

## **Abstract**

The Transition Mayfield (UK) group ran a Local Food project to raise awareness in the local community about the importance of developing local food production and consumption networks; strengthening the local economy and fostering collaboration and skill sharing. The discussion reveals number of factors that were not addressed: growers can lack the additional energy and skills needed to market their produce locally; the community already has very active social networks and the Transition group could not add anything to it; there is a complex relationship between shopkeepers that determines which shop sells what produce. The paper shows that, when trying to promote local food production for local consumption, attention has to be paid and an understanding gained of the motivation and constraints that operate in every part of the network.

## **Abstract**

Il gruppo Transition Mayfield (UK) ha realizzato un progetto finalizzato a sensibilizzare la comunità locale sull'importanza della produzione e del consumo di cibo locale; a rafforzare l'economia locale e a promuovere la collaborazione e la condivisione di abilità. Si evidenzia come una serie di fattori non siano stati affrontati adeguatamente: agli agricoltori possono mancare l'energia e le competenze supplementari necessarie per commercializzare i loro prodotti a livello locale; la comunità ha già molte attività sociali e il gruppo non riesce ad aggiungere nulla di alternativo; vi è una relazione complessa tra i diversi venditori che determina quale negozio vende ciò che producono. Il lavoro dimostra che nel perseguire la rilocalizzazione di produzione e consumo, l'attenzione deve essere rivolta alla comprensione delle motivazioni e dei vincoli che operano in ogni parte del network.

**Key words:** local food production; local food consumption; transition; community; UK; network

## **Local food production for local consumption: why is it so hard to achieve? A case study from a small UK Transition Initiative**

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### **1. Introduction**

From 2007 to 2010, the Transition Mayfield (UK) group ran a Local Food project with the intention of raising awareness in the local community about: the importance of developing local food production and consumption networks; strengthening the local economy; and fostering collaboration and skill sharing between the inhabitants. Their motivation came from the goals and ideals of the Transition Movement which seeks to prepare communities for the transition from an oil dependent, globalised economy to a low-carbon, localised and resilient one. The Transition Network provides many examples and ideas for activities that a Local Food project might undertake. Despite attempting a number of them, the Transition Mayfield group found it hard to see any clear evidence that their activities had brought about change. Some six years later, members of the group reflect on their experience and speculate about why this was. The discussions reveal a number of factors that the Local Food project did not really address: growers can lack the additional energy and skills needed to market their produce locally; the community of Mayfield already has very diverse and active social networks and the Transition group could not effectively add anything to it; while the local shopkeepers may make some of their decisions about sourcing the produce they re-sell based on price, there is also a complex, sometimes unspoken relationship between them that determines which shop sells what produce. Although the discussion is particular to this community, it may be that there are generalities that can be applied to any local community seeking to link local food production and local consumption.

### **2. Local food and transition movement: a literature review**

Food sustainability is becoming an increasingly important issue. Sidali et al. (2015) describe how consumers are not just buying products with ethical labels, but are also actively participating in co-production food projects and seeking out products from alternative food supply chains. Forms of alternative consumerism have come about largely because of a widespread feeling of alienation from contemporary food production that has pushed consumers to favour local production, which is seen as being of higher quality. Resistance to the rules of the globalised agro-food market is also apparent on the supply side, with farms choosing to form partnerships in order to promote and sell local specialties directly to consumers (Sidali et al., 2015; Murray & Kline, 2015).

To describe this trend Shortridge (1996) develops the concept of “neo-localism”, which describes the need for individuals to reconnect with local identities, and therefore reconnect with local historic and culinary traditions, as a reaction to the destruction of traditional family and community ties, a phenomenon that has become particularly evident in modern America. More recently, Schnell (2013) highlights the uniqueness of this trend considering that community ties of the past were established out of necessity, whereas neo-localism is founded on conscious choice. Neo-localism’s insistence on the importance of food as an expression of territorial cultural identity also represents a huge opportunity for the development of local economies (Sidali et al., 2015; Murray & Kline, 2015).

The sustainable development of agro-food production, however, is a complex challenge that requires changing the current socio-technical systems, that is to say the core principles and norms on which traditional agriculture is based. In order to meet this challenge, Maye (2016) stresses the need to begin a transition towards sustainability, i.e. a shift away from traditional agricultural practices that are based on a productivist logic, towards a system built around the principles of sustainable production.

The theory of transition provides an important theoretical framework as it both looks to the future, through an anticipatory path to re-localisation, and uses past experiences as useful benchmarks to test the robustness of models of transition (Wilson, 2014; Quilley, 2011). Innovation is a key element in the transition process, especially so called “second order” innovations, which do not simply aim to solve the problems in the system (first order innovations) but question the very rules governing the system (Maye, 2016). One example of “second order” innovations are Transition Towns, which represent a sustainable alternative to the current socio-technical regimes in their ability to nurture grass-root processes of change, activate energetic re-planning interventions and develop strategies to re-localise community resources, such as the production of food, goods and essential services (Maye, 2016; Haxeltine & Seyfang, 2009; Bailey et al., 2010). According to Quilley (2011), the actions implemented by transition communities effectively invert the process of globalisation, strengthen the community’s ability to protect itself from external changes, such as peak oil and climate change, and increase their resilience. In this context, local food production represents a crucial factor in making the transition because as well as being environmentally sustainable, it strengthens a sense of trust in communities and therefore strengthens their ability to act autonomously and significantly transform their own food culture (Quilley, 2011).

Food localism as promoted by the transition network has achieved impressive results thus far. Nevertheless, it still has had relatively little impact on the global food system and represents a very small part of food production and consumption. This means that although food localism is seen as an essential source of resilience for many communities, especially those which are isolated, it is not able to break into larger urban centres (Quilley, 2011). Communities also face various external obstacles which can act as a barrier to pursuing alternative pathways. The transition is not a linear process but the result of interaction between three levels: social, economic and environmental, where the environmental factors exert pressure on the other two levels and make finding a point of equilibrium between the different components difficult or even impossible (Maye, 2016; Wilson, 2014). Wilson (2014) identifies the main barriers to the transition process as: structural problems relating to lifestyles dependent on the modern capitalist system, for example, the dependence on energy networks and transport networks, political and infrastructure lock-ins, geographical constraints, and an unwillingness to abandon rules and conventions that curb the potential for change. These barriers prevent communities from designing autonomous paths of development, such as the full localisation of food production, and from achieving high levels of resilience.

### **3. Methodological approach**

The examination of a case study allows a specific example of something to be studied in detail. Through a case study, a story is told which provides the reader with an understanding of why a particular outcome has happened; the cause of the outcome (Hatch & Wisniewski 1995; Donmoyer 2000). Case studies are therefore narratives which “display human existence as situated action”

(Polkinghorne 1995, pag.5). To uncover the narrative surrounding the Transition Mayfield Local Food project, in-depth interviews were held with: the founder of the Transition Mayfield initiative (KT); her husband a small-scale organic apple and vegetable grower (PT); one of members of the Transition Mayfield core group<sup>1</sup> who was responsible for some of the local food project activities (LM); and the owner of a Mayfield High Street grocery shop and cafe (AH).

## **4. Case study**

### **4.1 Profile the Mayfield community**

The village of Mayfield, UK is located in a semi-rural location about 90 km south-east of London. The landscape surrounding the village is typical of the High Weald; rolling hills, with sandstone outcrops dissected by streams to form steep-sided ravines; small irregular-shaped fields and patches of heathland; abundant woodlands; sunken lanes and paths. Grazing sheep, beef and dairy cattle is the dominant agricultural practice on the heavy damp soils. The dispersed settlement pattern of the High Weald has its origins in the late medieval period and consists mainly of villages, hamlets and scattered farmsteads strung out along the ridges (Natural England, 2013).

The village has a population of 2,614: 25% of whom are older than 65 and 25% younger than 19; 85% say they are in good or very good health; 40% are educated to degree level; 69% of 16-74 year olds are economically active although 22% of households earn below 60% of UK median income. There is an average 1.7 vehicles per household while 10% have no vehicle (Wealden District Council, 2014). The village is within commuting distance of London as well as the neighbouring towns of Tunbridge Wells, Eastbourne and Brighton. High Street shops and a number of small businesses provide local employment as does a private girls' school.

According to the Transition Mayfield (2007) inventory there are some 15 local producers within a 15 km radius of the village including those who produce lamb, pork, beef, chickens, eggs, hops, turkeys, apples, fruit and vegetables, wine, cheese and grapes and Christmas trees. The village High Street is diverse with a number of long-standing shops and businesses. They include a butcher, pharmacy, baker, hairdressers, wine merchant, clothes and gift shops. There is a local community bus service that takes people specifically to the nearest supermarkets, in a town 11 km away.

Of particular interest to this paper are the businesses that are referred to in the interviews: Heron's Folly Garden, a small holding which produces organic vegetables, apples and apple trees; the Middle House, a 17<sup>th</sup> century inn and restaurant which also has a separate delicatessen shop; the Rose and Crown pub; the Pink Cabbage Produce Co., a grocer and cafe; and the Shopping Basket, a small general purpose grocery shop at the western end of the High Street. There are two allotment sites rented by people who would like more garden space and a thriving Horticultural Society.

### **4.2 Transition Mayfield and its Local Food project**

There are currently 480 Transition initiatives worldwide (Transition Network, 2013). Mayfield was one of the early communities to join in 2007, numbered 14 on the list. The interviews with KT and PT revealed the motives for setting up Transition Mayfield. For a couple of years beforehand, KT had

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<sup>1</sup> Transition Mayfield core group: the group of 10 or so individuals who regularly contributed to Transition Mayfield's activities.

been aware of and thinking about the issue of peak oil<sup>2</sup>. She then read Rob Hopkins' presentation of the Transition Movement in the Soil Association<sup>3</sup>'s literature and immediately recognised that this could be the solution to the problem that was concerning her. The local town of Lewes had just launched its own initiative so KT invited a speaker from Lewes and a number of local Mayfield people to an initial meeting. Interest was keen and the group launched itself with "An Invitation to Transition Mayfield", a public event with speakers from the Transition Network and Transition Forest Row (another local community). For the first two years Mayfield followed the Transition Network's awareness raising programme, screening films and holding public meetings to discuss future scenarios for energy and transport in a low-carbon world, and how they might affect Mayfield. At the same time they launched two projects which reflected the areas of interest and expertise of the core group, Local Food and Local Energy. The Local Food project is the one that this paper will continue to discuss.

Pinkerton and Hopkins (2009) list a number of activities that Transition initiatives might undertake in their Local Food projects. These include: the "great re-skilling", domestic (garden) food production; allotments and gardening for community groups; garden/land share schemes; community gardens and orchards; community supported agriculture; food markets; food cooperatives; school projects; local food guides and directories; and local food events. Many of these ideas were emerging at the time that Mayfield was working on its Local Food project, and were taken up by the group.

With the aid of neighbouring farmer, a directory of local food producers was compiled together with those village High Street shops, farm shops and restaurants that had an explicit policy of sourcing and supplying local produce. A list of those who could supply expertise in pig and chicken rearing, beekeeping and other types of training was also compiled. All this information was publicised on the Transition Mayfield website ([www.transitionmayfield.org.uk](http://www.transitionmayfield.org.uk)).

In April 2009 the group held a Sustainable Living Fair with key speakers and workshop sign ups. It was well attended, by around 40 people. Although interviewees know of people who have taken up beekeeping (for example) since then, they did not think it was possible to directly associate the decisions to do so with any specific Transition Mayfield activity.

Interviewee LM worked on a Garden Share Scheme. She had recently moved to Mayfield and had a background working for community-driven projects, particularly associated with forming gardens on unused urban areas. The principle behind Garden Share is that (typically) older people with bigger properties offer use of their gardens (for food growing) to younger people who do not have space of their own. The scheme offered potential for a mix of local food growing and connection (and maybe companionship) between people of different generations that appealed to LM. However, while she received about 15 offers of gardens, nobody came forward wanting to use them, so the scheme never started.

Other members of Transition Mayfield worked with the Primary School to build some raised vegetable beds in the school garden. At that time there was separate interest in Primary Schools enhancing their outdoor teaching. The coincidence of these two parallel activities provided an

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<sup>2</sup> Peak oil: the hypothetical point in time when the global production of oil reaches its maximum rate, after which production will gradually decline

<sup>3</sup> Soil Association: The body which certifies organic food, farming and growing in the UK

opportunity that the Transition group was able to take advantage of. Although the group had no further involvement after the setup, for several years the school ran a successful gardening club assisted by an elderly local gardener, growing and selling to school parents a variety of produce. The garden is still in use, organised by the parents.

The following year, with “re-skilling” in mind, in an attempt to build connections between Transition Mayfield and other local groups, a link was made with the Mayfield Horticultural Society to arrange occasions when those interested in growing their own food could meet and talk to the village’s expert gardeners. The proposal was met with enthusiasm by the gardeners and a tour of the local allotments was given but was attended by only a handful of people. Afterwards it was felt that if anyone wanted horticultural advice they could go directly to the society themselves and Transition Mayfield did not need to play an intermediary role.

During this time it was proposed that some land currently occupied by allotments should be used for a housing development. Transition Mayfield successfully lobbied (along with others in the village) for it to be retained for use as allotments. With objectives that are similar to Transition Mayfield’s own, the Parish Council includes the following action in its Parish Plan: “to encourage the growth of locally produced organic foods both on farms, in gardens and in allotments.” (Mayfield & Five Ashes Parish Council, 2008)

Feeling that they had gone as far as they could, for some years activity ceased on the Local Food project while the group turned its attention to other matters and projects.

#### **4.3 Heron’s Folly Garden – local producer**

Although Heron’s Folly Garden is PT’s business and (among other things) informed the motivation for KT setting up Transition Mayfield, the vegetable garden was no more a particular focus of the Local Food project than any of the other local farms. It was decided that for this paper it would be interesting to look in detail at the opportunities and constraints that PT faces in trying to supply the very local village consumers.

PT has been farming his organic vegetable and apple garden since the 1970s. He grows a range of vegetables, though none could be considered particularly specialist or local to the region. Since about 2000 has been producing apples and subsequently apple trees for sale. He has recently purchased a press so he can produce his own apple juice.

Only a few ha in extent, Heron’s Folly is located about 0.5 km from the village centre, in the grounds of the former vicarage which is the family’s home. PT maintains that he is equivocal about his commitment to the organic movement, citing laziness as one his main motivating factors. He did not like the idea of studying the chemicals; knowing what herbicides and fertilisers to apply and when. He also thinks there is good sense in using well-tested chemicals when the alternative is to waste a lot of fuel in trying to control pests or weeds. However he is, and always has been, totally organic.

Initially PT found it hard to find a market for his produce because nobody was particularly interested in organic vegetables and they were not prepared to pay the premium price for them. In the 1990s the situation changed and, for about 10 years, he found it easy to sell for a very good price. Since then things have got harder. PT speculates that local food has become more important than organic

food. This is certainly reflected in the Transition Movement's use of food miles as an indicator of local resilience (Hopkins, 2008).

Over the years he has sold his crop to various different wholesalers and retailers including one in New Covent Garden<sup>4</sup> who supplied specialist produce to the London market, and another based in Brighton who specialised in buying and selling locally. He also sells to farm shops in Forest Row (a small town 27 km away).

For almost 5 years from 2000, with the assistance of a local woman, he ran a vegetable box scheme; for a fixed weekly price, customers collected from the farm a box of whatever vegetables were harvested that week. PT is doubtful that any box scheme can really work if they are restricted to supplying only their own produce. He found he had to regularly buy in (local, organic) potatoes and carrots to supplement his own crops and keep the contents of the box sufficiently varied. Eventually they stopped the scheme when the assistant moved to a different job.

Currently PT supplies the Shopping Basket with a (tiny) amount of vegetables and the Rose and Crown pub and Pink Cabbage grocer and cafe with his apple juice. His biggest local customer is the Middle House restaurant and deli which he supplies with spinach and rainbow chard. However they can be reluctant to pay PT's prices for other crops such as broccoli or courgette. PT charges the same price that he gets from the wholesaler and is unable and unwilling to sell to the Middle House for less.

PT acknowledges that marketing his crop is the thing he (and his family) has least skill and interest in. He says "It is much easier to push a hoe than to pick up the telephone" and that growing and selling are completely different skills. He says he has lots of crops that don't get sold. KT says marketing seems to be a common issue that growers raise when the Soil Association ask their members what they need help with.

Many years ago PT tried selling directly from a stall at the bottom of the drive. He remembers that the High Street shop keepers were upset, understandably he supposed. Their sons have shown interest in running a farm shop, but the parents do not think it is realistic. Again they expressed concern about competing with other businesses and a lack of expertise, interest and manpower.

#### **4.4 Pink Cabbage Produce Co.**

To compliment the other narratives and find out what determines the ability or willingness of local shops and restaurants to buy and resell local produce, AH the owner of the Pink Cabbage Produce Co. was interviewed. The Pink Cabbage is a double fronted shop on Mayfield High Street. Part grocer, part cafe, part village meeting place the Pink Cabbage sells fresh fruit and vegetables, flowers, dairy produce and store cupboard supplies. During the daytime the 40 seat cafe provides drinks and light meals. Every Friday night she holds a Supper Club (fixed price, themed set menu). A French conversation class meets on Tuesday mornings and, until recently, a Dementia support group also met there.

AH took over the business three years ago from the previous owner who had had a greengrocer's shop in Mayfield for many years. She arrived after the Transition Mayfield Local Food project had

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<sup>4</sup> New Covent Garden: The main wholesale market and fresh produce distribution centre for the UK..

ceased being proactive but her approach to her business and the value she places on community and the local economy are also those that are shared by the Transition Movement. She said she wanted to make a “relaxed and joyful space” that people would feel comfortable coming to on their own; “something with a real sense of community and loving kindness”.

AH has a 12 year lease on the shop, employs eight local people working full and part-time in the shop and cafe and a further five young people at the weekends. As a commercial enterprise she also pays business rates. She said “my overheads are massive”. Although the High Street does boast a diverse range of shops, AH suggests that they are only used by about 30% of the village population. She would like to see everyone pledge to spend at least £20 a month in the High Street, sharing their business between different shops.

The Pink Cabbage’s direct competitors on Mayfield High Street are the Middle House restaurant, their separate delicatessen shop, the baker and another small cafe. The decision about what AH sells and where she sources it from seem to be constrained by an informal, often unspoken, agreement with the other shop keepers. For example, because the Middle House Deli specialises in local cheeses (including those made in Five Ashes, just 5 km away) AH instead stocks European cheeses. Her fruit and vegetables are delivered daily from the national distribution centre at New Covent Garden although she does take seasonal produce (such as wet walnuts) from local producers when they have a surplus. Aware that she is having to take care of all aspects of the cafe and shop (and is constantly taking calls from suppliers), AH is going to take on another member of staff who will focus on the fruit and vegetables. Although she stocks Heron’s Folly apple juice she was unaware that PT also produces vegetables and was interested in collaborating with him, providing she could avoid any direct competition with the Middle House and the Shopping Basket. She suggested the possibility of having a Heron’s Folly section in her vegetable display and explaining that this is “local organic produce from a small producer; you are going to have to pay a bit of a premium for it.” She added PT is “selling something we should be very grateful to have; very lucky to have.”

## **5. Discussion**

The question “why is local food production for local consumption so hard to achieve?” may well reflect more the Transition Mayfield group’s frustration at being unable to point to any major concrete result that can be directly attributed to their Local Food project than other reasons.

The directory of local food producers has been available on the website for about nine years. It could be updated and (possibly with financial contributions from the producers) made available as a leaflet. As LM said, the failure of the Garden Share Scheme to attract any gardeners could be due to an already ample supply of allotment space for those who want it. The inclusion of the reference to locally produced organic foods in the Parish Plan may well be due to Transition Mayfield’s influence; one of the parish councillors was also part of the group. The setting up of the school garden was a fortunate confluence of both the school’s and the group’s interests. As has already been alluded to in the discussion of the activity to promote re-skilling, Mayfield does have, not only a very active Horticultural Society, but a further 54 organisations, clubs and societies. Such is the level of social and cultural activity that the Transition Mayfield found it hard to find a niche in which they could add anything that was particularly their own. Although not part of the narrative for this paper, the butcher and grocery shops do also stock local eggs, meat and bread. It may be that the stories of those producers are different from the one reported here.



However, there was a palpable sense of frustration in KT that Heron's Folly had not found a way of selling much more of their produce in the village. She said "we could basically feed the village with vegetables", although PT disagreed, that simple statement was something that had provided Transition Mayfield group with much of its motivation.

These interviews revealed a few reasons for the difficulty, some of which the Local Food project never addressed.

Firstly, the premium price needed for small scale organic produce is a factor; particularly if a High Street shop is re-selling it and adding its own overheads. PT mentioned the example of broccoli in his interview. There can be few members of the community who shop only in the village (all the interviewees said that they also use the local supermarkets) so most people will also have access to cheaper, local or non local produce elsewhere. Indeed, Morris & Buller (2003, p561) state "consumers rarely meet all their food needs from local sources, but frequently combine them with other more conventional food acquisition modes that draw upon the provenance of international food trade." However, this price disadvantage could be offset if, as AH suggests, it was accompanied by an explanation about how and where it is grown. Morris & Buller (2003, p564) confirm the "retailer's role in maintaining the local food sector is highly significant though at least as much for the overall profile it gives to local produce as for the volumes actually sold."

Rather than persisting in trying to sell to the High Street shops, PT might change his strategy and revisit his attempts to sell directly to the public. In their survey of the local food sector Morris & Buller (2003, p562) found that "respondents ... virtually unanimously identified sales at the farm and farm shops as being the most profitable in terms of added value." However, this is somewhat at odds with PT's experience with the vegetable box scheme and it is doubtful that Mayfield would generate sufficient customer footfall to justify the time commitment that it would require from a family member. Indeed time might almost be a more valuable commodity to PT and it is clear that it is far easier and quicker for him to sell to a few wholesalers.

Secondly PT highlighted the fact that growing and selling vegetables demand different skills and interests. According to Morris & Buller (2003, p562) "one of the characteristic features of the local food sector is its reliance upon a different set of food chain outputs from those customarily associated with more conventional agro-food chains" and "the dynamic for establishing these new outputs is coming essentially from the food producers themselves and not from other actors in the food chain." Both PT and KT appear diffident about approaching High Street businesses directly and were reluctant for it to be thought that Heron's Folly was being given preferential treatment in the Local Food activities. However, it may be that the Transition group does have a role to play here in helping to promote sales and raising interest and awareness in something that, as AH says, Mayfield is "very lucky to have".

Thirdly, possibly influenced by the Transition Movement's tendency to try and establish alternative local food networks, the Local Food project did not properly engage with the High Street shops to find out exactly what their own motivations and constraints were. The conversation with AH has revealed a more complex than expected relationship between the different shopkeepers as (some of them) try and complement each other rather than take each other's share of village business. In trying to introduce (relatively expensive) vegetables to the local shops, care has to be taken not to upset this dynamic. Also it has to be realised that, just as PT finds it time-consuming to find a

number of purchasers for his vegetables, so the shopkeepers also find it time-consuming to manage numerous suppliers. Morris & Buller (2003, p564) report “the vagaries of small-scale production, leading to what could be major shifts in the ratio of local to non-local foods sold throughout the year ... was often described as erratic with many retailers ultimately preferring the security of wholesale delivery schedules.” To make stocking local produce an attractive proposition, it would presumably need to be as uncomplicated a process as possible.

Quilley (2011) undertakes a critique of the Transition Movement, including Local Food. He highlights the nature of the contrasting food sources available to the consumer and states “Nowhere is the paradoxical contrast between the homely discourse of self-sufficiency and community and the reality of just-in-time global sourcing more blatant than in the United Kingdom”. His conclusion that “if the kind of food localism sponsored by the Transition Network has been successful, it has not been in challenging the structure of the food system, but rather in expanding the numbers, knowledge base and skill sets of people involved in local, low input food production” is also reflected in the Transition Mayfield experience.

## **6. Concluding remarks**

This paper has examined the perceived lack of success that a small UK Transition Initiative had in making a discernible impact on the local sale and consumption of locally grown vegetables. In-depth interviews with members of the Transition Mayfield group showed that a number of activities were undertaken to raise awareness of the importance of local food networks and interest in domestic food production. The group particularly hoped to promote skill-sharing and communication between different generations. Some of the activities had success (particularly when other organisations also had the same interest); others failed to get off the ground. An interview with a local vegetable grower showed that, despite the activities of the Local Food project, sales of his produce in the village remain unexceptional and much of it still goes to wholesalers. An interview with a High Street shop and cafe owner revealed that, although there was great willingness to support local producers and indeed to celebrate them, care had to be taken to preserve the distinctive nature of each of their (shop or restaurant) businesses to avoid competing for a relatively small pool of customers.

This paper and discussion are very particular to the personalities, interests and businesses of Mayfield, however it may be that there are some generalities that can be extracted. In particular it shows that, when trying to promote local food production for local consumption, attention has to be paid and an understanding gained of the motivation and constraints that operate in every part of the network.

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