games (Interview C14), using examples of the company already using Fairtrade, LEAF Marque and RSPCA Freedom Foods within the company. Another caterer manager explained, "As a company, we are pretty committed to sustainability anyway. So there weren't really that many problems across the Olympics" (Interview J23). This interviewee explained that sourcing the products was "pretty straightforward" due to his company's "strong track record on sustainability" (Interview J23). Another caterer explained, "Everything we were asked to do or provide, we absolutely did, and without too much pain, because it's something that's already ingrained within [our] business" (Interview K7). These examples show that many catering managers viewed the

sustainability standards as relatively easy, because they were already familiar with these standards before the Games.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, LOCOG representatives in the Food Advisory Group stated they wanted to "push the industry" with the Food Vision. However, caterers claimed to be at ease with what was required of them because of past experience with the supply chain. These quotes from caterers point to the idea that the Games did not really challenge the industry because they relied on standards that already existed and they were standards with which that the catering companies were already familiar. However, from other interviews and observations I explain five key areas in which the Olympics Food Vision requirements challenged catering companies. These challenges include working with the accreditation bodies, including SMEs in the supply chain, having to source Olympic-specific items, creating the menus with LOCOG and dealing with the parts of the Food Vision that did not make sense to the caterers.

Box 7.1 List of Third Party Accreditation Bodies

Red Tractor
Marine Stewardship Council
Marine Conservation Society
British Lion Mark free range eggs
RSPCA Freedom Food certified chicken
Fairtrade
Rainforest Alliance
Organic
LEAF Marque
GLOBALGAP
European Halal Standard

7.1.1.1 Working with Accreditation Bodies

The LOCOG Food Vision provided a table with the list of food standards (see Table 6.4 for the full list of standards). Each sustainability requirement corresponds to a third party certifying body. The list of certifiers is in Box 7.1. The third party certifiers played two roles for LOCOG. First, they assisted the caterers in creating appropriate supply chains to source food of the required standard. LOCOG members also worked closely with the accreditation bodies and caterers to create menu items that fit within the standards they had laid out in the Food Vision. The second role certifiers played was to regulate the caterers, to ensure that the caterers were fulfilling their contractual obligation to source food of the correct standard. A LOCOG representative said, "We used those [accreditation] bodies to help us ensure that the caterers had actually done what they said they were going to do" (Interview M47). Another

LOCOG representative stated, "We didn't want to sort of create an industry out of accreditation if it was already there" (Interview B6), meaning that they did not want to spend time and money to create accreditation standards and evaluation processes from scratch if these systems already existed. The benefit of using existing standards and organisations is that LOCOG did not then have to spend as much time managing the standards and supply chains. As a LOCOG member said, "You pass the responsibility over to the body that spends their time managing that particular discipline" (Interview N28). As Figure 7.1 shows, the accreditation bodies played an intermediary role between suppliers and caterers, while liaising with LOCOG about the sustainability requirements. Therefore, accreditation bodies helped caterers make the supply chain connections while assuring LOCOG the standards were correct.

Figure 7.1 Relationships for Catering Supply Chain Setup
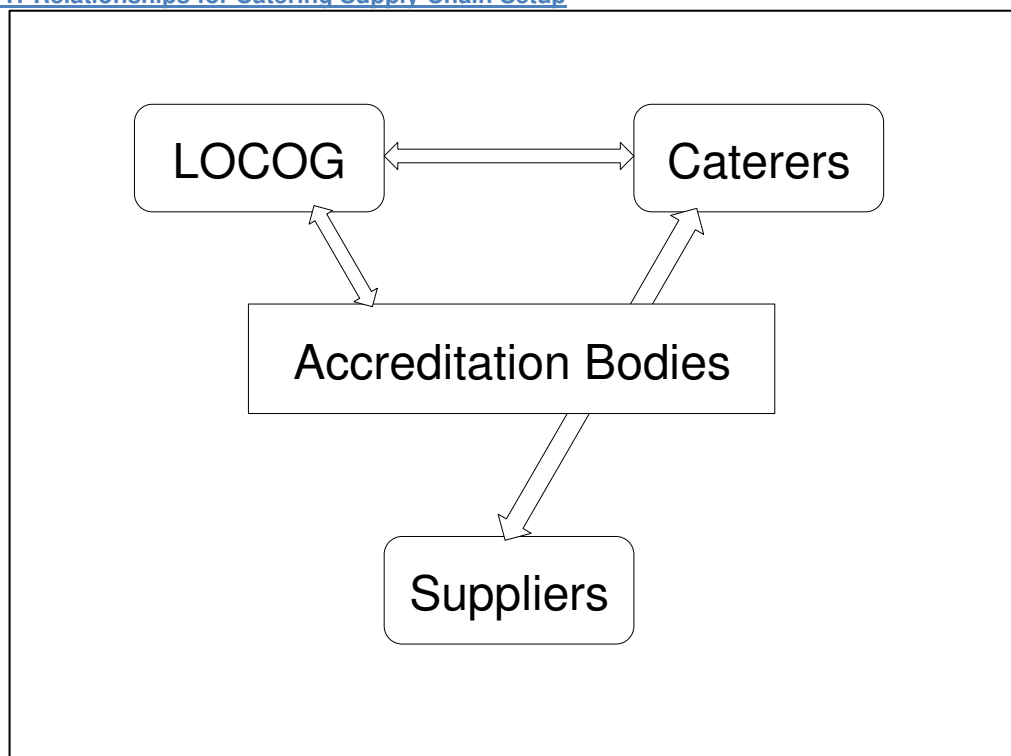
One LOCOG representative (Interview F67) explained the process of working with the accreditation bodies.

> *Jessica:* So caterers went separately and worked with the accreditation boards?
> *LOCOG Member:* Yes but we were always in the loop because it was always brought back to us by the boards whether they were happy or not happy.
> *Jessica:* What would you do if they weren't satisfying the boards?

> *LOCOG Member:* We'd have a conversation, we would bring the board and the caterer in, we would identify what the alternatives were that the board were indicating. […] Interestingly in some instances they were recommending stuff that wasn't available for certification, it was only available in retail packs […]. So again it showed misunderstanding even by the actual governing body itself. Then we would actually either just take that, we would find a replacement that we were happy with, or we would just take that food off the menu. That was part and parcel the menus being signed off, was that the product was of the right standard and that we were happy that the thirdparty assurance bodies were happy with it as well.

As stated in the interview excerpt, the third party suppliers were integral in creating the supply chain connections through which caterers would source sustainable ingredients, and LOCOG worked closely with both the accreditation boards and caterers to make sure the menus were consistent with the standards determined by the Food Advisory Group.

Also mentioned in the interview excerpt above, there were some problems with working with the accreditation bodies, such as their recommending items packaged for retail when the product was going to a commercial caterer. One catering representative explained how difficult it was to work with the accreditation bodies, especially when different accreditation bodies disagreed and the catering company was left waiting for their decision before it could move forward with its procurement process. The caterer said, "When it came to fish, that was one area we had a little trouble with. I think it was mainly due to the fact that the accreditation bodies seemed to have difference of opinion as to what fish were sustainable and which ones weren't" (Interview D5). One caterer (Interview D5) explained why this situation was so frustrating.

> When you have two different fish accreditation bodies arguing differently on what's sustainable and what's not, that isn't good for anybody, because in reality organisations like ours that are working in a competitive environment, get bored, because we don't have the time, energy, or resources to work with these bodies [and] wait for their decision-making.

One reason LOCOG wanted to use third parties was to avoid spending time and energy on deciding what was sustainable and finding the supply chain for these items. In the case of the above interviewee, the caterer expressed that they had to use time, energy and resources just to work with these accreditation bodies.

The Marine Conservation Society (MCS) has a rating scheme for different fish, ranging from one to five, with one being the most sustainable (ratings are shown in Table 7.1). One LOCOG representative (Interview O27) said, "we originally said that we would look at one to three [...] and we got a lot of pressure put on us not very far from the Games to actually take that back up to one or two." The pressure was mainly from the NGO Sustain. He (Interview O27) said that they gave into this pressure for the following reasons:

> Because [Sustain had] then gone off and been able to get London
> identified as a Fish City and the EU had kind of flagged up what
> a good job London were doing and [the NGOs] then wanted to
> change the goalposts and actually it was just easier to say 'Yeah,
> right fine, we'll do that' as opposed to start arguing.

It is notable that the LOCOG member found it easier to require more from the caterers near the start of the Games, than to "argue" with the NGOs even though the changing standards proved to be quite frustrating for many of the caterers.

Table 7.1 Marine Conservation Society Ratings

Rate	Definition
1	**Rating 1** (light green) is associated with the most sustainably produced seafood.
2	**Rating 2** (pale green) is still a good choice, although some aspects of its production or management could be improved
3	**Rating 3** (yellow) based on available information; these species should probably not be considered sustainable at this time. Areas requiring improvement in the current production may be significant. Eat only occasionally and check www.fishonline.org for specific details.
4	**Rating 4** (orange) should not be considered sustainable, and the fish is likely to have significant environmental issues associated with its production. While it may be from a deteriorating fishery, it may one which has improved from a 5 rating, and positive steps are being taken. However, MCS would not usually recommend choosing this fish. Follow developments for these species at www.fishonline.org.
5	**Rating 5** (red) is associated with fish to be avoided on the basis that all or most of the above bullet points apply.

Source: (Marine Conservation Society 2014.)

Another caterer expressed frustration in the changing rules around fish. The caterer said, "The rules changed at some point, from level three to level two, which narrowed our procurement. It was challenging because at one point we thought we had it solved, but the rules changed and we had to go back and do it again" (Interview F57).

Even though the accreditation bodies were meant to be helping the caterers, several caterers expressed difficulty in finding suppliers for the items they wanted. One caterer said, "We did

have a bit of an issue trying to obtain line caught tuna" (Interview B9). Another caterer explained why seafood was challenging, "it's a hunted species with limited availability, because of the volume that we required, and because it was time challenging, because if the weather's poor, you struggle to catch the fish. We had to go around working with suppliers" (Interview A10). Many of the caterers expressed that finding the suppliers for the fish products was the most difficult part of the Food Vision. Another caterer expressed that the fish was confusing because he held a different opinion of what was sustainable than what was required in the Food Vision. He (Interview I8) said:

> It was confusing for the fish. We couldn't get fish from Cotswolds because they farmed it from the water from the river, but we had to fly it in from Australia. And there are tuna that swim across the sea here that we couldn't use. Instead, we got tuna from the Maldives. We had things that were clearly more sustainable that we weren't able to use. We couldn't get farmed Scottish salmon, and had to get Norway salmon because it was organic. But [the Norway salmon was] clearly less sustainable, with all the food miles.

This quote shows that not only was it difficult working with the accreditation bodies, but that the sustainability standards for the Olympics were not always in line with caterers' personal conceptualisations of sustainability. Additionally, these quotes show that the caterers were not engaged in a deliberation with LOCOG about what sustainability meant and how they could jointly pursue it. Instead, the caterers were subject to what LOCOG and the accreditation bodies dictated to them.

7.1.1.2 Including SMEs

Caterers expressed difficulty in incorporating Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SME) into the Olympic operations. LOCOG set up several "Meet the Buyer" days, where they provided space for small and local suppliers to set up and showcase their products to the contracted catering companies. A LOCOG representative (Interview A1) reflected:

> The fact was that we did do the Meet the Buyer days and small businesses did get involved in the Games. We had small producers that came into the Olympics, the Athletes Village, and we put market stalls up and they gave their food away and we paid them for their food because they weren't big enough to be able to do huge volumes but they could come in for a few days and give food away to the athletes and actually have their products recognised by the athletes.

LOCOG's goal was to incorporate these small suppliers into the larger supply chain for the Olympics, and some of the caterers expressed difficulty with using the suppliers who attended the Meet the Buyer days. One caterer stated that LOCOG encouraged them to use local suppliers, especially from the local boroughs[45] where the Games were held, "but not realizing that there is a balancing act between a tiny supplier and being able to meet the health and safety [requirements]. [There were] lots of these suppliers at the Meet the Buyer Events, but we weren't able to use them because they didn't meet the minimum requirements" (Interview D4). This caterer expressed disappointment in not being able to use more of these "tiny" companies, but was also frustrated with LOCOG for bringing these suppliers to the event, which "wasted their time and ours" (Interview D4).

LOCOG representatives expressed that everyone had to work harder to include SMEs in the Olympics supply chain. One interviewee commented, "if you get the big businesses, they have got systems in place, and they should be capable of delivering; but these medium ones are going to need more support" (Interview B18). The additional support that LOCOG provided was helping them ensure that food safety requirements of new food chains were being met.

Even though some caterers expressed criticism of LOCOG's goal of bringing in SMEs, but during the Games, caterers used significantly more SME suppliers than they would have otherwise. One caterer said, "We very much had a desire to use smaller suppliers who wouldn't usually have access to this sort of an operation. We had about 55 smaller, regional or niche suppliers involved; [otherwise] that number would have been in the single digits" (Interview L3). Another caterer expressed that there were some small companies at the Meet the Buyer days that they could not use for the Games, but they were able to integrate those companies into other facets of the catering business, outside of the Olympics. Clearly LOCOG's emphasis on using SMEs resulted in the large catering companies using more SMEs during the Olympics and beyond.

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[45] The five London boroughs in which Olympic events were held include Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets and Waltham Forest.

7.1.1.3 Olympic-Specific Ordering

Some caterers expressed frustration in sourcing products to meet the sponsorship guidelines and LOCOG's pre-ordering requirements. Sponsorship guidelines specified that only McDonald's could serve the products typically on the McDonald's menu, such as hamburgers, chicken sandwiches, milkshakes and chips (French fries). Another specification was that only Tier One sponsors with "branding rights" (e.g., Coca-Cola and McDonald's) could have branded products, while all other products could not have company names on them. One example of this frustration was that catering managers were continually mentioning the fact that Sodexo was not allowed to serve burgers, chicken sandwiches or chips[46] to customers because McDonald's had exclusive rights to serve those products. Caterers also expressed displeasure in having to source packaged products that could not have brand names on them. One caterer said that there was an "increase cost to take branding off" (Interview R9). This caused extra work for caterers because after the Olympics and Paralympics, these products were difficult to sell in other parts of their business because they did not have the brand names. Likewise, caterers expressed difficulty in buying compostable plates, cups, cutlery and napkins to use during food service at the Games, because other parts of their business did not typically use these items. Therefore, with both the unbranded products and the disposable serving-ware, the catering companies were irritated for two reasons. First, they had to find a supply for a product they had never sourced before, and they had to find ways of utilizing the extra products left over after the Games. Second, LOCOG required these items to be ordered in advance. Since they had to "commit to certain numbers" (Interview F62) before the Games, caterers purposely over-estimated their needs to avoid running out, which guaranteed extra supply to re-home at the end of the Games.

7.1.1.4 Creating the Menus

LOCOG reviewed caterers' menus to ensure everything served at the Games met the requirements in the Food Vision. Caterers expressed being annoyed by the long process of getting the menus approved by LOCOG. One caterer (Interview V63) said:

> We had to talk a lot to our suppliers, giving them a list of the things we need them to do, and they would get back to us saying they could do it or couldn't. Then we would go back and forth with the client about the menus and they would come back to us

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[46] The only exception to this rule is that Sodexo and other caterers could serve chips as long as it was served with the traditional British dish of Fish and Chips.

with a list of things they want to change. […] We've had two
years of back and forth with LOCOG to get all of it right.

CSL explains the justification for caterers having to submit their menus. CSL states, "Finding a way to clearly and quickly communicate to consumers, healthy and sustainable options will be key to enabling people to make informed choices if they have particular dietary needs or want to choose a healthier option" (CSL 2010: 24).

7.1.1.5 Dealing with Inconsistencies in the Food Vision

Some caterers expressed positive views of the Food Vision. One catering manager said in an interview, "I think the Food Vision was a great help, because it was extremely clear about what [we were] being asked to achieve. And we worked very positively with [LOCOG]" (Interview B8). The Food Vision also got some of the caterers to think about sustainability. One caterer expressed that that the Food Vision made him think about sustainable sourcing differently; he said it made him think about "where we're going to get it, [...] how it'll be packaged, […] what's the quickest most efficient route, where it can be sourced locally and so on" (Interview D6).

However, many of the views of the Food Vision were negative. Caterers criticised LOCOG and expressed feeling as if LOCOG had imposed the Food Vision upon them. Some catering representatives suggested that the communication with LOCOG could have been better. There were times when the caterer needed clarification on specifications, but did not know who to talk to about it (Interview J22). Another caterer suggested that there should have been more of an emphasis on a "two-way dialogue" between caterers and LOCOG (Interview G16).

A few catering managers expressed extremely negative opinions of LOCOG managers. One manager even referred to them as "fools" and to the Food Vision as "Draconian" (Interview W34). A manager (Interview K20) said:

> There just were so many debacles and arguments. LOCOG is so
> unorganised, and they say one thing, but can't make up their
> minds. It's been a big mess. Then they make a huge deal about
> something, and have these long arguments about it, but they really
> just don't know how a big event works. […] They have all these
> sustainability ideas that they thought up a year ago, but as we get
> closer to the event, they talk to us about it and say that that won't
> work. They don't connect their theories with practice – and a lot
> of their ideas just won't work for a big event like this. They have

a few evangelists about the sustainability stuff, but those people
have no idea how to run a big event.

A few of the caterers explained that LOCOG was asking them to provide higher standards without an increase in cost. One caterer said, "[LOCOG needs] to be aware that in some areas there are cost impacts. If you do want to set out a very robust vision of sustainability then you do need to understand that in some produce or products there is a direct correlation with cost" (Interview E20). Several caterers explained that what LOCOG was asking was unrealistic. One caterer mentioned that LOCOG did not seem to realise the higher price of organic products. This interviewee said, "They were asking for organic, but seeming to not realise that there is a premium for organic, and they were unable to accept the higher price. They needed to realise that you can't get organic for the same price. They needed to be realistic" (Interview A8). One caterer said, "I think there really needs to be a realistic understanding of it. You're setting out a very high standard, and understanding well up front that there are cost impacts of that" (Interview G12). However, in interviews with members from LOCOG, they did express concern about price and LOCOG representative explained that there did end up being an increase in cost for Red Tractor products. A LOCOG member said Red Tractor meat "cost about 10% more than we would've anticipated it would if we'd have just said to them 'We're not going to put any, it just needs to be British where you can.' If we'd flown in frozen New Zealand lamb it would've been a lot cheaper than the British Welsh lamb" (Interview B26).

One of the caterers said "there really needs to be a realistic understanding of it," referring to both the cost impact and the operational impact of the high standards. The operational impact example this caterer gave was that they needed "to secure supply or project volumes very early" (Interview C12). This operational challenge was because there was not a large volume of some high standard products in the market at the time, for instance, with RSPCA Freedom Food certified chicken. Another catering manager explained that members of LOCOG insisted that caterers could receive lower costs for Freedom Food chicken because they were buying in bulk. The catering manager recounted clarifying to LOCOG that there was a limited supply of British Freedom Food products, and those producers were already getting a good price for their items and had no incentive to sell to the caterers for less money. The caterer (Interview A21) explained it in the following excerpt:

Another thing that we dealt with was getting the chicken sourcing right. We got Red Tractor no problem, but there was a long discussion about using Freedom Foods. We said that it would be too expensive and there's not an existing supply chain big enough. They came back and said 'Well, why can't you just tell them how much you want and drive the price down?' And we said that we could try, but it won't work because we would then be using the entire supply chain of chicken that that Freedom Food chicken wouldn't be going anywhere else but here – and since they know they can get that price elsewhere at their existing outlets, then why would they come to us for a lower price? So that was dropped.

Several caterers also expressed that there is a balancing act between economic sustainability of the company and environmental sustainability issues, and they expressed that the decision for how to balance these issues ultimately came down to each of the caterer's clients and what the client's demands were. One manager said, "Of course, in a business, you have to strike a balance. You can't afford certain ingredients that you'd like to get every time […] So you've got to strike the balance between what's available and the cost, and balance that with personal values and ethos" (Interview D37).

As discussed previously, some caterers disagreed with LOCOG's sustainability requirements. One caterer obviously prioritised local fish over sustainably sourced fish. His argument was that food miles are more important than MSC accreditation, but LOCOG required MSC fish over all else (Interview M37). Another caterer explained what he saw as a contradiction between using SMEs and sourcing foods that came in recyclable packaging. He said, "a lot of smaller suppliers didn't have the recyclable packaging that the larger companies had, so we had to exclude them. But it would have been fine. It could have gone into a black waste stream, […] the one where it goes to a heat source" (Interview E8). For this catering manager, sending recyclable items into the incinerator was not seen as any worse than recycling the items, especially if it meant that they were able to include more SMEs in their supply chain.

There were several comments from caterers that showed a perceived choice between providing healthy options and making money. One catering manager (Interview H26) explained that healthy food and catering are incompatible:

You also never see people providing salads and yogurt pots, smoothies and fruit at sporting events. And noodles? That's not

British. We would rather be selling more fish and chips, because that's what people want. They come to a sporting event to treat themselves; it's different than an everyday venue like catering at a restaurant or another more permanent venue, where you have to think about the choices people make on a daily basis, their healthy diet. But at an event, people eat things that are bad for them and have a beer, and then continue their diet the next day. You don't go to a sporting event wanting a salad.

There were also catering managers that expressed a tension between sustainable foods and quality food. One chef explained that serving fish that is not on the endangered list is sometimes problematic for an upscale clientele, because the fish is not valued by the client as quality and worth high prices. This chef said, "You can get MSC accredited fish, but do you want to see Pollok when you're charging Cod and Halibut prices" (Interview A16)? The chef also explained that in some ways it is easier to serve MSC fish in schools because the expectations for quality are not present: "It is ok for schools and the mass market, but it is more difficult in the VIP market – because the [expectation for] quality is much higher [because of] what they're paying" (Interview A16). Another catering manager also saw the sustainability requirements as something that decreased the quality of the food. He said, "But other events, I don't see them taking up a Food Vision. Look at Ascot, they don't want a Food Vision, because there people pay. They pay to have whatever they want, not the stuff they have here" (Interview B24).

Seasonality was also at odds with profitability. Since it was easier and simpler for caterers to serve the same food throughout the duration of the Games, they had to shift from local suppliers to imports as the season changed. One caterer (Interview L7) said:

> Another challenge was that the season was changing during the Olympics. There were products that were in season in July when Olympics started but not when the Paralympics finished. Fresh fruits and veg were difficult: broccoli, habaneras, fresh apricots and strawberries changed the season between the Games. We had to move from a British product in July because the season ends, and there is a gap between supply and demand. Strawberries needed to be gotten from non-UK toward the end. And then we moved to GAP[47] strawberries.

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[47] GLOBAL G.A.P. is a certification that covers: Food safety and traceability, Environment (including biodiversity), Workers' health, safety and welfare, Animal welfare, Includes Integrated Crop Management (ICM), Integrated Pest Control (IPC), Quality Management System (QMS), and Hazard Analysis and Critical Control

7.2 Catering Operations at the Olympic Park

This section is compiled from field notes taken at the Olympic Park during participant observation. For 18 months caterers and LOCOG had been working on setting up the food supply chains, constructing the buildings and kitchens to prepare for serving food during the 16 days of the Olympics[48] and the 12 days of the Paralympics[49]. Some caterers like Sodexo served food to the Olympics workforce, and therefore were also open two weeks before the Olympics opening ceremony and one week after the Paralympics closing ceremony, as well as during the two weeks between the Olympics and Paralympics. Therefore, Sodexo was onsite serving food for over two months, which is much longer than other sporting events or festivals. There were also a larger number of concessions, a wider variety of foods served at the concessions and a larger number of customers than at a normal sporting event or festival. Sodexo's concessions were also dispersed across a large area, covering about one square mile consisting of the entire south side of the Olympic Park.[50] The scale of the Olympics event meant the operational capacity of the caterers had to be well organised and managed.

Points (HACCP). Their website says, "Our standard demands, among other things, greater efficiency in production. It improves business performance and reduces waste of vital resources. It also requires a general approach to farming that builds in best practices for generations to come" (GLOBAL G.A.P. n.d.).

[48] The Olympics opening ceremony was on 27th of July 2012, and the closing ceremony was on the 12th of August 2012.

[49] The Paralympics opening ceremony was on the 29th of August 2012, and the closing ceremony was on the 9th of September 2012.

[50] Sodexo's areas of responsibility included two Common Domain areas (not within stadia), the Olympic Stadium, the Aquatics Centre, the Water Polo Centre, and two workforce dining centres.

Figure 7.2 Operational Structure
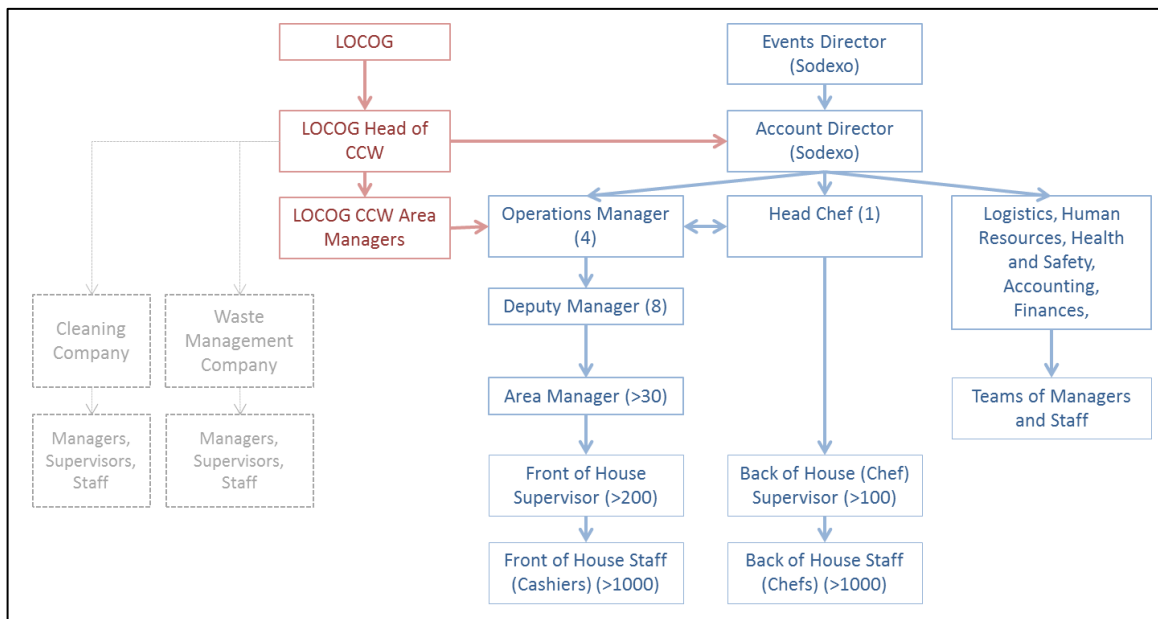
CCW = Catering, Cleaning and Waste

The caterers worked continually with LOCOG to set up and operate food services, and they worked with several other service providers on site at the Olympic Park. The main service providers that LOCOG directly oversaw included the caterers who sourced, prepared, and served the food; the cleaning company (Clean Event) who kept public areas clean and managed the waste compactors on site; and the waste management company (Sita) who emptied waste compactors and sorted recycling off-site. LOCOG oversaw each of these service providers, and the service providers all had to work together to do each of their respective jobs correctly.

Figure 7.3 Picture of Concessions' Front of House Area

Figure 7.2 illustrates the complexity of Sodexo's food service operations in relation to LOCOG and the other service providers. To complicate matters further, Sodexo also contracted-out some of its services to other companies. For instance, Coca-Cola supplied each concession directly by refilling beverage refrigerators and an equipment company (Jongor) monitored the large equipment such as refrigerators, ovens and fryers. Therefore, within a Sodexo concession, there could be people who work for LOCOG, Sodexo, CocaCola or Jongor walking in and out while the concession was in operation serving customers. Even within Sodexo, there were logistics workers, chefs, front of house staff, and health and safety staff in and out of concessions all day. In addition, LOCOG managers and LOCOG health and safety team members were in the back of house concession areas often. The constant influx and outflow of people created a situation where the staff members were continually confused about from whom they were taking orders. In short, the relationship between LOCOG and the caterers was characterised by the spatial, social and bureaucratic complexity of the Olympic Park operation.

Figure 7.4 Picture of Olympic Park Concessions

An example of the complexity of the operations for the Games is when a sink in the Taste of India concession was clogged during the Olympics. There were countless conversations between LOCOG and Sodexo about whose responsibility it was to get the sink working again. LOCOG was contractually obligated to provide Sodexo with the space and services they needed to perform their catering operations in each concession area. LOCOG provided the structures in which concessions were housed, the water, electricity and the basic equipment that brought water and electricity into each concession. Therefore, the water pipes belonged to LOCOG while the sinks belonged to Sodexo. Sodexo had purchased industrial drain covers for each sink to keep particles from going down the drains and clogging the pipes. However, most staff had not been trained on how to use the drain covers correctly, and therefore food particles were going down the drains. In the Taste of India concession, this was especially a problem, because the catering staff were rinsing food from foil trays before recycling the trays, causing a large amount of food to go down the drains. Sodexo complained to LOCOG when the drains were clogging, claiming that LOCOG had not provided them with industrial sized drains that could handle a catering operation. LOCOG claimed the drains were fine, but user error was the problem. While the two organisations could not agree, the concession's clogged sinks were an ongoing health and safety violation because commercial kitchens need working sinks; the conversation then became about: who is financially liable when the concession has to stop serving food due to clogged sinks? Since they were unable to fit the concession with different pipes in the middle of the Olympics, and

because the concession needed to continue operating, the solution Sodexo chose was to stop cleaning and recycling the foil trays and instead just throwing them in the rubbish bin, which eliminated the main source of the food particles in the drains. Even though, technically, they were violating another contractual agreement by not recycling the foil trays. It was clear already that LOCOG was not going to charge Sodexo for failing to recycle, therefore Sodexo chose the most profitable option, which was keeping the concession open even if it meant failing to recycle.

Figure 7.5 Food Service Illustration
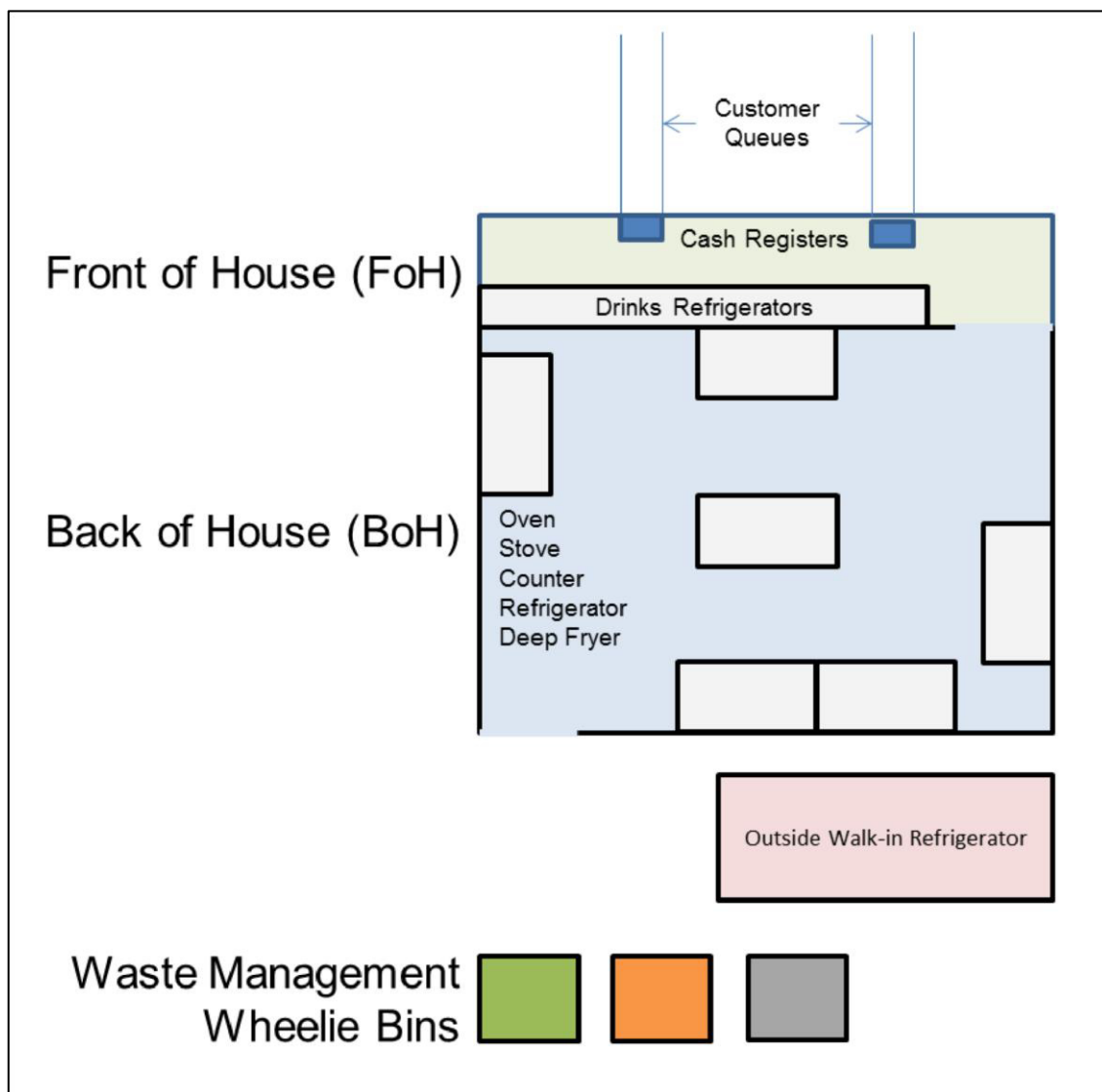
7.2.1 Waste Management at the Olympics

The supply chain set up and ordering was all done before the Olympics began, but one sustainability aspect was observable during the Olympic Games. LOCOG had a "zero waste the landfill" requirement for the Games by recycling or composting 70% of the waste and

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sending the rest to waste-to-energy production. The service providers were the ones responsible for meeting this goal.

Figure 7.6 Sodexo Waste Management Report: Evaluating Correct Bin Use
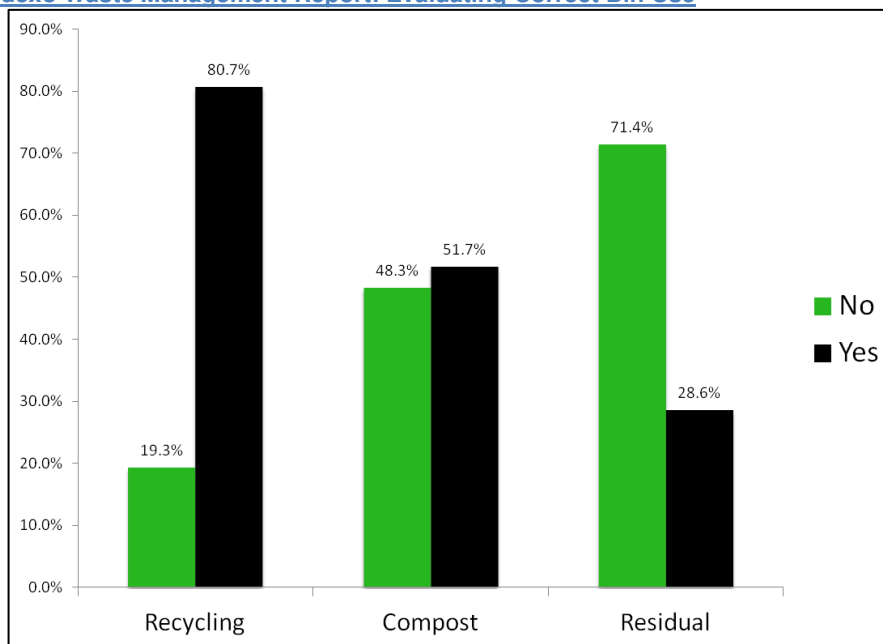
As shown in Figure 7.6, Sodexo's waste management accuracy varied by waste stream. According to one waste report after the Olympic Games, 80.7% of recycling bins were correct, 51.7% of compost, and 28.6% of general waste was correct. The low percentages for compost and general waste were most likely due to a problem with keeping staff accountable for waste management. There were very few supervisors holding staff accountable for failing to recycle and compost the waste. One reason for this lack of accountability is that there was very little recourse supervisors could take on any staff who were not properly discarding the waste, which is because Sodexo managers were sensitive to decreasing the number of available staff for the rest of the Games.[51] The only reason ever cited for firing an employee was due to stealing money.

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[51] The number of staff was limited because the process of recruiting, interviewing, hiring, training, and granting access to the park took several weeks to complete, and Sodexo HR managers expressed that hiring more staff in the middle of the Olympics would not help because by the time more staff is hired the Olympics and Paralympics would be over. Additionally, Sodexo did not have extra Human Resources staff to dedicate to this activity, as all HR staff were busy checking people into the Olympic Park for work, directing staff where to report for work and

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My participant observation field notes showed that LOCOG had not made a priority of keeping caterers accountable for waste management. A LOCOG manager said that he was checking the catering staff to see if they were properly managing the waste, but when asked more specifically, he said he was simply looking at the colour of the bags in the large rubbish containers behind the concessions. He checked to see if the colour of the bag matched the colour of the bin, instead of trying to see if the correct items were in the bags. He was not really checking the waste management process at all, because the Sodexo logistics staff would take the large bins to the waste compactors where the Clean Event staff would then resort the bins based on the colour of the bags. Therefore, it really did not matter what bin the bags went into because they were being re-sorted anyway, which means the LOCOG manager's bin checks were not really checking the accuracy of the waste management process. Other LOCOG managers also looked to see if the colours of the bags matched the bins.

Figure 7.7 Waste Quality Reports for the Paralympics

Consolidated Waste Quality Reports - Paralympics

COMPOSTABLE		29/8/12 Day	29/8/12 Night	30/8/12 Day	30/8/12 Night	31/8/12 Day	31/8/12 Night	1/9/12 Day	1/9/12 Night	2/9/12 Day	2/9/12 Night	3/9/12 Day	3/9/12 Night
Area1	1st	Unacceptable											
	2nd												
Area2	1st				Bad		Bad	Improvement required		Bad		Good	
	2nd						Bad				Good		
Area3	1st												
	2nd												
Area4	1st	Unacceptable											Bad
	2nd												
Area5	1st			Unacceptable						Bad			
	2nd												
Area6	1st	Bad			Bad	Improvement required		Bad	Improvement required	Good	Bad		
	2nd												
Area7	1st						Bad			Bad		Unacceptable	
	2nd												
Area8	1st			Good					Improvement required				
	2nd												
Area9	1st	Good			Unacceptable								Bad
	2nd												
Area10	1st										Good		

Legend: Red = Unacceptable; Orange = Bad; Yellow = Improvement required; Green = Good

Source: LOCOG personal communication

Because LOCOG was not going into concessions and monitoring the contents of the waste bags, there was a perception among Sodexo staff, supervisors and managers that LOCOG had not prioritised waste management. One Sodexo manager admitted that they had not made waste much of a priority during the Games because LOCOG had not made it a priority

dealing with sickness, uniform issues and re-‐-‐scheduling staff.

(Interview H20). It was certainly not as much of a priority as health and safety, as shown by Sodexo having an internal team of about 20 people who were constantly monitoring the health and safety of the food, concessions, equipment and practices, while LOCOG had a team of about 100 people monitoring the same things. On the other hand, Sodexo had one person who had volunteered for research purposes monitoring their entire waste streaming process (myself) and LOCOG had no one specified to monitor waste.

The only feedback that LOCOG gave Sodexo about the waste management was information that came from the waste management company, Sita. Sita sent data tables to LOCOG about the percentage of the waste in recycling and compostable compactors that was in the correct place, organised by area or venue. Figure 7.7 shows an example of these data tables. This report shows the waste from spectators, catering staff and LOCOG staff in a consolidated format. Even if the area in which Sodexo operated got a negative report, Sodexo managers would say "it wasn't us," and then fault others for the poor reports. They held spectators, the Clean Event staff, McDonald's for serving paper bags, Cadbury for having non-recyclable candy wrappers as well as Sodexo supervisors and staff responsible for not monitoring the waste. One reason Sodexo's waste management was incorrect was because the incorrect types of bin bags were often being used within the concessions. During the Games, staff were often not able to find the correct bin bags in their concessions. Instead of having plenty of orange (compost), green (recycling) and black (general waste) bags, they would only have one colour of bag available. The inability to find the proper colour bin bags was therefore used as a reason to not even try to compost or recycle and then place all the waste into the same bag. Additionally, as stated earlier, the compactor staff would sort waste *only* by the colour of the bag (Interview A32) which would then contaminate a whole shipping container of recycling or compost (Interview J26).

7.2.1.1 Attitudes toward Waste Management

The fast-paced environment at the Olympic Park created an atmosphere of urgency and stress, and the catering managers and supervisors were often speaking about how there was not enough time to get everything done, and how things were constantly going wrong while attributing mishaps to other people's incompetence. During observations at the Olympic Park, the most common mention of sustainability was in reference to waste management (recycling and composting). Most comments about waste management were framed in a negative way, and a few times the catering staff were even hostile toward me, as a result of

my assuming the role of the waste auditor. This section divides the comments about sustainability into four categories. There were comments that expressed an unapologetic outright negativity towards waste management, there were obvious impression management[52] attempts, there were defeatist attitudes about waste management and there were expressions of seemingly genuine excitement, interest and concern for waste management.

The first category of attitudes is the unapologetic outright negativity toward waste management. Before the Olympics started, I was in charge of setting up the correct number of waste bins in the correct places, so that the staff could easily put their items in the correct bin, and thus the correct waste stream. In one scenario, I had just told one of the catering managers that they needed 24 more bins in order to have recycling, compost and general waste bins in each concession. Then I left and came immediately back into the office to ask another question, and the conversation went as follows:

> *Manager:* You're back to give me more headache.
> *Jessica:* I am saving you more headache than you know.
> *Manager:* [in a shocked tone] By telling me I need 24 more bins?
> *Jessica*: What would you have done otherwise?
> *Manager:* It would all be going to the landfill and we'd use less bins.

The previous excerpt is evidence that some Sodexo managers perceived sustainability requirements as additional work, a problem and a "headache." Additionally, this shows that a requirement such as waste streaming would not have been addressed if not for my help. There were also times when supervisors simply stated that they did not care about the waste management. One supervisor said, "I don't care about recycling or any of that environmental stuff" and he went on to explain how "the planet could stand to be a bit warmer" and that his children would "figure it all out" in the future. There was another supervisor who told me, "You and I do not share the same enthusiasm for recycling." While there were a few other supervisors who said outright, "I don't care about recycling," there were also many situations where supervisors showed that they did not care, either by not listening to me or by laughing when I showed them what was wrong with the contents of the bins. By far, the most hostile

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[52] I do not use this term in the strict dramaturgical sense; instead, I mean it in the sense that the employees were obvious about not caring about sustainability and waste management, but trying to "save face" and

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reaction towards waste management or any other aspect of sustainability was demonstrated by a member of staff in the dish area of a kitchen.

> *Supervisor:* Are you going to be [coming around and checking the bins] every day?
> *Jessica:* Yes
> *Supervisor:* Throughout the Olympics and Paralympics?

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manage   my   impression   of   them   by   *saying*   they   care   about   sustainability   and   waste   management.   Another   way   to   describe   this   behaviour   is   "hypocritical."

> *Jessica:* Yes
> *Staff:* Can I stab you?[53]

While this response from the member of staff was extreme and the only case of violent language toward me, it is worth noting because it shows that there were staff who were demonstrably against either the idea of having to recycling and compost or having a waste auditor who was checking to see if they did it correctly.

Another theme in attitudes toward sustainability was a defeatist attitude, usually speaking about the ability of the catering staff to recycle and compost correctly. When speaking to me, one supervisor shook her head slowly and sympathetically said, "I think you're fighting a

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[53] The   waste   auditor   brought   what   the   staff   member   had   said   to   the   attention   of   the   Human   Resources   manager.   The   HR   manager   said   she   would   take   care   of   it,   and   the   waste   auditor   did   not   see   that   particular   staff   member   again.

losing battle" implying that the staff were never going to get it right. She was also implying that it was *my* problem not the supervisor's problem. Other negative comments involved supervisors and manager speaking about the intelligence of staff members. One manager said, "Most bins were contaminated. People are too thick to follow [the pictures on the signs] and it's too complicated [for them]" (Interview A7). A member of staff made fun of his fellow workers by saying, "Have you seen the staff around here? They just walk around going 'Duh'," implying they were all stupid. There was one instance of a sarcastic response about an environmentally friendly behaviour, which revealed an underlying defeatist attitude. The speaker knew she had already lost an argument with another person, and then as a last resort jokingly appealed to the person's environmental ethics. The comment was when one manager was trying to convince another manager that they did not need to do any more paper work, so she yelled at him in a joking tone, "We need to be saving paper! *Waste Management!*"

Many managers and supervisors made an effort to *say* they cared about recycling and composting, while their actions showed it was obviously not a priority for them. Some supervisors and managers expressed not having time for waste management because other operational challenges were more important to deal with. One manager was continually too busy to speak about the recycling and composting in her area. One time when I needed to call this manager to update her on the number of bins they had available, I asked one of the supervisors to call her. The supervisor responded, "She's really busy right now. I don't want to bother her if it's just about bins." Another day, when I saw this manager in the office, the manager said, "I don't have time to deal with bins right now. I know bins are extremely important, but right now, not having enough managers is more important. Why don't you talk to me in the morning about it?" This manager was also not available the next morning to speak. This is an example of impression management because the manager was continually showing she did not care about waste management by not doing anything about the fact that she did not have the correct number of bins in the areas where she needed them, but she still *said* that bins are important to her.

Another prominent example of impression management is in the following conversation between myself and a supervisor in a concessions kitchen during a very busy time.

> *Jessica:* Your bins look good.
> *Supervisor:* I don't fucking care.

> *Jessica:* Well, I just thought I'd let you know that they look good.
> *Supervisor:* Of course I *care*, it's just… [she motioned to the long queue of customers and shrugged with an apologetic look on her face].

This interaction contains the supervisor's first response to hearing about the bins, which is "I don't fucking care." Then she seemed to realise what she said and tried to explain why she would say such a thing. The reason she pointed to is that she was very busy, and in fact, at that moment she did *not* care about bins because other things were more important to her. Therefore, this is a prime example of how supervisors were actively engaged with impression management with me, by *saying* they care while not doing anything differently to *show* they care.

There were also expressions of excitement, concern and intense interest in the waste management process and progress from some supervisors. In one kitchen where the recycling and compost was regularly accurate, the chefs would greet me when I came into the kitchen in a friendly manner, and they commonly said, "We've been staying on top of it. It should be good today." One day when there was one piece of plastic in the compost bin, I showed it to the chefs and corrected it, but afterwards one of the chefs said in a serious tone, "We're not going to lose points for that are we?" When I said seriously, "Yes, it wasn't correct," the chef became visibly upset and said, "I can't believe one stupid person made us lose points" and then tried to determine who put the plastic in the bin.

In another kitchen, that regularly recycled and composted correctly, there were often cheers from the chefs when I said the bins looked good. The chefs in that kitchen then asked for a certificate, like the one they got from the health and safety inspectors. When I made them a certificate with stars on it, they all got visibly excited and showed it to their area manager proudly. In this kitchen, one time one of the bins was incorrect, the chef got the plastic bottle out of the compost bin and held it in the air yelling "Who drank a Fanta?" while individually staring down all of the staff until one said he did it. Then the chef asked "And where is this bottle supposed to go?" and he made the staff member put it in the correct bin. Another mention of sustainability was after I told a chef supervisor that the bins were wrong, the chef supervisor yelled to the staff in a commanding tone, "We care about the environment here people! We need to be recycling!"

7.2.2 The Nature of the Relationships between LOCOG and Caterers

One of the key points on the relationality between LOCOG and Sodexo is the differences in the ways in which they spoke about their relationships with each other. Many members of LOCOG described the relationship with the caterers to be one of a partnership. One LOCOG member said, "These contractors were partnerships rather than just pure contracts" (Interview A12). Another LOCOG member said, "Right the way through from our perspective we'd always said it was a partnership" (Interview D24).Through interviews and observations with caterers, not once did the caterers describe LOCOG as a partner, instead, they often referred to LOCOG as a client. Additionally, catering managers often described the contractual obligations they had to LOCOG. One Sodexo manager emphasised contractual obligations to LOCOG by saying, "Well, we were contracted—obligated—to comply to the sustainability standards. We had them dictated to us. The waste streaming was told to us to do, and it is in our [Key Performance Indicators (KPIs)], and LOCOG makes sure we do that right" (Interview C27).

Throughout the Games, LOCOG played many roles in the food supply and delivery process. From interviews and observations, LOCOG's view was that they were partnered with caterers to help them achieve higher standards than they had achieved before. One perspective on being a "partner" rather than a contracting body, was that they would help the caterers, as one LOCOG representative stated, "We wanted them to deliver the best that they could deliver on our behalf so from our perspective anything we could do to help them do [we would do]" (Interview C15). Their role as a *helper* is best illustrated by the food safety and hygiene standards, where a LOCOG member said that LOCOG worked *jointly* with catering health and safety teams. One LOCOG member (Interview S45) explained that the relationship between Sodexo health and safety staff and LOCOG health and safety staff was characterised as positive. She said:

> We would do our best to coordinate them so that wherever possible the people who are doing food service weren't having all of us turning up at the same time. And when it was really busy we would arrange that we would do different areas and we would speak to each other regularly about how things were going. Where bigger problems were identified some of the Ambers[54] and

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[54] They used red, amber and green as symbols. Red meant the operation is unsafe to operate legally. Amber meant the operation was close to being unsafe for legal operations. Green meant

> definitely the Reds if that became obvious, then the
> environmental health volunteer would have the contact of the
> food safety support teams and would call them in so that jointly
> they could address and manage the problem.

Inter-personal relationships between LOCOG and caterers varied between positive to extremely negative. Catering managers described receiving some positive feedback from LOCOG staff, in terms of the operations for the Opening Ceremony and in hospitality services in the Olympic Stadium, Water Polo Arena and the Aquatics Centre. When catering managers shared this positive feedback from LOCOG with other catering managers, sometimes there was outright joy with laughing and pats on the back, but mostly other managers expressed satisfaction in the positive feedback by nodding their heads in approval and saying "good job" or "well done." LOCOG also reported to the caterers the spectator reviews of the food, which was regularly above average. When the Head of Catering, Cleaning and Waste for LOCOG was on site at the Olympic Park, it was announced at Sodexo management meetings so that each of the catering managers knew and could be "on guard" (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012).

These examples suggest that perhaps the relationship between LOCOG and the caterers was not much of a partnership, with the possible exception of the health and safety teams. From the catering perspective, LOCOG was a *regulator* who had contractual power to ensure that caterers met the standards. An example that illustrates this contractual relationship is the KPI reports, a mechanism for communication between LOCOG and caterers that monitored daily the caterers on their contractual obligations. According to observations at management meetings, LOCOG was committed to sending a daily report to Sodexo managers, giving Sodexo 24 hours to change anything noted in the reports. By the end of the Paralympics, with only four days left in the public service catering contracts, LOCOG began inquiring to Sodexo managers about changes that had been noted in KPI reports but had not yet been addressed. However, Sodexo managers had not been receiving many of these KPI reports, and the ones they did receive had no notes or they were from several days earlier. Therefore, Sodexo could not be held accountable for changes they were not told about at all, or told

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that the area is safely operating. Many Sodexo managers bragged that no concessions received a "red" throughout the entire Games (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012).

about far too late. One manager explained that LOCOG could financially penalise Sodexo for not meeting their KPIs, and therefore the formal mechanism for communicating KPI performance was an important part of Sodexo's operation – as a key way to avoid incurring extra costs. At one management meeting, where this issue was discussed, an upper-level Sodexo manager explained to all of the managers that they should not respond to any report that is over 24 hours old. Another manager stated, "[as for] KPI reports: Make sure you don't agree to anything. Don't sign anything" (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012). The ways in which Sodexo managers were discussing KPI reports made it clear that, in practice, LOCOG played the role of a regulator with contractual powers and there was no trace of LOCOG being a "partner" or helper in the KPI process. The impression is that toward the end of the Games, LOCOG was attempting to find ways to pay Sodexo less than the full amount they owed them by claiming that Sodexo had not been doing everything they were contractually obligated to do.

From observations and informal interviews on the Olympic Park site, there were many instances of catering staff describing having been "yelled at" by LOCOG managers. Observations include catering managers and LOCOG managers engaged in heated conversations with raised voices. These conversations always took place in catering kitchens or offices, which were back-of-house (BoH) back-stage areas where spectators were not allowed. One catering supervisor described being verbally abused by a group of five LOCOG staff. This story is illustrated in Box 7.2. Another catering staff member described being "yelled at" by a LOCOG manager, and she stated that he was "scary," and she was happy her supervisor was there to speak to the LOCOG manager so she did not have to.

These personal accounts of experiences between LOCOG and catering staff are significant because they help show the way actors conceptualised the inter-organisational relationships. The relationships between LOCOG and the caterers where characterised by tensions about the different ways of working between the two organisations. The differences were so prominent that there were times when Sodexo managers and LOCOG managers simply spoke past each other. The following is an example (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012) of two of these managers speaking about the number of dumpsters back behind the concessions, and they were speaking in loud voices and they both seemed extremely agitated with each other.

> *Sodexo manager:* I can't operate with only two wheelie bins.
> *LOCOG manager:* That's what you requested, so that's what you got.
> *Sodexo manager:* But I was told they were going to be skips, not tiny bins.
> *LOCOG manager:* Well, you're going to have to make do now because that's what you asked for, that's what you've got now, and it's too late to be changed.
> *Sodexo manager:* Well, you're going to have to find me more because I can't operate with just that. You're going to have rubbish piling up everywhere.

Conversations between these two managers often involved yelling, and both people expressed extreme frustration with the other. Another less heated disagreement between LOCOG managers and Sodexo managers is explained in the following observation notes (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012):

> A Sodexo manager had to go to talk to a LOCOG manager in Workforce dining. Apparently, the LOCOG manager was complaining because they only had four buffets open and they're contracted to have five open during lunch and dinner. Another Sodexo manager said to me in the office that they don't have the staff for that; they were already down 12 staff, which is what they needed for the other counter. Also, the Sodexo manager said they don't even have any queues, so they don't actually *need* to open the other buffet.

In both examples cited above, the LOCOG manager is taking what is literally written in the contract as the authority on the situation, while the caterers are trying to explain what will work in practice. In both examples, the Sodexo managers expressed feeling as if the LOCOG manager simply was not listening to them. Generally, there was not a strong sense that Sodexo and LOCOG employees were "in this together." Instead, they seemed to be eager to point fingers about who was at fault for the problem.

There were some general differences between caterers and LOCOG managers that emerged from the analysis. LOCOG was often speaking about contractual obligations and numbers that had been decided upon in advance. They often carried papers or a clipboard around with them. Caterers often perceived LOCOG as being inflexible and lacking knowledge of catering operations. On the other hand, Sodexo was very operation-oriented, having to be flexible because there were several unpredictable situations that occur in food service, such as how many staff will show up for their shift, what people will buy today, how much people

will buy, and when equipment might break or stop working. These examples demonstrate a general difference in the epistemic orientations of Sodexo and LOCOG employees. Sodexo was embracing a more adaptive problem solving model while LOCOG was reluctant to be adaptive. Additionally, the observations where catering staff, managers and directors expressed frustration with LOCOG are indicative of a lack of co-learning within the interorganisational relationships. If co-learning had been a focus point, then perhaps LOCOG and the caterers would have better understood each other's worldviews and attitudes and perhaps could have facilitated joint attempts at adaptive problem solving.

Box 7.2 Verbal Abuse of Sodexo Staff by LOCOG Staff

I spoke with a concessions manager who is the supervisor for an Asian Food concession. She said that she was yelled at and cussed at by some LOCOG people about putting paper towels ("blue roll") in the compost bins. I asked her to tell me what happened and she said that a few LOCOG people walked over to her concession and one spoke to her in an angry voice.

LOCOG: Are you the supervisor?
Supervisor: Yes.
LOCOG: We found blue roll in a compost bag with noodles in it. Did that come from here?
Supervisor: Yes, we're [in the] Asian [concession], so we serve noodles.
LOCOG: Ok, so you need to sort this bag and get the blue roll out.
Supervisor: Ok, I wasn't here when that happened, I've only just arrived at work.
LOCOG: I don't care if it wasn't you. Stop trying to shirk your responsibilities!
Supervisor: That's fine, I'll take care of it, but we were told that we can put blue roll in the compost because it's paper and it breaks down just like food does.
LOCOG: That is absolutely absurd. There is NO blue roll allowed in the compost bin. NO paper what-soever!
Supervisor: We had a training the other day, and we were told that blue roll can go in compost.
LOCOG: What training?!
Supervisor: A Sodexo training for supervisors and managers. We had someone brief us about how to recycle and compost. What are we supposed to do with blue roll if we can't compost it?
LOCOG: Put it in the recycling bin.
Supervisor: But what if it's covered with food?
LOCOG: You shouldn't be using blue roll to clean up food. You should be using a table scraper to clean up counters.
Supervisor: Well we don't have one of those, so we have to use blue roll. Especially in Asian because the sauces get really messy.
LOCOG: Well, this is unacceptable.
Supervisor: You can speak to the catering manager who is in the area right now.

The LOCOG staff walked away.

When describing her encounter with the LOCOG staff, the supervisor said "They were being very aggressive, they were swearing and cussing a lot, and I got aggressive back because I don't like people treating me like that. I am happy it wasn't one of the less aggressive supervisors, one of those 'little girls' that LOCOG spoke to because they wouldn't have been able to handle it. One of those little girls would have been crying by the end of it."

This incident happened when there were no customers/spectators anywhere near where this conversation happened.

When speaking to the Area Manager the next day, he had heard about some of the LOCOG staff being angry because they had gone to the Asian front of house staff and asked "Where does blue roll go?" and the staff member responded with a shrug and said "in whatever bin is closest" in a manner that suggested that he didn't care. Therefore, it might make sense that the LOCOG staff probably asked the catering staff about this before they spoke to the supervisor, and therefore were already pretty upset about the lack of professionalism from the staff member, and then took it out on the supervisor.

Source: (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012)

7.2.3 Caterers Conceptualisations of Sustainability

In interviews, catering managers voiced their opinions about sustainable food sourcing and food waste. I explain these conceptualisations using three categories: environmental, social and economic sustainability.

One catering manager expressed concern about the carbon footprint associated with flying managers to London from all over the UK to work at the Olympics (Interview I5). Another manager expressed concern about fisheries health. He said, "We need to make sure we still have products in five, 10, 20 years' time" and he did not "want anything else to turn out like skate, which we can't use any more because it's not there anymore" (Interview E9). In largescale catering, this manager found it to be extremely important to think about the ecological consequences of food sourcing. He said, "In an event where I have ten to twenty thousand portions, it has a significant effect on the stocks available, and I take that into consideration" (Interview E9).

There were also varying opinions on food waste. One manager did not perceive food waste as being a significantly unsustainable practice. He (Interview Y64) spoke about food waste as an inevitable side effect of the catering industry:

> Well, on an event of this scale, it's hard to tell what to order because the things like the weather and the forecast have such huge impacts on demand that it's difficult to order correctly. So in an event like this the waste seems like a lot. But it's really not that much. It's hard to say, it's just that the amount of food we have is so big, that it looks like a lot of waste. There is a lot of 'visual waste' – it looks like a lot, but in the grand scheme of things, it's not that much food. Especially when compared to the 27 lorries of food that come into the park each day – its barely anything that we throw away.

However, other managers expressed being bothered by the amount of food they were wasting, especially because if it had not been for the strict rules at the Olympic Park, the food would not have been wasted. One manager (Interview A11) said:

> One of the big problems was that everything had to go through security clearance – to make sure we had enough product on site – we had to order so many days in advance, to make sure it was there on site in time. […] In a normal site, managers would be able to order something and have it delivered the next day, but on site it was 2-3 days at least before the product would arrive. So they were over ordering on everything. […] Getting things off site was difficult too, because of the security restrictions. If we knew we had too much, but it has a limited shelf life, by the time you get it off site it is too late to use it somewhere else in the business.

Other caterers thought the recycling and composting was a key part of a sustainable approach to catering. When asked about sustainability, many of the caterers focused on recycling and composting first. One caterer said, "We quite literally recycled about 37,000 plastic cups, which in itself is something really. Quite an achievement" (Interview X51). Another caterer said that the recycling was a unique practice for the Games, by saying "we wouldn't usually have such a focus on waste streaming, but it's part of our contract with LOCOG, so we have to do it here" (Interview D9). One catering manager thought that in the UK there should be more of a national focus on recycling and composting. He said that for events, if they used reusable plates and cutlery it would be much more sustainable, but the ease of disposable items outweighs sustainability concerns. This manager said, "There's no reason why events like this, and the events industry in general should be so wasteful, it's just that it is easier to throw things away and use disposable items" (Interview A6). He also said that it is not difficult to be more sustainable. He said, "It's not difficult to do, it's more expensive. It just requires more effort and it costs more" (Interview A6). This particular quote shows that "difficulty" is a relative term. He had also expressed that sustainability, especially waste management, was very important to him. Therefore it is not surprising that he would describe recycling and composting as "not difficult."

The social aspects of sustainability that were mentioned in interviews included healthy lifestyles, caring about food provenance and cultural changes. One interviewee explained that key points of what they were trying to achieve at the Olympics was to have "healthier options," ethically sourced food, and "happy" animals (Interview F59). A catering manager was very proud that they had health commitments in the Games catering. She said, "We also

have to provide healthy options, and we've done a lot of work on healthy lifestyles, such as salt and fat content. We can only have a few fish and chip restaurants on site because of the healthy commitments" (Interview E11).

Another social aspect of sustainability is the values of knowing where food comes from. One interviewee said that provenance is important to him. He said, "For me, it's always in my mind where food comes from. For instance, I wouldn't use European veal, but I will use English grass veal any day of the week, because I know where it comes from, how the animals are treated and that it's ethically sourced" (Interview C7). This catering manager also said that he tries not to source food that comes from "conventional farms" which he defined as farms where animals and plants are "mass produced" (Interview C7).

The final aspect of sustainability is economic. Interviewees did not mention this aspect very often or with any depth. They simply referred to the cost of sustainability. For instance, they mentioned that MSC fish costs more than non-MSC fish, buying re-usable plates and cutlery costs more than disposable plates and cutlery and that organic and Freedom Food was much too expensive for the Games time catering.

Caterers also perceived some contradictions in sustainability goals and normal business practices. One manager explained that he saw families getting packed food out of their kids' backpack and then giving the kids their breakfast. He said, "So people are bringing their own food. The queues at the water fountains are bigger than the queues at our concessions!" He said this in a tone of voice that suggested that he was angry and that spectators' bringing food and drinking free water were ridiculous notions. He said to everyone, "Just so you know, this is a *family* market" as a way to point out that people were looking to save money (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012). This quote also suggests that what is good for public health, such as customers bringing in healthy food and having access to fresh drinking water is in direct contrast with the corporate motive of profit.

There was also a perceived choice between health and safety requirements and the waste management goals. When some recycling and compost bins were not opening correctly because the foot pedal was broken, a health and safety manager told the chefs not to use the bins. When the Chef said, "But what do we do with our recycling then?" The health and safety manager said, "Just throw it in the other bin that does work" (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012). The chef expressed feeling torn because he had two different parts of Sodexo telling

him contradictory information, and he was left to prioritise between the two on his own. Therefore, at certain times, health and safety was at odds with the waste management requirement. Chefs are trained to take health and safety issues seriously because health and safety violations can lead to closing a restaurant. Therefore, because health and safety is a legal requirement while waste management is not legally mandated, health and safety was often prioritised over waste management during the Games.

7.3 Beyond the Olympics: The London Food Legacy

Back in 2009, during the fifth Food Advisory Group meeting, the group discussed the "Future role and remit of the Food Group." The minutes (Food Advisory Group Minutes, 16 September 2009) state:

> LOCOG would like to see a continuation of the Food Group, to use its expertise and integrate all aspects of food. The Terms of Reference should be refined after the Food Vision has been issued. This should include a post-Games role to reflect on how well we did, legacy, and to inform future Games. The role of the sub-groups will be to continue to provide contacts, knowledge and the integration of organisations. The host boroughs should be engaged in the process.

The items listed in the minutes never happened. However, at the sixth meeting, LOCOG also announced that the plan to write a "Food Charter […] in consultation with Food Group members and aim for publication in Spring 2010" (Food Advisory Group, Minutes, 11 November 2009).

In reality, the launch of the Food Vision and the work on hiring caterers overshadowed any work on the Food Legacy. There was one more Food Advisory Group meeting, focusing on the "Food Charter" but LOCOG was already reviewing tenders for caterers at the time of this meeting. Despite LOCOG's aspirations, there was not a Food Charter initiated by the Food Advisory Group. One Food Advisory Group member explained the Food Charter as a "sort of hovering interesting bit that went missing" (Interview K22). This interviewee stated, "I'm afraid the Food Charter became a bit of a millstone around LOCOG's neck, because LOCOG isn't really supposed to work directly on legacy. It's not their remit. So they weren't quite sure what to do with that" (Interview K22).

A LOCOG report corroborated this "remit" concern by explaining, "After much debate within the Food Advisory Group and reviews of draft documentation, it was decided that a charter would be problematic in terms of administration and verification and that it would be more effective coming from the industry rather than LOCOG" (London 2012 2011: 57). One Food Advisory Group member purported that she "absolutely contests that they ever decided that at a Food Advisory Group meeting" because she said she would never agree to leave something so important in the industry's hands (Interview Y77).

Another way in which LOCOG attempted to directly influence food legacy was to help determine the food strategy for the Athlete's Village, which was being turned into public housing after the Olympics. CSL (2012: 3) explained the goals LOCOG had for this housing development:

> Future development in the Olympic Park, led by the [Olympic Park Legacy Commission (OPLC)], should follow the example of the Athletes' Village for which there is a draft Food Strategy that can be implemented over time as the homes are occupied and if the community demonstrates an interest in growing their own food. This would ensure that the development is futureproofed and can enable food growing to be 'retrofitted'. This should also include facilities to make it easy for residents and businesses to access healthy and sustainable food.

The Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 (CSL) evaluated the work LOCOG had done on legacy so far, and they categorised their achievements as "amber" (on a scale of red, amber, green).[55] One issue CSL addressed was the plans for future food growing on the Olympic Park site. They (CSL 2010: 32) explained:

> The current provision for 2.1 hectares of allotments in the parkland plans essentially reinstates the 1.8 hectares lost through development of the Olympic Park. It does not make a major contribution to allotment or food growing capacity in legacy. Planning for food growing in the Olympic Park will be taken forward as part of the Legacy Masterplan Framework (LMF),

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[55] The meaning of "amber" is: "Evidence not currently available in response to recommendation or some significant concerns about performance but evidence that they are being addressed is available. Threats exist which may impact successful achievement of the Sustainable Development objectives and projected targets for the issue if not addressed in the medium term" (CSL 2010: 37).

which is still at an early stage of development and is being revisited following the establishment of the OPLC.

These examples show that LOCOG did not directly implement significant activities around food legacy.

7.3.1 Supply Chain Changes

There were direct changes caused by the Olympic Food Vision, such as the changes that caterers made in their supply chains as a direct result in their involvement in the Olympics. There were also indirect changes in London, the UK, and the in other sporting events, that were inspired by the London 2012 Olympics Food Vision.

As this section shows, there are several ways in which the creation of the Food Vision and the implementation of the food standards indirectly created change in the food system. The first example is that the waste management practices at the Olympics and Paralympics gave catering managers more confidence in providing recycling and composting services for future clients (Interview B33; Interview F52; Interview A18). In addition, LOCOG required that caterers recruit staff from the London boroughs within which the Olympic Park sits. Because of this requirement, caterers had to create new recruitment processes, and one caterer reported that from now on it will be much easier to recruit local employees and expressed confidence that it is possible to get a high quality work force from nearby (Interview C13).

The catering for the London 2012 Olympics was the first time any sustainability specifications for food had been required at an Olympic Games. A member of LOCOG said, "previous Games had not looked at food from a sustainability perspective. Some had done local purchasing and things like that but not actually setting sustainability specifications [for food]" (Interview H54). CSL (2010: 2) confirms that London was the first by saying, London 2012 is the first host city ever to make a bid commitment linking sustainability and food." Other Interviewees said that the ambition was to change the catering industry with the large, high profile Olympics, making a lasting change for sustainable food systems. One member of LOCOG (Interview J37) said:

> No one had ever written […] a Food Vision for a Games [with] benchmark standards related to food that any caterer must comply with. It's a document that basically says if you're going to cater for the Games, these are the 16 standards you must apply. So free-range eggs, high proportion of high welfare that you can deliver, Red Tractor on the following commodities, etc. etc. That

document then really became the guide to how people would operate from there on in.

As discussed previously, several caterers mentioned in interviews that they worked with more SMEs and local suppliers than they would have if they had not been required to use SMEs and local suppliers for the Olympics. Also mentioned before, some caterers said they would continue some of these relationships after the Games. Therefore, there were many new supply chain relationships created through the Olympics food procurement.

Additionally, the Food Vision requirements have made it easier for catering companies to make sustainable standards a part of their normal supply chain. One caterer said that they are making Red Tractor assurance meat a part of their normal business (Interview Y57). Another caterer expressed that "The Olympics hasn't made the company do more than it would have done otherwise, it has sped up the process we were already going through; we're meeting our goals a little earlier than we planned" (Interview P95). Also, some caterers said that they will think about recycling and composting waste and ordering packaging that can be recycled in the future (Interview H28; Interview N17).

Figure 7.8 Picture of Fairtrade Logo on Menu Boards

Caterers and LOCOG mentioned several sustainability achievements in interviews. Several caterers used many organic products, even though they were not contractually required to use more than organic milk jiggers (for coffee and tea). Caterers reported using organic salmon (Interview A24) and organic pastas (Interview B23). Other caterers set LEAF Marque as their aspirational goal to achieve. The caterer said, "For LEAF Marque, for fruit and veg, we set that as our minimum standard and we were able to get 50% of our fruit and veg from a LEAF Marque supplier" (Interview G15). This caterer also aspired for RSPCA Freedom Foods. He said, "We set out from the position of having Freedom Food as our base position and then working back from there. So instead of having Red Tractor as our base position and working forward from that. Certainly in Freedom Foods, we had a lot of success in the products we sourced" (Interview A9). Other caterers used Freedom Food salmon (Interview R6), chicken (Interview C26; Interview B21) and pork (Interview R6).

As discussed previously, the caterers also recycled and composted, to varying degrees of success, but because of this requirement, much less waste ended up in waste incinerators. As one interviewee said, Sodexo recycled 37,000 plastic bottles (Interview E12). Caterers also reported that the Olympics requirements sped up the changes they were planning to make in their companies within the next few years, like sourcing only Fairtrade sugar, coffee, bananas and chocolate (Interview C6). Most importantly, the caterers met all of the compulsory goals set forth in the Food Vision document, and they met several of the optional aspirational goals.

Catering interviewees also spoke about missed opportunities. Some of the caterers expressed disappointment that there was not more done in the Games about education and cultural changes, because it was such a good opportunity to communicate education messages about healthy eating and sustainable food. One of the caterers (Interview K38) expressed disappointment that there was not information to communicate healthy lifestyles to the spectators:

> *Interviewee*: I don't see them providing changes in the food system. There's no one talking about it – there's no signs about how the food is healthy, there's no encouragement for people to learn about healthy diets. Have you seen any communication about this at all?
> *Jessica:* No
> *Interviewee:* Exactly. There's nothing to help people actually change the way they eat or think about health. There's nothing

about healthy lifestyles either. How do they expect to create any change if they don't even talk about it here?

Another caterer expressed being discouraged that they had done all this work to procure sustainable food and then there was no information about it at the Olympics (Interview D10). The only mention of any of the sustainability standards was a small picture on the menu boards that had the logo for Red Tractor and MSC fish. See Figure 7.8 and Figure 7.9 for the logos on the menu boards. Another interviewee said that sustainability is about education and learning. He said, "It's about the flow of information – making people aware of what products are sustainable, ethical and with welfare standards. It's all about education really. Getting people do know what's out there" (Interview U27).

Figure 7.9 Picture of MSC Fish, Red Tractor and Fairtrade Logos on Menu Board

Another missed opportunity was the amount of perfectly edible food that was put into compost bins. As discussed previously, caterers said that they were unable to easily get food out of the Olympic Park site because of the stringent security measures, and therefore food

that could have been used in other parts of the business was simply wasted. Also the caterers claimed that the Olympic Park security measures made food bank coordination too difficult, if not impossible, and therefore they did not try to coordinate with any food banks to donate food.

7.3.2 Off the Coattails: Projects "Inspired by London 2012"

This section answers the question: How did the Food Vision change the way caterers delivered services during the games? One member of the Food Advisory Group said, "actually, it had a big impact. Because the buyers such as LOCOG make such a high-profile statement, such as the Food Vision, and therefore it makes a very big difference. It got a lot of people talking. And it made them sit up and take notice" (Interview E16). Another interviewee characterised the Olympic Food Vision as moving on the debate. He said, "I think they can say that they've moved the debate on [and] this is the first time it's ever been done. They almost need to be commended for doing that" (Interview D18).

Figure 7.10 Food Legacy Information Resource

Source: (Food Legacy n.d.)

7.3.2.1 Changing the London Foodscape

There were many changes that occurred in the London foodscape as spin-off projects of the

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Olympic Food Vision. One spin-off project is the Food Legacy program, which was inspired by the London 2012 Food Vision (Food Legacy n.d.) to have businesses and public bodies sign up for the London 2012 Food Vision and implement its standards into their business or organisation. Sustain coordinated the Food Legacy program, and it was supported by the Mayor of London and the London Food Board (Food Legacy n.d.). The Food Legacy website has a list of organisations who have "signed on" to promote the Olympics Food Vision in their procurement practices. The Food Legacy website also acts as a resource for those interested in changing their procurement practices. Figure 7.10 shows the range of items that are available on the Food Legacy website.

Another project called "Capital Growth," was an urban gardening project to develop 2012 new growing spaces within London boroughs by the year 2012. While Capital Growth did not have any official affiliation with the Olympics, it was created as a way to capture some of the momentum the Olympics created around food in London.

The London Food Board also discussed how the Olympics food sustainability plan could have a lasting legacy. Before the Olympics had begun, the London Food Board minutes of meetings (London Food Board Minutes, 5 May 2011) state some of the opportunities and limitations of the Olympics food legacy:

> The Olympics present an opportunity to make an impact relatively quickly (within the constraints of partnership with LOCOG and sponsors) but also it is good PR for the [London Food Board (LFB)], especially if some of the initiatives can have a lasting legacy. However the approach is businessfocused and outside of the Olympic village any standards will be strictly voluntary; the mayor is co-chair of the Olympic Board, which is responsible for overseeing, coordinating and monitoring the games, but beyond 2012 he has no power to impose standards on either private or public sector caters.

Even though the London Food Board discussed the Olympics Legacy during their meetings, they did not lead any initiatives directly associated with the Food Vision legacy.

One of the largest projects inspired by London 2012 is the Sustainable Fish City campaign. Sustain led the working group on sustainable fish for the Olympics Food Advisory Group and simultaneously created a campaign around sustainable fish in the UK. The strategy for the Olympics was that only "demonstrably sustainable seafood" could be sourced for the Games.

Sustain (2012b: 1) states that the Sustainable Fish City campaign is "helping to transform the future for precious marine life and good fishing livelihoods for years to come." The Sustainable Fish City campaign is described by Sustain as "an ambitious campaign for towns and cities to buy, serve, eat and promote only sustainable fish" (Sustainable Fish City n.d.). The Sustainable Fish City website also states, "the campaign's first winning step was to help the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games organisers to adopt a sustainable fish strategy. Now a wide range of organisations are getting on board" (Sustainable Fish City n.d.). Box 7.3 lists some of these collaborating organisations. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Sustain's ability to denote London as a Sustainable Fish City was the deciding factor in LOCOG increasing the sustainability standards for fish during the Games.

Box 7.3 Sustainable Fish City Pledges (as of July 2012)

Success stories include pledges to use sustainable fish by:
- Government, for Whitehall, Number 10, HM Prison Service and the Armed Forces.
- The London Metropolitan Police, Fire Brigade, Transport for London and City Hall.
- Several London boroughs, including Camden, Havering, Islington and Richmond.
- 19 leading universities, serving well over 200,000 staff and students.
- Very large caterers, including the country's second largest contract caterer Sodexo, as well as BaxterStorey, ISS Food and Hospitality and Restaurant Associates.
- Many chefs and restaurants, including popular high-street chains such as Carluccio's, well-loved independents and Michelin-starred establishments.
- Tourist attractions such as the National Trust, the Zoological Society of London (which runs London Zoo), the SeaLife Aquarium and the restaurant at the Royal Albert Hall.
- 3,500 schools participating in the national Food for Life Catering Mark programme.
- Blue-chip businesses who commission or provide very large volumes of catering, including London 2012 sponsors Thames Water and Coca-Cola GB.

Source: (Sustain 2012: 4)

7.3.2.2 Changing Procurement Policies

As mentioned previously, the Food Vision requirements changed some of the caterer's supply chain connections. However, interviewees pointed out that the sustainable sourcing is not always up to the caterers. One member of LOCOG expressed that caterers only perform to the requirements that are given to them by clients. He said, "It actually is not the caterers, it's the clients that matter. It's the clients that need to be focusing on sustainability. But now they have this London 2012 Food Vision that they can now apply to their procurement practices" (Interview G44). According to this interview, the clients that the Food Vision has influenced include both public and private procurement policy makers.

Some interviewees perceived the Food Vision as a "game changer." One interview said that the ambition was "to use the Games for a complete transformation in terms of the ways in which food was thought about in major events" (Interview M50). The Food Vision had an

impact by creating discussions around the sustainable food activities that future Olympic Games and other sporting events are going to create. The Common Wealth Games, Glasgow 2014, also created a sustainable food strategy. People who were previously members of LOCOG then went to work with the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics and 2016 Rio Summer Olympics to help them with their food strategies (Interviews L20, L17 and N31). One interviewee pointed out that because of the Olympics Food Vision, he expected increased pressure on other event organisers to implement sustainable food strategies. He (Interview J34) said:

> So I think the wider implications are that people now know that you can do it. […] So it will be interesting to see with the Rugby World Cup where they go with it, it will be interesting to see, [...] the next Commonwealth Games: How they do it and what is said about that? Because if they don't, [...] there is a tendency that people start asking the question: Why?

Some interviewees perceived the Olympics Food Vision as a tool that could be used in other contexts, whether small or large events because the same "principles apply" on different scales (Interview 18).

Outside of the events industry, the Olympics Food Vision has also affected general public procurement practices. Some organisations took the momentum that was created by the London 2012 Food Visioning process to implement new initiatives or strategies for sustainable food. A member of LOCOG stated that "DEFRA used the basis of our Food Vision to launch environmental and provenance work in 2010. They came on the back of our coattails" (Interview G26), and that DEFRA's procurement standards, called the Government Buying Standards (GBS) were inspired by the Olympic Food Vision (Interview G26).

The GBS is a policy that has the goal of procuring "healthier, more sustainable, food and catering services." DEFRA's GBS were first published in June 2011 (DEFRA n.d.). Additionally, as one LOCOG member stated, London City schools have "adopted the standards that we had within the Food Vision" (Interview P82). The London Food Board also reports in their minutes of meetings, "Work was continuing on the GLA-wide commitment so that Transport for London, Metropolitan Police Service, Fire and Emergency Planning Authority and the GLA would commit in December 2010 to sustainable

procurement in line with the London 2012 Food Vision" (London Food Board Minutes 2010).

What does sustainability mean for food and catering services? • **Foods produced to higher sustainability standards –** covering issues such as a food produced to higher environmental standards, fish from sustainable sources, seasonal fresh food, animal welfare and ethical trading considerations; • **Foods procured and served to higher nutritional standards -** to reduce salt, saturated fat and sugar and increase consumption of fiber, fish and fruit and vegetables; and • **Procurement of catering operations to higher sustainability standards**– including equipment, waste and energy management.

Source: (DEFRA n.d.).

7.4 Summary

Chapter 7 presents the empirical data gained through participant observation, interviews and document analysis, about the implementation of the Food Vision for the Games. I explain the supply chain creation, the catering operation on-site and the food legacy of the Olympics. This chapter helps us answer the research questions by describing in detail the relationships between LOCOG and Sodexo and the nature of their PPP. By having this information, I can better delve into the analysis of these relationships and inter-organisational processes in the next chapter. Before moving on, I first summarise the important points of the implementation and legacy processes.

LOCOG worked with caterers and accreditation bodies to set up the supply chains for the Olympics. Many caterers claimed that the standards were not difficult for their companies to achieve because they were already using the standards in their businesses. However, the same caterers expressed several points of difficulty and tension with both LOCOG and the accreditation bodies. These difficulties included dealing with two different fish accreditation bodies who disagreed on what fish to use, and dealing with LOCOG changing the standards for the fish shortly before the Games began. Caterers complained about the difficulty of incorporating SMEs into the supply chains because many SMEs did not meet the minimum health and safety standards required for the Games. Caterers articulated frustration in sourcing products to meet the sponsorship guidelines (un-branded packaging) and LOCOG's pre-ordering requirements, which meant caterers purposely over-ordered products so they would not run out during the Games. After the Games, caterers were left having to find uses

for un-branded packaging and leftover food. Caterers also expressed annoyance in the long process of getting LOCOG to approve their menus. Many caterers also complained that LOCOG's food strategy was not realistic in its expectations of providing higher standards without cost increases, as well as providing healthy food at a sporting event where unhealthy food sells best.

During the operations at the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the caterers worked with LOCOG and their many other service providers to deliver a seamless food service experience to spectators and the workforce. Because of the size of the operation, and the complex legal requirements, the food delivery was sometimes quite difficult for LOCOG and the caterers to negotiate. The relationships between these actors varied from positive to extremely negative, with examples of nice comments and feedback from LOCOG as well as catering staff and LOCOG staff engaged in shouting at each other in anger. The catering managers' interpretations of sustainability explain some of the frustrations caterers felt with LOCOG, because there were many perceived contradictions in what was being asked of them. These perceived contradictions include that LOCOG allowed people to bring in their own food and water bottles which lowered the profit available to the caterers, and LOCOG requiring recycling when it sometimes contradicts with health and safety requirements.

Caterers and LOCOG expressed many ways in which the supply chains and the events industry changed as a direct result of the Food Vision. These changes include that caterers were able to create relationships with SMEs and local suppliers, and that future events will be expected to meet the Food Vision standards as well. While LOCOG had initially set out to achieve Food Legacy goals such as creating growing spaces in the Olympic Park, they were unable to ensure these activities due to their limited control over what happens to the park after the Games. However, there were many projects "inspired by London 2012" that benefit the food system in London. These projects include creating new community food growing spaces throughout London, creating networking opportunities around pressuring food businesses to commit to the Food Vision in their regular business, creating London as the first Sustainable Fish City in the world and influencing the procurement standards for the UK government.

8 Conceptual Discussion: London 2012 Sustainable Food Procurement

This chapter discusses the case study in terms of the research questions, using the framework of the relational, reflexive approach to decision-making. Mirroring Chapter 3, which presents and operationalises the conceptual framework, I first discuss the case study in terms of my conceptualisation of sustainable food systems as a wicked problem and then compare the case study to the characteristics of sustainable food systems. Secondly, I examine the three research questions for this study in light of the conceptual framework. Research questions centre around (1) inter-organisationality, (2) relationality and (3) reflexivity. I conclude this chapter with a description of how to update the relational, reflexive framework for future theoretical and practical applications.

Overall, this chapter is progressing the concept of sustainable food systems as a wicked problem and advancing the relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food system decisionmaking. My final reflections and recommendations are in the following chapter.

8.1 Sustainable Food Systems Discussion

As presented in Chapter 3, I operationalise sustainable food systems as a wicked problem. Wicked problems are characterised by 10 propositions. I begin this section by first examining the ways in which the actors involved with the Olympic food strategy conceptualised the wickedness of sustainable food systems problems. Then I examine the characteristics of the Olympic food strategy in terms of the characteristics for sustainable food systems, as operationalised in Chapter 3. The concepts of wicked problems and sustainable food systems frame the discussion of the case study's research questions about the relational, reflexive framework.

8.1.1 Wicked Problems

This section examines to what extent Food Advisory Group members and catering employees discussed the *wickedness* of sustainable food systems, and shows that the extent to which decision-makers considered the wickedness of sustainable food systems was extremely

limited.[56] As described in Chapter 3, there are 10 propositions for what constitutes a wicked problem. These propositions are summarized in Box 8.1.

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10 Propositions of Wicked Problems

1. There is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem
2. Wicked problems have no stopping rule.
3. Solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad
4. There is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem.
5. Every solution to a wicked problem is a "one-shot operation"; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial-and-error, every attempt counts significantly.
6. Wicked problems do not have an enumerable (or an exhaustively describable) set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan.
7. Every wicked problem is essentially unique.
8. Every wicked problem can be considered to be a symptom of another problem.
9. The existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution.
10. The planner has no right to be wrong.

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Source: (Rittel and Webber 1973).

The first proposition for wicked problems is that there is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem. Neither the Food Advisory Group nor the caterers explicitly recognized "sustainable food" as an indescribable phenomenon. Many Food Advisory Group members and caterers recognized that there are trade-offs inherent in "sustainability" issues, but they did not discuss the issue further or identify the underlying source of such contradictions.

The second proposition is that wicked problems have no stopping rule. Because the shortterm catering operations for the Olympics literally had an endpoint, this proposition of wicked problems was not considered, meaning that interviewees overwhelmingly gave the impression that by creating a "sustainability" strategy and holding caterers to it constituted "success." There was no explicit recognition of the infeasibility of the goal of "achieving" sustainability.

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[56] Observations reported here are limited by the data gathered for this research, which included Food Advisory Group minutes of meetings, meeting agendas, interviews and iterations of the food strategy document as well as catering observations, personal communications and interviews. I do not mean to imply that I know what every person involved was thinking. Perhaps there were some people that thought about the "wickedness" of sustainable food, but I did not interview or speak to these people.

The third proposition is that solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-orbad. Through mentioning that there were trade-offs and contradictions inherent in sustainable food, many of the interviewees pointed to sustainability not having an ultimate "right" or "wrong" answer. However, there was no explicit discussion of how sustainable food decisions are value-laden and not objective. Most Food Advisory Group members seemed to prioritize economic feasibility as "good" and everything else as idealistic and unrealistic (i.e., "bad").

The fourth proposition is that there is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem. There is no way to "test" if the Olympics succeeded in creating a sustainable food strategy or contributed to sustainable food systems. Several interviewees claimed that the food strategy was a "success," but what they seemed to mean is that they created and successfully implemented a food strategy, and the claim does not actually have to do with the "sustainability" of the supply chain or larger food system. In a way, they implicitly recognized the difficulty in trying to determine the effects their procurement strategy had on the larger context, as LOCOG representatives disregarded the possibility of aiming to affect the larger context, claiming numerous times that these concerns were beyond their "remit."

The fifth proposition is that every solution to a wicked problem is a "one-shot operation"; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial-and-error, every attempt counts significantly. The short-term nature of the Olympics gave the impression that caterers and LOCOG only had "one-shot" to get it right. A few interviewees did mention the possible negative consequences of "getting it wrong" – mentioning the ecological impacts of serving an overfished fish, and the supply chain impacts of temporarily using the entirety of the UK organics supply. Beyond these comments, the extent to which the Olympic food supply chains and procurement practices would affect larger supply chain arrangements and local/national procurement policy was not discussed. There was a sense that the Olympics food strategy was a temporary experiment, not something that could have significant influence on "sustainable food" in the UK.

The sixth proposition is that wicked problems do not have an enumerable (or an exhaustively describable) set of potential solutions, nor is there a well described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan. Through interviews with Food Advisory

Group members and caterers, actors presented their efforts as the best they could do given the existing limitations, e.g., the large scale nature of the event and this being the first Olympics to have "sustainable food." In this case study, there was an underlying tension between actors who characterize the *catering* aspect of the sustainable food procurement strategy as straightforward and achievable, and actors who characterize the *sustainability* aspect of the food strategy to be complex and difficult to truly achieve. Food Advisory Group members who claimed sustainability to be a difficult and complex concept did so with a sense of reluctance to engage with the concept in a meaningful way. Therefore, even though they recognized that sustainability was difficult and complex, they did not truly address it as a wicked problem, which would have involved a second step beyond merely recognizing the inherent difficulty, complexity and contradictions within sustainable food. The second step is allowing those qualities to serve as central organising principles around which strategies and interventions are created. Of all the actors interviewed, interviewees from Sustain were the only ones who were embracing "sustainability" as something that was understandable, doable and achievable. Interviews with members of Sustain would suggest that they also would not uphold this sixth proposition of wicked problems because they presented sustainability as something that is understandable and standardisable. Therefore, this sixth proposition does not hold for the Olympic Food Vision process because actors either disengaged with sustainability concepts *because* they were too difficult and complex or engaged with sustainability issues *as* understandable and achievable. Either way, they failed to engage with sustainable food systems as a wicked problem without enumerable solutions and operations.

The seventh proposition is that every wicked problem is essentially unique. Members of the Food Advisory Group touted the "uniqueness" of the Olympic food strategy in their interviews. I find that LOCOG might have over-emphasised the uniqueness of this procurement strategy, instead of focusing on the wealth of procurement experiences that catering companies and procurement officials (especially with school food) might have been able to bring to creating a sustainable procurement strategy. Again, however, there is an underlying tension between the catering aspect and the sustainability aspect. Many actors considered the catering operations to be essentially very similar to other event catering operations. At the same time, though, the sustainability aspects of the procurement strategy were seen as unique, especially considering the large scale of the event.

The eighth proposition is that every wicked problem can be considered a symptom of another problem. This proposition includes recognising that aspects of sustainability are interconnected and interdependent, and that one intervention can have intended or unintended consequences on other aspects of the system because a sustainable food system is a dynamic system. The Olympics case study highlights the perceived trade-offs and contradictions within sustainability conceptualisations (Sections 6.2.3.2 and 7.2.3). These discussions of trade-offs and contradictions are one part of recognising that parts of a system are interdependent and that sustainable food problems can actually be characterised as symptoms of (and therefore interdependent with) other problems like climate change and poverty. However, recognising the existence of trade-offs is only the first step to treating sustainable food systems as a wicked problem. The second step that Food Advisory Group members and caterers failed to take is embracing the complex, symptomatic, interrelated nature of the problems as central characteristics for determining strategies to address the problems. In this sense, even though several interviewees recognised the existence of trade-offs and contradictions within sustainability conceptualisations, they did not uphold the proposition that sustainable food systems are a wicked problem that can be considered a symptom of other problems.

The ninth proposition is that the existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution. This concept was not discussed. The closest any interviewee got to a recognition of the different values and assumptions actors bring into the decision-making process was a mention of Sustain and the London Food Board as proposing "unrealistic" and "idealistic" options, such as serving all organic food. The Food Advisory Group, of course, did make decisions based on assumptions, values and views, but these qualities remained mostly unquestioned and were not discussed.

The tenth proposition is that the planner has no right to be wrong. This proposition entails the idea of decision-makers making explicit the "stakeholders" for whom the decisions are meant to favour. This study found no evidence that such an explicit distinction was made. As far as the "stakes" of having a successful strategy, most interviewees expressed a sense of success simply for *attempting* to create a sustainable food strategy when no other Olympic Games had done so. The implication is that many Food Advisory Group members justified the importance of their work by claiming it would automatically influence future Games to have

sustainable food as well. For the most part, however, they did not mention the Olympic food strategy as part of a policy transition within the local/national context. Nor was there a discussion of the possible harm the Food Advisory Group could cause by initiating a conversation around sustainable food procurement that overlooks key features or key stakeholders of the sustainable food context.

Overall, this discussion shows that LOCOG, the Food Advisory Group and the caterers did not discuss sustainable food systems as a wicked problem. This does not mean, however, that the Olympic food strategy was a failure. Instead, it leads to a discussion of the specific characteristics promoted (or not promoted) within the Olympic food strategy, and then to a deeper discussion about the particular forms of decision-making that could theoretically promote tackling sustainable food systems as a wicked problem.

8.1.2 Characteristics of Sustainable Food Systems

The Olympic Food Vision creation and implementation met several of the sustainable food systems characteristics, as defined in Chapter 3 (and listed in Table 8.1). The Food Vision and subsequent practices initiated by the Food Vision promoted some aspects of equity and fairness, as LOCOG prioritised keeping costs affordable with the intention of allowing people from all socioeconomic backgrounds access to the food within the Olympic Park. They also emphasised having food options available for the many different cultural groups and dietary needs represented at the Olympics. To increase access to food inside the Olympic Park, LOCOG also allowed people to bring their own food into the park and they set up water fountains to provide free access to water inside the park. There was discussion among LOCOG and Food Advisory Group members around promoting food growing space in London, but interviewees from LOCOG said it was beyond their remit to influence food growing. They viewed this as an activity to be realised after the Olympic Games.

The Food Vision implementation did not promote cultural characteristics of food, as characterised in Table 8.1. Through interviews and observations, it was clear that the sustainable food process for the Olympics did not pursue the following: educating people about food, promoting respect for food growing and food preparation, connecting food growers to eaters and creating a cultural expectation for adaptive and responsive institutions.

The Food Vision process promoted some characteristics of sustainability governance, in terms of creating an environment where participatory decision-making could prevail when

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creating the Olympics food strategy. As explained later in Section 8.2.1 on interorganisationality, the Food Advisory Group cannot be considered truly participatory because many important stakeholders were left out of the decision-making process. The decisionmaking process also cannot be considered to have promoted a systems approach that promoted food system adaptability; meaning that the decision-making process did not include an explicit recognition of the food system as a dynamic system with simultaneous social, environmental and economic pressures. This lack of recognition is demonstrated by the decision-makers not making adaptability a priority, which further supports the notion that food systems sustainability was not treated as a wicked problem by the Food Advisory Group for the Olympics.

Table 8.1 Olympics' Sustainable Food Systems Summary

	Component Description	**Explanation of each component in terms of the London 2012 Olympic Food Strategy**
Sustainable Food System Characteristics	**Equity / Fairness**	
	Access to food	affordability of concession items
	Recognizing needs of everyone	provided several different national cuisines
	Access to growing	discussed, but did not achieve
	Cultural	
	Educated population	purported to be not possible due to strict sponsorship rules
	Relationships with food growers	not spoken about
	Adaptable institutions	not spoken about
	Governance	
	Local autonomy	not spoken about
	Participatory decision-making	the Food Advisory Group attempted participatory decisionmaking
	Promotes community-wellbeing	not spoken about
	Promote environmental regulations	not spoken about
	Regionalise food systems	used local (British) food
	Systems approach	focused on both supply and waste
	Adaptable decision-making	not spoken about
	Value-Based Economics	
	Expand "value" to include nonmonetary	not spoken about
	Promote a good standard of living for all	some Fairtrade items were required, did not include domestic producers
	Good prices and working conditions	required a living wage for all Olympic Park employees, did not address working conditions
	Cooperative trade	not spoken about
	Responsible Practices	

Use less energy	focused on transportation and CO_2	
Protect and enhance natural resources	used some organic food, but it was not required	
Healthy diets	included healthy items on the menus, but did nothing to help people's diets	
More food growers	not spoken about	
Animal Welfare	discussed, but decided it was too expensive	
Biodiversity	not spoken about	

The Food Vision process promoted some economic characteristics for sustainable food systems. The Olympics mandated that all employees on the Park be paid a living wage.[57] Buying Fairtrade products was also a priority for LOCOG. However, there were characteristics that the Food Vision did not support, such as promoting cooperative means of trade, which could have been promoted by incorporating cooperatively grown produce into the Olympics' food procurement (e.g., from nearby community gardens or allotments in exchange for tickets to the Olympic Park). They also could have worked on developing local communities' capacities to buy and grow food. As an example, they could have used the Olympics' food procurement as a catalyst for getting new organic farms established (in both urban and rural areas). These new farms could have been advertised at the Olympic Park concessions to increase their long-term viability.

The Food Vision promoted some responsible practices through their food procurement for the Olympics. For instance, LOCOG did require most meat and produce to be locally sourced (from UK), and the caterers were able to comply with this requirement. LOCOG could have gone further in promoting environmental stewardship by finding a way to require both local and organic meat and produce. While they did require healthy options be available to customers during the Olympics, there was no requirement to make the unhealthy options healthier (i.e., reducing fat and salt content of the fish and chips). Many caterers mentioned that LOCOG did not provide any information to spectators in order to help them make healthy choices during the Games. As discussed previously, LOCOG did not provide any additional information about how individuals could change their lifestyles, diets and buying habits to increase their health and the health of their food system. Therefore, LOCOG missed

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[57] The London Living Wage is supported by the Mayor of London and the Living Wage Foundation. All employees contracted by the Olympics were required to be paid at least a living wage (GLA Economics: Living Wage Unit 2012). As of 4 November 2013, the London Living Wage is £8.80 per hour (BBC News 2013).

an important educational opportunity. As Table 8.1 shows, the Food Vision process covers many aspects of sustainable food systems, but there was more they could have done to work toward sustainability.

Since I have defined sustainable food as a wicked problem that cannot be solved or achieved, I am not trying to characterise the Olympic food strategy as a "failure" or "success." Instead, I am using the concepts of wicked problems and the outlined sustainable food characteristics to discuss the scope and reach of the Olympics food strategy. This discussion of wicked problems and sustainable food characteristics frames the analysis of the sustainability outcomes of the Olympic food strategy and shines light on the ways in which a relational and reflexive approach can contribute to larger sustainable food systems changes.

8.2 Research Questions: Relational and Reflexive Framework

The following discussion of the research questions and the relational, reflexive framework will better address the ways in which the decision-making approach set up by LOCOG for the Olympic food strategy could have done more to promote discussions about sustainable food systems as an unsolvable, dynamic, inter-related, unbounded (wicked) problem. My overarching research question is: In what ways does a relational, reflexive approach to sustainable food decision-making lead to sustainable food systems outcomes? To answer this overarching research question, I ask three subordinate research questions. The first question asks about the inter-organisational exchange, the second asks about the relational aspects of the food strategy process and the third question asks about the reflexive processes of creating and implementing the food strategy. Subsequent sections address each of these questions.

8.2.1 Research Question 1: Overall Context and Process

The first sub-question focuses on inter-organisational exchange: *What is the overall context and process through which inter-organisational exchange occurs?* This research question is largely answered in the case study chapters. Chapter 5 describes the context for the Olympic food strategy and Chapters 6 and 7 describe the process through which the food strategy was created and implemented. What remains to be explored are the aspects of the relational, reflexive framework that pertain to inter-organisational exchange, including examining the extent to which the Olympic food strategy process was inter-organisational and to what extent it facilitated participatory interaction.

8.2.1.1 Inter-Organisational Exchange

Albareda *et al.* (2007: 395) explains the relationships between inter-organisational actors by stating, "This framework makes it possible to observe the three social agents of governments, businesses and civil society stakeholders not as poles or opposites which repel each other, but as agents collaborating in an interrelated area." Additionally, inter-organisational exchanges refer to exchanges between organisations from civil society, business and the public sector. The key actors involved in creating and implementing the food strategy for the Olympics were: London Food Board (LFB), corporate sponsors (Coca-Cola and McDonalds), Sustain, NFU, LOCOG and Caterers, including Sodexo.

In the Olympics Food Vision case study, the Food Advisory Group consisted of actors from civil society, the public sector and business. These actors came to Food Advisory Group meetings but this research shows that these actors did not necessarily interact during these meetings. One member of an NGO, who was also a Food Advisory Group member, expressed never having spoken to anyone representing McDonald's (Interview V35).

Additionally, interviews with Food Advisory Group members showed that most of the conversations about the Food Vision occurred outside of the official Food Advisory Group meetings. Instead, these conversations occurred over email or in one-on-one meetings outside of the larger group setting, and were primarily conversations between LOCOG and a Food Advisory Group member. Additionally, during the Olympics, Sodexo did not communicate directly with the other service providers on the Olympic Park; instead, these conversations happened through LOCOG. Figure 8.1 shows the ways in which the communication actually occurred during the Food Advisory Group and catering processes. LOCOG directly related to each constituent involved in the process, and there was very little cross-communication between constituents, with the notable exception of caterers and supply chain accreditation bodies, represented in Figure 8.1 with an arrow between Sodexo and MSC. Therefore, the Olympic food strategy process did not represent a robust interorganisational approach.

Figure 8.1 The Structure of Inter-Organisational Exchange
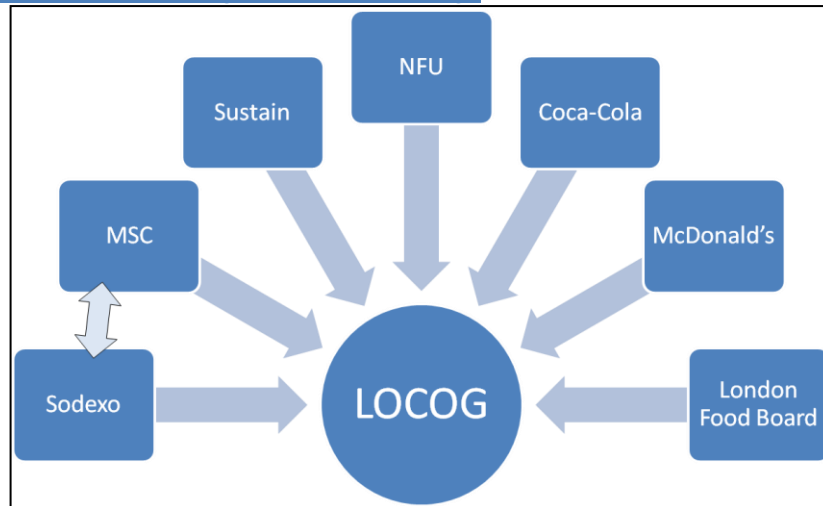
8.2.1.2 Participatory Interaction

An important aspect of participatory decision-making is involving actors from various levels of governance with different epistemic backgrounds. Many of the key actors – in both the Food Advisory Group and the food strategy implementation process – represent nationallevel organisations (NFU, DEFRA, Sustain), while the corporations are all multi-national corporations with regional headquarters in the UK, while the London Food Board is a London-wide group. Therefore, there are actors from different levels of governance, but there are decidedly fewer local-level groups than national and international groups. Participatory interaction also relies on actors relating well with each other and managing and resolving conflicts together. In the Olympics case study, the food system actors' differences in sustainability interpretations and the assumptions they made about each other often stymied interactions (these assumptions are discussed further in the next section – Section 8.2.2).

Several LOCOG members stated that the Food Advisory Group process involved all the stakeholders for the Olympics, but there were stakeholders that were not invited to this process and therefore excluded from the decision-making process. This resulted in a process that was promoted by LOCOG as being participatory, but in truth was not. The end users at the Olympic Park, the spectators, were not consulted in the creation of the food strategy. The food vendors in East London (e.g., restaurants, street food, grocers) were not included in the Food Advisory Group. Perhaps most importantly, the actors who were in charge of implementing the food strategy – the catering companies – were not included in the Food Advisory Group. While the Food Advisory Group did include many different organisations

and provided the opportunity to integrate these perspectives, there were many groups of people left out of that discussion; therefore, the decision-making process cannot be considered participatory.

8.2.1.3 Research Question 1: Insights

To summarize research question one, I again state that most of this research question is answered within the details of Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Here I am merely reflecting on the interorganisational and participatory aspects of the research question. Even though the Olympic food strategy was not a perfect example of inter-organisational exchange or participatory interaction, the case study shines light on how inter-organisational and participatory settings could be better facilitated to more effectively create sustainable food systems changes. The first key point of improvement is to facilitate conversations including *all* participants involved and not to limit the discussions to be only between the organisation "in charge" (i.e., LOCOG) and each participating organisation. The second key point of improvement is to facilitate a participatory approach where key stakeholders are jointly identified and "invited" to participate. There is a plethora of research on participatory governance[58] and consultancies that specialise in such facilitation,[59] and LOCOG could have utilised these resources to better organise a truly participatory process.

8.2.2 Research Question 2: Relationality

The second sub-question focuses on the relational aspect of decision-making: *What is the process for creating/maintaining relationships within a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making?* Furthermore*, in what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes?* Chapters 5, 6 and 7 describe the key structure of the interactions between actors involved with the creation and implementation of the Olympic food strategy, but here I go into more detail about the quality of the relationships between the actors involved. Two key aspects of relationships as identified in Chapter 3 are inter-organisational exchange and participatory interaction, but these qualities are discussed in the previous section (Section 8.2.1). Therefore, in this section I will focus on the remaining aspects of relationality: coresponsibility, trust and long-term relationships. I will also discuss how both cooperative

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[58] See Fung, Wright and Abers (2003) for an account of the literature on participatory approaches to governance.
[59] One example of a consultancy who specialises in participatory approaches is Practical Participation in the UK.

and conflictual relationships can lead to sustainability outcomes. As described in Chapter 3, coresponsibility occurs when actors in an inter-organisational exchange (1) recognise their interdependencies, (2) identify common interests which lead to shared objectives, (3) create common agreement on the respective contributions necessary for the attainment of these objectives and (4) effectively articulate the responsibilities assumed by each party. Trust is a subjective calculation that people use to determine if they believe another actor will act as they have said they will. Long-term relationships help facilitate trust.

8.2.2.1 Co-Responsibility and Trust

Co-responsibility refers to when the organisations involved have a sense of collaboration of both problem definition and problem solving. Interviews with Food Advisory Group members show that there was no joint identification of sustainable food problems before the Food Visioning process, and there was no discussion of organisational responsibility for these problems and thus no element of co-responsibility. In addition, there were discrepancies between LOCOG and catering managers as to the nature of their relationship. Several LOCOG managers explained the relationship as a "partnership," while caterers made it clear in interviews and observations that their relationships with LOCOG was based solely on an enforceable legal contract. This contractual relationship consisted of both conflict and cooperation between the organisations, as LOCOG assisted in the process of finding suppliers to meet the Food Vision requirements but also insisted that the caterers stick to the contract even when it was difficult or inconvenient for the catering managers.

Trust is a subjective probability with which actors determine another's actions or intended actions. As explained in Chapter 7, there were times when both caterers and LOCOG did not follow their contractual agreement. In each of these instances, the caterer chose the most financially responsible option (e.g., keeping the concession open instead of rinsing and recycling foil trays). Catering managers and executives primarily discussed how to move forward when problems occurred as to not incur a financial penalty from LOCOG. These instances are indicative of a lack of trust in the other organisation. In behaving this way, the catering company was "playing by the rules of the game" as they were set forth: contractual terms setting financial incentives, rewards and punishments. In one instance, explained in Chapter 7, LOCOG managers had not been returning KPI reports to Sodexo managers for weeks, which led a Sodexo executive to tell all of the operational managers not to sign anything from LOCOG just in case LOCOG tried to penalise Sodexo for LOCOG's mistakes.

The relationships were further impeded by the assumptions actors had about each other. Scholars have pointed out the importance of actors scrutinizing and reconsidering their underlying assumptions, institutional arrangements and practices (Hendricks and Grin 2007; Marsden 2013a). Many tensions between Food Advisory Group members were often rooted in the members' perceptions of each other. The ways in which the different people in the Food Advisory Group perceived each other sprouted from basic assumptions about the other people involved. Some interviewees opined that NGOs are simply campaign organisers, who are idealistic and not realistic, meaning that they do not understand how the food industry operates. This assumption can create a situation where everything a member of this organisation says is perceived as idealistic and impractical, even if it might be a perfectly achievable idea. Other Food Advisory Group members assumed that the industry was not achieving enough on sustainability (Interview H46), which created a barrier to how the achievements of private sector actors were perceived. Another assumption is that public bodies were not helping with sustainability initiatives within the Food Advisory Group because they were preoccupied by enabling private sector actors in their un-sustainability instead of trying to change these actors. This assumption was apparent when Food Advisory Group members were attempting to influence McDonald's to serve British chicken, and, according to some interviewees, LOCOG opted out of the conversation by saying that it was not within their remit to influence sponsors. Additionally, at a Food Advisory Group meeting, the government agency, DEFRA said that they did not want to go "overboard" on the environmental aspect of the Food Vision, even though the purpose of their organisation is to protect the environment. Therefore, within the Food Advisory Group, when public bodies stated their remit or viewpoint, these comments were understood in light of the assumption that public bodies were usually arguing for the status quo (thus supporting the corporate and industry actors) and not pushing for sustainability changes.

Therefore, Food Advisory Group members' relationships were often characterised by tensions and disagreements, propelled by underlying assumptions about different actors in the process. There were also points when actors expressed surprise in others' behaviours, for instance when Coca-Cola was helpful with putting accreditation logos on the menu boards, a member of an NGO expressed surprise because a corporate actor acted in a way that was contrary to the NGO's perception of Coke's expected behaviour. Food Advisory Group members relied on their previous-held beliefs, perceptions and assumptions of other actors as they navigated

the Food Advisory Group process. I argue that these beliefs, perceptions and assumptions fostered a lack of trust between the actors and, as explained in the next section (Section 8.2.3) about reflexivity, discouraged an environment of perspective sharing and interacting in a deliberative, participatory manner.

8.2.2.2 Cooperation and Conflict

As Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) theorise, relationships can be either conflictual or cooperative and still obtain positive outcomes. The Olympics case study shows Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens' (2012) theory to be accurate, as shown by a few cooperative relationships and one conflictual relationship, which all resulted in sustainability outcomes.

8.2.2.2.1 Cooperative Relationships

As described previously in Section 7.1.1.1, in the situation in which Sustain helped raise the fish standards to a more sustainable standard, the important finding is that the NGO Sustain did not pressure LOCOG in a conflictual (negative or oppositional) manner. Instead, Sustain campaigned for London to be the first "Sustainable Fish City" in the world in a positive, collaborative manner. The Sustainable Fish City included asking restaurants and public canteens to sign a pledge to serve only MSC-certified sustainable fish. The Sustainable Fish City campaign was "inspired by London 2012" which therefore assisted LOCOG in maintaining a positive public image. Therefore, LOCOG members expressed the desire to live up to the high bar Sustain created and not wanting to have lower standards than what London 2012 was supposedly inspiring the rest of London to achieve. The key point is that Sustain made LOCOG look good by working closely and cooperatively with LOCOG and, by doing so, achieved more than they would have if Sustain had run a negative, oppositional campaign to shame LOCOG into creating sustainable fish standards.[60]

Therefore, here is evidence that Sustain's involvement increased the sustainability of the food for the Games, but not in a conflictual, oppositional manner that involved external lobbying and media campaigns. Instead, Sustain's involvement increased the sustainability because of

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[60] As explained in Chapter 4, a LOCOG interviewee said that because Sustain had already achieved so much for sustainable fish in London, it was easier to just raise the standards for the Olympics.

their inclusion in the Food Visioning process and because of the willingness of actors involved to work collaboratively toward sustainability changes.

Another cooperative example was how the LOCOG and Sodexo health and safety teams worked together, as described in Section 7.2.2. This example is very different from sustainable fish, because health and safety is a mandatory legal requirement that can result in closure of a concession and fines – with the added repercussions of loss of reputation and loss of revenue while closed. Both LOCOG and Sodexo had large teams dedicated to the health and safety of the concessions. They each tested different concessions daily, and they worked together to schedule when they would be in a concession so they did not crowd the people working in the concession. They also spoke daily about any concerns so that they could stay on the same page with what was going wrong and what they could do better. The result of this coordination and cooperation is that Sodexo did not have a single concession closed or even threatened with closure during the duration of the Olympics and Paralympics and no documented cases of food poisoning (J. Spayde, field notes, 2012). Additionally, both Sodexo and LOCOG health and safety staff reported being pleased with their relationships and reported working very well together.

A Legacy impact of the Olympics can also be classified as an example of cooperative relationality. This was an urban gardening program called Capital Growth 2012, which opened 2,012 new growing spaces by the year 2012. It is impossible to say exactly how the momentum of the Olympics encouraged communities to participate in this program, but the program was successful in meeting its goal and is an example of organisations working with LOCOG, making LOCOG look good in the public eye while also benefiting from the publicity of being associated with London 2012.

8.2.2.2.2 Conflictual Relationships

During the operations at the Olympic and Paralympic Games, the caterers worked with LOCOG and their many other service providers to deliver a seamless food service experience to their customer groups. Because of the size of the operation, and the complex contractual arrangements, the food delivery operations were sometimes quite difficult for LOCOG and the caterers to negotiate. The relationships between these actors varied from positive to extremely negative, with examples of positive comments and feedback from LOCOG as well as catering staff and LOCOG staff shouting at each other in anger. The relationship between LOCOG and the caterers was characterised by the tension created by LOCOG focusing

strictly on the contractual obligations in their interactions with caterers while the caterers prioritised flexibility in their daily practices. These two mentalities were often at odds. The contractually-oriented character of LOCOG pushed the caterers to live up to their contractual obligations of achieving the requirements in the Food Vision (as listed in Table 6.4). As mentioned previously, LOCOG required caterers to submit all menus for approval, and they closely monitored the caterers' supply chains by keeping in close contact with the accreditation bodies. In this way, LOCOG used their power as public procurers and contracting agents as a way to force caterers to implement the practices that were required of them. LOCOG's vigilance was only possible because they had staff and a consultancy group dedicated to overseeing the contracting negotiations, the supply chain set up and the catering implementation. Without an organisation willing to be assertive with the caterers to hold them to their contractual obligations while also being understanding when goals could not be achieved, caterers would have been free to work on their own to interpret and implement the Food Vision requirements. Therefore, this is an example of using the power of public procurement to achieve sustainability outcomes and, further, an example of conflictual relationality.

Barnett *et al.* (2011: 352) reports an example of a procurement unit being "severely impeded due to the absence of a regulatory body within healthcare that would align, support and coordinate the relevant activities." LOCOG acted as that regulatory body. Because previous studies stress this importance, I suggest that the fact that LOCOG had the time, people and resources to ensure the caterers fulfilled the sustainable food strategy requirements directly led to higher sustainability standards for the Olympics.

LOCOG worked to hold the caterers to their contracts, even when caterers complained of difficulties, which ensured that the caterers provided the correctly accredited foods. LOCOG even held caterers to the Food Vision terms when they increased the stringency of the sustainable fish requirements close to the beginning of the Games. The caterers perceived LOCOG to be creating tensions by insisting caterers comply with their contractual obligations, which actually resulted in caterers achieving greater compliance to the sustainability requirements than they would have otherwise. This is an example of how a conflictual relationship can lead to sustainability outcomes.

An additional point is that due to the participant observation, I was able to identify points of conflict that participants did not self-report in interviews. For instance, the data that included the yelling between LOCOG and Sodexo managers was obtained through participant observation, and would not have come up in the interviews because there was not a question about that in the interview protocol.

8.2.2.3 Long-Term Relationships

Long-term relationships help facilitate trust. Developing long-term relationships in this case involved building relationships before the event, and setting them up in a way that the relationships could continue after the event as well. LOCOG members claimed that the Food Advisory Group process involved having sustainability NGOs and large corporations "sitting down at the table together." A possible outcome of an interactional activity could be longterm relationships, but there is no evidence that the Food Advisory Group resulted in any long-term inter-organisational relationships. However, this research captures the evolutionary process of creating and maintaining networks and inter-organisational relationships, by focusing on characteristics of the inter-organisational exchange, such as the scale of the Olympics' food demand and the time-limited aspect of the event.

There are several observations from the Olympic and Paralympic Games that indicate scale as a problem or barrier to sustainability, demonstrated by interviewee's comments about the Olympics being "too big" to procure only sustainable food. Because relational decisionmaking is based primarily on *relationships* between actors engaged in inter-organisational exchanges, the question arises: How does scale affect relational decision-making? Does pursuing relational decision-making as a tool to advance sustainability limit the scale at which sustainability initiatives can be created and implemented?

Hinrichs (2000: 298) explains a popular view of farmer's market vendors and customers in which relationships between the two are of utmost importance. She summarises, "the relationship between producer and consumer was not formal or contractual, but rather the fruit of familiarity, habit and sentiment, seasoned by the perception of value on both sides." She makes clear that some people view food buying as based on relationships and interpersonal exchanges instead of purely monetary exchanges. However, if one farmer is selling to 1000 people each day, what possibility is there for a relationship between each consumer and his or her producer? Perhaps relational decision-making is limited to a certain scale, and complex problem-solving that utilises relational decision-making characteristics

(inter-organisational exchange, co-responsibility, trust and adaptive decision-making) cannot be effective at certain scales. At large scales, people, food and resources need to be represented by numbers, units and distances for simplification, which can result in dehumanisation of people and de-naturalisation of things. However, de-humanisation and denaturalisation are contradictory to sustainable food systems, which raises the question: can sustainability only be achieved on a small scale? However, I do not wish to only re-affirm the alternative /conventional divide, by simplifying sustainability to a debate between smallscale versus large-scale. Since Poppo and Zenger (2002) argue that a combination of traditional contracts and relational contracts is the best way to approach solving complex inter-organisational problems, and that "contracts and relational governance function as compliments" (Poppo and Zenger 2002: 721), the lesson here is to promote relational decision-making in addition to traditional contracts when dealing with large-scale food procurement.

A second aspect of long-term relationships between actors in organisations is how to develop these relationships even within a large-scale event – or between very large organisations. The amount of LOCOG management and staff present for the Games represents a missed opportunity for a more relational approach between the caterers and LOCOG. LOCOG had staff and managers at several different levels, which mirrored the organisational structure of Sodexo at the Olympic Park (as shown in Figure 7.2). Because every Sodexo operational manager had his or her own LOCOG manager as a point person, there was an opportunity for these actors to develop a relationship, based on inter-organisational exchange, coresponsibility, trust and adaptive decision-making, with the goal of creating long-term relationships. Even though scale might complicate relationality, I am not suggesting that large-scale organisations and operations are not as capable of relational decision-making as small-scale organisations and operations. In fact, when I examine the main problems within inter-organisational relationships at the Olympics – especially between LOCOG and Sodexo – the largest issues were the *assumptions* they were making about each other and that neither organisation seemed to *trust* that the other knew the correct action going forward.

A related question is: what role did the time-limited event play on the relationality of the inter-organisational exchanges? Perhaps a barrier to relational decision-making between LOCOG and Sodexo actors was the perception that their working relationship only spanned a short time period and it was soon going to end. From participant observation, it did not seem

as if *intra*-organisational relationships were stifled by the fact that the event would be over shortly. On the contrary, Sodexo managers and supervisors seemed to create close friendships with one another[61] – even though they might not ever work together again. Perhaps the conflictual inter-organisational relationships between Sodexo and LOCOG employees actually accelerated intra-organisational relationships between Sodexo employees.

8.2.2.4 Research Question 2: Insights

From the analysis of the relational decision-making characteristics above, I found that the relational quality of the relationships between the corporate sponsors and other Food Advisory Group members was low. Jamali and Keshishian (2009: 281) define relational quality "as the extent to which the principals and agents of alliance partners feel confident in dealing with their counterparts' organisations." The tendency for Coca-Cola and McDonald's to send different people to the Food Advisory Group meetings each time hurt their relational capacity. However, I argue that the relational quality between LOCOG and Sustain as well as between LOCOG and Sodexo was high due to the sustainability outcomes of their relationships.

As discussed in Chapter 3, relational decision-making does not assume cooperation is the best way for relationships to operate, because in fact many inter-organisational exchanges are characterised by conflict as well. The Olympic case study confirms this insight. Even though there were tensions and conflicts between Food Advisory Group members (as highlighted in earlier chapters), there were also points of collaboration (as discussed in this chapter). The main theoretical contribution from these conflictual and collaborative relationships is the confirmation they provide that conflictual as well as cooperative relationships between actors can lead to sustainability outcomes – much as Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens (2012) explain in their revised relational model. Additionally, points of conflict between Sodexo and LOCOG revealed areas in which LOCOG was not especially committed to sustainability as in the situation where Sodexo had to choose between recycling foil trays and keeping their

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[61] Examples of close friendships include Sodexo employees going out to drinks together most nights, living together and making plans to travel together and work together in the future.

concession open (because rinsing the trays was clogging the drains). Therefore, these conflicts help highlight areas for discussion in future interorganisational exchanges.

Building on the insights about improvements in inter-organisational exchange and participatory interaction identified for the first research question (Section 8.2.1), I identify two insights associated with relationality. First, the facilitation of co-responsibility, trust and relational quality needs to be intentional. The Olympic case study lacked an intentional facilitation of relational aspects and therefore resulted in limited co-responsibility, limited trust and poor relational quality. The second key insight is that the presence of cooperation or conflict is not, in itself, meaningful. Instead, what matters is that the relational characteristics are examined in context, taking into consideration both the relationships and their strategic outcomes. At the operational level, interactions between Sodexo and LOCOG were sometimes argumentative, and some catering senior officials indicated discontent with the contractual relationship with LOCOG. However, LOCOG was able to hold caterers to the food strategy standards despite of, or maybe even because of, their conflictual relationship.

8.2.3 Research Question 3: Reflexivity

The third sub-question focuses on reflexivity of sustainable food decision-making: *What is the process for sharing sustainability interpretations and worldviews within relational, reflexive decision-making?* Furthermore*, in what ways does this process lead to sustainable food outcomes?* Reflexivity involves sharing worldviews through an interactive, deliberative process through which uncertainty and adaptation are key priorities of any "solutions" to the problem at hand. The basis of a reflexive approach is to help participants negotiate, renegotiate and change relationships, processes, rules and meanings by paying special attention to the frames (their discourses and experiences) of the actors involved (Feindt 2012). These frames are important because they constitute the meanings influencing practices. Through a process of recognising and sharing frames, reflexive decision-making is intended to help people change their frames through a continual learning process about both the scientific underpinnings of the problem and the diverse frames and practices used to address the problem (Voß *et al.* 2006). This section discusses (1) sustainability worldviews and co-learning around sustainability; (2) deliberation around complexity, uncertainty and adaptability; and (3) missed opportunities around sustainability conceptualisations.

8.2.3.1 Sustainability Worldviews and Co-Learning

An important part of reflexive decision-making is promoting alternative understandings of problems and solutions. As mentioned previously, there were different understandings of sustainability and about how to address sustainable food systems. Some LOCOG members mentioned that the Food Advisory Group involved people from different backgrounds for the express purpose of "having them all around the same table" and learning from each other (Interview S43). However, another Food Advisory Group member expressed never having spoken to anyone representing McDonald's (Interview V35). This lack of interaction is a clear sign that the Food Advisory Group process did not promote a discussion of different understandings of the problems and solutions around sustainable food.

Additionally, when interviewing Food Advisory Group members about their experiences at the Food Advisory Group meetings, no one mentioned that there was any discussion about what constitutes sustainability. In fact, one Food Advisory Group member said that they would have "booed them off the stage" if anyone had started trying to define sustainability (Interview Y89). Her reasoning for this comment was that she had been to several sustainability workshops where people "waste" most of the day *talking*, just trying to define the term, instead of spending time figuring out what to *do* about it. Other Food Advisory Group members also stated that they did not spend time on defining sustainability (Interview R21 and L22). Instead, they used the five key areas that LOCOG had previously identified (Interview M66 and V48), which included (1) food safety and hygiene, (2) choice and balance of food options, (3) sustainable food sourcing and supply chain, (4) environmental management and (5) promoting skills and education (LOCOG 2009).

In the Food Advisory Group, Sustain and the London Food Board argued for high animal welfare meat, eggs and dairy as well as organic products, as they most often discussed food safety, healthy food, education and animal welfare. Several Food Advisory Group members also mentioned environmental aspects of sustainability, such as carbon emissions of flying, the carbon emissions associated with eating meat and deforestation caused by increases in livestock production.

Many Food Advisory Group members also emphasised economic arguments for sustainability, as LOCOG and the private companies frequently cited cost as the most essential element of sustainability and prioritised ensuring profitability. As one interviewee said, "if nobody will buy it then it is not sustainable" (Interview W27). In this sense, many

interviewees valued "practicality" as a key approach to sustainability. One Food Advisory Group member expressed a very individualistic approach to sustainability, stating that sustainability was just another of a long list of individual goals, like exercising and eating healthy. NFU argued for the British standard, Red Tractor, which would ensure that most meat and produce was sourced "locally," meaning from Britain.

The final Olympic Food Vision also emphasised local and fairtrade. Actors who expressed dissatisfaction with the resulting food strategy thought the strategy failed to touch on many aspects of sustainable food systems like health, the carbon footprint of animal protein and animal welfare. Therefore, according to some Food Advisory Group members, the economic interpretation of sustainability was more predominant in the food strategy document.

Some actors' sustainability interpretations tended to be more concerned with social and environmental aspects, while others were more concerned with what was affordable and achievable above all else. Some interviewees stated that sustainability is something individuals *do,* like eating healthy and exercising. This individualist approach demonstrates a lack of appreciation for the full weight of the sustainability problem, and a lack of recognition that it is a *social* problem, not an *individual* problem.

Reflexive decision-making is intended to help people think about and change their worldviews through a continual and interactive learning process. For the Olympic food strategy, there was effectively a group of people working together, but their different conceptualisations of sustainability shows that they all had different goals and expected different outcomes for the food strategy. Therefore, a group of people were working together on the Food Vision, but they were working *separately* to achieve different ends. This demonstrates an opportunity for learning between the different actors, and that a discussion defining sustainability would have been useful for the Food Advisory Group members. Such a discussion would have helped ensure they would all be working toward the same goal in making recommendations for the food strategy. Despite the actors' being in the same room, in the same group and all signing-off on the food strategy (Interview K29), the different conceptualisations of sustainability that emerge from interviews show that there was not a discussion about worldviews or frame alignment activities between Food Advisory Group members about what constitutes sustainable food. Food Advisory Group members did not undergo an exchange of sustainability ideas, and therefore they did not have an opportunity to

share views of the food system, which would have encouraged mutual learning and perhaps a more holistic or social view of food system problems.

However, there are a few examples of interviewees learning from the process. Some interviewees said that being involved with the Food Advisory Group process was an incredible learning opportunity. Participants reported learning about sustainability, the costs of sustainable foods and about the differing criteria of different food standards. Some caterers reported learning about the different standards available in the marketplace. Caterers also said they learned about the importance of waste management and buying products packaged with recyclable packaging.

While some people involved with the process learned about sustainability, largely because they had never worked on sustainability issues before, the learning that took place was limited to the type of sustainability that LOCOG chose to express in the Food Vision. As stated previously, the caterers had many disagreements with the type of sustainability in the Food Vision, but LOCOG held them to their contracts. Some complaints included that LOCOG's food strategy was not realistic in its expectations of providing higher standards without increasing costs. Caterers also argued that providing healthy food at a sporting event was not profitable because at sporting events unhealthy food traditionally sells best. Despite these few examples, however, it cannot be said that co-learning, in the reflexive sense, occurred with any frequency throughout this process. This was due mainly to the unwillingness of the Food Advisory Group to engage in any substantive discussion of what sustainability might mean, as well as individual unwillingness to exchange their personal ideas about sustainability on a meaningful level.

8.2.3.2 Deliberation around Complexity, Uncertainty and Adaptation

Deliberation is a motivation to learn, to understand others, to embrace complexity and to use creativity to solve problems. As discussed previously in terms of the relationality of the food strategy process, many of the Food Advisory Group members lacked trust in one another; many actors relied on previously held perspectives and assumptions of other people's attitudes, willingness, values and priorities.

Deliberation around complexity was pre-empted by LOCOG specifying the five key aspects of sustainable food for the Food Advisory Group. By breaking sustainable food into five

themes, they limited the discussion around complexity and pre-defined the term. This approach saved time, but did not allow for deliberation around sustainability and complexity.

Deliberation can also include discussions about the uncertainty of the issue at hand. As demonstrated by their emphasis on flexibility in decision-making, many of the caterers understood that uncertainty is part of the business because there are always elements that are out of their control, such as the weather or fluctuations in event attendance (Interview L2). The caterers demonstrated a higher tolerance for uncertainty, while LOCOG demonstrated a low level of tolerance for uncertainty in their interactions with the caterers.

Adaptation is about actors understanding that failure is natural and maintaining a willingness to be creative to find solutions. Adaptation is part of the initial plan, to incorporate into any solution the ability to be flexible during the implementation phase of a solution. As mentioned previously, caterers often emphasised flexibility and practicality in the catering operation, while LOCOG stressed contractual agreements without always recognizing the immediate infeasibility of the contractual regulations, within the on-the-ground, dynamic environment. A confounding feature is that contracts had been agreed upon over a year before the event. As discussed in Section 0, during the contracting process, LOCOG representatives claimed to value flexibility and adaptability. However, through participant observation with Sodexo and through interviews with several catering companies, it is clear that LOCOG was not practicing flexibility throughout the Olympics food service operations. This shows an incongruence between senior level and operational level understandings and practices, and highlights the need for determining how legal contracts can incorporate flexibility at a contractual level so that it can be practiced at an operational level.

Adaptive decision-making encourages continuance and bilateralism within organisational relationships when change and conflict arise. Adaptive decision-making also involves organisations jointly handling conflict and unexpected changes in a flexible manner that allows for solving the problem at hand, instead of being concerned about staying within narrowly defined contractual limitations. When unexpected changes and conflicts arose between LOCOG and the caterers, there were not contractual structures in place to properly deal with these unexpected complications. As a result, LOCOG and caterers had to work within the limitations of the contractual arrangement to solve problems. Poppo and Zenger (2002: 708) emphasise that relational decision-making encourages "bilateral commitment to

keep-on-with-it" in inter-organisational exchanges, while contracts do not typically allow for the adaptability to respond to complex complications or conflicts.

8.2.3.3 Missed Opportunities: Perceived Choices and Trade-offs

Both Food Advisory Group members and caterers mentioned the contradictions or choices found within different aspects of sustainability, and caterers mentioned often being frustrated with these contradictions and the choices that LOCOG made. What Food Advisory Group members, LOCOG, caterers and accreditation bodies failed to recognize was that they merely *perceived* contradictions and choices, when they could have perceived these situations as *opportunities* to organise the food system differently and as a result, achieve more sustainable food systems. I show here how a reflexive decision-making approach could have led directly to more sustainable food system changes than were achieved during the Olympic Games.

Some caterers explained that serving healthy food was not profitable. However, there are ways in which serving healthy food *can* be profitable, as shown by some of the principles of the Healthy Catering Commitments, as discussed in Chapter 5. For instance, by drip-drying deep-fried foods longer, a company can both reduce the residual fat from the oil making it healthier and the companies can re-use the oil that drips back in the fryer, saving money by saving frying oil.

Some of the interviewees explained the difficulty of using small, local and niche suppliers due to health and safety reasons. This difficulty resulted in caterers using less of the small, local, and niche suppliers than they wanted to because of the health and safety systems requirements for suppliers to participate in the Olympics supply chain. This difficulty presents an opportunity to both redefine health and safety certifications and the perceptions of small, local and niche suppliers. The challenge is to create a way to ensure suppliers are meeting health and safety requirements even if they do not have complex assurance systems in place (as a large company will have due to its size).

However, the more pertinent question might be: What aspects of small and large companies *enable* these companies to contribute to sustainability and which aspects create barriers for sustainability? From this research, the aspects that disadvantaged small companies' involvement in the Olympic food supply chain are that small companies were perceived to be less likely to have the systems in place that *certify* food safety, traceability and farming practices (i.e., organic certification). However, if larger companies have more complex

supply chains that source food from all over the world, then they need more complex systems in place to keep track of the safety, farming practices and traceability. On the other hand, if a small company has a short and uncomplicated supply chain, complex systems for food safety, traceability and farming practices become superfluous. If a small company with only a few direct suppliers has concerns about food safety, traceability or farming practices, the company needs simply to contact the producer. This concept of standards and accreditations excluding small farmers and processors is corroborated by the agrifood literature, where the discussion around standards criticises the design of standards that advantage large companies while significantly disadvantaging smaller companies who often cannot afford the certifications (as in USDA Organics) or have such a straight-forward supply chain that the certification is useless and unnecessary (Guthman 2004).

Another perceived choice was between sustainability and the "quality" of a product. One interviewee mentioned that, from the consumer's perspective, large-scale catering corresponds with low-quality food products, which is not going to convince consumers to want sustainable food and would leave people associating sustainable food with poor quality catering. However, the underlying opportunity in that situation is to promote both sustainable and fresh, nice-tasting food *through* large-scale catering, which then encourages attitude responses from customers who begin to associate both large-scale catering and sustainability with high-quality food. Studies on school food cafeterias have shown that even schools with a long record of poor quality food can change and begin sourcing fresh, healthy, local foods that then positively impact their student's attitudes about eating healthy food *and* about eating catered school meals. Additionally, many chefs on site at the Olympic Park complained about not using their talents by simply re-heating pre-made food. The chefs explained that they would have been happier performing "real" cooking activities at the Olympic Park.

Another Food Advisory Group member perceived "quality" and "sustainability" to be synonymous by claiming that sustainably sourced foods are necessarily higher quality foods. This relates to the discussion of quality by agrifood scholars, who problematised the term "quality" because it consists of completely different properties depending on the context (Sonnino 2009). For example, "conventional" supply chains define quality as a "set of physical quality characteristics, measurable and standardized" (Sonnino 2009: 425) such as a perfectly round and red tomato, while a more "alternative" approach to quality "tends to be associated with an 'interpersonal world' of markets, products, and practices that are

territorially and socially embedded" (Sonnino 2009: 425). This helps contextualise interviewees' descriptions of "quality" and "sustainable" food as their own social constructions.

Another contradiction perceived by the Food Advisory Group was between local and organic. One Food Advisory Group member stated that the goals of the Food Vision were "about being sustainable but also trying to make sure that as much as possible came from Britain" (Interview Y74). This was perceived as a contradiction because, according to the National Farmers Union, there was not enough supply that was both *British* and *organic* to meet the large demand of the Olympics. What was not discussed in the Food Advisory Group meetings is that there are a few ways around this seeming contradiction. Firstly, the Food Advisory Group could have examined what British organic supplies do exist, and then required caterers to use these suppliers first. Then they could have used non-organic British suppliers. Secondly, this seeming contradiction presents an opportunity to create a market for local organic products. Even though the Olympic and Paralympic Games only last a few weeks, there are creative ways to use this as an opportunity to change the food system. As an example, Sonnino (2009) explains that the city of Rome, Italy, designed a school meals program to utilise organic produce and meat from the local area. Because the Roman schools represent the largest public catering service in the country (Morgan and Sonnino 2008), the supply did not exist, and it would take years to transform the farming sector to support organic school meals. Therefore, Rome opted for a progressive procurement approach to integrating organic local foods into school meals while gradually boosting Italian organic production. Morgan and Sonnnino (2008:77) state:

> On the production side, representatives from the organic certification bodies were asked to identify the products ready to sustain the economic impacts of Rome's massive demand. On the consumption side, nutritionists were consulted to find out which organic products are most beneficial to children's health.

Within the first year of the catering contracts, the caterers were expected to source local organic vegetables, and the next year they were required to add bread to the list of organic products, and so on year after year. Because procurement managers required the caterers to provide more and more organic products each year and the types of products were specified in contracts years in advance, the organic farmers were given enough time to transform their production methods to meet the needs of Roman schools. Therefore, to serve organic foods

in Roman schools, in a market that could not supply enough organic products for the large city's demand, Rome took an active role in increasing the supply available in the organic market.

The London Olympics could have learned from Rome and pursued a similar path. They could have set up supply chains to use for the Olympics, and then worked with public and private institutions that could agree to contracts with the new organic suppliers to ensure a lasting organics market after the short-lived demand of the Olympics was over. Given that London won the Olympics bid in 2005 and had seven years to plan for the event, London 2012 had plenty of time to create these plans and markets before the Games. Even if the organics market transformation took longer than the seven years London 2012 had available, the Games could have been a launching pad for a more robust organics industry in Britain. The Games could have showcased British organic foods and British organic suppliers and they could have promoted the companies that contracted with these new suppliers, who would then continue to promote organic foods for years to come.

This analysis shows that perceived contradictions are actually opportunities to think outside the box, to see the food system as more holistic and to see joint solutions to multiple problems in the food system and society. For instance, instead of viewing the structure of the existing system as enforcing limits on sustainability choices, decision-makers can make choices that will encourage the change they want to see in the food system. This also demonstrates the importance of creating space where creative decision-making can take place; allowing actors from different organisations to come together and learn from each other, getting beyond their assumptions and sharing knowledge, experience and passions about the food system. While the London Olympics case shows that simply getting actors from all sectors into the same room to work on the same project does not result in interorganisational collaboration, relational decision-making or reflexive decision-making, this case does show what alternative possibilities could come from a truly relational or reflexive approach to decision-making.

8.2.3.4 Research Question 3: Insights

To summarize, research question three discusses the extent to which actors involved in the Olympic food strategy shared sustainability worldviews and interpretations. From interviews about the Food Advisory Group process and through participant observation with caterers, I found very little evidence that sustainability worldviews and interpretations were shared in a

deliberative, intentional and purposeful manner. This is consistent with the discussion in Section 8.1.1 about wicked problems. Building off and reiterating the insights for research question two, the case study highlights a key way in which reflexivity in general, and deliberation in particular, could be better facilitated to create sustainable food systems changes. There needs to be a focus on individual-level reflexive thinking. Brousseau and Dedeurwaerdere (2012) describe cognitive reflexivity as a person revising his or her worldview and conceptualisations of the problem based on new knowledge. In the Olympic food strategy, this cognitive reflexivity did not occur. This is not surprising, as the organisers did not *attempt* a reflexive process. This suggests that a reflexive process is unlikely to occur naturally, and that it, therefore, necessitates an explicit, intentional, facilitated process.

The Olympic food sustainability initiative could have addressed more sustainable food system aspects if they had addressed the issue as a wicked problem and therefore chosen a truly relational and reflexive approach to sustainability. Without having addressed the decision-making process using these approaches, the sustainability outcomes are extremely limited. In addition, the *reach* of the sustainability outcomes are limited, because new relationships, new understandings, new connections and new approaches have not been established through this process. Therefore, only a few practices were changed and made more "sustainable" than previously, but the main outline of the process is fundamentally unchanged.

8.3 Updating the Relational, Reflexive Framework

One of the main contributions of this research is that it demonstrates that wickedness is a key part of truly addressing problems of sustainable food. Therefore, I suggest a relational, reflexive framework that places the concept of wickedness as a key deliberative component. For the updated framework, I emphasise that the relational, reflexive framework is an iterative sequential process, as shown in **Error! Reference source not found.**. The first step is considering *who* is involved, ensuring participation from inter-organisational actors with different epistemic backgrounds. The second step is facilitating *deliberation*. First, deliberation should occur around the *wickedness* of the sustainability problem. After this requirement is satisfied, participants should also deliberate about the components of uncertainty, adaptability and complexity of the sustainability problem. The third step is

fostering *interactional qualities*, which includes facilitating co-responsibility, trust and colearning between participants. The fourth step is to remain reflexive about the strategic *outcomes*. Whether it is a food strategy document or supply chain changes, decision-makers need to continue the relational, reflexive process through the implementation of the intervention or strategy. These steps can also be iterative. For instance, if during the deliberation process, the participants realize they need a new type of actor involved in the process, then they can go back to the first step.

Figure 8.2 Updated Relational Reflexive Framework
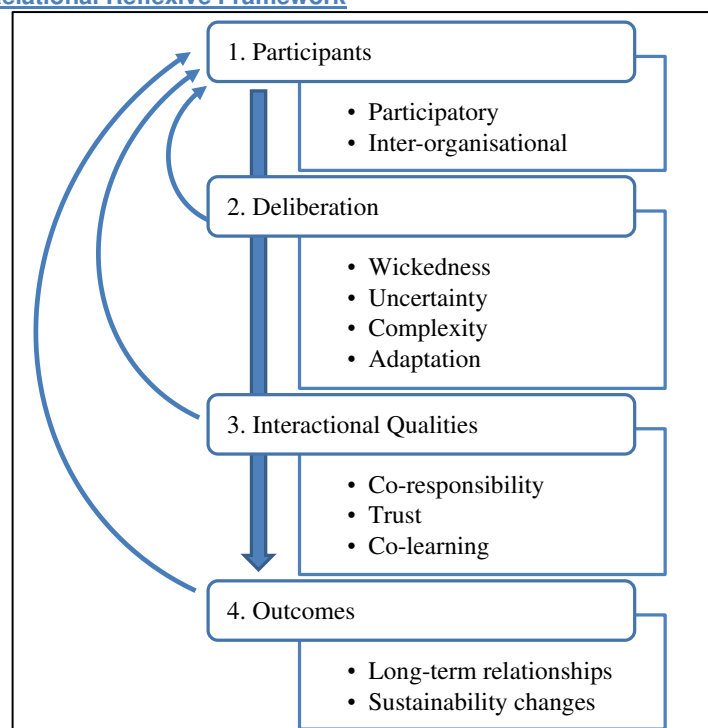
9 Reflections on MSEs as Vehicles for Sustainable Food Systems

This chapter relates back to the larger context of sustainable public food procurement and MSEs, discussing the power of sport to change the world and addressing the limitations of this study. I conclude this thesis by discussing what I view as the appropriate next steps for myself, other researchers and practitioners. The hope is that this study can have an impact beyond taking up space in a library archive, and this conclusion outlines the process for helping ensure the reach of the study.

9.1 Practical Reflections: MSE Sustainable Food Procurement

9.1.1 The Olympics as "Sustainable" Food Procurement

In Chapter 1, I explain that the small amount of research that has addressed sustainable public food procurement has a tendency to over-focus on the local level (Walker and Brammer 2009), on health and nutrition (DEFRA 2002; Rimmington *et al.* 2006) and on the environment (Walker and Brammer 2009), often neglecting fair trade and social dimensions (Rimmington *et al.* 2006). Contrary to Rimmington *et al.*'s (2006) claim that procurement officials usually neglect fair trade and social dimensions of sustainability, LOCOG tried to address many social aspects of food system problems. Including Fairtrade products was largely successful for the Olympics. They required a living wage for all Park employees, and they insisted on catering companies hiring local residents from East London, and, according to catering company managers, they successfully managed to hire a majority of their workers from East London.

I also explain in Chapter 1 that some scholars focus on the barriers to small producers' participation in sustainable procurement, which include especially "high levels of bureaucracy" and the "length of time taken to prepare contracts" (Peck and Cabras 2011: 319). During the Olympics, caterers were minimally successful in sourcing products from SMEs, but the participation of SMEs was limited due to SMEs not having the complex health and safety systems that all large companies have. However, caterers did claim to have used more SMEs during the Olympics than at previous catering events (Interview F54).

Peck and Cabras (2011) also make the point that price is a fall back justification for procurement decisions. As they state, "for some types of purchase there may be a lack of technical knowledge of the product or service, which makes it difficult to judge 'quality'. In the absence of this knowledge, the purchaser may fall back on 'price' as a 'reasonable' way of justifying a decision" (Peck and Cabras 2011: 324). LOCOG and caterers used price as a justification for not requiring organic and high animal welfare standards for the Olympics. Many of the caterers claimed that it would have been too expensive to do so.

I also explain in Chapter 1 that there are three main reasons why public procurement is important, including the large buying power of the public purse, the power to influence the supply chain and the government's responsibility to promote the public good. However, the

discussion around the Olympic food strategy was limited to "raising the bar" for the events industry (Interview E33) and helping caterers learn to source more sustainably (Interview T63). One main motivation for caterers to participate in the Olympics (besides the profit they gained at the Olympics) was that it helped increase the company's marketability to sustainability-oriented clients (Interview D22).

There was no discussion of using the large-scale buying power of the Olympics, along with the high visibility of this event, to promote changes in the food system. There was also no discussion of the Olympics' responsibility, as a partly publicly funded entity, to promote general social well-being and the public good through their procurement practices. In fact, in bid documents and public interviews with the chair of the British Olympic Association, Sebastian Coe, the main goal of the Olympics was to promote *sport* in Britain and the world. Coe said he wanted the Olympics "to inspire people to take up sport" (Gibson 2012), and a Labour party MP, Tessa Jowell, the minister in charge of the bid for the Olympics, said she wanted the Olympics to "transform a generation of young people through sport" (Gibson 2010). There was never any discussion about changing the food system through sport.

This study contributes to the literature on PPPs and public procurement by offering an example of the influential power of high-profile events to get diverse actors to come together around food and by showing that sustainability outcomes are limited without an explicit focus on the process through which public procurement policies and PPPs are created.

9.1.2 Reflecting on the Olympics as a Case Study

The Olympics are quite unique as it is an event that lasts longer than most other sporting events or festivals, but it is still temporary and therefore different from catering operations at a permanent venue. Because of this reason, I am not attempting to compare the Olympics to other events or festivals. Instead, I am using the Olympics as a microcosm for interorganisational sustainability decision-making and as a space to explore the impact of MSEs on sustainable food systems.

Figure 9.1 Olympic Sponsors

Source: (IOC 2012a)

Because the Olympics are a time-specific event, with a clear beginning, middle and end and a totally new strategy creation and implementation process, it provides an excellent case study to examine the relationships within a sustainable food strategy setting. For instance, LOCOG did not have to deal with changing the status quo of a permanent venue. Instead, there was a clear *starting* point from which decisions had to be made prior to the start of the catering services on site at the Olympic Park. The clear temporal boundaries framed the entire event and created an overarching feeling of intensity for the people involved. For instance, for the caterers, it was a fast-paced environment with long queues and large crowds and there was never really any "down time." The intensity of the Olympics goes beyond mere temporal characteristics, but extended to the money involved, the corporations involved, the media attention the event received and the sheer scale of the event.

London and the UK spent a large amount of money on the Olympics. They spent over £11 billion (Rogers 2012), which is more than the total procurement for 15 central government departments combined (Data.gov.uk 2014), as shown in Appendix I: Central Government Spending in 2011. The corporations involved included some of the largest corporations in the world, as 20 of the 25 sponsors and supporters are on the Forbes Global 2000 list (Forbes 2013; IOC 2012a). The Olympics was also the world's most watched event to date, as it was available on television in over 200 countries (Douglas 2012). Additionally, the sheer number of people involved resulted in the Olympics being the largest peacetime catering operation in the world (LOCOG 2009).

During the extreme case of the Olympics, relationships were intensified, which works to the social scientists' advantage because it draws out differences that might not have been clear in a "normal" setting. In short, the setting intensified the relationships, amplifying differences between people and magnifying key points in the food strategy process. This case is especially useful for learning about updating theoretical propositions and literature about inter-organisational exchanges. For instance, this study shows that conflictual relationships can exist within a "PPP" setting, and these conflictual relationships can even lead to higher sustainability standards. This case also shows how different types of actors can successfully engage in cooperative relationships to improve sustainability outcomes.

Given the scale and complexity of the Olympics food process, this case study successfully examines food procurement and delivery in the necessary confines of time and space with the goal of updating sociological, political and philosophical theories on making progress toward sustainable food systems. Here I show that this case study is a microcosm of sustainable food system decision-making, which captures an evolution toward sustainable food systems instead of relying on the more static AFN conceptualisation to describe the phenomenon.

This study uses a new approach to study sustainable food systems. It is important to understand the process of inter-organisational interactions of actors who are all involved with working on sustainable food initiatives because other researchers tend to research "alternative" and "conventional" interactions in a way that reifies the separation between "alternative" and "conventional" food system actors. Instead, I examined this phenomenon as an evolutionary process with the consideration of the possibility that corporate

involvement in an inter-organisational setting *might* be a step toward a more sustainable future.

This study shows that a procurement policy can meet some of the conditions of sustainability even without a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making. However, I also show that a cooperative relational approach can lead to significant sustainability successes, as in the case with Sustain raising the fish standards for the Olympics. I was able to study the process and the outcomes in a single case study because of the time-limited nature of the event. This is an advantage because I was able to capture an aspect of evolutionary processes and practices in sustainable food systems research.

9.1.3 Intentionality and Power in the Deliberative Process

I have several insights for future MSE sustainable food procurement. The first insight builds on a point made when describing my research questions – that a relational, reflexive approach needs to be explicit, intentional and facilitated. The Russell Partnership – the consultancy firm that facilitated the Food Advisory Group process with LOCOG – is a supply chain consulting firm, without any particular sustainability expertise nor any expertise in facilitating a deliberative process for participatory decision-making. LOCOG and Russell Partnership did not recognize sustainable food as a wicked problem that necessitates a relational, reflexive approach to decision-making.

Not only did LOCOG not use a relational or reflexive approach, but they never recognized sustainable food as a wicked problem that necessitates a new type of process. Instead, they were under the impression that what they were doing was innovative, by developing the first sustainable food strategy for an Olympic Games, but what it resulted in was not much different than a normal procurement contracting process. They did not try to facilitate supply chain changes. They did not try to facilitate new sustainable food networks. They did not think of themselves as being embedded in a larger socio-political process. In short, they missed an opportunity to do more and to think bigger.

This leads to my second insight, which is about who has the responsibility and power to initiate a relational, reflexive approach. In the case of the Olympics, LOCOG (with the help of the Russell Partnership) "facilitated" the Food Advisory Group. Does that make them responsible for facilitating a *deliberative* process? Who might have the power to convince a national Olympic organising committee to adopt a relational, reflexive approach? Even if a

national Olympic organising committee initiated a truly relational, reflexive approach, how would they convince participants to engage in the process? The opportunities to re-imagine sustainable food systems depend on this deliberative process and the motivations, incentives and barriers to participate or initiate such a process. The problem is that the least powerful actors are willing to participate and find it worthwhile to spend their time on it, because they have no power and see it as a way to gain power, while the most powerful actors have no incentive to participate at the same level. Powerful actors might view the process as providing them an opportunity to *lose* power. Therefore, I ask the familiar question: how can we truly engage with powerful actors?

The exciting thing about the Olympics was this opportunity to engage with powerful actors, like Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Sodexo and Aramark. However, Coca-Cola and McDonald's were not very engaged with the Food Advisory Group process (according to several interviewees) because they did not have to be – their contractual obligations superseded LOCOG and were held directly with the IOC. The two issues that came up with Coca-Cola and McDonald's were public relations issues,[62] and they settled those in a way that made them look good. Therefore, in order for the Olympics to have any real influence on sponsors participation in a deliberative process with an explicit goal of addressing the wicked problem of sustainable food systems, the process must begin with the IOC. The IOC needs to make it a part of the organizing countries remit to engage with issues of sustainability. My case study shows that LOCOG had limited power and control of the sponsors. On the other hand, they could have chosen to leave the sponsors out of the Food Advisory Group process – inviting caterers and facilitating the deliberative process as part of the contractual obligations with the caterers. Instead of only bringing small producers in for Meet the Buyer days, they could have brought them in for the visioning session at the beginning – with the explicit purpose of having small producers meet with the catering companies so that they could work together to change the food system and create more sustainable supply chains.

My final insight is about large-scale contracts. My findings raise the question: instead of choosing between relational or traditional contracts, how do you promote relationality,

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[62] The issues referred to here are Coca‑‑‑Cola's tap water controversy (Section 6.3.1) and McDonald's British chicken controversy (Section 6.3.2).

flexibility, adaptability and the deliberation within a legal contract? As a start to answer this question, I propose the following: just as the IOC added "environment" to its mission, the IOC could promote long-term sustainability through relational, reflexive means and leave individual host nations to decide and innovate to meet those needs.

By doing this, the IOC could create the precedent for host countries to truly use the *power of sport* to change their country for the better. If LOCOG had had this mandate from the IOC, the Food Advisory Group could have raised awareness about the multifaceted problem of sustainable food systems. One way to raise awareness is to support organisations who raise awareness, by helping them build the necessary social, political and economic capital to make real changes in the food system (Schiff 2008). The Food Advisory Group and LOCOG in general tried to use its influence to help SMEs gain economic relationships, by asking caterers to use SMEs and organizing "Meet the Buyer" days for caterers to meet small producers. However, LOCOG could have gone further in helping SMEs long-term; if LOCOG had invited the stakeholders they were trying to help into the decision-making process. As it were, participants reported that the manner in which LOCOG tried to include SMEs ended up wasting both the producers and the caterers time (Interview E22). In addition, LOCOG did not address healthy or sustainable food education. They did not attempt to inspire any cultural changes that would have been necessary to get citizens, businesses or policy makers to think differently about food. They could have used the Olympics as an arena to begin these cultural changes, but LOCOG never explicitly addressed educating people about food.

Furthermore, the Food Advisory Group could have used its inter-organisational approaches to address cultural, social and educational issues. One purpose of having an inter-organisational approach to decision-making is that it helps embed the decisions within the existing social and cultural framework. However, this case study illustrates the importance of a policy group perceiving itself as *embedded* in the larger policy framework. The Food Advisory Group saw itself as *separate* from the larger policy framework in London and the UK. They only defined standards for the Olympics, not beyond (Interview I37). For instance, the Olympics had an inter-organisational approach so they would have the most progressive Olympics food strategy ever (Interview R24), not for the larger aim of having a broader societal impact. Therefore, I argue that the scope of the Olympic planning was quite limited.

Overall, LOCOG could have used this high-profile event and diverse set of actors to initiate an explicit process to engage at a higher level of policy than just the Games themselves. This could have been accomplished by seeing the Food Advisory Board and the procurement strategy it creates as embedded in the larger policy framework of the city, region, state, and beyond. Sport is inspirational and motivational but it is not going to create positive and sustainable changes on its own. I argue that it needs to be facilitated through an intentional process. Asking questions about who is doing the work, what is the work, what is the focus and what are our intended outcomes. The relational reflexive approach offers one model through which we can explore and facilitate this process so that MSEs could truly take advantage of the opportunity within the *power of sport* to implement greater sustainability, both during the Games and as their legacy.

9.2 Conceptual Reflections: The Relational Reflexive Framework and Agrifood Scholarship

The primary contribution of this thesis is the creation of the relational reflexive framework. This includes the way I operationalise the framework in Chapter 3, test the analytical utility of this framework in Chapters 5 through 8 and update the framework with what I learned from the Olympics case study at the end of Chapter 8. The updated framework constitutes a significant contribution to knowledge because it provides scholars with a way to theorize and analyse sustainable food systems decision-making. This framework also constitutes a significant contribution to practice, as it provides a model for decision-making that new and existing sustainable food initiatives can use to initiate or improve their practices.

One hope is for the relational reflexive framework to be used in future agrifood scholarship. This research builds on the tradition of agrifood scholars' interest in both relationality (e.g., Holloway *et al*. 2007) and reflexivity (e.g., Marsden 2013) by offering an operational framework for both practitioners and scholars. The relational reflexive framework helps practitioners implement relational and reflexive decision-making and offers an operationalised framework for scholars studying policy-making, decision-making, and network-building. This section situates my study within the field of agrifood scholarship, by first revisiting the "alternative" food network concepts from Chapter 2, and then by discussing the concepts of reflexive politics and reflexive governance.

9.2.1 Revisiting the "Alternative" Agrifood Concepts

This section reviews the concepts addressed in Chapter 2 by situating the relational reflexive framework within the academic literatures that problematize "alternative" food networks. I first examine how the relational reflexive framework overcomes the problematic features of AFNs, by revisiting these features as set out by Tregear (2011). Next, I examine how the relational reflexive framework builds on the important agrifood concepts of CFNs, the ethic of care, and the sustainability informed framework.

9.2.1.1 Overcoming the Problematic Features of AFNs

Scholars have identified several problematic features of AFN scholarship that limit the production of knowledge, and they offer ways to overcome these problematic features (e.g., Maye *et al.* 2007; Tregear 2011; Wilson 2013). This section shows how the relational reflexive framework overcomes these problematic features.

As identified by Tregear (2011), the first problematic feature of AFN research is the tendency to accept unclear and inconsistent terminology and key concepts. Tregear (2011: 423) argues, "the specific properties that different systems or activities may be expected to exhibit require clear articulation in advance of empirical study." The relational reflexive framework clearly defines the terms and this study is an example of how to analyse a case study using this framework. These terms are clearly defined in Section 3.2.3.2 and updated in Section 8.3.

The second problematic feature of AFNs that Tregear (2011: 425) outlines is a tendency to conflate the spatial and structural characteristics of an AFN with its inherent qualities. Conflations occur around outcomes, behaviours, and food properties, and without analysing the motivations, orientations, and goals of the people involved, scholars miss opportunities to critically examine and encourage AFNs to move toward more equitable and sustainable food systems. By noting what participants claim and believe about the food initiative and particular supply chain arrangements, I was able to use the relational reflexive framework to focus on the underlying meanings, motivations, and worldviews of the participants instead of overemphasizing a particular outcome, behaviour, or food property. In essence, the relational reflexive framework encourages the researcher to look under the surface of the claims and assumptions made by participants, and by doing so avoids this problematic feature of AFNs.

The third problematic feature that Tregear (2011) outlines is the way in which scholars tend to approach the interactions between buyer and sellers within a marketplace setting, often

over-emphasizing the positive benefits of famers' markets without acknowledging existing criticisms. The relational reflexive framework utilized in this study does not focus on buyerseller interactions, but it does offer a way to overcome this problematic feature for future studies. The relational reflexive framework emphasizes the interactional qualities of coresponsibility, trust and co-learning, which provide a structure for analysing interactions without *assuming* the outcome of those interactions. In a farmers' market setting, this analytical focus offers substantial insight into the relationships between buyers and sellers. The relational reflexive framework is not the only way to overcome this dilemma. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) successfully overcome this problematic feature of AFNs by focusing on the motivations and ethics of both producers and consumers. This shows that a deep focus on relationships and interactions provides the space for understanding the experiences of buyers and sellers instead of perpetuating assumptions about their experiences.

The fourth problematic feature in AFN research is an overly narrow focus on consumers' experience and a lack of attention to consumers' needs (Tregear 2011). The relational reflexive framework offers a way to conceptualize consumers' experiences and needs because it calls for a participatory approach to food systems decision-making. Because consumers are key stakeholders who must be included in decision-making processes, a relational reflexive analysis examines stakeholders' understandings and worldviews (necessarily influenced by their experiences and needs). Additionally, in practice, the relational reflexive model encourages participatory deliberation around the multiple understandings of food systems problems. Therefore, the relational reflexive framework's focus on participation and deliberation ensures that both analytical and practical approaches include consumers' experiences and needs.

9.2.1.2 Building on Alternative Approaches

I examine how the relational reflexive framework builds on the important agrifood concepts of CFNs, the ethic of care, and the sustainability informed framework. There are three points from the CFNs literature that are particularly relevant to this study. First, CFN scholars focus on the interactions between civil society, government and the private sector (Renting *et al*. 2012). This interaction is incorporated into the relational reflexive framework as interorganisational exchange, and is important because it helps bring together actors from different organisational backgrounds and experiences. Second, CFN scholars call for people to be civically engaged with decision-making in society and for food systems provisioning

(Renting *et al*. 2012). The relational reflexive framework embraces this participatory notion by defining participatory interaction as building community in the process of decisionmaking (Blewitt and Tilbury 2013), which goes beyond food systems involvement. Third, CFN scholars call for researchers to examine "forms of 'reflexive governance'" (Lamine *et al.* 2012: 398, citing Marsden 2013a). This study heeds Lamine *et al*.'s (2012) call by studying an inter-organisational decision-making process through a reflexive lens. Future research on CFNs could use the relational reflexive framework to examine decision-making processes and food initiative development.

This thesis studies large-scale sustainable food procurement, which is very different from the types of initiatives studied by Holloway *et al.* (2007) and Kneafsey *et al.* (2008). Nevertheless, the lessons learned in this thesis relate to the conceptual framework of an ethic of care and the corresponding analytical framework. Kneafsey *et al.* (2008) argue for the necessity of examining relationships, personal motivations and worldviews of the actors involved in food initiatives. Similarly, the Olympic case study supports that relationships, motivations and worldviews are important for making sense of sustainable food decisionmaking. For instance, Food Advisory Group members' sustainability worldviews varied from economic to environmental, which helps explain the variety of attitudes toward the final Food Vision standards.

This thesis compliments the ethic of care literature by creating an analytical framework that fully operationalises relationality. Kneafsey *et al*. (2008) explain that the ethic of care is relational, but the process the researchers underwent to operationalise this term is left unclear. Therefore, the relational reflexive framework offers this operationalization, and could be easily incorporated into future scholarship on the ethic of care.

This thesis also compliments Kneafsey *et al*. (2008) and Holloway *et al*.'s (2007) analytical heuristic containing seven analytical fields (See Table 2.1). These analytical fields are wonderful for describing what existing food initiatives are doing, but they do not offer a way to analyse the decision-making processes that predicate the emergence of these initiatives. Therefore, the relational reflexive framework advances the work of Kneafsey *et al*. (2008) and Holloway *et al*. (2007) by offering a fully operationalised framework that can provide a model to guide new decision-making processes and also serve as an analytical framework to describe and critique existing processes and initiatives.

Maxey's (2007) sustainability informed framework contributed to the relational reflexive framework through it's focus on sustainable food systems, relationality, and processes. However, the sustainability informed framework does not go far enough in defining sustainability as a contested term, nor does it operationalise relationality for analysing sustainable food initiatives. Therefore, the utilization of wicked problems in the relational reflexive framework is a contribution to Maxey's sustainability informed framework because it provides a way to analyse the contested nature of sustainability. Likewise, the relational reflexive framework's clear operationalization of relationality could be used in Maxey's sustainability informed framework, thus contributing to conceptual and analytical clarity in future research.

My final point in this section is to emphasize the relational nature of values and worldviews. This research emphases a point made by other scholars (Hollow *et al*. 2007; Kneafsey *et al*. 2008) that sustainability values are relational. They are relational because they are created, communicated, and perpetuated through interpersonal relationships. Sustainability values and worldviews are also deeply personal, meaning that they depend on a person's background, experience, ontology, epistemology, and positionality. Without first understanding that sustainability values are personal, we cannot have productive conversations about sustainability values and how to create sustainability policies and initiatives.

9.2.2 Discussing "Reflexive" Agrifood Literatures

There are several examples of scholars using the terms "reflexivity" and "reflexive governance." Sage (2012) calls for more reflexive sustainable food scholarship and practice without defining the concept or providing specificity on implementation. Likewise, Devaney (2016) calls for more adaptive approaches to food policy, which is a key component of reflexivity, but she does not offer a description of what adaptive policy entails. These scholars do not provide a full operationalization of how to study the concept or how to implement this concept in practice. Sonnino, Torres and Schneider (2014) go further by utilizing the concept of reflexive governance to describe public policies on school food in Brazil, but they do not outline a clear analytical framework for reflexive governance. Having a clearly operationalised concept is crucial for providing consistent analysis across the field and for providing clear practical recommendations for implementing reflexive policy making processes. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the work of other scholars by offering a step further: an operationalised relational reflexive framework to study and to guide processes of

sustainable food decision-making. This section discusses the relational reflexive framework as a contribution to two separate but similar bodies of agrifood literature: reflexive politics and reflexive governance.

9.2.2.1 Contributions to Agrifood Literature on Reflexive Politics

Reflexive politics is a term popularized in the agrifood literature by DuPuis and Goodman (2005) and further specified by DuPuis, Harrison and Goodman (2011) and Goodman, DuPuis and Goodman (2012). This term is used interchangeably with "reflexive localism" and "reflexive food justice" by DuPuis *et al*. (2011), and in this section I use the term "reflexive politics" because it is the more common term in the agrifood literature.[63]

DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 297) describe reflexivity as a practice that helps agrifood scholars and practitioners create "food justice" by "tak[ing] into account different visions of justice, community, and good food (Staeheli 2008)." They offer seven lessons for food justice initiatives to apply the practice of reflexivity. Each of these lessons emphasizes the importance of situating food system problems within the broader structure of inequality in society.[64]

First, because there are multiple, complex, and contradictory notions of justice and equality, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 297) argue that reflexivity necessitates "admitting the contradictions and complexity of everyday life" so that practices do not unintentionally reinforce inequality and injustice. Second, because the utility of particular visions to address inequality are highly dependent on local context, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 298) argue that "reflexive approaches [should] emphasize process rather than vision." This is so that visions that address inequality in one locale are not unreflexively reproduced in another locale where it might

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[63] One argument for the scholarly term "reflexive politics" being more common in reflexive literature is that searching for "reflexive politics" in Google Scholar returns 1070 results, while the term "reflexive localism" returns 87 results.

[64] In this section, I refer to DuPuis et al.'s (2011) description of food politics, even though they published a more recent version in Goodman et al. (2012). The reason I use the more thorough DuPuis et al. (2011) version discussion of the concept. The Goodman et al. (2012) version seems to be a summary of the DuPuis et al. (2011) version.

unintentionally reinforce existing inequalities. Third, as Born and Purcell (2006) argue, agrifood scholars have over-emphasized agrifood initiatives that operate at the local scale. Therefore, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 298) argue that "reflexivity does not favor any one scale of political practice." They state that localism is a strategy, "not an intrinsic solution to the problems of the global food system" (DuPuis *et al.* 2011: 298). Fourth, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 299) argue that reflexivity entails an explicit recognition of how privilege (e.g., whiteness, wealth) has actively shaped the existing inequalities in society. Thus, instead of responding to consequences of an unjust food system, food justice activists should participate in changing dominant notions of privilege in society. Fifth, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 299) argue that activists should focus on creating "political relationships that cut across categories of economy and identity," because such relationships could help create more inclusive and equitable resource distribution. They argue that this approach is different from the "charity" model that only addresses the symptoms of inequality without addressing the root causes. Sixth, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 300) argue that equitable relationships should be built on a recognition of the "inequitable power relationships in the history of urban and rural politics." This point also argues that agrifood activists and scholars should explicitly focus on systemic inequality as a building block for creating more equitable relationships; particularly, they are emphasizing the importance of creating equitable urban-rural relationships as well as equitable producerconsumer relationships. Seventh, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 301) argue, "reflexivity does not insist on shared values or even shared views of the world." They make the point that aiming for one common view of the world is counter-intuitive in politics. Instead, political differences are a given; therefore people should try to understand each other, but they do not have to agree with one another. They state, "A reflexive local politics works within, and not against, the awareness of these differences in political viewpoints" (DuPuis *et al.* 2011: 301).

Ultimately, DuPuis *et al.* (2011) emphasize that food system problems should be contextualized within broader social inequalities and injustice. They argue that without addressing the larger inequalities in a reflexive manner, agrifood activists will not be able to truly address food systems problems. At first glance, their notion of reflexivity seems different from the relational reflexive framework developed for this thesis. However, DuPuis *et al.*'s (2011) description of reflexivity implies many of the components that I make explicit in the relational reflexive framework. For instance, DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 300) implicitly address the importance of co-learning and sharing worldviews when they make the point that

"reflexivity does not insist on shared values or even shared worldviews." DuPuis *et al.* (2011: 297) also implicitly address deliberation around wickedness, uncertainty and adaptability when they state, "reflexivity begins by admitting the contradictions and complexity of everyday life."

It is also important to note the possible contributions this thesis makes to DuPuis *et al.*'s (2011) reflexivity concept. The relational reflexive framework offers a practical model for a governance process within which DuPuis *et al.*'s (2011) notion of reflexivity (i.e., ongoing reflection on the nature of systemic inequality) can be a key point of deliberation. Therefore, the relational reflexive framework contributes to the academic scholarship around reflexive politics by offering an analytical framework for studying "local food," "food justice," or "sustainable food" decision-making, as well as offering a practical model for implementing relational and reflexive decision-making at any level.

9.2.2.2 Contributions to Agrifood Literature on Reflexive Governance

Reflexive governance was popularized in the agrifood literature by Marsden (2013), utilizing sustainable development and philosophical theories of reflexive governance from Fiendt (2012) and Voß *et al.* (2006). One main contribution to the reflexive governance literature is that I introduce and operationalise the complimentary concept of relationality to help specify the utility of relationships, co-learning, and trust, which are implicitly embedded within the reflexive governance concept. Therefore, this research makes the implicit relationality more explicit, which helps clarify the conceptual and practical utility of reflexive decision-making processes. Combining relationality with reflexive governance emphasises the interpersonal connections and co-learning that is necessary to have a reflexive decision-making process. I am not the only researcher to emphasise the importance of a relational approach to studying sustainable food initiatives (Murdoch and Miele 2004; Kneafsey *et al.* 2008), but I am the first to provide a clearly operationalised relational reflexive framework that can be used to guide scholarly analysis and practical decision-making processes.

The other main contribution to the reflexive governance literature is the integration of the wicked problems concept into the relational reflexive framework. The concept of wicked problems helps justify the argument for moving past "first order" learning to focus on "second order" learning, while providing clarification regarding what "second order" learning entails (Marsden 2013: 131). This research shows that an emphasis on wicked problems is key to addressing the value-laden, mercurial, boundary-less problem of sustainable food

systems because it characterises the decision-making process as one that does not have to define a "final solution" to sustainable food systems problems, but can instead use an adaptive approach to decision-making processes.

A final point is about the applicability of agrifood scholarship within the realms of sustainable development and reflexive governance. I argue that the empirical work of Goodman *et al.* (2012), Marsden (2013), and Sonnino *et al.* (2014) should be brought into discussions of sustainable development and reflexive governance more generally. The relational reflexive framework provides this bridge between agrifood literature and reflexive governance literature. Furthermore, as Goodman *et al*. (2012) argue, discussions of inequality, power relationships and social justice are crucial in deciding on and creating processes for relational reflexive decision-making, and these topics should be key points of deliberation in a relational reflexive process.

9.3 Limitations and Future Work

9.3.1 Limitations

The case study aspect of this research is its main strength because of the need to study interorganisational food procurement strategy creation and delivery within a large-scale context but within a limited time and space. Even though the limitations of case study research are well documented, as case studies cannot be generalised to populations, case study research does lead to theoretical propositions (Yin 2009). This research provides a new approach to studying agrifood systems and provides a good foundation for future research on relational, reflexive approaches to sustainable food systems initiatives.

One limitation of this study is the non-response from key interviewees, most notably CocaCola, McDonald's and DEFRA. Even without these key interviews, I was able to get a sense of the inter-organisational dynamic of the Food Advisory Group meetings.

As noted in the Chapter 4, in qualitative research the researcher's background, experience and attitudes will affect the interpretation of the data. Being an American female in my late 20s and caring deeply about sustainability issues guided my interests in this research and my interactions throughout my research. I was able to be transparent about my experiences and attitudes during my participant observation, and having done so, catering managers' and

employees' attitudes toward my research were mostly enthusiastic, positive, and they were mostly helpful when it came to providing me with information for the research activities (i.e., interviews, documents, reports). Attitudes toward waste management, in particular, were mostly negative, and it is impossible to determine what extent my attitudes and enthusiasm might have affected catering employees.

Some ways in which this research could have been better were out of my control. One way to improve the quality of the data would have been to have the opportunity to observe the strategy creation process at the Food Advisory Group meetings. However, these meetings occurred before this research began, making observations of the process impossible, and data collection was based only on documents and interviews.

9.3.2 Future Work: Research and Policy Recommendations

One critique of the relational, reflexive framework and the wicked problems approach to sustainable food systems is that this study demonstrates that without a relational, reflexive approach, inter-organisational actors can still lead to sustainability improvements. This invites a future line of inquiry using a quasi-experimental approach to decision-making – organizing different groups into using a relational, reflexive approach and using a straightforward problem-begets-answer approach.

There are many other avenues of inquiry to which the findings of this research point. One avenue is reflecting on the ways in which sustainability can be integrated into "conventional" supply chains through the use of goal-oriented inter-organisational approaches to decisionmaking. Specifically, instead of just arranging actors from different sectors to meet in the same room, which, as this study shows, can lead to the actors working separately, scholars should focus on what *processes* lead to collaboration, co-learning and understanding between the actors through relational and reflexive approaches. This analysis shows the importance of creating space where creative decision-making can take place, and reflexive decision-making is one process that facilitates creativity and co-learning. This leads to the future research question: What is the scope for reflexive approaches to decision-making to create these learning spaces? Additionally, what resources are necessary for reflexive decision-making to occur? After learning more about reflexive decision-making in practice, an action research approach that designs, implement, and evaluates the reflexive decision-making process would be a major contribution to both scholarly literature and to policy makers.

One would expect that a relational, reflexive or inter-organisational approach would result in an ongoing change in the social network of food systems actors, with hopefully more connections from diverse actors. Therefore, this is an area of future research. For instance, by using a relational approach, we would expect the relationships formed through the process to continue to influence actors' decision-making well into their future endeavours. The hypothesis would be that a relational decision-making approach would result in an increase in social ties across the actors in a particular foodscape, as studied with a pre and post network analysis.

This research also raises questions about how to overcome the perceived barriers and contradictions that prevent policy makers and caterers from integrating more sustainable practices into their supply chains. One major question the analysis brought forth was how to better integrate local SMEs into large contracts? The main barrier to including SMEs found in this research was that the health and safety systems adopted by SMEs were not as systematic as the larger suppliers were. This tension leads to at least two possibilities: that SMEs do not have high health and safety standards or that caterers and policy-makers do not *perceive* SMEs to have high health and safety standards. Therefore, a research project designed around finding the barriers to integrating SMEs into public procurement contracts would be another beneficial contribution to scholarship, policy and practice.

The main policy recommendations from this research are that policy makers can obtain several positive policy outcomes by integrating inter-organisational collaboration into the decision-making process. From this research, there are three main lessons for interorganisational collaborations. Firstly, sometimes actors who work together to make each other appear in a positive light can accomplish higher sustainability standards and thus higher sustainability outcomes than if they had worked in an oppositional manner. Secondly, this research reiterates the point that other scholars have made (Morgan and Sonnino 2008) that public procurement officials have the power and responsibility to influence the actions of the private sector caterers, especially by simply working with the caterers to ensure they comply with the terms of the contract. Thirdly, this research shows the importance of procurement officials to focus both on creating sustainable food policies and on the *process* that leads to the strategy creation.

LOCOG focused heavily on implementation. They followed through with the strategy they created, but I show how they could have begun earlier and how framing the strategy process differently would have led to greater sustainability outcomes. The largest missed opportunity in the Olympics food strategy creation is the lack of focus on a process that would facilitate co-learning, collaboration and understanding (i.e., reflexivity) between the Food Advisory Group members. A focus on process and joint goal attainment would have allowed for more holistic understandings of food system problems and solutions.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Case Study Protocol

CASE STUDY PROTOCOL
A. overview of the case study project
    a. background information about the project
        i. the case study's context and perspective
        ii. funding
        iii. theoretical concerns
    b. substantive issues being investigated
    c. relevant readings about the issues
    d. case study's purpose
    e. people involved
    f. case study's setting
B. field procedures
    a. major tasks in collecting data
        i. 'gaining access to key organisations or interviewees;
        ii. having sufficient resources while in the field – including a personal computer, writing instruments, paper, paper clips, and a pre---established, quite place to write notes privately; iii. developing a procedure for calling for assistance and guidance, if needed, from other case study investigators or colleagues;
        iv. making a clear schedule of the data collection activities that are expected to be completed within specified periods of time; and
        v. providing for unanticipated events, including changes in the availability of interviewees as well as changes in the mood and motivation of the case study investigator' (Yin 2009: 85). b. Script for informed consent
C. Case study questions
    a. General orientation of questions
        i. Oriented to the researcher, the investigator – not to an interviewee
            1. List of key sources of evidence. Name, documents or observations. b. Level of case (these are the questions in the case study protocol during a
        i. 'Level 2: questions asked of the individual to be answered by the investigator single case, even when the single case is part of a larger, multiple---case study)' (Yin 2009: 87). c. Units of data collection
        i. Who, what, where, etc.
    d. Other data collection devices
        i. Table shell (see page 89) – don't think it's relevant for my case
D. Guide for the Case Study Report – lay out the outline for the case study report. a. My outline
    b. Annotated bibliography of relevant documents (that I can use for future research – or can be useful to

anyone	else	doing	research	on	the	same	topic)

Appendix B: Creating Questions for Interviews

As a guide to collecting data on the research questions, we created a series of questions that include the different phases of strategy creation and implementation. The phases of the strategy process include motivation, conceptualisation, negotiation, formalisation, implementation and impact. These strategy phases were revised from a study by Porter and Ronit (2006)[65]. These questions are listed in Appendix Table 1.

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[65] The policy phases recognised by Porter and Ronit (2006: 65---67) include agenda setting, problem identification, decision, implementation and evaluation.

The first phase is the motivation for the strategy, including asking what the main motivation for the strategy was and where this motivation originated. The second phase includes the conceptualisation of the strategy, including asking how the policy makers understand and conceptualise sustainability, and how they conceptualised and defined food systems coming into the strategy process. The third phase is the negotiation phase, including how, when, where, and by whom the strategy negotiation process occurred, while asking about how actors' conceptualisations of sustainability changed throughout this negotiation process. The fourth phase is the strategy formalisation, which includes how the strategy was written and reviewed, and by whom. The fifth phase is the strategy implementation, which includes what is finalised in the written document, how people understand / interpret the strategy, and who has the responsibility of implementing the strategy. The final phase is the strategy impact, which includes how actors perceive the impacts of the strategy, as it relates to the procurement process for the event, industry standards or wider society.

Appendix Table 1 Policy Stages and Component Research Questions

Research Sub-Questions	Data Source
Motivation	
What was the motivation for this strategy?	Media Policy Documents Interviews Observation (LFB)
From where and from whom did the motivation come?	Interviews Observation (LFB)
Conceptualisation	
How do the policy makers understand and conceptualise sustainability?	Interviews
How is the food system conceptualised and defined by the policy makers?	Interviews
Negotiation	
How is the definition of a sustainable food system negotiated throughout the strategy process?	Interviews
Who are the actors involved in this negotiation process (i.e., public, private, specific organisations)?	Interviews
Where and when do negotiations take place?	Interviews
How were sustainability concepts enhanced and degraded throughout the negotiation process?	Interviews
Policy Formalisation	
How was the strategy written?	Interviews
Who wrote the strategy?	Interviews
Who reviewed the strategy before finalisation?	Interviews
Policy Implementation	
What does the strategy entail?	Policy Documents
How is the strategy to be implemented (i.e., regulation, standardisation, auditing)?	Policy Documents

Who is assigned responsibility for implementing the strategy?	Policy Documents	
How is the strategy actually understood/interpreted and put into practice (implemented)?	Participant Observation Interviews	
How is sustainability criteria represented in the legal contracts?	Contract document	
How is the sustainability vision enhanced or degraded (changed) through the implementation process? (tendering, contracting, subcontracts, supplier contracts/buying)	Tender documents Contract documents Subcontract documents	
Policy Impact		
What are the perceived effects / impacts of the strategy on the:	Interviews	
(1) procurement process during the event;	Interviews	
(2) external procurement processes after the event; and	Interviews	
(3) wider society?	Interviews LFB Media	
Is the procurement strategy perceived to have encouraged other changes in the food system or society?	Interviews Media Participant Observation LFB	

Appendix C Interview Questions for Food Advisory Group members

Thank you very much for your time.

Just to tell you a bit about the interview. I am a PhD student doing research interviewing the Olympic food sustainability initiatives. I am observing people involved with the Olympic caterers.

*Your participation to be interviewed is **voluntary** and you can stop at any time. There is no risk of involved with participation in this research, because all for your interview information will be kept **confidential.** Also, to tape accuracy of my research data, I like to record my interviews.*

*This recording is kept **confidential,** meaning no one besides myself will be able to connect you to what is said in the interview.*

All data is kept on a password protected computer, which only I can access.

With that said, do I have your permission to record our conversation?

First, I just want some general information about the Olympic and Paralympic Food Vision. 1. How long did the create?

    a. When did it begin?
    b. When was it finalised?
    c. Was it continually updated throughout the tendering, contracting, and delivery process?

To the best of your knowledge,

1. What was the **process** through which the policy was written?

2. Who actually wrote the policy?
3. Who **reviewed** the policy before finalisation?
    a. What further specifications were given to caterers for the food sustainability criteria?

I'd like to get some background information about how the Food Vision 'came about'.

4. (To the best of your knowledge) Why was the Food Vision written?
5. What were the main **motivating factors** leading to the Food Vision's formation? 6. Who were the **key players** in motivating the idea of a Food Vision? players involved in motivating
    a. Who were the main for the Food Vision to **wheels in motion** putting **the** be written?

Now I'd like to ask about your role in creating the Food Vision.

7. What was **your level of involvement** in creating the Food Vision?
    a. Were you involved with explaining your ideas of sustainable food systems? i. To whom? When? Where?

    b. Were you involved in discussions about the concepts, criteria, and standards used in the Food Vision?

Now I have some questions about your personal view of what constitutes sustainable food.

8. **Before** working with the Olympics, did you have a personal understanding of sustainable food systems?
    a. If so, how did you define sustainable food systems?

9. Throughout the creation of the Food Vision, in what ways did you:
    a. Gain new knowledge or insights?
        i. What were the sources of the new knowledge / insights?
    b. Have new thoughts about sustainability?
    c. **If there were changes** ✂ What specific **experiences** led to your change in perception of the food system?
        i. Was there someone in particular who helped you see it differently?
        ii. Were there specific discussions that encouraged your thought process?

10. What aspects challenged the way you thought about sustainable food systems?

Now I have some questions about the people involved in the creation of the Food Vision and the discussions that led to the creation of the Food Vision.

11. Who all was **involved** in creating the Food Vision?

    a. Throughout the Food Vision creation, who were the main people involved in discussions? What organisations do they represent?
        i. What
12. Of the people involved, who were the **key players** in creating the Food Vision?
    a. Why would you describe these people as key players?
    b. Probe ✂
        i. Were they especially vocal, demanding, or difficult?
        ii. Did they go above and beyond what was expected of them?

13. Who do you think were the key 'stakeholders' taken into account during the writing of the Food Vision?
    a. **Probe** ✂ Who were the main 'affected' groups imagined to be by the Food Vision?

14. Of the stakeholders you just mentioned, what groups were on the Food Advisory Board?

15. During Food Advisory Board meetings, Were there discussions about what **constitutes** sustainability? a. **If** **yes** ✂ How would you explain these discussions?

16. Were there discussions about what the **priorities** of the policy would be?
    a. **If** **yes** ✂ How would you explain these discussions?

17. What types of disagreements were there between the people involved in creating the Food Vision?
    a. **If** **"none"** ✂ Were there any **general** disagreements about the Food Vision?

18. Could you explain any situations (whether **you** disagreed with people about food sustainability you said anything or not)?
    a. **Probing** ✂
       i. Did you disagree with anyone during the event?
          1. **If** **yes** ✂ Did you say anything to the other person?
             a. **If** **yes** ✂ How did that discussion go?
             b. **If** **no** ✂ Why didn't you say anything to the other person?

I have a few more questions about how discussions or negotiations went during the creation the Food Vision. We've already discussed this a bit, but ...

19. How would you describe the discussion or negotiation process in creating the Food Vision?
    a. Where did discussion and negotiations take place?
    b. How long did it take people to share their point of view with each other?
    c. How 'civilised' were the process?
    d. How big were the groups where these discussions took place?
    e. Where and when did these discussions take place?
       i. **Probe** ✂
          1. Venue: during formal Locog Food Advisory offices or in Group private meetings? In meetings?
          2. What else were people usually doing (i.e., when taking discussions having lunch, were drinking place? coffee, taking notes, the phone, etc.) were walking, over people have that 20. What ideas did the Food Vision? left out of
          a. For instance, feasible or too radical or not well supported? because they were not

I just want to discuss your personal view on sustainability one more time.

21. What are the key ways in which the Food Vision **embodies** sustainability and your personal sustainable food systems?
    a. In what ways does the conceptualisation of the Food Vision **differ** from your personal sustainable food conceptualisation food systems?

Finally, I just have some questions about the possible impact of the Olympic Food Vision.

22. What do you see as the main **real—world effects** of the Food Vision?
    a. How did the services it did their services change the way caterers delivered during the Games?
    b. How and catering has it practices / will it change food procurement beyond the Games?
    c. How has it food system / will it encourage changes in will it affect / in the wider society?
    d. How has it /

Thank you very much for your time and thoughtful answers. I am honoured to speak with you.

That concludes our interview, but I'd like to ask if you have any questions for me?

I'd also like to ask:

23. Is there anyone you'd recommend I interview or speak to?

24. Could you help me get in touch with other members of Locog and the Food Advisory Group?

Appendix D Interview Questions for Corporate Caterers

QUESTIONS FOR CATERERS ONSITE AT OLYMPICS

Sodexo Staff / Management Questions

1. In what ways has the Olympic Food Vision changed the ways in which you personally deliver services during the Olympics?

   1.a. Are there things you usually do that you weren't able to do this time because of the Olympics food policy?

   1.b. Are there things that you wouldn't usually do that you had to do this time because of the Olympic food policy?

2. Does this experience at the Olympics change the ways you will provide services in the future?

3. What is your (personal) understanding of the Olympic Food Vision?

   3.a. In what ways is Sodexo carrying out / fulfilling the Olympic Food Vision?

   3.b. In what ways do Sodexo's practices fall short of the Olympic Food Vision?

4. In what ways does the Olympic food policy encouraged other changes in the food system?

5. What effects might your procurement during the Olympics effect the wider society?

WORK WITH Sustain – QUESTIONS FOR OTHER OLYMPIC CATERERS

Questions for Olympics caterers

1.) What aspects of the Food Vision standards proved the most difficult to implement?

2.) Did your company achieve any of the aspirational standards of Food Vision? 3.) If so what were they?

4.) What has your company learnt from their Olympics experience?

5.) Will the experience lead you to make any permanent changes within your business in the following areas?

- Fairtrade
- Sustainable fish
- Freedom food
- Leaf and Organic
- Waste management

6.) Is there any training or support Sustain could offer you to help you make these changes? 7.) What steps do you think need to be taken by event organisers for

you to implement more sustainable food practices at future events?

Appendix E Protocol for Participant Observation at London Food Board Meetings

London Food Board Meetings   Observation   Protocol

Details about   each person   who is   there:
- Gender
- Age
- Clothes
- Accent

When people   arrive:
- Who they speak to before and after meetings?

What do   people   discuss   in   the   informal   time?
- What do people do before and after the meeting?

Greetings:
- Kiss, single/double; Shake hands; Wave; Nod; Hug; No greeting

Personal   contact:
- Shoulder to shoulder; Touching arm; No personal contact

During the   meeting:
- What do they discuss during the formal meeting?
- Laughter, smiling, frowning, other facial expressions
- When people get coffee or leave the room
- Seat shifting
- who runs the meeting • Are people taking notes?
- when someone speaks o Who one looks at when he/she speaks o Does she/he look at everyone or only certain people?
    - o Is everyone looking at the speaker?
- How many people?
- Who participates? Who does not participate?
- What is the tone of the meeting? Controlling, open, etc.?

Where do   people   sit   in   the   room?
    What does the   room look   like?
- Lighting
- type of room
- configuration of room

What   did   not   happen?
- Compare program/meeting agenda to what happened
- What was left out
- What is not on the walls
- Absence of conflict is notable

Appendix F Protocol for Participant Observation on the Catering Site

1. How do people refer to sustainability, the food system, problems in the food system, and actors in the food system?
2. Is there a general recognition of the procurement policy within the catering actors (staff)?
3. Do staff members communicate sustainability initiatives to the customers?
4. In what ways do staff members share knowledge about sustainability between each other?
5. In what ways do managers share sustainability knowledge to the staff?

Appendix G Informed Consent Forms

1. Observation for LFB

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION FORM AND CONSENT FORM

I am a PhD student researching the Olympic food
sustainability initiatives. I am interviewing and observing the
people involved with members Olympic food standards, the London
Food Board, and from Sodexo.

I would like to observe the London Food Board meetings,
in order to and the ways in which members
define understand perceive sustainability and to understand the Food
London Food Board's role in the London 2012 Olympics Vision.

I will only take handwritten notes of my observations,
and I will not interfere with the ordinary procedures of
the meeting.

Your participation is voluntary and you can remove yourself
from this research at any time. There is very little
risk involved with participation in this research, because all of
the information will be kept confidential, meaning no one
besides the researcher will be able to connect
individuals to what is said and the write-ups of the
In the case study report and will use non-identifying description,
research, the researcher will other a NGO'.
such as 'a representative of

If you have any questions about this research, feel free
to contact the researcher, Jessica Jane Spayde at

+44(0)29208-75300, SpaydeJJ@cardiff.ac.uk, or her supervisor,
Roberta Sonnino at +44 (0)29 208 75781,

SonninoR@cardiff.ac.uk. Also feel free to contact the
Ethical Review Board at Cardiff University, Ruth

Leo at +44 (0)29 208 75280, LeoR@Cardiff.ac.uk.

2. Observation for Catering

PARTICIPATION INFORMATION FORM AND CONSENT FORM

I am a PhD student researching the Olympic food
sustainability initiative. I am interviewing and observing people
involved with the Olympic food standards, the London Food
Board, and the members from Sodexo.

I would like to observe the Sodexo catering practices, in
order to understand the ways in which employees define
and perceive sustainability and to understand Sodexo's role in
the London 2012 Olympics Food Vision.

I will only take handwritten notes of my observations,
and I will not interfere with the ordinary procedures of
the company.

Your participation is voluntary and you can remove yourself
from this research at any time. There is very little
risk involved with participation in this research, because all of
the information will be kept confidential, meaning no one
besides the researcher will be able to connect

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individuals to what is said. In the case study report and other write--ups of the research, the as researcher will use non---identifying description, such 'an employee'.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact the researcher, Jessica Jane Spayde at +44(0)29208---75294, SpaydeJJ@cardiff.ac.uk, or her supervisor, Roberta Sonnino at +44 (0)29 208 75781, SonninoR@cardiff.ac.uk. Also feel free to contact the Ethical Review Board at Cardiff University, Ruth Leo at +44 (0)29 208 75280, LeoR@Cardiff.ac.uk.

3. Interviews

INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND CONSENT FORM

I am a PhD student researching the Olympic food sustainability initiatives. I am interviewing and observing people involved with the Olympic food standards, the London Food Board, and like to Olympic caterers. you about your expertise and I would in to interview Olympic food sustainability, which will take experience than one hour. Your participation to be no longer is voluntary time. you can remove yourself involved interviewed any in this and There is no risk participation interview one research. will be from All of your meaning besides researchers kept be confidential, connect no the is will will the able to you to what said in the interview.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact the researcher, Jessica Jane Spayde at +44(0)29208---75294, SpaydeJJ@cardiff.ac.uk, or her supervisor, Roberta Sonnino at SonninoR@cardiff.ac.uk. Also feel free to contact the Ethical Review Board at Cardiff University, Ruth Leo at LeoR@Cardiff.ac.uk.

Appendix H: Mentions of Food in Olympic Bid Documents

Appendix Table 2 Mentions of Food in "Towards a One Planet Olympics" Report

One Planet Living Principle	Strategy	Games	Legacy
Local and Sustainable Food	Supporting consumption of local, seasonal and organic produce, with reduced amount of animal protein and packaging	• Promotion of local, seasonal, healthy and organic produce • Promotion of links between healthy eating, sport and wellbeing • Partnerships established with key caterers, suppliers and sponsors • Composting of food waste as part of Zero Waste plan	• Increased markets for farmers in the region Markets, catering and retail outlets supplying local and seasonal food • Composting facilities integrated into closed-loop food strategy

Source: BioRegional and WWF. "Towards a One Planet Olympics: Achieving the first sustainable Olympic Games and Paralympic Games"

Appendix Table 3 Environmental Key-Point Action Plan for the Games

Theme	Proposed Actions	Benefits
Zero Waste Games		
Waste management	Closed loop system for zero waste Games	Diverting waste from landfill Boost to recycling market
Procurement	Sustainable procurement policy applied to materials, services, food and merchandise	Healthy products and materials Resource efficient, reducing waste at source

Source: Page 77. Bid Document. Theme 5: Environment.

Appendix Table 4 Environmental Pilot Projects

Zero waste
Resource flow analysis of sports and cultural events: • Materials input (including food) • Energy and water use • Waste output Example study: FA Cup Final, Millennium Stadium, Cardiff

Source: Page 87. Table 5.8. Bid Document. Theme 5: Environment.

Appendix Table 5 Special Features

Local solutions for global problems

Over half of the world's population lives in urban environments. As a result, problems of resource consumption, food production and distribution and waste disposal are increasingly concentrated. This is a key part of the rationale for One Planet Living.

Page 87.Section 5.10. Bid Document. Theme 5: Environment.

Appendix I: Central Government Spending in 2011

This table only includes a few departments, and therefore it is not an exhaustive list of central government spending. It is meant only for comparing to the amount spent on the Olympics, which was over £11 billion (Simon 2012).

Appendix Table 6 Central Government Spending in 2011

Department	Categorised (millions)
Department for Work and Pensions	£3,606
Home Office	£2,436
Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	£1,550
Department for Children, Schools and Families	£708
Department of Health	£688
Cabinet Office	£179
HM Treasury	£146
Department of Energy and Climate Change	£123
Office for National Statistics	£117
Food Standards Agency	£113
Office for Standards In Education	£104
Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills	£85
National Archives	£24
Electoral Commission	£9
Water Services Regulation Authority	£4
Total	£9,894

Source: (Data.gov.uk 2014)