Community Level Impacts of Local Food Movements in the US, Canada & Western Europe: Annotated Bibliography

By

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I. Abstract

Development of the local food sector has become a popular strategy employed by a range of communities in the hopes of achieving sustainable and equitable economic growth and development. Local foods describes a range of economic activities such as farmers markets, community supported agriculture engagements, urban gardening, food hubs, and intermediated marketing channels. Despite its growing importance in the policy arena, the presumptions of the local food movement remain largely untested. This literature review provides critical analysis of the current research on local food networks. A review of current work reveals that current research on local food lacks strong theoretical grounding and quantitative rigor. As community development practitioners and planners play an important role in food system design, organization, and policy, it is important for practitioners to distinguish between objective, research-based information and speculative, advocacy-oriented analysis.

II. Introduction

Fostering local food networks is quickly becoming a popular focus of community and economic development strategy employed by communities across the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. Local Food Networks are typified by small scale, localized production with direct-to-consumer sales and include entities such as farmers’ markets or Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) enterprise farms. The number of farmers’ markets grew from 1,755 in 1994 to 5,274 in 2009 (Martinez et al 2010). The USDA website reported the 2012 figure at over 7,800 markets (USDA 2012). The number of Community Supported Agriculture farm organizations (CSAs) grew from 2 in 1986 to 1,144 in 2005 (Martinez el al 2010). These production and sales strategies are believed to be a viable counter-weight to the large-scale, impersonal industrial agricultural mechanisms currently in place.

The importance of localized production and consumption is presented across an increasingly large literature from a variety of perspectives and academic disciplines. Reading through the
local foods literature, it is clear that many authors view the development of a local food industry as a panacea for a range of societal ills. These societal ills include unhealthy lifestyles and diets, ecologically unsustainable production, withering social capital, food insecurity, and asymmetric economic growth and political power.

Whether or not one agrees with the speculative arguments advanced by local food advocates, it is clear from the literature that the theoretical frameworks and rigorous analytical testing necessary to support the curative claims of local foods advocates is lacking. If communities are to pursue policies related to the promotion of local foods, it is imperative that these policies be based on an unbiased research foundation and not on speculation and anecdotal evidence.

This review of the literature seeks to highlight this weakness in the local foods research in order to encourage more thoughtful consideration and strategic planning before communities make blind investments in local food infrastructure. In conducting this review, we focus on local foods' impact on socio-economic indicators of a community. Initially, the review focused on health, social capital, and economic development. As the review developed, the focus expanded to include local foods’ role in food security, consumer behavior, ethical consumption, as well as public policy. The authors gathered and reviewed articles from the period 2000 to 2014, the most recent period of growth in local food activity. Due to the interdisciplinary nature, articles were reviewed across a range of disciplines and journals such as sociology, planning, and community and rural development. The search for articles primarily utilized the Google Scholar search engine. Further exploration focused on targeted searches on key journal websites. Finally, the literature investigates local foods in a developed country context, thus it is focused on the United States, Canada, and Europe.

We begin the review of the literature by discussing how local foods are conceptualized and defined. Next, the local foods literature can be organized in terms of local foods’ impact on health, food security, economic development, producer behavior, social capital, and consumer behavior. Within each category, the current literature will be summarized. Finally, to support the larger premise of the review, a look at critiques of local foods is included.

While the lines between categories often blur, it will be evident that an analytical weakness exists across the spectrum of foci in the local foods literature. This review is not meant to be an argument against local foods. Instead, this review is hoped to spur better research on the topic. Community development practitioners and planners have an important role in designing successful food systems and are in the position to enact meaningful change. Decisions should be based, though, not on subjective and speculative views of the world, but rather, on a solid theoretical framework and rigorous empirical analysis.
III. Defining & Describing Local Foods

A common theme throughout the literature on local foods is the lack of a standard definition for what constitutes “local.” Many authors cite the persistence of subjectivity when it comes to distinguishing between local and nonlocal production and consumption because it is an inherently relative concept. Goodman (2013) explains that food changes based on the context of other ideas, supporting the inability to nail down a specific definition of “local food”. Because geographic delineation remains vague, setting a mileage cutoff, such as the one that the United States Department of Agriculture attempted to do at 400 miles, might be unrealistic. Throughout the articles included in this analysis, “local food” can encompass a range of geographic definitions from neighborhood gardens to municipal markets to state-wide production.

Perhaps a clearer manifestation of ‘local’ appears in the style of production and consumption advocated within the local foods movement. Sundbo’s (2013) consumer and producer survey analysis supports this approach despite the ambiguity around the term ‘local’: consumers and producers are demonstrated to have similar ideas as to what constitutes local food. The perception of what defines local foods tends to congeal around production and purchasing characteristics such as small-scale production and direct to consumer sales mechanisms. These mechanisms include farmers’ markets, farm stands, and CSA’s. It is at a farmers market or through membership in a CSA that customers can connect most directly to a food source.

These entities do not give a full picture of the local food market. As the local foods industry has developed, other entities such as micro-food processors (i.e., firms with less than ten or five employees depending on definitions of what constitutes a “micro” firm), and local food hubs have also grown in importance. Local food hubs are organizations which manage the aggregation, distribution, and marketing of local foods for sale to larger buyers such as institutions and large retail chains (Barham 2012). These entities allow for more coordinated distribution schemes with a wider array of product offerings (Barham et al 2012; Matson, Sullins and Cook 2012). The growth of these mechanisms point to a role for what Low and Vogel (2011) dub “intermediate sales”. These products reach consumers indirectly via sales to institutions such as restaurants, hospitals, and jails or to more traditional retail outlets such as supermarkets. Only a few articles are beginning to look at this type of activity. One example would be the study from Maryland which investigates local foods’ integration in area school systems (Oberholtzer et al 2012). For the most part, though, intermediate sales is a market segment for which, due to data unavailability, is largely excluded from the current literature. Further, as the farms associated with this type of activity tend to be larger and more regionally focused, the lines begin to blur as to what should be counted as “local foods”.

Perhaps a better supported delineation between local and non-local rests in the idea of local food networks being an “alternative” to more traditional industrial agriculture and marketing.
supply chains (Garnett 2013; Woods 2012; Jarosz 2008; Hinrichs 2000). Adams and Salois (2010) specifically note how the local food movement gained momentum only after the USDA published organic food guidelines which effectively allowed for large industrial producers to enter into organic food production.

Whether local foods is a geographic idea, an anti-industrial expression, or some mixture of both, what is clear is that local foods is popular. The movement has gained much momentum over the past two decades and this has incited many authors to document this rapid growth and change (Martinez 2010; Christy and Landman 2013; Knezevic, Landman & Blay-Palmer 2013; Low and Vogel 2011; Nguyen, Wysocki and Treadwell 2008; Renting, Marsden and Banks 2003). This popularity seems coupled with deep-rooted assumptions about what local foods can do for a neighborhood, a community, an economy. Assertions about local foods include that local food activity helps local economies grow by keeping dollars from leaving, that local foods means fewer middlemen and thus more profit for the farmer, that local food outlets connect consumers to their food source thus encouraging healthier lifestyles and broader food awareness. In the subsequent sections of this review, we develop and explain these assumptions and how they are currently being assessed and tested.

IV. Local Foods and Consumer Demand

While local foods may not be a concretely defined concept, it is clear that there is growing demand for locally grown and processed food products. To gain insights into the growth in demand for local foods, a significant portion of the literature focuses on profiling the typical local foods consumer. Much of this consumer focused literature is interested in identifying the premium consumers are willing to pay for “local” foods versus more traditionally sourced foods (e.g., Thilmany, Bond and Bond 2008; Zepeda and Nie 2012).

The research offers some conflicting stories. This may in part be due to the regional and survey-based nature of the analyses, or it may stem from the lack of consistent definitions. To begin, Thilmany, Bond and Bond’s (2008) analysis found that consumers are willing to pay a premium for local foods if consumers believe it will help support local farmers and communities. Who these willing clients are, though, remains open to debate. There exists a strong bias that the local food movement remains prohibitively expensive and thus precludes poorer clientele from participation. Zepeda and Nie’s (2012) analysis supports this indicating that income is the most constraining factor for poorer population segments. Sadler’s (2013) work, though, demonstrates that it is not just high end customers participating in area farmers’ markets, but that a wider socio-economic array of clients choose to buy from local food vendors. While not all local food consumers are wealthy, Willis and colleagues’ (2013) work does show that willingness to pay increases with income. This is a natural reflection of the ability to pay a premium as income increases. The dominant theme seems to be that
there is a key distinction between consumers not only having the willingness to pay a premium but also the ability to pay that premium.

Further, lessons from a failed CSA initiative in a low income area indicate that whoever the clientele, it is important that local characteristics are taken into consideration when deciding if the market for local foods is viable (Kato 2013). Too often proponents of local food systems proceed on the “build it and they will come” mentality and overlook local preferences. Beyond income level, there appears to be several other key factors that correlate with local food purchases. For example, women appear more willing to pay a premium for local food products than men (Willis, et al 2013). Having young children also increases the odds of being willing to pay for local food (Zepeda and Nie 2012). More important to local food participation, though, seems to be predisposition to certain hobbies and activities. Zepeda and Nie (2012) find certain behavioral attributes, such as cooking often, having more leisure time, belonging to a health club, or self-identifying as adventurous to be the best predictors of local food preferences. Incorporating these consumer preferences when vendors make venue and product selection decisions would behoove local food vendors. It is not currently clear, however, the extent to which this is being done.

Enjoying cooking, being a woman, or having more income are not necessarily characteristics specific to local foods shoppers, though. In fact, many of the characteristics associated with the purchases of local foods are also associated with purchase of organic foods. In fact, there is overlap and confusion between organic and local production. Adams and Salois (2010) argue that the rise of the local food movement coincides directly with the USDA’s publication of organic food standards. As they argue, the publication of the standards allowed large, industrialized producers to enter the organic food industry by giving formal definition to what can be marketed as ‘organic’. This event, at least in part, spurred the local food movement to grow as a counter to this change in federal policy. Consumers too remain split amongst local and organic production. Local production relates only to the place of production whereas organic production references the style of production. Adalja and colleagues’ (2013) survey of consumers demonstrates that consumers substitute between means of production and location when making consumption decisions. This may be due to the fact that consumers do not necessarily know what is produced locally and when it would be available to them (Chamberlain 2013). In general, though, it appears that consumers value quality over production methodology (Wirth, Stanton and Wiley 2011) and that it is societal preference, not price, the dominates food choices with regards to local food (Barnett et al 2005). This latter idea can perhaps be best understood in the context of civic agriculture, a nonmarket style of community organization in which producers and consumers work together to provide for local food needs (Lyson 2005). Civic agriculture can take many forms depending on the community, but it is always more focused on promoting cooperation and strengthening communities than it is on profit maximizing (Lyson 2005).
What appears to actually draw in consumers to local food outlets are a range of normative tenets which consumers associate with local food production (Sundbo 2013). Some key tenets include the notion that local foods are of higher quality, superior nutritional value, and that the production of local food products is better for the environment (Martinez 2010). Consumers in the southeastern U.S. cite concerns for food safety as a motivating factor in local food purchase (Maples, et al 2014). Knight’s (2013) survey of consumers demonstrates that belief in the societal benefits of local foods mattered more to consumers than did cost. This is akin to the “public goods” aspect discussed by Thilmany, Bond and Bond (2008). Consumers trust local food sources and producers over more anonymous large scale producers who are often removed from the community (Zagata and Lostak 2012).

It appears there is no set profile for the consumers of local foods as it can change across location, product and time. Further, there seems to be conflicting ideas as to why buying local foods is important to consumers: is it preferences for quality, perceived environmentally sustainable production methods, a desire to support local farmers and/or the community, or perceptions on health benefits? Or, is it that shopping at farmers markets or being a member of a CSA is more of a social engagement? Most likely it is some combination of all of these factors. Customers demand “authenticity” and search for an “experience” when they participate in farmers markets (Wittman, Beckie and Hergesheimer 2012). What makes participation “authentic” or an “experience” though is uncertain. In order to answer this idea, a clearer understanding of the consumer of local foods is necessary. Further, as we will outline in the next sections, this lack of understanding of local food consumers might be due to the fact that there is yet to be evidence beyond anecdotal experiences and preliminary findings supporting the specific benefits associated with local foods. Shedding further light on the evidence might help us understand what authenticity can and should look like.

V. Local Foods & Economic Development

A common cited reason calling for an enhanced focus on developing local food systems is the positive growth effects local foods activity has on local and regional economies. Additionally, growth of local foods systems is said to create not just growth, but more equitable, stable, and sustainable growth. Even further, these benefits supposedly accrue not just to farmers but to the broader community as a whole. In this section we explore how the literature has answered questions surrounding the local foods industry’s impact on local and regional economic growth. We will pay particular attention to the differences in the literature between economic impact assessment, economic growth, and economic development which, unfortunately, are all commonly used interchangeably. It will become clear that there are still wide gaps in the current literature in terms of justifying the promotion of local foods as a tool for economic development.
A large portion of the current literature as it relates to local foods’ relationship to the local economy attempts to capture current industry activity. Some articles describe the current role of local foods in terms of a broader multi-dimensional development policy. This could be simply providing a broad overview of current activity (DeWeerdt 2009; Storey 2009; Martinez 2010) or a look at how the industry has developed across time (Eaton 2008). Other articles estimate the size and impact of local food entities such as CSA’s, farmers markets, and Food Hubs using traditional economic impact assessment such as input-output multipliers, case studies, and interviews (Henneberry Whitacre and Agustini 2009; Hughes, et al 2008; Sadler, Clark, Gilliland and Arku 2013; Goodman 2004; Barham, et al 2012).

Important to note is that not all studies successfully account for the opportunity costs associated with switching towards localized production. Opportunity costs can be incurred by a range of actors and through a variety of channels. The general idea is that money and resources devoted to local foods represent money and resources not devoted to other goods, services, and activities elsewhere in the economy. Perhaps the most common example of this in the local foods literature is with regards to how economic multipliers employed in estimating economic impacts use gross changes as opposed to net changes. For example, consider the consumer who decides to spend $100 on local foods at a neighborhood farmers’ market (or CSA, or other local food retail outlet). This spending represents a shift in activity away from traditional retailers (e.g., grocery stores) towards the neighborhood farmers markets. Most multiplier based studies, though, consider this $100 in spending as new activity, not a transfer from one type of spending to another. This results in an overstatement of the impacts. To more accurately assess the impact, the net change in spending should be examined, not the gross spending.

One of the multiplier impact assessments does attempt to correct for these opportunity costs. Hughes et al (2008) show how accounting for these costs reduced the overall size of the estimated economic impacts of farmers’ markets, as expected. Important to note though, is that this is not the only type of opportunity cost that can occur. Looking beyond the community, there are additional opportunity costs to consider such as how the switch towards local consumption affects the prior (nonlocal) suppliers. To this point, Ballingall and Winchester (2010) use the local foods movement in Europe to demonstrate how strong local food movements can negatively affective low-income countries, for their example, countries in Northern Africa. This occurs because these low-income countries are disproportionally reliant on agricultural exports and thus the loss in demand for their products results in a depression in their exports markets. Within a simple growth and development framework, the question becomes should local agricultural production be exported out of the region? This would inject money into the economy. Or, should production remain local? This would minimize any consumer spending leakages, i.e. keep local dollars local. Ideally, there should
to be a balance between exports and local consumption. Within the literature, though, the
discussion is usually cast as two mutually exclusive ideas.

Within the context of describing the potential economic implications of local foods, several
authors focus on projected future growth and estimate the size of market potential for
various local foods entities. Examples include estimates of production from farmers
diverting land use from an export oriented crop or product towards vegetable and fruit
production targeting local markets (Swenson 2011), projections of urban food production
using available green space (Kremer and DeLiberty 2011), and case studies of replicable
collective purchase schemes (Little, Maye and Ilbery 2010). Others work to evaluate the
feasibility of making such a switch. One example would be Cleveland investigating the
feasibility of becoming self-reliant in the production of fresh produce (Grewal and Grewal
2012).

Articles advocating for the growth of the local food industry through a particular channel or
mechanism are common in the local foods literature. Examples of this include growth via
the refinement of food hubs, further proliferation of CSA’s, enhancing the popularity of
farmers’ markets, or creation of local agricultural clusters (Matson and Thayer 2013; Matson,
Sullins and Cook 2013; Stagl 2002; Brown and Miller 2008; Brasier, et al 2007; Taylor and
Miller 2010). In all of these analyses, questions of opportunity costs are rarely addressed.
While it may be clear that growing vegetables with land can generate sales, is this the best
use of the land? Are there other, more profitable ventures that could be pursued with this land?
Additionally, the local foods industry would certainly grow if more food hubs and farmers’
markets further proliferate. But again, would the local or regional economy grow even faster
if resources were devoted to supporting other local enterprises?

Because the aforementioned forecasting and estimation articles fail to address opportunity
costs in their analyses, they paint a disproportionately rosy picture of the growth prospects
for the local foods industry. Perhaps for this reason there exists a strong sentiment of doubt
and skepticism in the literature. To begin, there is doubt surrounding the existence of
positive growth due to local foods activity. It must be made clear that most of the cited
articles above remain quite speculative. This is because these articles tend towards focusing
on a specific region (i.e. state, city, or farmer’s market) and therefore the results may not be
generalizable. In fact, work modeling income growth as an outcome of local foods activity
suggests a weakly positive if not negative relationship between growth and local foods
activity (Deller, Brown, Haines and Fortenbery 2014). Brown, Goetz, Ahearn and Laing
(2014) use statistical analysis to model U.S. county economic growth and find that a $1
increase in farm sales led to an annualized increase of $0.04 in county personal income.
They conclude that, with few exceptions, local foods did not make a significant contribution
to economic growth during the study period.
Even assuming there are positive economic outcomes, many authors express uncertainty with regards to the scalability and replicability of many of the local foods models (Blay-Palmer, et al 2013; Albrecht and Johnson 2013; Wittman, Beckie and Hergesheimer 2012; Jarosz 2008; Thilmany, et al 2013). This is partially due to the fact that the local infrastructure and the regulatory framework necessary to grow the industry is either not in place or not currently designed to support local foods (Donald and Blay-Palmer 2006). Further, since local foods activity relies on a very specific clientele, if these consumers’ preferences change, it is unclear if the entire local foods system would be undermined. Several authors discuss successful models, initiatives, and ideas that could and should be replicated in other communities, yet none identified a successful replication. What may be successful in one community will not necessarily be successful in another.

Across the board, the analytical rigor with regards to analyzing local food’s impact on economic growth remains weak. This is in large part due to the limited availability and inconsistency of data forcing researchers to focus on local or regional estimates, case studies, and survey/interview-based analysis in order to understand the effects of local foods activity. Sharp, et al (2011) develop three diagnostic tools local communities can use to understand how local food development is affecting their economy. Boys and Hughes (2011) also suggest the application of different regional economic modeling approaches to better understand the impacts of local food movements.

Yet results of these efforts remain forthcoming. As the industry continues to mature and grow, further analysis needs to be conducted to better determine best practices and their effects on local economies. It remains to be seen if the local foods market is sufficiently thick for farmers to generate sufficient revenues to be profitable at a reasonable level, or even if the market is of a sufficient size to truly impact the overall economy in any meaningful way. At the very least, it is certain that some of the praise of local foods with regards to economic development is premature. The next section explores a particular aspect of local foods’ interaction with the economy, and this is how local foods activity affects the producers.

VI. Sub focus: Local Foods & Impact on Producers

One key facet of the economic development argument in support of local foods is how buying and consuming local foods ‘helps the farmers.’ The general idea is that purchase of locally grown and processed food shortens the supply chain and thus the benefits of a local foods sale accrue directly to the farmers and producers instead of to geographically distant middlemen (i.e., wholesalers and distributors). Given the available research, however, it is not certain if this hypothesis is indeed true nor if it captures the entire story.
Many authors have surveyed and interviewed farmers active in local foods in an attempt to establish a general profile for a local food producer. This includes defining producers’ motivations for involvement with local foods and identifying indicators of success (Wittman, Beckie and Hergesheimer 2012; Hughes, et al 2008; Ahearn and Sterns 2013; Izumi, Wright and Hamm 2010; Milestad, et al 2010). A common finding is that farmer participation in local foods is often understood to be an expression of personal values. More specifically, producers favor local foods channels because they are a means of countering industrial production (Milestad, et al 2010). Engaging with the local foods market as a viable business opportunity appears to be less important to many of these farmers than does the personal aspect. In this way, consumer and producer engagement with local foods can be seen as quite similar.

This is not to say that local foods producers are not business-minded. At the very least, local food activities must provide some reasonable return to the farmers in order for these farms to remain in operation. Further, while non-monetary reasons for establishing and participating in a local foods system are widely supported, not all producers engage in local foods as an expression of politics. There are local producers that are trying to capture the higher profits possible through the high-end production of organically grown fruit and vegetables (Eaton 2008; Peterson, et al 2012). These farmers see market potential and enter that market with the incentive to make profits. This view suggests that local producers are simply responding to a growing demand in the marketplace (Wittman, Beckie and Hergesheimer 2012).

Whatever the reasons for participation in local foods activity, though, it is becoming apparent that local food involvement is not guaranteed to be a profitable business strategy for local producers. Individual level producer surveys revealed that most farms engaged in local food production are not profitable until farmer labor is omitted from the accounting equation (Brown and Miller 2008). Farms that do not allow farmers to earn returns are not economically viable. Additionally, many farms must supplement direct, local sales with sales to nonlocal, large-scale customers (Milestad, et al 2010). These low or zero profit margins may explain why the research has failed to demonstrate that local foods is a viable economic growth and development strategy.

Many organizations and municipalities are recognizing this deficit and have created programs to support farmers who are predominately supplying local markets. These include not only educational programs around production techniques, marketing and business planning, but also forums to provide networking opportunities (Hightower and Brennan 2013). Perhaps more important is the question of whether farmers who engage with the local foods industry are better off than those who do not. The fact that not one reviewed article compares farmers who engage in direct sales versus those who do not is a large indictment against the claim that local foods ‘helps the farmer.’
In sum, one of the predominate arguments for supporting local foods systems is that it retains more of the food dollars in the local community and allows more of the food dollars to flow to the farmer. This in turn results in positive economic impacts and promotes economic growth and development. Unfortunately, outside of a handful of successful local foods producers, it is not clear from the available literature if entering the local foods market is a viable business venture for farmers. What we can conclude based on the literature is that if the goal of the local food movement is to allow for the enhancement of quality of life for the small farmer, which entails ensuring that the business enterprise is viable, it appears more than simply promoting farmers markets and CSAs needs to be done.

VII. Local Foods & Health

As we will illustrate in the following section, the argument for local foods with the most quantitative research foundation is in the arena of health. The general claim is that interaction with the local food industry improves the health of a community through increased health awareness and access to healthy food. In our discussion, health is defined to include both bodily health as well as healthy food habits. A part of healthy eating is access to healthy food. Food access, or food security, is often discussed in the context of food deserts. This thread is a newly growing focus of the local foods research and is the focus of the next section of the literature review.

The specific manifestations of interaction with local foods range from participation in a CSA or farmers’ market to membership with a community garden to the creation of farm to school programs and curricula. All forms of these local food initiatives have been demonstrated to have positive relationships with health outcome variables. Combing through the literature, one finds several examples supporting this claim. The presence of community gardens are shown to promote healthy lifestyles in general (Armstrong 2000; Teig, et al 2009). School programs that involve farm visits, menu selection, and cooking lessons involving local ingredients demonstrate positive impacts on students’ nutrition (Ruge and Mikkelsen 2013; Berlin, et al 2013). Individual surveys suggest that positive attitudes towards alternative food production are positively correlated with healthier dietary habits (Pelletier, et al 2013). In a study of Kentucky farmers’ market patrons, Webber and colleagues (2013) demonstrate that patrons have more knowledge of nutrition and consume fruits and vegetables at a level above state wide averages.

The above articles all reference specific markets, schools, or communities, yet the positive association between local foods and health holds even when examining this relationship at more general levels (Bimbo, Viscecchia and Nardone 2012). In fact, empirical evidence supported by advanced statistical modelling demonstrates that increased local food
prevalence has positive outcomes for individual weight and health metrics (Berning 2012). Moreover, in areas where incidence of local foods is low, the impact on health outcomes is shown to be particularly pronounced (Deller, Brown & Canto 2014). These findings support a broader role for local foods in terms of public health policy (Salois 2012). One specific idea is further by Garnett (2013) who argues that the best way to change the food system and further improve public health is to incentivize improved nutrition.

As many authors note, the key limitation of these findings is that it is not clear the direction of causality. Do farmers’ markets encourage people to be healthier? Or are healthier people more likely to participate in local foods’ markets? Many of the studies that take on a tone of advocacy, such as Webber and colleagues (2013), suggest that access to local foods causes or results in the higher health outcomes. But this conclusion on causation is purely speculative: it could very well be that local foods are emerging because of demands on the part of consumers who are already health conscious. Local foods studies that have attempted to better understand the relationship between local foods and health may be confusing correlation with causation. Perhaps it is this weakness that has spurred the focus on food security, the topic covered in the next section.

VIII. Sub-focus: Local Foods & Food Security

A more recent shift within the research on local foods has been towards food security. The argument is that there exists many places where there is limited to no access to food, particularly fresh food. These areas are widely referred to as food deserts. If food desert areas were to experience the introduction of food outlets, particularly healthy food outlets, community health indicators for the area would improve. Further, since this disparity in access is particularly pronounced when looking at low income neighborhoods (Bader, et al 2010; Walker, Keane and Burke 2010), improvements in community health might generate secondary effects on other important indicators such as income.

At face value, the development of a local food infrastructure seems a logical solution to provide these food desert areas with healthy food access. As previously noted, consumer surveys suggest that it is the lack of access to local food outlets that drives nonparticipation by low income groups in local foods activity (Zepeda and Nie 2012). Thus, many authors suggest focusing on the effects local foods could have on these areas (Sadler, Clark and Gilliland 2013; Woods 2012). Further, introduction of a local food outlet in a food desert area lends itself to a before-and-after impact analysis to gauge the true effects local foods has on these areas (Donald 2013).

Some evidence does already exist supporting this concept, though it is limited. Analysis of specific interventions show the introduction of local foods as having a positive impact on
food desert areas. Larsen and Gilliland’s (2009) work demonstrates that the price of a bundle of healthy foods decreased at area supermarkets after the introduction of a farmers’ market. Sadler, Gilliland and Arku (2013) further validate this finding, though it was not specific to local foods. As previously mentioned, while the literature almost takes on a “build it they will come” type of mentality, it should also be noted that success is not guaranteed. Kato (2013) stresses this idea in a case study of a failed local foods initiative started in a low income area within New Orleans. Key takeaways from the Kato study of New Orleans emphasized the importance of producers correctly matching their offerings and prices with local preferences and budgets.

While there does seem to exist positive evidence that the development of local foods systems helps improve health outcomes for those located in food desert areas, it is fairly narrow in scope. Perhaps most important to note is that there has been no attempt to compare and contrast the costs and benefits of local and nonlocal food policy options and their effectiveness in addressing the issues associated with food deserts. More specifically, why should communities seek local foods vendors instead of a supermarket? While the development of local food systems appears to provide some relief to food deserts, it is not clear if these systems are the most cost effective policy option.

IX. Local Foods & Social Capital

When local foods consumers say that they shop at farmers’ markets or subscribe to CSAs because they want to ‘know their farmer,’ they are talking about building a relationship. In the literature, this relationship is more broadly understood as social capital. The ability of the local food movement to support the creation of social capital is common argument in favor of local foods industry growth. Unfortunately, it is also the least understood. Social capital is a nebulous concept that does not easily lend itself to measurement. It is perhaps for this reason that the local foods and social capital literature has not progressed far beyond the conceptualization, and indeed, the speculation stages.

To flesh out the relationship between local foods and social capital a bit more, the expectation is that the creation of alternative food networks helps strengthen communities by enhancing trust and fostering cooperation between both consumer and producer participants (Glowacki-Dudka, Murray and Isaacs 2013). This building of social capital can occur at the community level and at the farmer level. At the community level, the building of trust would take the form of people (consumers) becoming more aware and networked into the larger community (the food system). At the producer level, social capital is built through farmer networking. Farmer networking has the potential to build viable economic clusters which, ideally, can be self-reinforcing.
Many authors stress that local foods are important for communities because participation in local foods networks can better ground actors in their communities and support social inclusion (DeLind 2002; Blay-Palmer, et al 2013; Donald and Blay-Palmer 2006). Further, because local foods are more integrated into the schema of a community and thus better attuned to local deficits, the industry can promote meaningful change and community advancement (Feenstra 2002; Marsden and Smith 2009; Lyson 2005). Local food mechanisms which would have pronounced ability to enhance social capital include community gardens, civic agriculture endeavors, and farm to school programs (Teig, et al 2009; Lyson 2005; Izumi, Wright and Hamm 2010). In these cases, because actors must work collectively, local foods can be seen as creating a virtuous cycle of social capital building as communities address local concerns (Sonnino & Marsden 2006).

Surveys support that consumer participation in the local food industry is tied to their civic awareness. Consumers demonstrate interest in the experience of the local food industry, not just the products themselves (Sundbo 2013). Perhaps more importantly, belief in the societal benefits of their local food purchases mattered more to participation in local foods activity than did cost or ease of access (Knight 2013). The idea that trust plays an important role in consumer decision making when it comes to local foods supports the premise that local foods builds social capital (Zagata and Lostak 2012).

With regards to producer networks, local foods are typified by alternative production schemes that appear to encourage network strengthening. In fact, the desire to build relationships with other producers and consumers is shown to motivate producer participation in Lower Austria (Milestad, et al 2010). Interviews with small farm clusters in the northeastern U.S. anecdotally demonstrate how clusters improve cooperative problem solving and knowledge sharing (Brasier, et al 2007). Results from a survey of wine producers in a region of France also support local foods as promoting cooperative competition (Chiffoleau and Touzard 2010). It can be said, then, that social capital appears to play a role in producer decision making.

Unfortunately, despite many arguments supporting the concept and importance of social capital within the local foods context, few authors offer data or empirical analysis to support the claims. Further, while it makes intuitive sense that the development and support of a local foods system can reinforce and perhaps build upon existing social capital, the nature of the interaction remains unclear. Is it that communities that have higher initial levels of social capital are better positioned to create and sustain local food systems or does the creation of such systems foster the development of social capital? Is there some minimum level of social capital required within the community before a viable local foods system can be developed? Indications on both the consumer and producer sides suggest that a mutual causation might be present, but to what extent, in what ways, and with what impacts, remains largely unexplored.
X. Critiques of Local Foods

There are several key limitations characteristic to the arguments advanced by local food movement advocates. As eloquently argued by Born and Purcell (2006) there is a tendency within the local foods literature to presume that if global or large scale is bad then local or small scale must be good. They refer to this idea as the “local trap”. The critiques posed by not only Born and Purcell but others as well, arise from the weakness of the analytics, skepticism surrounding potential for growth (both of the local foods system itself and its spill over into the larger economy), as well as political concerns. These shortcomings do not necessarily indicate the presence of fallacy in the local foods agenda, rather, they serve as an important and pressing agenda for furthering local foods research and policy analysis.

One key inadequacy of the local foods research is in the analytical support for claims made by local food advocates. There exists an overwhelming bias throughout the literature in favor of local foods. The result is that much of the literature simply assumes truth behind the benefits of the local foods movement rather than supporting claims with data and other empirical evidence (Mount 2012). For studies that do incorporate data, the bulk of the research relies on case study (Albrecht and Johnson 2013). This translates to inconclusive and non-generalizable results (Martinez, et al 2010; Edwards-Jones, et al 2008; Tregear 2011). Because much of the local foods literature is speculative and built on anecdotal accounts, future research should incorporate greater rigor in the testing of suggested ideas (Pearson, Pearson and Pearson 2010).

In all fairness, though, it is difficult to rigorously test, defend and refute ideas if we cannot adequately define what we are studying. This points to the next large issue within the local foods literature and that is that the very idea of “local” remains unclear. Local remains a relative concept not easily captured or measured (Feagan 2007). It is defined differently depending on which author is employing the phrase. Further, every definition has a positive connotation attached to the word.

As noted in the introduction, many authors argue against this predisposition of the literature to assume superiority simply because of proximity (Storey 2009; Born and Purcell 2006; Purcell and Brown 2005). The local foods literature essentially equates local foods with fair practice, sustainable production, and tangible economic benefits. With regards to economic benefit, many authors argue that alternative food networks are limited in their ability to grow (Jarosz 2008). Some authors discuss how promotion of local foods might simply be a renewed expression of “import-substitution,” an economic policy often associated with negative consequences (Bellows and Hamm 2001). To this point, it is becoming clear that producers may not actually achieve higher income levels through means of alternative food
network outlets alone (Milestad, et al 2010). Perhaps it would be more productive to focus on some hybrid approach where local foods and industrial agriculture co-exist and complement one another (Lyson and Guptill 2004). Given the current level of global integration of economies, it is unreasonable to think that all consumption will switch towards purely local. Local foods must exist within the context of a global economy (Marsden 2009).

Yet, the literature oversimplifies the landscape. The rhetoric is overly concerned with discussing how wonderful local foods are. In fact, in all but one case study, the literature cites strong successes. This is not necessarily the full picture. With regards to sustainability, it should be noted that local production does not necessarily indicate producers are adhering to sustainable production practices (Winter 2003). Further, as the previous section highlighted, local production also does not necessarily indicate fair and equitable labor practices (Hinrichs 2003; DeLind 2011). This may be a consequence of local politics being susceptible to control by special interest, or it may be due to the fact that clear definition around “fair” and “sustainable” remain elusive (DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Hinrichs and Allen 2008; Goodman 2004).

While it is important to remember that the mechanisms employed by the local food movement are still evolving and thus not yet in their final form (Franklin, Newton and McEntee 2011), it is equally important to keep in mind the broader claims of the movement and whether or not local foods activity is achieving these goals. There are surely more examples of failed initiatives, initiatives with ambiguous impacts, and local producers who are not beyond reproach. A more balanced portrayal in the literature would help alleviate this problem with bias and ultimately lead to a more intelligent and informed debate as to local foods’ best practice. For these reasons, practitioners and planners should be cautious when adopting policy to support the proliferation of local foods before replicable models of production are found to be economically viable.

XI. Conclusion

This reviews stresses that large cleavages exist in the current literature both in terms of the weakness of the analytical rigor, the absence of uniformity in case study analysis, and in the lack of robustness of the results. Local foods is seen as a prescription to ailing communities to solve a wide range of societal problems. Yet, rarely does the literature systematically assess impacts. Without the anecdotes and without the rhetoric, the local foods framework is rather flimsy.

Local foods development means developing a food system specific to a community that addresses the needs of producers and consumers. Because the model is tailored to a location, it may not be precisely replicable. Whatever the form of this model, though, the results of
such endeavors should have generalizable and robust results. This is particularly true if we are to pursue the promotion of the local foods industry as a strategy of economic development, of community development, and of healthy lifestyles.

Planners and community development practitioners have a growing role in the creation of efficient and equitable food systems. They need to balance the at times opposing needs of producers and consumers to promote overall community well-being. Local foods has quickly become a popular strategy for provisioning for these needs. Yet, widespread adoption of a local foods agenda should be based in decisions made on sound evidence. We should design studies to analyze impacts. We should create industry standards for definitions and measurements. We should allow for critical, unemotional dialogue on local foods. As this review suggests, planners and development practitioners should proceed with caution.

XII. Articles by Category

1) Defining & Describing Local Foods

a) Adams & Salois 2010
b) Barham et al 2012
c) Born & Purcell 2006
d) Brinkley 2013
e) Brown 2002
f) Campbell 2004
g) Christy & Landman 2013
h) Garnett 2013
i) Goodman 2013
j) Hand & Martinez 2010
k) Hinrichs 2000
l) Jarosz 2008
m) Knezevic, Landman & Blay-Palmer 2013
n) Low & Vogel 2011
o) Martinez 2010
p) Matson, Sullins & Cook 2012
q) Nguyen Wysocki & Treadwell 2008
r) Oberholtzer et al 2012
s) Oths & Groves 2012
t) Renting Marsden & Banks 2003
u) Sundbo 2013
v) Woods 2012

2) Local Foods & Consumer Demand

a) Adalja et al 2013
b) Adams & Salois 2010
c) Barnett et al 2005
d) Chamberlain 2013
e) Kato 2013
f) Knight 2013
g) Lyson 2005
h) Maples et al 2014
i) Martinez 2010
j) Peterson 2013
k) Sadler 2013
l) Sundbo 2013
m) Thilmany, Bond & Bond 2008
n) Timmons & Wang 2010
o) Varner & Otto 2008
p) Wilson et al 2014
q) Willis et al 2013
r) Wirth, Stanton & Wiley 2011
s) Wittman, Beckie & Hergesheimer 2012
t) Zagata & Lostak 2012
u) Zepeda & Nic 2012
### 3) Local Foods & Economic Development

- Albrecht & Johnson 2013
- Ballingall & Winchester 2010
- Barham, et al 2012
- Blay-Palmer et al 2013
- Boys & Hughes 2011
- Brown 2002
- Brown & Miller 2008
- Brown, Goetz, Ahearn and Laing 2014
- Cleveland et al 2014
- Deller, Brown, Haines and Fortenbery 2014
- DeWeerdt 2009
- Donald & Blay-Palmer 2006
- Duram & Mead 2013
- Eaton 2008
- Goodman 2004
- Grewal & Grewal 2012
- Hardesty et al 2014
- Henneberry Whitacre & Agustini 2009
- Hughes et al 2008
- Jarosz 2008
- Kremer & DeLiberty 2011
- Little, Maye & Ibery 2010
- Martinez 2010
- Matson, Sullins & Cook 2013
- Matson & Thayer 2013
- Sadler, Clark, Gilliland & Arku 2013
- Sharp et al 2011
- Stagl 2002
- Storey 2009
- Swenson 2011
- Taylor & Miller 2010
- Timmons & Wang 2010
- Thilmany et al 2013
- Vaiknoras, Boys, & Donovan 2013
- Varner & Otto 2008
- Wittman, Beckie & Hergesheimer 2012

### 4) Local Foods & Impact on Producers

- Ahearn & Sterns 2013
- Bloom & Hinrichs 2011
- Brown 2002
- Brown & Miller 2008
- Cleveland et al 2014
- Eaton 2008
- Hardesty et al 2014
- Hightower & Brennan 2013
- Hughes et al 2008
- Izumi, Wright & Hamm 2010
- Milestad et al 2010
- Peterson et al 2012
- Varner & Otto 2008
- Wilson et al 2014
- Wittman, Beckie & Hergesheimer 2012

### 5) Local Foods & Health

- Armstrong 2000
- Berlin et al 2013
- Berning 2012
- Bimbo, Viscecchia & Nardone 2012
- Deller, Brown & Canto 2014
- Garnett 2013
- Hattori, An & Sturm 2013
- Holben 2010
- Izumi, Wright & Hamm 2010
- Kato 2013
- Larsen & Gilliland 2009
- Littell, Maye & Ibery 2010
- Martinez 2010
- Matson, Sullins & Cook 2013
- Matson & Thayer 2013
- Sadler, Clark, Gilliland & Arku 2013
- Sadler, Gilliland & Arku 2013
- Sharp et al 2011
- Stagl 2002
- Storey 2009
- Swenson 2011
- Taylor & Miller 2010
- Timmons & Wang 2010
- Thilmany et al 2013
- Vaiknoras, Boys, & Donovan 2013
- Varner & Otto 2008
- Wittman, Beckie & Hergesheimer 2012

### 6) Local Foods & Food Security

- Bader et al 2010
- Donald 2013
- Hattori, An & Sturm 2013
- Kato 2013
- Larsen & Gilliland 2009
- Sadler, Clark & Gilliland 2013
- Sadler, Gilliland & Arku 2013
7) Local Foods & Social Capital

a) Blay-Palmer et al 2013  
b) Bloom & Hinrichs 2011  
c) Brasier et al 2007  
d) Brown 2002  
e) Chiffoleau & Touzard 2010  
f) Connelly, Markey & Roseland 2011  
g) DeLind 2002  
h) Donald & Blay-Palmer 2006  
i) Feenstra 2002  
j) Glowacki-Dudka, Murray & Isaacs 2013  
k) Izumi, Wright & Hamm 2010  
l) Knight 2013  
m) Lyson 2005  
n) Marsden & Smith 2009  
o) Milestad et al 2010  
p) Peterson 2013  
q) Sonnino & Marsden 2006  
r) Sundbo 2013  
s) Teig et al 2009  
t) Zagata & Lostak 2012

8) Local Foods & Policy

a) Allen 2010  
b) DePuis & Goodman 2005  
c) Donald 2013  
d) Duram & Mead 2013  
e) Friedmann 2007  
f) Guthman 2008  
g) Hinrichs & Allen 2008  
h) Ingerson et al 2014.  
i) Knight 2013  
j) Martinez et al 2010  
k) Olberholtzer & Hanson 2012  
l) Ryge & Mikkelsen 2013  
m) Rytkönen et al 2013  
n) Schmit & Gómez 2011  
o) Sonnino 2013  
p) Storey 2009  
q) Wiseman 2013  
r) Zepeda & Nie 2012

9) Critiques of Local Foods

a) Albrecht & Johnson 2013  
b) Bellows & Hamm 2001  
c) Born & Purcell 2006  
d) DeLind 2011  
e) DuPuis & Goodman 2005  
f) Edwards-Jones et al 2008  
g) Feagan 2007  
h) Franklin, Newton & McEntee 2011  
i) Goodman 2004  
j) Hinrichs & Allen 2008  
k) Hinrichs 2003  
l) Lyson & Guptill 2004  
m) Marsden 2009  
n) Martinez et al 2010  
o) Milestad et al 2010  
p) Mount 2012  
q) Pearson, Pearson, & Pearson 2010  
r) Peterson 2013  
s) Purcell & Brown 2005  
t) Storey 2009  
u) Tregear 2011  
v) Winter 2003  
w) Wiseman 2013

XIII. References


Kirwan, James, and Damian Maye. "Food security framings within the UK and the integration of local food systems." *Journal of Rural Studies* 29 (2013): 91-100.


XIV. Annotated References


   This analysis utilizes both survey data and a field experiment to explore consumer willingness to pay for local foods products in the Maryland area. Evidence suggests that there exists a strong willingness of selective shoppers to pay what the authors call a “local premium.” Results also confirmed that consumers of local products differentiate between other premium food attributes such as “grass-fed” and local production.

Authors review published works to distinguish between consumer preferences for organic and local foods. Discussion centers on how a shift in consumer preferences away from organic and towards local consumption occurred in the mid 1990’s. Authors argue that this appears correlated with the publication of USDA organic standards and is suggestive of the local food movement being predominantly anti-corporation.


This study works to define indicators of small farmer success for the small farms in the southeastern US that participate in local food channels. Age, education, farm size, and non-farm income are shown to significantly affect the probability of small farmer success. The authors also use a case study of a Floridian regional marketing group to underscore the importance of marketing, integrated supply chains, and an entrepreneurial environment to local food system growth and profits.


This essay articulates weaknesses in the current food systems literature as it relates to the global production of food. Prominent research gaps include a lack of study of food systems in the developing world, an over-reliance on case study, as well as the uncertain outlook in terms of growth/scalability of the industry. The authors urge more regimented study of local foods to answer the mentioned limitations of the current research.


This study explores the role of social capital as it relates to economic growth throughout the world. Results suggest a highly positive and significant relationship between trust and income levels, the authors’ measures of social capital and economic growth, respectively. The authors suggest an important role for policymakers in pursuing strategies that enhance societal trust.


This paper advocates for how pursuit of local food industry development encourages social justice in the food system. Local food system development is said to address
many aspects of unfairness endemic to current food system power dynamics because they address specific needs of specific peoples.


This article describes the results of interviews with coordinators from community gardens across upstate New York. Included in the discussion is an overview of the motivations, characteristics, and challenges for community gardening in this region of the country. Results from the interviews demonstrate that gardens located in lower-income areas work to address other social issues facing area residents in addition to the environmental and health benefits associated with gardening.


The goal of this study is to identify not only how to best measure food access, but also the ways in which limited food access affects public health. Results highlight the importance of incorporating additional factors such as incidence of car ownership and community crime statistics when measuring food access. Improvements in access to food appears to have the greatest impact in terms of community health outcomes when looking at areas that started with no access.


Global data is analyzed to investigate the effects local food movements have on nonlocal markets such as foreign countries and trading partners. The data more specifically focused on Europe’s trade with Africa. Findings suggest that strong local food movements negatively affect low-income countries as low income countries’ economies rely disproportionately on agricultural exports.


This is a resource guide covering the various aspects and impacts of regional food hubs. Authors work through a definition of food hubs, defines their place in the market, as well as discusses the economic, environmental, and producer impacts associated with food hubs. Two main challenges facing the growth of food hubs include becoming economically viable as well as maintaining consistent buyers. The final sections offer lists of grants, supporting organizations, and other resources available to food hubs to aid in their creation and operation.

This paper explores the individual motivations behind ethical consumption decisions. Ethical consumption is argued to be more an expression of politics than an economic choice. Additionally, the authors touch on how growth in ethical consumption practices are more tied to readily available and accessible means of consumption rather than to dissemination of information concerning the importance of a particular ethical choice.


This analysis discusses the parallels between policies of import substitution and efforts to re-localize food systems. The authors caution against the global embrace of local foods due to the negative consequences associated with import substitution. The article concludes with suggestions for future research to test whether local food movements have positive or negative social benefits.


This piece provides a concise overview of the current local foods literature as it pertains to school lunch interventions and childhood nutrition. Included in the discussions are the state of current affairs, the drawbacks of existing research, and ideas for future exploration.


This model uses county level data to estimate the effect access to local foods has on individual weight outcomes. Findings suggest increased local foods prevalence has positive outcomes for individual weight. Some limitations in the model do exist, however, suggesting finer granularity in the data might better determine if weight outcomes are solely tied to access to local foods.


Authors explore the effects that access to local foods has on adult BMI measurements within the Italian population. Cross-sectional, household level, survey data is used to show that there is a positive relationship between alternative food network access and health outcomes.

Examines the network and infrastructure supporting the local food industry in Ontario. Particular emphasis is placed on describing the process of evaluation and categorization of food hubs in this region. Conclusions from the study emphasize how the place-based nature of local foods work might preclude the industry from creating standardized models.


   This article explores how alternative food networks can operate within the framework of traditional food system infrastructure. The authors develop a potential value chain and note different characteristics necessary for it to operate effectively. Of particular interest is the prominent role of trust and group management and the relationships between participants.


   This essay addresses the various manners in which the local foods movement falls into what the authors dub “The Local Trap.” “The Local Trap” occurs when citizens presume there to be some inherently good in a ‘local good’. The idea of local, however, is a relative idea whose notion changes from person to person, community to community.


   Boys & Hughes define research priorities for the next 5 years with regards to local foods’ impact on regional economies. The identified priorities focus on improving the analytical rigor of local foods’ impacts, particularly through utilization of regional economic models.


   This study investigates how regional agricultural clusters effect economic development in the Northeastern United States. Interviewed with 7 cluster initiatives indicated that these clusters have positive effects in terms of community development. Aspects of enhanced development include improved community awareness, farmer empowerment, and cooperative problem solving.

This review provides a thorough summary of current local foods research as it relates to the field of urban planning. The overarching theme of the review is that food systems, while new to the field of urban planning, is growing in importance as food systems planning is integrated into municipal policy. The literature is divided into 3 categories: food shed analysis, urban food production, and food access.


This article summarizes research on farmers’ markets over the past 60 years and identifies areas for future exploration. Articles are discussed in four major groupings: consumers & vendors, economic effects, social effects, and research conducted at farmers’ markets.


This literature reviews summarizes recent research on the impacts of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and Farmers Markets on producers, consumers, as well as communities. One key point highlighted by the authors is that while current local food entities are not profitable until farmer labor is omitted from calculations, Farmers’ Markets and CSA’s also comprise the avenue of growth with the most potential.


The authors use U.S. county level data to statistically estimate a family of economic growth models. They generally find that, with few exceptions, community-focused agriculture did not make significant contributions to economic growth over the study period.


This article discusses the various interests with regards to food systems and food policy. The varied needs and perspectives are presented through a stakeholder analysis in order to underscore the similarities and differences amongst different food system actors. The authors argue for urban planners’ role in creating equitable food systems and emphasize the utility of conducting a stakeholder analysis to understand the local food system climate.

This investigation analyzes the relationships amongst vineyards in a region of France in order to determine the role of cooperative competition. Researched surveyed vineyard managers asking each to give feedback on nature of their relationship with a list of competitor managers. While competition did seem relevant to managers’ decision, results also supported advice networks playing a strong role in terms of innovation.


This literature review surveys current local foods publications. It was prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food, focuses on the development of the local food industry across North America. It summarizes current local foods activity and discusses current research on local foods’ impact on society, the environment, and the economy. The authors include some discussion on impediments to industry growth as well.


This article discusses the specialized role food hubs could play in the growth of the local food industry. The authors use a successful food hub from California to highlight how food hubs might fill a current market void. Key lessons drawn from the California food hubs’ experience highlight how growth from small-scale is preferred to adapting large-scale systems to support local food distribution.


This piece overviews to Canadian local food initiatives created to promote environmental sustainability and social cohesion with regards to food systems. Both case studies suggest a positive role for this variety of initiative in encouraging the formation of social capital. Both also underscore the need for broader systemic change in order for them to thrive and create broad-based change.


This essay debates whether or not the development of local food initiatives is actually in line with the broader movement goals of social equity & sustainability. DeLind cautions against three foci of the local foods movement: focusing on the ‘Locavore’ as a consumer, the involvement of large corporations, and the unbalanced
influence of particular popular culture individuals.


This paper presents an argument for alternative agricultural entities within the local foods movement. The focus would be to develop civic-minded economic entities as opposed to simply small or local agricultural units. The crux of the argument focuses on these being important because they encourage a sense of place, care for the environment, and support community-building.

www.aae.wisc.edu/pubs/sps/pdf/stpap570.pdf

This analysis of local foods investigates the economic impacts of local food movements. The authors employ a Barro-type growth model to estimate the impact of local foods activity on growth in per capita income. The authors utilize Bayesian Model Averaging to select robust control variables. Counter to popular belief, the results of this model indicate that higher levels of local food activity is associated with lower levels income growth.

www.aae.wisc.edu/pubs/sps/pdf/stpap571.pdf

This article investigates the relationship between local foods and public health at the community level. Findings suggest that increases in local foods incidence is positively correlated with metrics of community health. These impacts on health are strongest when areas with little to no local foods activity experience the introduction of local foods. The authors note, however, that it is unclear if local foods activity is causing improvements in community health or vice versa.


This analysis investigates the relationship between incidence of local foods and metrics of public health at the community level. Findings suggest that increases in local foods incidence is positively correlated with metrics of community health. These impacts on health are strongest when areas with little to no local foods activity experience the introduction of local foods. The authors note, however, that it is unclear if local foods activity is causing improvements in community health or vice versa.

This article concisely summarizes the current debate between local and industrialized food production. The principle focus is on the ability of local foods to impact economic growth.


A growing focus of the food systems literature is on food access and food deserts. This piece advocates for conducting before and after assessments of retail food entry into food desert neighborhoods in order to better understand the effects entry has on a community in terms of health, economics, and development.


Through analysis of interviews with government, producer, and NGO agents, this article highlights weaknesses within the regulatory environment. The authors argue that the current regulatory framework is designed for larger producers and thus is ill suited to meet the needs of the current growth of small and medium sized producers. The authors also investigate the rationale behind what they dub the “urban creative food economy” and decide that the movement is principally focused on improving social inclusion.


This work approaches localism as a political strategy and discusses the pitfalls of the strategy as well as the ways in which ‘localist’ attitudes can have non inclusive, non-equitable effects. The authors caution local food advocates to be careful that local movements are not anti-global, pro-local elite, nor co-opted by other interests for personal gain.


Using a series of case studies, this piece reviews and evaluates five consumer food cooperative entities to understand their role in the domestic fair trade movement. Results from the case studies underscore the importance of food cooperatives participation in the success of the domestic fair trade movement. Findings show that challenges still exist for cooperatives in incorporating fair trade practices, particularly when in terms of food and product labelling.

This article surveys current local food literature as it relates to environmental and ecological impacts. The authors posit that not all local food production is more environmentally sustainable than conventional agricultural production and so suggest several paths for future research to better determine the environmental impacts of local food production. Research threads focus on use of natural resources, climate change, and methodology in agricultural production.


This piece discusses the shift in policy in the Niagara area with regards to the local food movement there. The local food movement changed from centering on providing good food to all people to concentrating efforts on capturing the high profits possible through the high-end production of organic and local foods.


This article focuses on the lack of evidence available to support the claim of positive environmental benefits associated with local food production. Discussion centers around the weaknesses in current research, particularly with regards to the measurement of key industry terms. Authors places much emphasis on GHG emissions and the nutritional value of food.


This work concentrates on the issues that arise within the local food movement with regards to place. The evolution of the definition of place and how ideas about place have developed across time have application with regards to the local food movement. The principle application of place theory is in how one defines ‘local’.


This article shares field lessons from practitioners who work within alternative food systems. The practitioner accounts reinforce common philosophies held by local food advocates of how local food system development supports community development, sustainable agriculture, and food justice.

This article expands on the ability of alternative food networks to address sustainable development needs in terms of environmental protection, economic growth, and social sustainability. Points are expounded through a case study of a food cooperative. The authors' final thoughts argues for readers to not consider alternative food networks as in their final form, but as an evolving entity that is still improving upon its own model.


This case study documents a successful local foods initiative in Toronto. Here, the University of Toronto worked with a local NGO to develop a methodology for further grow local foods activity in the area. This initiative is unique in that it created a food labeling mechanism to support purchase of local food.


This overview walks through the three dominant arguments for the best way to change the food system. These include changing production, changing consumption, and changing the organization of the food system. After detailing each argument, the author says the best thing to do is to find ways within each focus to incentivize improvements in nutrition.


This study seeks to answer if and how local food systems and social capital interact. Researchers use interview and survey techniques to identify patterns and themes. Results support interaction between local food systems and social capital development.


This work examines how food is defined within the context of other ideas. More specifically, food changes depending on if one approaches it within the context of “pleasure, place, production, or power.”


This piece highlights the relative nature of food arguing that food is defined within the context of other ideas. More specifically, ideas relating to food change depending
on the specific politics and culture of a location.


This studies the feasibility of Cleveland becoming self-reliant in fresh food provision. The authors model current production and estimates potential production across a range of different crops. Findings support the ability for Cleveland’s self-reliance and suggest large economic gains possible through pursuit of this strategy.


The argument in this article details how local food promotion is inherently a racist and exclusionary idea. The author interviews consumers and producers of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and farmers’ markets to support this theme. Particular concern is voiced with regards to the methods with which local foods advocates voice support.


This article discusses the ambiguity surrounding local foods in terms of defining it as a concept and delineating its geographic boundary. The authors note that perhaps more important than the geographic proximity or type of food is the way in which consumers purchase products: directly from producers or with short supply chains.


This piece explores the viability of local foods from a systems perspectives. Particular focus is placed on the challenges and constraints faced by producers in meeting growing demand for local foods. Case studies highlight how infrastructure, regulation, business acumen, access to capital and other issues hinder the ability of values-based supply chains to succeed.


Authors analyze survey data for California adults to understand the relationship between neighborhood-level availability of food and health outcomes. Their analysis results in no strong association between neighborhood food access and dietary and BMI health measures. The authors suggest that this is likely due to the fact that food consumption is not necessarily tied to the neighborhood geographic level.

The use of an IMPLAN input/output framework facilitates estimating the economic impact of farmers markets on the Oklahoma economy in this analysis. Calculations favor positive economic effects for these markets. Additionally, the authors use the results of survey data to build general profiles of producers and consumers who participate in farmers’ markets.


This survey analysis was designed to answer the question of which programs were most successful in assisting recent African immigrants experience financial success as new farmers in the United States. Findings underscore the added value training programs provide to new farmers. Furthermore, the most effective training programs that included elements of advice network building were shown to be most effective.


This work focuses on the tension within local foods outlets between traditional and alternative market ideas. More specifically, the focus is on two types of local food operations: Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) and farmers’ markets. Ideas are expounded through use of social embeddedness theory.


This work analyzes how the motivations underlying localization efforts in the food industry differ as you move between various actors. In particular, the discourse notes the tension between being exclusionary and promoting local diversity. Ideas are depicted within the context an Iowan effort to re-brand Iowan foods through the homegrown food banquet initiative.


This essay puts the ‘Buy Local Foods’ campaign into the historical context of other selective patronage campaigns throughout the last fifty years. Key to the discussion is the difference between protectionist and developmental selective patronage campaigns of which the ‘Buy Local Foods’ campaign is viewed as a mix of both. The authors argue that the ‘Buy Local Food’ campaign supporters have been unable
to effectively answer the question of whether the movement is realizing social justice aims not least because the goals of the movement remain vaguely defined.


This commentary piece discusses the potential for farmers’ markets to address many public health concerns. The author highlights several topics for future research as well as cites strategies health practitioners can use to encourage patient visits to farmers’ markets.


These estimates value the impacts of West Virginian farmers’ markets on the state’s economy. Calculations are conducted using an IMPLAN input-output framework which also takes into account opportunity costs. Though results are diminished once opportunity costs are included in the model, overall results still reflect how farmers’ markets have had a positive impact on the West Virginian economy.


This study examines the work of extension workers in North Carolina to better understand their perceptions of the impacts of local foods activity as well as identify challenges they faced in their work supporting local foods. This study was conducted predominantly to understand the impacts and reactions a specific local initiative, NC 10%. Results support a positive role for local foods in local development.


The central theme of this piece is the background behind farm-to-school programs and their role in communities today in the United States. Particular emphasis is placed on the constraints of this form of direct marketing. The results of 7 farmer interviews discuss the needs and views of participating farmers as well as suggest manners in which the government could better support them.


This article explores the development of alternative food networks through the interaction and evolution of urban and rural areas. Jarosz uses the Seattle metropolis and its surrounding area to illustrate how political, social, economic, and other conditions interacted to spur the growth of local foods awareness in this
area. Farmer surveys underscore the uncertain outlook with regards to the sustainability and growth of alternative food networks.


This study compares marketing strategies of food cooperatives from across the United States. Data aggregated from a national survey of food cooperative managers show large cooperatives as being more engaged in marketing than smaller ones. Findings suggest room for improved marketing strategies.


This case study looks at a specific New Orleans’ local food initiative located in a low-income food desert neighborhood. Of particular interest was why farmers’ market / CSA hybrid was unable to successfully engage local residents. Barriers to success included prohibitive prices, the mismatch of product offerings with local food preferences, and transportation deficits.


Authors examine the political economy of food security in the UK. Key to successful intervention is considering issues of food security from a holistic perspective both in defining food security as well as addressing the issues associated with it. Of particular interest through the piece is the role of collective action and local food system development efforts.


This literature review surveys of current local foods literature. It was prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food, parallels the review focused on North America. It provides a concise summary of current local foods activity, local foods and its impacts on community development, as well as existing government programing to support local foods. The focus is on local foods activity in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.


Institutional buying represents an under-explored segment of the local foods market. In this article, Knight works to measure the current size of institutional purchases as well as forecast future potential for this market segment for a province in Canada.
Estimates suggest possible opportunities for local farmers to meet institutional needs.


Motivating this study is the notion that while local foods is an inherently geographic idea, there is little literature that incorporates geospatial analysis. The authors map the local food system for the Philadelphia metro-area to determine the placement of farmers markets, distance of farms, and other factors. This information is used to understand the potential for urban agricultural production on green space within the city limits.


This report examines the effects a new farmers’ market has on the price of healthy food locally. Researches use data on the price of a basket of healthy foods collected from supermarkets in the area. The price of the basket of foods decreased for the area after the introduction of the farmers’ market.


This investigation addresses best practices with regards to the procurement of food aid. Using an international dataset, the authors assess whether procuring food aid locally is faster and cheaper than from abroad. The evidence suggests that it is typically faster to source food aid locally or regionally, however depending on the type of food aid provided, it can be cheaper to source food aid from abroad.


This work reviews the development of collective purchase schemes as they pertain to the local foods movement. Several case studies are offered as examples of different collective purchase models. Discussion is centered on the manners in which this variety of movement can assist in industry growth.


This 2011 study provides a thorough overview of local food market throughout the United States. Specific attention is placed on how local foods are marketed and sold.
Included in the analysis are profiles of the typical consumer and goods sold.


The overarching theme of this essay is the role of civic agriculture. The author defines the concept and describes how it should ideally be contextualized. The broader argument encourages civic agriculture to be considered a means for community problem solving capable of addressing the negative effects of capitalism and conventional industrial development.


This article compares the roles of commodity and civic agriculture in the United States. While seemingly diametrically opposed, the text considers how the two production models can co-exist and even complement the other. The authors draw similarities between the environmental characteristics necessary for both models to flourish.


This study surveys local food consumers from 4 states in the southeastern United States to understand the motivations behind local food consumption decisions. Results show that education, gender, fitness level, and exposure to foodborne illness are all significant factors in the profile of typical local foods consumers.


This article discusses the changing landscape of rural development and the ways in which new theory must become increasingly interdisciplinary. With regards to local foods, Marsden emphasizes that localism is not a return to a protectionist state but rather, a reinvention of the marketplace. The capacity for local movements to be viable long-run, though, does depend on the degree they interact with the global marketplace.


This piece details the way alternative food entrepreneurs can motivate broader systemic changes through use of local food networks. The authors focus on two case studies of European agricultural entities. These examples illuminate how communities can harness local resources to motivate sustainable change.

This broad overview of the local foods offers an account of both the development of the movement as well as the current state of affairs. The narrative highlights challenges facing outlooks for growth such as lack of infrastructure and unreliability of local food channels. Included in the text are a listing of government programs to support the creation and development of local foods producers and markets.


This research agenda poses a series of potential investigative questions regarding food hubs and their role in the food system. Research priorities focus on food hubs’ potential for success, identifying best practice form, scale, and food safety measures as they pertain to food hubs, as well as the potential for food hubs to help reinvigorate a local economy.


This articles details the roles food hubs currently play in different markets. Specifically described are the variant structures, roles, organization styles, and functions found in different food hub models. Also included is discussion around challenges to food hub growth and funding opportunities.


This thesis focuses on identifying the preferences and nutritional know-how of customers at farmers’ markets. Conclusions drawn from a survey of Kentucky area farmers’ market shoppers indicate that these shoppers have above average awareness of good nutritional habits as well as above demonstrate above average consumption of fruits and vegetables. Key to future research is to identify the direction of causation.


The authors examine an Austrian local organic cereal and bread network with the goal of understanding better the intra-network relationships. Interview results demonstrate the importance of social relationships within the local network. Additionally, while many producers cite the ability to stay true to their values as a dominating reason for engaging in local, organic production, many producers must still sell to large, nonlocal corporations to remain in business.

Through discussion of the scalability of local food movements, this article critiques the underlying assumptions related to the benefits of local food movements. In particular, the discourse details the ways in which various assumptions need to be explored in order to determine if in fact they hold true as well as if they are scalable.


This gives a broad profile of the organic farming market in the state of Florida. Much detail is given around both the supply and demand side of the organic food market. Highlights are given via the classification of the type of production entity.


This analysis seeks to characterize the current landscape of local foods integration with Maryland schools. Survey data demonstrates that there is high penetration of local foods in the school system. This example provides a successful model of institutional buying of local foods.


This study looks at the varieties of farmers’ markets and classifies the markets into categories. The research points to tension between farmers and the traditional culture of farming versus the city planners and their desires to reform and reinvigorate farmers markets in their localities.


This overview summarizes current research as it pertains to urban agriculture. Much emphasis is placed on the direction of current research. Future research should work to more systematically test ideas and become less reliant on case study.


This study works to define attitudes held by young adults towards production practices and how these attitudes are associated with their respective nutritional
habits. Researchers surveyed 2-year and 4-year college age students in Minneapolis. As expected, analysis of the results demonstrates that positive attitudes towards alternative food production are correlated with healthier dietary habits. More specifically, the most characteristics associated with high local foods consciousness include being female, older than 25, and living outside of a parents’ home.


This article critically examines local food advocates arguments in support of consuming local food. The author dissects the idea of consuming local food as a moral obligation and explains the limitations associated with each line of argument. Particular focus is places on consumption of local food as a moral imperative due to environmental concerns, health and taste of produce, as well as trust in the producer.


Identifying the motivations of organic grain producers is the underlying goal of this study. Researchers use surveys and regression tools to understand the results. Three principle motivations for organic grain producers are profit, environmental concerns, as well as lifestyle preferences.


This is the hallmark piece expounding the concept of the “local trap.” The “local trap” encapsulates believing something to be inherently superior simply because it is produced locally. The authors argue that this should be avoided as there is nothing inherently good nor bad in moving towards local, especially because the concept of local remains vague. Instead, it is important recognize that localization will necessarily involve both winners and losers. The broader points of this article are illustrated using a Brazilian case study.


This essay explores the development of alternative food networks across several European countries. Specific focus explores the implications and effects of shortened supply chains. The text highlights the various manifestations of local food activity and argues for institutions and policy to adapt with them.

96. Ruge, Dorte, and Bent Egberg Mikkelsen. “Local Public Food Strategies as a Social Innovation: Early Insights from the LOMA-Nymarkskolen Case Study.” *Acta Agriculturae*

This article offers the results from a Danish initiative to promote healthy eating among students through the promotion of local foods. The initiative involved cooking lessons, student involvement in menu selection, and farm visits. The program is demonstrated to have positive impacts on student behavior with regards to healthy eating. The authors argue that for this reason, it can be considered a type of social innovation.


This essay take a critical looks at the goat cheese market in Sweden. Within the context of this market, the authors describe the weakness of the re-emergence of local food, particularly with regards to food safety and food borne illness.


This analysis explores the before and after impacts of new food outlets in a community. The authors used before and after survey tools to examine the impact of two new grocery stores in a food desert area of Flint, Michigan. Survey data points to strong improvements both in terms of accessibility and affordability of healthy food.


This investigation defines the characteristics and habits of farmers’ market customers as well as calculates the size of farmers’ markets activity in terms of revenue. Data was gathered from two farmers’ markets in the Michigan and Ontario areas. Results dispel the notion that all farmers’ market shoppers are wealthy and point to opportunities for improvements in marketing.


Salois make the case in this article for food access playing a role in the arena of public health. Evidence suggests that local food available has large impacts on many measures of community health. The direction of the relationship is not perfectly clear, but in general, there should be support for community level interventions like that of local foods.

This study investigates the effectiveness of farmers’ markets. Using sales and survey data, the authors evaluate vendor performance and satisfaction across several markets of varying size. Outcomes of this study include policy recommendations to help improve the functioning of farmers markets. Recommendations include improved marketing, centralizing market locations, and improving recruitment to attract a wider mix of market vendors.


This article offers tools which practitioners can readily apply in their community to evaluate current local foods activity. Three community economic development diagnostics are adapted for use and then specifically applied to local food development in a country in Ohio. Included in the discussion are shortcomings to the tools and how they could be improved upon.


Sonnino reviews the development of local food research over the past 10 years and discusses how the arguments in support of local foods have evolved. A crucial piece of future work will be to explore an enhanced role with regards to local food governance in response to recent trends.


This research identifies gaps and weaknesses in the local foods research and uses these ideas to suggest a future research agenda. Sonnino & Marsden argue that the research agenda should focus on the idea of “embeddedness” and how local food entities are more embedded in community than are agri-industrial producers.


Using the model of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) as a framework, this article explores viability of alternative agriculture as a means of sustainable development. While CSA’s demonstrate the broad ability to meet general consumer needs outside of niche markets, findings still support the need for CSA’s to adapt further in meeting consumer demands if they are to move beyond their current state.

This piece summarizes current the current environment and strategies employed in rural economic development. Storey highlights how it is important to not assume there is inherent value in the “local” as well as not put false value on the “foreign expert”. Power dynamics play an essential role at the local scale, thus it is crucial to understand and hopefully model the competing interests.


Motivating this exploration is the fact that “local” remains a nonspecific idea. Interviews with producers and consumers in Denmark indicate that despite the vagary of the term, both parties have fairly similar ideas of what constitutes local food. Consumers tend to express more interest in the experience of the food and emphasize more the social elements of local food production.


This estimation asks the questions, what would happen if farmers switched from producing commodity crops to focusing on fruit and vegetable production? Using data on consumer consumption preferences, production capacity estimates, and regional distribution systems, Swenson models the sales that could be generated if such a switch were made in Iowa. While the model indicates significant sales possibilities, the author also acknowledges that many assumptions must be made in order to generate these numbers.


This essay compares and contrasts two case studies of food clusters. One is aimed at servicing local customers, the other is export oriented. The examples highlight how encouraging clustering focused on local development, such as that of local foods, can be a stable and effective avenue for economic development.


In this article, interviews with community gardeners are used to better understand the role community gardens can play in building social capital and promoting healthy lifestyles. Interviews covered themes from twenty-nine different gardens. Key themes arising from the transcripts suggest a large role for community gardens in terms of building a community’s social capital.

The authors use county and state level data to investigate the major correlates and characteristics of direct farm sales. They use data from the US Census of Agriculture dating back to 1992. Average farm size, available farmland, and population density are all important for explaining the variation in local foods activity.


These authors explore the willingness to pay for consumers to purchase locally grown foods. Using national survey data they identify characteristics of local foods that help motivate a willingness to pay a premium for local foods. They pay particular attention to the “public good” nature of local foods.


Broad overview of where the local foods literature currently stands and some avenues for future exploration. Particular focus is on evaluating scalability and sustainability of local food initiatives.


This critique offers an in-depth appraisal of local food research to date. The commentary touches on several weaknesses in the current literature including the weak empirical nature of most models as well as the inconsistency and vagueness of common terms employed throughout the literature.


This poster presents a systematic approach for identifying locations ideal for future local foods activity. Specific consideration is given to old industrial sites throughout the state of South Carolina. Sites were identified based on attributes such as population density within the area commuting zone.


This article analyzes data from 180 farmers’ markets in Iowa to gain insight into what
factors are important for generating higher sales. Being in an urban area and having higher average income are both shown to be significant while education and age are not found to be significant. Also of note, only 30% of vendors reports sales exceeding $5,000.


This survey of current local food literature focuses on food deserts both in the United States and abroad. A review of the literature reveals that published work on food deserts can be categorized into four main categories. These categories are access to food outlets, racial disparities in access, income disparities in access, and types of food outlet access.


This article uses customer survey data to compare and contrast three farmers’ markets located in a rural setting in Pennsylvania. Included in the discussion are strategies for extension workers to employ to help farmers’ markets grow and thrive.


This local foods articles examines how willing consumers are to pay for locally produced goods. The authors conduct two household surveys to answer this question: one focused on vegetables and fruits, the other on meat and dairy products. Responses indicate that consumers are more willing to pay for both meat and vegetables and that willingness to pay increases with being female and having more income.


This article takes a critical stance of local food movements and the claims surrounding their impacts. Winter debates the sustainability of local foods arguing that local food development does not always mean a switch to sustainable production. Rather, local food industry activity reflects a wide array of political opinions, motivations, and consequences.


This work analyzes consumer preferences when choosing apples. Results demonstrate that quality is most important to consumers when buying apples.
Production methodology is show to have little to no impact on consumer preferences.


This article analyzes local foods from a legal perspective. Much emphasis is placed on the current regulatory environment or the lack thereof in terms of consumer protection as well as enforcement. The author also discusses the benefits and pitfalls of potential regulatory schemes such as labeling and fraud prevention.


This piece focuses on the current and future role of local foods in Alberta and British Columbia, Canada. The authors use survey data to assess the current motivations and needs of local food producers. Much of the discussion centers around challenges and opportunities in terms of growth and long-term viability of local food market.


This work walks through the field of rural geography and why rural geographers should be involved in modelling the futures of rural landscapes. Particular emphasis on climate change and food security as sources of dissenting opinions of the future of rural development. With regards to food security, the tension lies in the localization vs. industrialization debate.


This article analyzes the beliefs of organic food shoppers and the role trust plays in organic foods purchase decisions. Analysis is conducted via interviews and looks at the difference between beliefs consumers hold about the organic food they are purchasing versus available information. Trust is shown to play a key role.


Utilizing multivariate analysis, this article explores what different categories of local and organic food shoppers exist and what their respective motivations are. Findings suggest that being local or organic food shoppers is more tied to behavioral and lifestyle attributes as opposed to demographic attributes. Most constraining to
participation in local and organic food shopping was lack of access, suggesting a role for policy-makers.