

Politics of scale in urban food governance

A case study of Malmö, Sweden

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Abstract

With the rescaling of environmental issues through international city networks, cities are increasingly viewed as key sites where innovative solutions are formed. The issues concerning food, which predominantly has been viewed as rural and national issues, have also found its way onto the urban agenda. To provide further understanding of the rescaling process and the role which the city plays in the development of the food system, this study applies a case study approach. Questions on the practice of scalar concepts, inclusion of stakeholders and values, and struggles and resistances in relation to urban food governance are investigated. Both documents and interviews are used to analyze one policy and three measures on food system development in Malmö, Sweden. The study finds that the urban food governance is placed with values of sustainable production, often understood as organic, which aren't upheld by food producers in the peri-urban area. This has led the urban food governance in this case to be contained within the urban center, excluding the peri-urban areas and big producers. The rescaling of food governance does therefore not imply a re-localization of the food system. Although left out of measures, the municipality is still trying to make a change in food production. Primarily by using their consumption power as a large actor together with other municipalities to increase the availability of sustainable foods in the city. Considering what in this case can be suggested to be a city/consumer alliance on the perspective of food issues, and the municipality resorting to public procurement as a tool to make a change, it consequently becomes a question on the possibilities for consumers to have agency in matters of system transformation.

Key words: *urban food policy, urban governance, politics of scale, local food systems, food governance*

Words: 14 599

Populärvetenskaplig sammanfattning

Till följd av en ökad aktivitet inom internationella nätverk för städer har miljö- och klimatfrågor alltmer kommit att betraktas som karaktäristisk lokala i sin skala. Städer har i sin tur alltmer kommit att betraktas som betydande platser där innovativa lösningar på dessa frågor uppstår. Matfrågor, som tidigare har hanterats som landsbygds- och nationella frågor, har också funnit sin väg till den urbana dagordningen. För att ge ytterligare förståelse för den omskalningsprocess av miljöfrågor kopplat till mat som pågår och stadens roll i utvecklingen av livsmedelssystemet, är denna uppstas utformad som en fallstudie. I denna studie undersöks hur koncept som berör skala används, vilka aktörer och värderingar som inkluderas i den urbana skalan och vilka motsättningar och vilket motstånd som uppstår i relation till styrning av livsmedelsfrågor i staden. Både dokument och intervjuer används för att analysera en policy och tre åtgärder för utveckling av livsmedelssystem i Malmö i Sverige. Studien finner att det inom den urbana livsmedelsstyrningen placeras ett högt värde av hållbar produktion, ofta uppfattad som ekologisk, som inte upprätthålls av stora livsmedelsproducenter i stadsområdet. Detta har lett till att stadens livsmedelsstyrning i det här fallet begränsas till en inre del av staden, och exkluderar yttre områden av kommunen där de stora producenterna befinner sig. Omskalningen av livsmedelsstyrning till en urban skala innebär på så sätt inte ett försök till att omlokalisera livsmedelssystemet. Även om det inte finns specifika åtgärder riktade mot större producenter, försöker kommunen fortfarande göra en förändring i livsmedelsproduktionen. Framst genom att använda sin konsumtionskraft som en stor aktör tillsammans med andra kommuner och på så sätt öka tillgängligheten av hållbara livsmedel i staden. Med tanke på att kommunen använder sig av offentlig upphandling som ett verktyg för att driva en förändring, föreslås det i det här fallet ha uppstått en stad/konsument-allians när det kommer till livsmedelsfrågor. Frågan om stadens roll i att förändra livsmedelssystemet blir följaktligen en fråga om konsumenter kan inneha en agens som kan leda till systemomvandling.

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1 Introduction

The global food system is currently one of the main contributors to environmental degradation and climate change (Wood et al., 2019). And the consequences, environmental, social, economic and health included, are occurring on a global scale (Ballamingie et al., 2020). Rapid changes such as shifts in agricultural prices, effects of climate change and an increase in urban population growth has in the last couple of decades also shown the fragility of the food system (Mazzocchi & Marino, 2020; Sonnino, 2016). The challenge from the combination of social and ecological crises, and the demographic changes has become known as the ‘New Food Equation’ (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010). Under the ‘New Food Equation’ cities are not just considered most vulnerable (Morgan & Sonnino, 2010). For example, more than half of the world’s population now resides in cities, resulting in the fact that most of the world’s population to be fed are in cities (Sonnino, 2009; Mendes, 2007). The ‘New Food Equation’ has also been marked as a challenge where cities constitute key spaces, forming new food governance able to respond to the unsustainable food insecurity (Sonnino, 2009; Sonnino, Moraes-Faus & Maggio, 2014).

The development of the food system and related food security issues has however been regarded as rural and national issues throughout the twentieth century (Smaal, Dessen, Wind & Rogge, 2021). Bulkeley (2005) argues that a shift in focus towards cities as innovators within sustainability policy in general has occurred. She further argues that this is a result of a discursive rescaling of environmental and climate change issues through city networks on the international arena (Bulkeley, 2005). Environmental governance taking place on the international arena has before been guided by nation states, where environmental issues have been understood as global in character, needing global solutions (Bulkeley, 2005). But due to lobbyism and practices in international city networks, environmental issues have been reframed as local, and city-scale issues, needing local solutions. The same process has occurred in the specific environmental issues that regard food. For example, the sustainability issues connected to food has also found its space onto the international city network arena, with the development of the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact in 2015 (Zerbian & de Luis Romero, 2021).

The scale on which environmental governance takes place has before been uncontested, as research on environmental governance has uncritically held the nation-state as the primary actor (Bulkeley, 2005). But what can be characterized

as the ‘new urban food agenda’ (Sonnino & Coulson, 2020), calls for further research treating the city as its unit of analysis in topics on food governance. A shift within academic research is however noticeable, with an increase on topics around urban food policy and governance in the last decade. One example is research focusing on urban food governance in Milan and signatories of the pact (see for example Young, Lee-Smith & Carey, 2020; Filippini, Mazzocchi & Corsi, 2019; Candel, 2020). Since the emergence of cities on the food policy arena has been recognized as a rescaling process (Zerbian and de Luis Romero, 2021), questions on the inclusion of values, stakeholders and interests, and the role which the city plays in the development of the food system need further investigation.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to explore what interests, issues, actors, and resistances are involved in the rescaling of food governance, by looking at the food policy and measures in an urban context. This is a humble contribution to research on the politics of scale in urban food governance (set forth by for example Prové, de Krom & Dessein, 2019; Mendes, 2007; Coulson & Sonnino 2019). Mendes (2007) argues that to further develop the scalar perspective on a theoretical level, there is need for empirical examples on the interaction between different scales in cases of urban governance setting out to resolve sustainability issues. This thesis is therefore constructed as a case study, taking a closer look at the urban food governance in Malmö, Sweden. The thesis is guided by the following research questions:

- 1) *How are food system activities and outcomes framed within the scope of urban food governance?*
- 2) *How are scalar concepts used in the production of urban food governance?*
- 3) *How is the urban food governance affected by other scales of governance?*
- 4) *What struggles and resistances can be identified in the rescaling of food governance?*

1.3 Scope and constraints

This thesis investigates urban food governance where governance isn’t necessarily implying a connection to the national state. The analysis of urban food governance in this study focuses on the city administration of Malmö, Sweden, although some

of the measures included in the analysis are co-produced with other actors. This means that non-governmental actors, such as alternative food networks or private actors, aren't being considered specifically. The scope of this study covers the municipal organization in the city of Malmö, Sweden, and their measures and policy documents that have been applied from year 2010-2021. This study does not seek to investigate the ecological impacts of the urban food system, such as cases conducting flow analyses or calculation of ecological footprint. Nor does this study touch upon specific health impacts of the studied urban food system.

1.4 Disposition

The next chapter (2) contains an overview and discussion of the theoretical frameworks and assumptions that are used to analyze and discuss the results of this study. A model for food system research is presented first, which is used as an analytical framework in the first section of the analysis. Thereafter assumptions and concepts related to the 'politics of scale' are presented.

Chapter three covers the methodological approach of the thesis. The research design is presented first, followed by method for data collection, presentation of materials for the study including presentation of chosen measures and policy, and method for analysis. The ethical considerations made are presented at the end of this chapter.

Chapter four covers the analysis. In the first subchapter the measures and policy are categorized based on their relation to food system activities and food security outcomes. Thereafter the categorizations are used to discuss the framing of urban food governance in the context of Malmö and how it relates to views in the national food policy in Sweden. The second subchapter presents understandings and practices of the concept 'local'. The third subchapter presents connections to other scales of food governance. The last subchapter present struggles and resistances identified in the urban scale governance. Each subchapter is followed by a discussion. The last chapter concludes the findings of the thesis in relation to the research questions.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Framework for food system research

The systems approach taken in this thesis is based on the complexity and multiplicity of actors, components, outcomes, and scales involved in the concept of food security. Much of the research that has dealt with the issue of food security related to sustainability and climate change has focused on agriculture only (Ericksen, Ingram & Liverman, 2009). But the challenges connected to ensuring sustainable access to food are systemic, involving multiple actors and levels (Vervoort et al., 2014). This relates to both the activities involved within such system, as well as the consequences related to it. When it comes to activities, both factors on the supranational level such as a globalized market and actions on food waste on a household level are part of a food system (Vervoort et al., 2014; Ericksen, 2008). As for the impacts, they are found both on the local level, for example impacts on biodiversity or overfertilization as a result from agricultural production methods, and on a global level, such as climate change resulting from example processing, transportation of and packaging of food (Wood et al., 2019). The complexity of the food system makes it difficult to research, as such research deals with multiple actors, acting on different levels, with difference in power and contesting understanding of how challenges should be dealt with (Vervoort et al., 2014). But considering the complexity, research on political efforts to develop the current food system would benefit from a wider concept of the food system, going beyond the traditional view which tend to diminish the food system to agriculture.

The framework used in this study for exploring what activities that are touched upon within the food system, and the wished outcomes, is based on the framework developed by Ericksen (2008). The model is a representation of the food system. With the systems model Ericksen (2008) aims to include both ecological and social components, acknowledging both ecological and social elements to be determinants and products of a food system. The framework is divided into two models; one conceptualizing the food system with social and ecological drivers that interact with the food system, and one conceptualizing the components of the food system and a conceptualization of food security outcomes. In this study, the second model (mapping of food system activities and outcomes) is used as a tool to identify the activities within the food system that are covered by the measures implemented by

the municipality. It is also used to identify the outcomes that the municipality wish to achieve with said measures.

The concept of food security is used in this thesis and does not specifically cover the concept of food sovereignty. This choice has been made due to the focus on municipal governance, which doesn't include a specific focus on food sovereignty movements. Noll and Murdock (2020) argue that food security is part of food sovereignty as both concepts involve elements of distribution. But since food sovereignty also involves a rejection of commodification of food, food sovereignty cannot necessarily be achieved only by achieving food security (Noll & Murdock, 2020). However, the food system outcome *access* in this model addresses food access based on people's ability to convert financial or other assets to food regardless on it being produced or purchased (Ericksen, 2008). This understanding of *access* is specifically relevant in an urban setting where fewer people grow their own food (Ericksen, 2008).

2.1.1 Food system activities

In this model, Ericksen (2008) divides the activities of the food system into four categories, where the first three categories represent the food supply chain: '*producing*', '*processing and packaging*', '*distributing and retailing*', and '*consuming*'. One food system activity lacking in this model is food waste management. Since this food system activity is both used and required in cities as a means to address environmental impacts related to food (Goldstein, Birkved, Fernandez & Hauschild, 2017; Boyer & Ramaswami, 2017), this activity has been added to the model for this study.

Producing – food entails the activities involved in producing raw food materials, such as land and labor, planting, caring for and harvesting crops or breeding animals. The inputs in this process are for example natural resources and technology.

Processing and packaging – food entails those activities which transform the raw product into a product to be sold on a market. This includes activities to increase storage life and standards.

Distributing and retailing – food entails activities such as transportation of the products, marketing and advertisement of products.

Consuming – food involves the acquisition, preparation, eating and digestions of food. Also included is the socialization involved with the consumption of food.

Food waste management – involves action for food waste reduction, allocation of food waste as a resource and food waste use or food waste end of life storage.

2.1.2 Food system outcomes

Ericksen (2008) divides the food system outcomes into three head categories: food security, social welfare, and environmental security. The food security outcomes are divided into three subcategories, recognizing the academic developments on how food security can be understood. Ericksen (2008) states that food security has traditionally been understood as food *availability* – food is there, or it is not there. In the model she includes food *access* and food *utilization* because of recent developments in academic literature. Also included are environmental and social outcomes, which can be intentional or unintentional and at the same time function as determiners influencing the food system. Their function as determiners is however outside the scope of this study.

Food availability – refers to the amount of food that is available, affected primarily by production, distribution and exchange. In other words, how food is made available to a population through local production, transportation or trade.

Food access – refers to factors besides availability that influence whether food is accessible to everyone in a population. These factors include affordability, considering the price of food, allocation, for example considering the placement of supermarkets or allocating food at lower prices for a certain population, and preference, considering for example social or religious norms or advertising that influence the demand of certain foods within a population.

Food utilization – refers to a public health perspective of food which influences food security, including nutritional value, social value and food safety. Nutritional value considers both over- and undernutrition in relation to the daily nutritional requirements. Social value considers the social and cultural norms of consuming food, referring to how food should be consumed as well as for example local or organic food having high value. Food safety considers risks related to food, such as diseases and contaminations occurring during the production, packaging, or other stages.

Social welfare – refers to how food system activities lead to social benefits, including income, employment, wealth, social and human capital.

Environmental security/natural capital – refers to whether food system activities contribute to environmental security, in the sense that it benefits ecosystem

services, stocks and flows, and how natural capital is maintained and accessible through the food system activities.

2.2 Politics of scale and the rescaling of food governance

The system approach to food uncovers the multiplicity of geographies. Not only does it uncover the range of issues involved in ensuring food security being achieved and upheld in a sustainable mode. The issues themselves are covered on a household level up to international legislation and cooperation, implying a range of geographies connected to the issues of the food system (Mendes, 2007). As mentioned in the introduction, cities are increasingly being considered a new and key arena for food governance (Sonnino & Coulsen, 2020; Moragues-Faus & Carroll, 2018), encompassing issues that traditionally has been viewed as agrarian and national (Smaal, Dessein, Wind & Rogge, 2021). The scale on which solutions to food insecurity and environmental issues connected to the food system should be formed and applied is in this sense shifting. It is argued by Zerbian and de Luis Romero (2021) that the emergence of cities on the food policy arena can be recognized as a rescaling process. A rescaling process is defined as how “policies and politics which formerly took place at one scale are shifted to others in ways that reshape the practices themselves, redefine the scales to and from which they are shifted, and reorganise interactions between scales” (McCann, 2003:162).

In recognizing this process, this study takes a constructivist approach to scale, with the assumption that scale is a social construct. It is not to assume that scales are unattached to geography or the non-human world. But how they are defined and the values we associate with them are constructed, re-constructed and reproduced through social and political interactions and processes (Brenner, 2001; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Bulkeley, 2005). In this sense, scales are not pre-given or bounded areas that can be taken for granted, but are continuously evolving (Brenner, 2001).

In exploring urban food governance, the task is therefore to investigate how the urban scale is constructed, assuming that the geographical borders of the urban scale aren't pre-given. To do this, the concept of scale framing is used with the help from the model by Ericksen (2008). Scale framing addresses how actors, in this case the municipality, discursively engage geographical scales, in this case the city, and how they place certain values, visions and issues onto the geographical scale

(Prové, de Krom & Dessein, 2019). Here, the task is to investigate which values that are associated to such scale and how this relates to the geographical definition of the scale. It is also of interest how the urban scale food governance is affected by other scales of governance. This is explored by looking into what values are placed onto the urban scale by the national scale food governance.

Brenner (2001) argues that some research on the politics of scale have blurred the lines of scales, suggesting that an overemphasis on the social processes of scale might render the concept of scale to become too messy and render the notion of geography insignificant. When analyzing the urban scale, it is of significance to keep in mind that cities are connected to socio-spatial processes, affected by for example a global economy and local conditions, making cities simultaneously local and global (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003). It is in such important to keep in mind that the processes that affect cities are both material and social (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003). Taking on a constructivist approach in this study also entails the rejection of any inherent hierarchy to scales (Bulkeley, 2005). Therefore, this study also looks into the negotiations that take place during the rescaling process, which is intertwined with struggles and resistances (Bulkeley, 2005; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003). Foremost, the focus of this study lies on the process of *rescaling* and what the “rescaled” governance around food implies when it comes to the practices of urban food governance.

2.2.1 The local trap

In exploring scalar discourses and practices on the urban level, the concept of ‘the local’ is of significance. Not unlike the concept of scale, the concept of ‘the local’ has geographical connotation but which boundaries are socially constructed. Scalar concepts like local are used by different actors in achieving certain goals (Prové, de Krom & Dessein, 2019). To be able to critically assess notions of the ‘local’, I explore how this scalar concept is used in documents and in interviews in relation to Born and Purcell’s (2006) concept of “the local trap”. Born and Purcell (2006) identify the problem they call “the local trap” amongst planners as well as other groups aiming at localizing the food system. It is not to say that working towards localization of the food system is bad or wrong, but that there often underlies an assumption that localization is inherently good (Born & Purcell, 2006).

3 Methodological approach

3.1 Research design

This thesis is designed as a case study. The strategy was chosen based on its relevance in relation to the investigation of *how* and *why* forms of research questions, the study of a contemporary event (Yin, 2014), as well as its relevance for understanding a phenomena or relationship between different factors in a certain social context (Denscombe, 2018).

The case in this study is the city of Malmö, more specifically the municipal organization in the city. The advantage of applying a case study strategy is so to understand how the municipal organization in the city, in its specific social context, approaches the development of the food system through applied measures. The statement here is that the measures and the context in which they are being applied are not sharply distinguished, which represents the scope of a case study (Yin, 2014). The study rests on a qualitative approach. This is applied due to the need for taking a more holistic perspective on the topic. According to Denscombe (2018), qualitative research is advantageous when treating a phenomenon in interplay with its context.

3.2 Methods for data collection

3.2.1 Initial literature review

Before initiating the study, I read up on the status of the food system in a Western context. The increasing focus on cities' role in the food system transformation led to a topic on the urban context. Preparation entailed gathering of literature, focusing primarily on urban policy in relation to food. For this the database Web of Science was used as a search tool, and EndNote Desktop was used for saving and sorting.

The greater deal of preparational literature was gathered from searches on topic with the following search word combinations:

- “urban food policy”
- “urban policy” AND food
- “food policy” AND urban
- “urban food strateg*”

The study was then continued by gathering of material. The material was analyzed during the process of gathering more material, as characterized for qualitative research (Denscombe, 2018). The forming of final research questions and choice of theory for analysis has therefore been an integrated process with the gathering of new material. This process is further developed in chapter 3.4.

3.2.2 Document selection

Collection of relevant documents of municipal measures was performed through the official municipality website and through contact with municipal officials. The documents used for analysis represents official documents in the form of policy descriptions, evaluations, and reports. The collection and use of policy documents in Malmö city as a primary source have been chosen since the policy documents represent text that guides the municipality in their development. Evaluations and consultation responses collected also provide a function to get further insight of actions and involvement of other actors in policy measures. Published and official documents represent material that tend to be authoritative in the sense that they have high credibility (Denscombe, 2018). Webpages have in some instances been used to fill in the details missed in official documents, published material or by interviewees. Separate assessment on the webpage’s credibility, authority and updates have been made in these cases (Denscombe, 2018).

This study takes a point in departure on the measures and policies around food on a city-level. But since the study aims at getting a deeper understanding on the rescaling process of food governance, and since food issues traditionally have been treated on a national scale of food governance (Smaal, Dessen, Wind & Rogge, 2021), national policy documents have been included. The national and municipal documents have not been approached in the efforts to make an equal comparison of national and city measures. Rather, the national policy documents are included to provide context in the analysis of urban measures, to gain a relational

understanding. Consultation responses also constituted material for this study, to identify opinions, resistances, and patterns in relation to the production of both urban and national policy on food. In addition, printed material connected to some of the analyzed measures were included, since they contained descriptions, concepts and formulations that were of interest for this study.

3.2.3 Semi structured interviews

Interviews have been applied to gain knowledge of how the city administration views the municipality's work on food, and the motivations behind applied measures. Since the aim is to study variables like values, interests, experiences and opinions, the application of interviews was considered appropriate (Denscombe, 2018), to complement documents. The qualitative approach for this study led to the choice of semi-structured interviews, to make space so that certain points made by the interviewee could be followed up on (Bryman, 2016). Questions were set up beforehand but were complemented with more questions during the interview based on the responses of the interviewee, including questions that let the interviewee elaborate his or her thoughts on a matter. Some courses of actions were made to reduce the risk of the interviewer effect (Denscombe, 2018). When beginning the interview, I tried to introduce myself in a presentable and accommodating way, and efforts were taken to relate to answers in a neutral way but still being responsive. Factors such as the interviewees in this study being municipal officials who have professional qualifications on the subject, and the topic of this study not being considered sensitive are also seen as to reducing risk of the interviewer effect.

The selected municipal officials were contacted by email and a video meeting was booked, asking the interviewees to make room for about an hour. They were also informed of the topic both by email and during the interview. The interviews were recorded based on the interviewees' consent and transcribed thereafter. The recording of interviews was applied so that transcripts could be made, and so that the interviews easily could be treated as documented results. But also, since it meant that taking notes during the interview could be avoided, which can risk distracting the conversation (Bryman, 2016).

3.3 Materials

3.3.1 Policy documents

On the city level, there is one major policy dedicated to food. This policy is however not a strategy but covers how organizations within the municipality should handle the issue of food for it to become healthier and more sustainable, primarily through public procurement. Since a strategy that covers the approach to food in Malmö is yet to be established, a few measures have been included in the analysis in addition to the policy. This since an analysis on the food policy only would constitute a too narrow perspective, considering that other measures are in place that aims to improve food issues. Measures in Malmö Stad regarding the food system were identified during the interviews and in official documents.

Table 1 Summary of collected documents

Level	Document	Year accepted/received
City	Policy for sustainable development and food for Malmö City	2010
City	Evaluation of Malmö City's policy for sustainable development and food – How far have we come when half the time has passed?	2015
City	Compilation of received consultation responses – policy for sustainable development and food	2010
City	Consultation responses – policy for sustainable development and food (total no: 34)	2010
City	Comprehensive plan for Malmö	2018

State	National food strategy	2016
State	Consultation responses – SOU 2015:15 in relation to national food strategy (total no: 98)	2015
City	White paper on food waste – Food Malmö	2019
City	Matologi – Holistic food knowledge for schools in Malmö – Food Malmö (course material)	2020
City	Guide for commercial farming in the city – Stadsbruk (SLU & Malmö municipality)	2016

Criteria for selected actions:

The action should have the improvement of the food system (most often one part of it, such as consumption or production) as a clear aim of the measure/policy. This means that measures or projects that had some inclusion of food related elements were excluded. An example of such is one project within the municipality aiming for increased biodiversity in the city area by increasing blue-green solutions, where edible plants/trees could be included, but were not the main focus.

There are a few other projects initiated by the municipality, or where the municipality is a participant, that fall within the criteria for selection but have been left out for other reasons. For example, Malmö City participates in ‘Food Wave’. This is a project initiated by Milan in Italy, aiming to engage youth in the sustainable transition of the food system. Malmö city’s engagement within this project has however been heavily restricted due to the pandemic, also restricting the possibility for analysis of this project. It is also important to bear in mind, that the chosen measures don’t exclusively represent work that can be considered connected to the food system by the municipality.

3.3.2 Selected municipal measures and policies

Policy for sustainable development and food

The main policy document that covers the municipalities view and goals surrounding food is called the policy for sustainable development and food. However not a strategy, the purpose of the policy is foremost to guide organizations within the municipality in decisions regarding purchase of food. In other words, the policy is foremost a policy on public procurement of food. Because of the incorporation of specific goals in the policy, it stands out in relation to other policies of similar category, as such policies usually are found without hopes of achieving specified goals. A variation of measures was introduced in relation to the policy to ensure the fulfillment of goals, such as training of employees, production of pedagogical materials for educators and measuring of food waste (Malmö stad, 2015). The policy was adopted in 2010 and ran over a 10-year period (Malmö stad, 2010).

Food Malmö

Food Malmö was initiated as a project in 2019 and ran over a two-year period, in co-operation with local companies and non-profit organizations. The project started as the result of a pre-study performed by the municipal environmental department on how a food strategy for the city could be developed. Partly, the project has consisted of dialogues with various private, public and non-profit actors. The dialogues and workshops in Food Malmö has set the foundation for what is to become a food policy council for Malmö (Malmö stad, 2021). As the project period has ended, the ongoing process is to establish a separate non-profit organization to hold the food policy council. Within the scope of Food Malmö there has also been an incubator program for food entrepreneurs, development of learning materials for schools, a white paper on food waste, and various events.

Stadsbruk

‘Stadsbruk’ was initiated as a project in May 2014 where the partners developed a methodology for ways to establish commercial farming in cities that is sustainable (SLU, 2016). The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences was the coordinator of the project, and together with Malmö municipality and Xenofilia, a business actor, they constituted the primary partners of the project, although farming also took place in the municipalities of Växjö, Göteborg and Krisitanstad (SLU, 2016). The project ended in 2016, but commercial farming has continued in the same form as the project. The farming lots in Malmö are situated in three areas; Vintrie, Hyllie, and Västra Skrävlinge where the testbed is located at. The testbed is under the

management of Xenofilia, who offer a program where citizens who want to try out farming for commercial purposes are given a small plot of land to test different products and get help with establishing sales channels over the course of one year (Botildenborg, 2021). The Vintrie site is owned and managed by Malmö municipality, which is a main site for commercial farmers to lease land and continue their business after completing their time in the testbed.

Network for urban farming

The network for urban farming is a loosely composed interest network that was formed in 2010. It mainly consists of non-profit organisations that are cultivating food in the city, but also a few individuals, educational organisations around cultivation, and municipal actors (Stadsodlingsnätverket, n.d.). The network started with the help of a municipal official, but at the request of urban farming organisations. The network meets at their own requests to share ideas or organize visits. Officials within Malmö municipality function as contact persons for the network and have a coordinating role.

The national context

The Swedish government initiated the plans for a national food strategy in 2014 and it was adopted in 2016, set to strategically guide national food governance (Prop., 2016/17:104). The strategy is located at the Ministry of trade and Industry and apply until the year 2030, covering three strategic areas; rules and conditions, consumer and market, and knowledge and innovation (Prop., 2016/17:104).

3.3.3 Interviews

The interviews in this study are considered primary material for this study, as interviews were recorded and then transcribed. The interviews were conducted during the spring of year 2021. The four interviewed were all municipal officials who were or had been involved in one or several of the analyzed measures/policy.

Table 2 Summary of conducted interviews

Municipal official	Department	Interview time	Interview date
1	Environmental department	1 hour and 20 minutes	2021-03-31
2	Traffic and Property Management Department	30 minutes	2021-03-30
3	Environmental department	1 hour	2021-03-23
4	Environmental department	40 minutes	2021-04-19

The selection of interviewees was based on their insights in selected municipal measures, and are in such constituting key informants (Bryman, 2016). The municipal officials were approached in relation to their involvement as specified on the municipal website and through snowball selection, where the interviewed gave recommendations on others that could be of interest for the study. The number of interviews has been the result of the number of officials that work closely with the food related activities within the municipality. Besides the four interviews, mail correspondence has occurred with one other municipal official regarding the agricultural strategy that according to the comprehensive plan for Malmö is to be developed (Malmö stad, 2018). But since this work still hasn't started, the municipal official declined the interview since they felt they didn't have enough insight to respond to questions on the matter. There were also plans on including either state officials and/or non-profit organizations working on the city level, to get further insights to the social processes connected to the rescaling of food governance. But due to declined access to a key non-profit actor and due to time constraints, the number of interviews was limited. This also means that the analysis has been limited, and no conclusions can be drawn from it on the networked social processes involved in the urban food governance (see examples in Bulkeley, 2005; Moragues-Faus & Morgan, 2015).

3.4 Method for analysis

As mentioned, the development of research questions and theoretical framework for this thesis has been an integrated process with the collection of material. The process of revisiting the gathered data to reveal patterns in the documents and transcripts is a form of hermeneutics as proposed by Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2018). This means that when transcripts and documents were analyzed, extractions were made based on recurring themes. Recurring themes were simultaneously matched with topics and theoretical understandings proposed in the academic literature. The analysis can in this sense be understood as an interpretative activity, where the researcher turns from understanding the material to the pre-understanding in the form of academic literature and back again (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2018). This form for interpretation, seeing analysis of data as a circular mode of interpretation, is believed to produce understandings that would otherwise be concealed when research is performed as linear or casual (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2018).

When applied in this thesis, the transcript of the interviews and documents were printed and coded manually, going back and forth between the data and the gathered literature. As patterns started to form, the materials were finally analyzed through the lens of the theoretical frameworks presented in chapter 2, responding to the research questions.

Table 3 Overview of relation between research questions and theoretical lens

Framework	Research question
Politics of scale	1, 2, 3, 4
“The local trap”	2
Framework for food system research	1

4 Analysis

4.1 Food system activities

This chapter outlines what activities in the food system that are included in the municipality's measures and policy, based on Ericksen's model for food system research (2008).

Table 4 Overview of food system activities in municipal measures

Measure/policy	Production	Processing and packaging	Distribution and retailing	Consumption	Food Waste
<i>Policy for sustainable development and food</i>				Acquisition, preparation, socialization, eating	Food waste reduction
<i>Food Malmö</i>		Processing		Eating Socialization	Food waste
<i>Stadsbruk</i>	Production of food		Marketing, advertisement		
<i>Network for urban farming</i>	Production of food				

Policy for sustainable development and food

The policy addresses food that is served in public canteens in the municipality, and food served on for example municipal events and representations (Malmö stad, 2010). The main activity is therefore around the *consumption* of food. *Acquisition* of food when it comes to purchasing food. But also *preparation*, as measures in relation to the policy has involved training of kitchen staff on how to plan their

preparation, ensuring quality of the food in relation to for example warming times for canteen food, and on how to make informed choices on their purchasing (Malmö stad, 2015). *Socialization*, connected to measures taken to ensure a hospitable environment in the public canteens (Malmö stad, 2015). And *eating*, through for example the educational material developed for pre-school teachers, to guide children in exploring and trying new food. Actions on food waste reduction have also been applied, by keeping tabs on and measuring food waste, so that kitchen staff better can plan the quantity of food to prepare (Malmö stad, 2015).

Food Malmö

One of the main activities within Food Malmö is the forming of the local food council. But since the food council still hasn't been fully formed, with concrete activities and visions still finding its place, it hasn't been possible to place any measures onto categories of food system activities. One activity conducted within Food Malmö is an incubator program for food entrepreneurs, focusing on *processed* drinks and foods. A variation of food events has also taken place, although several had to be cancelled because of the pandemic. The forming of meeting places around food refers to the *socialization* in the *consumption* of food. A white paper on *food waste* has also been produced as a result from dialogues with various public, non-profit and private actors (Rädda maten & Food Malmö, 2019). Course materials for school children have been developed, although execution of the course has been delayed due to the pandemic, where the methodology focuses mainly on the *eating* and *socialization* part of *consumption* (Food Malmö, 2020).

Stadsbruk

The project concerned commercial farming in cities, which refers to the *production* of food. The participants also received training in how to develop their business, and support to establish sales channels (SLU & Malmö stad, 2016), which also refers to *distribution and retailing*, in the sense that a new market was created for the business owners to sell their products.

Network for urban farming

The network on urban farming surrounds the *production* of food. It is mainly non-profit organizations involved in the network, but as it is open to anyone who is interested in urban farming commercial farmers can also join. There is however no support in municipal policy documents to increase urban production of food (Malmö stad, 2018), nor is the network itself engaged primarily in increasing urban

farming. Rather, it is a way to cultivate the interest in urban farming and to share ideas and knowledge.

4.2 Food security outcomes

This chapter outlines what different outcomes, in relation to food security, that are desired by the municipality through the implementation of the food policy and measures. The categorization is based on Ericksen's model for food system research (2008).

Table 5 Overview of desired food security outcomes proposed by municipality

Measure/ policy	Availability	Access	Utilization	Social welfare	Environmental security/natural capital
<i>Policy for sustainable development and food</i>			Nutritional value, food safety		Ecosystem services, natural capital
<i>Food Malmö</i>	Local production			Social capital, income	Ecosystem services
<i>Stadsbruk</i>	Local production			Income, integration, social capital	Ecosystem services
<i>Network for urban farming</i>	Local production	Affordability		Social capital	

Policy for sustainable development and food

The policy has two main goals; to reduce greenhouse gas emissions related to the procurement of food within the municipality with 40 %, and that all food that is served in the municipality should be organic (Malmö stad, 2010). This suggests visions related to *environmental security* connected to the policy. But the primary goal, emphasized by interviewee 1, is to increase the quality of the food that is served within the municipality. The choice for establishing a goal on organic food was both because it is understood as the better choice for the environment and because the quality of food is difficult to measure. The choice was thus made because organic food according to official standards offers something to measure and that the certification conducted by a third party was seen as an assurance for quality. A model called S.M.A.R.T., developed by Stockholm region, covering goals such as a larger share of vegetables and fewer empty calories is used in the policy (Malmö stad, 2010). This focus on quality and health in the policy refers to *food utilization*. The system in place to offer schools meals for free refers to the *accessibility* of food, although the group is limited, and no measure is taken to make food more accessible for citizens than systems already in place.

Food Malmö

The main issue that drives the project Food Malmö is that both knowledge and access to locally produced and sustainable food is limited for people in Malmö. The incubator suggests an activity that offers the *availability*, through local processed foods and beverages. The position on sustainability in the incubator, and the coordination of food waste actors to produce a white paper also suggest efforts to provide outcomes regarding *environmental security*. The events, creating meeting places revolving around food, the creation of work opportunities through the incubator and other activities suggest an effort to work for *social welfare*.

Stadsbruk

The goal with the Stadsbruk project was to create a model for commercial farming in the city, which refers to availability of food through *local production*. Goals were also that the project would provide income and contribute to integration in the city (SLU & Malmö stad, 2016). According to interviewee 1, the target group was initially people who were outside the labor market, but due to tax regulations these people were unable to start a business and keep their welfare during the period where no income could be granted from the business. By also applying organic

principles to the cultivation, the aim in the project was to “create both ecological and social effects in and around the city, in the form of work opportunities and incomes, increased quality of life, green meeting places, and contributions to integration” (SLU & Malmö stad, 2016:9). This refers to both *social welfare* and *environmental security*.

Stadsodlingsnätverket

Whilst the network doesn't specifically aim to encourage the growth of urban farming, the knowledge sharing and community building for urban farmers can be considered to focus on the *availability* of food through *local production*. Stated by the municipal officials and in the municipal comprehensive plan, urban farming is considered a social activity, enhancing the wellbeing of citizens, rather than providing food (Malmö stad, 2018). The aimed at outcomes here refer to *social welfare*.

4.3 Framings of urban food governance

This chapter outlines the values, interests and geographical borders of the food governance in Malmö, based on the results from the two former chapters through the lens of the politics of scale.

4.3.1 A food systems perspective

The urban measures and policy cover a variety of food system activities but there is a slight overweight on consumption and local production of food as main indicators of urban food governance. The inclusion of a systems perspective, and efforts to work in several areas of the food system, is motivated by one of the interviewees as a way to work for the citizens of Malmö and to include the social aspects. The national food strategy has more of an overweight of production in relation to the urban scope of measures. Included in the strategic areas is however consumption and marketing (Prop., 2016/17:104).

4.3.2 Values of social wellbeing in the city

A common factor which unites the measures is the value of social wellbeing related to the food system activities. The policy is an exception, but the outcomes on citizens health also can be considered outcomes referring to social welfare (Ericksen, 2008). Even though two of the city measures focus on urban food production, the values of such are rather considered social than it being important in sustaining urban food security. In the municipality's comprehensive plan urban farming is also framed as a recreational and social activity (Malmö stad, 2018). From the measures, the urban farming connected to the network specifically enhance the social benefits of urban farming. One municipal official stated, in relation to the municipality's approach to urban farming, that;

“We don't see urban farming as primarily food cultivation. Of course, you're growing something edible, but primarily it's about the sense of community, growing together, the learning and exchange, the social”. (Interviewee 2)

Another municipal official also emphasized the social benefits of urban farming, both enhancing quality of life and a sense of safety:

“It contributes to wellbeing for the inhabitants in the city. It creates a social meeting place. You create a relation with the soil, the ground, if you grow vegetables. [...] The feeling of safety is increased in an area where you have more urban farming, because there will be more life in the area”. (Interviewee 1)

Farming on the urban scale, placed within the city, therefore becomes a measure primarily for the social wellbeing of the citizens.

The stadsbruk project did not frame urban agriculture quite as restricted to its social benefits as was made within the scope of the network and as expressed in the comprehensive plan. The focus in the stadsbruk project was commercial farming and was in such way not framed as a recreational activity. However, the project was also framed as “increasing the quality of life”, and “create green meeting places” in addition to providing other social outcomes such as income and work opportunities (SLU & Malmö stad, 2016). Although other outcomes were included, the idea that farming within the city contributes to social wellbeing persists.

As for the project Food Malmö, the events and activities placed social welfare as an outcome in the sense that it creates a meeting place around food, enhancing social capital. As stated by interviewee 3;

“The whole project was built around meeting places, that we would meet and one the one hand cook food but also to have conversations about food”.

The social outcomes connected to the municipal measures on food is an idea that unites the measures. The connections of social outcomes towards food measures places values on food as being something social in the city.

4.3.3 Differentiating values on urban and rural agriculture

The values placed on agriculture in the national food policy is different from the one presented in urban measures. The primary objective in the national food strategy is “a competitive food chain where the total food production increases, while achieving relevant national environmental objectives, in order to create growth and employment and contribute to sustainable development throughout the country” (Prop., 2016/17:104). This poses values on rural agriculture framed as mainly an economic activity, not only considering the strategy’s placement in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

The values placed onto agriculture in the national food policy, are also by the municipal officials seen as being different from the focus of food measures that are taken in the city. Interviewee 4 considered the national food strategy to be very production and business oriented. There was also placed a differentiation between the national food strategy and the measures taken in the city:

“An urban food policy has a different point of departure. We have tried to work more with citizens. The point of departure is for citizens to have access to good food. I feel that the national food strategy is about developing the Swedish production and industry as a priority in a way. So, I feel that they have different points of departure”. (Interviewee 4)

The differentiation being made between the national food strategy as business and production oriented, and the urban approach as being citizen oriented focusing on inhabitants to have access to food suggests that a differentiation is being made between producers and consumers. This type of focus, for citizens to have access

to (good) food is also evident in how the project Food Malmö frames its foundation. One of the interviewee's explain how the pre-study made before the project led to this foundation;

“So, we started looking at all the things we had come up with during [the pre-study]. Okay, what kind of problems do we really have in Malmö? So, we began to identify a main problem which was that, and which is the very purpose of the current project, that both knowledge and access for locally produced sustainable food for the people of Malmö is limited.” (Interviewee 3)

Important to keep in mind, is that the measures on food by the city has primarily promoted the availability, and not access, to food, the focus for the citizens again suggests the consumer perspective to food in the city.

Besides urban farming and measures containing social values, whereas the rural agriculture referred to in the national strategy doesn't get the same categorization, the urban governance on food places emphasis on a citizen's perspective mainly acquiring food through consumption.

4.3.4 Urban food governance contained in the city and values on sustainable foods

The scale for urban food governances, studied in this case, has primarily been contained towards the inner-city, and less in the peri-urban areas of the municipality. The policy for sustainable development and food considers schools, pre-schools and elderly homes that are placed in various areas but are still mostly contained to settled area. The same goes for Food Malmö, where the activities have revolved around the inner-city and settled area. When it comes to urban farming, there has been a focus on the cultivated areas being accessible to city-dwellers. The focus of food governance being for citizens, ultimately becomes a focus for city-dwellers, but it also suggests that the conventional methods used by the surrounding producers aren't desirable. As interviewee 1 explains;

“There has been much focus in the city in our projects. There is a lot of traditional agricultural land outside the city but still within the municipality

where they mostly grow sugar beets, rape, wheat. [...] But it's mostly conventional farming. It's not so strange, since it's amongst the best arable land in Sweden that is there. So, we've looked into it a little bit but not a lot. There has been most focus in the city. Because we work a lot for those who work in the city and if you are going to start getting out, how should the city dwellers get out if they do not have a car. So, you have to think about, is there a bus? Is it possible to cycle there? How it all works. So that's why we've probably stayed in town."

The combination of the peri-urban area not being accessible for city dwellers and that the value of conventional farming was considered less desirable led to the peri-urban area receiving less attention. Conventional food being less desirable is also evident in the policy for sustainable development and food (Malmö stad, 2010). The goal on organic foods in public meals was made on behalf of both the environmental benefits and the quality of food. As one of the interviewee's stated;

"It is pure quality labeling, it is a third-party certification, so it is not the responsibility of the producer. It is traceable and it is good when it comes to animal husbandry as well. So that was a bit why the choice was organic, and that according to research it was considered more sustainable than conventional agriculture." (Interviewee 1)

The sustainable approach to farming was also applied in the Stadsbruk project and is a common factor for many of the organizations that are in the network for urban farming. Food measures focus on sustainable production and a refraining and differentiation is being made from conventional farming. This suggests that 'sustainable', or organic foods, is a value that has strong consideration in the urban food governance in Malmö.

4.3.5 Summary & discussion

The approach to food governance taken by the city has activities covering several areas in the food system, much like the national food strategy considering consumption. According to Dekeyser, Korsten and Fioramonti (2018) there has been a shift in thought on food governance and food security, going from what has been seen as an agrarian activity to incorporate the whole food system, which also covers consumption and urban areas. The view from municipal officials suggest that the food system approach offer a point of departure for the urban area

specifically, as it offers opportunities to work more citizens-based, include a perspective on consumption and social wellbeing. The urban food governance is, as opposed to the national food governance, framed as being oriented towards the citizens, with measures “for the Malmö inhabitant” (interviewee 4). The idea of the surrounding, peri-urban area not working “for the citizen” based on its conventional farming and difficulties for urban dwellers to access these areas, has placed urban food governance within the city. The measures regarding local production specifically have social values connected to them and is differentiated from rural agriculture on the account of social wellbeing. Such notion is similar to the findings of Prové, de Krom and Dessein (2019), who state that local governments tend to place urban farming that is only associated with social outcomes in the inner-city area.

To explore the framing of urban scale food governance by providing an empirical example could help in understanding the city approach to food politics, in what is included and excluded. Mendes expresses this relevance as early attempts to form strategies in an urban context have “often failed to account for the specificities of urban food systems, revealing a lingering assumption that food system issues are either inherently non-urban, or indistinguishable from non-urban strategies and concerns” (2007:100). In this case, food system issues are considered urban, but emphasizes the perspective of the consumer, organic produce and social wellbeing. This perspective is put in differentiation with business, conventional farming, and rural.

The primary objective in the national food strategy to increase production is motivated by the objective achieving an increase in food security (Prop., 2016/17:104). Such notion is based on the Malthusian idea that the issues surrounding food security are routed in a resource-deficient planet (Sonnino & Coulsen, 2020). The approach also covers a focus on economic growth that is business oriented, which is being differentiated from urban food governance by the municipal officials. Like findings in earlier research on cities, the urban food governance is characterized by sustainable and good food that is put in opposition to the productivism and business oriented national policies (Coulsen & Sonnino, 2019). This separation is also evident in the opinion that the national food strategy has a different focus than that of the city.

Putting this in the relation to the politics of scale, the definitions being revealed connected to the urban food governance in this case can be considered a way of how scale is being constructed. As stated, how the scale is defined and the values that are posed onto that scale is constructed, re-constructed and reproduced through social and political interactions and processes (Brenner, 2001; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Bulkeley, 2005). The geographical extent of a scale is therefore not pre-given. The scale of urban food governance is defined by the values associated with the scale, which in turn define the geographical extent of the

scale. The values of social wellbeing, consumption and organic production associated with the urban food governance in Malmö has placed the urban scale within the city area, not including peri-urban areas. The results show an indication of how values placed on the issue of food are different and produce different outcomes depending on the scale of governance (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003).

4.4 Scalar concepts in urban food governance

This chapter focuses on the uses of scalar concepts at the city level and in the national food strategy. The focus in this case is on how the concept of ‘the local’ is understood and applied, and how their measures and policy relate to ‘the local trap’ (Born & Purcell, 2006).

4.4.1 Ambiguity around the concept of ‘the local’

In the interviews with the municipal officials, there was an ambiguity towards the concept of ‘local’. The concept was especially met with ambiguity due to the difficulties in how it is supposed to be applied and the geographical definition of it. In relation to the policy on sustainable development and food one of the municipal officials expressed that;

“There is no definition that we know of on what local is. So, it is very difficult, if we are to take a certain reach. But then we might include half of Denmark and parts of Germany. If we take the whole of Sweden, but then it is as far to take something from Norrland as it is from Italy. Where are you supposed to take from?” (interviewee 1)

‘Local’ food in this sense was a concept that was experienced as difficult to apply.

4.4.2 No re-localization of the food system

Two of the urban measures focuses on the availability of food through local food production. The Stadsbruk project and network for urban farming could suggest a re-localization of the food system, as both projects lead to an increase in food production in the city. The urban farming connected to the network had however a stronger focus on the social outcomes related to growing food in the city, than that of providing the city with food. The Stadsbruk project had a clearer focus on its produce belonging to the urban food chain. But the role of urban farming, even in relation to the Stadsbruk project, was considered small. Especially when considerations to the possibilities of providing food for the city within the local context were taken, which showed that the demand for food can’t be met within the municipality’s border. As one municipal official stated:

“You will never be able to produce enough food for Malmö on Malmö's land so to speak. In the stadsbruk project, a researcher from SLU made an evaluation or a calculation of how much food you need to produce food for all the 300,000 who live in Malmö. And it needs a significantly larger area than Malmö has. So, it is not about Malmö being self-sufficient. It's not possible.” (Interviewee 1)

Although the concept of ‘the local’ was met with ambiguity, it was recognized as a concept that is popular in the political sphere. But it was also considered as something that isn't necessarily desirable in relation to sustainability. As stated by the same interviewee:

“It is a good concept, but everyone interprets it in different ways, what you interpret as local. If local is within 20 km, 200 km, within the region or county. So that's why you do not want to use it. I know it's very popular politically to talk about locally, but there's nothing you can do about it. And just because it's local, does not mean it's better. When you look, for example, at how it is produced and how it is transported.” (Interviewee 1)

In the policy for sustainable development and food one of the goals, associated with the S.M.A.R.T. model, was that food should be transport-efficient (Malmö stad, 2010). This goal was however given little attention and was instead deprioritized on behalf of procuring organic produce. The reasons first of all being the difficulties due to the procurement law limiting the possibility to choose sellers based on locality, but where the demand on organic produce was possible to make. As stated by the municipal official:

“First of all, it would go against the EU-law. You can't, because there should be free movement of products in the EU. [...] [Organic] was a requirement that could be set when making procurements. Because that is exactly it, because of the law on public procurement, you cannot say, for example, that I want Swedish, I want Scanian, I want local. You are not allowed to say that. But you can make demands on the quality. And you can make demands when it comes to animal care. So, there are some things that can be demanded. So that is probably why it was also chosen organically. Because you can set those requirements.” (Interviewee 1)

Secondly, the value of organic was considered more desirable than it being locally produced based on the climate impact. Stated by Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015) in their case study of Malmö, the municipality investigated the greenhouse gas emissions related to food, showing that emissions related to transport were low

in comparison to other factors, such as the consumption of meat. Furthermore, Moragues-Faus and Morgan stated that the producers in the local area around Malmö weren't considered "the local food stereotype" (2015:1564).

Food being produced in a sustainable manner is in this case considered more important than it being local. This suggests that a re-localization of the urban food system isn't desired in Malmö based on the approach on sustainability taken within the municipality.

4.4.3 Uses of 'the local' in connection to consumer wants and desires

Although municipality measures don't seek to re-localize the food system, usage of the word "local" is seen foremost in the Food Malmö project. However, when used it is coupled alongside "sustainability". For example, a "local" qualification was set for applicants to the incubator hosted within the project who had to motivate their connection to Malmö. The qualification was coupled with a qualification of sustainability, where companies needed to motivate how their product contributed to any sustainability aspects. The main problem identified by the municipality in their pre-study that is driving the purpose of Food Malmö, "that both knowledge and access to locally produced sustainable food for the people of Malmö are limited" (interviewee 3), follows the same pattern. The coupling of local and sustainability suggests that what is included in the local stereotype is a producer who is considered sustainable.

Local and sustainable food being limited to inhabitants in Malmö also suggest that what is local and sustainable is wanted or desired by the urban consumer. Other statements by municipal officials suggest that local food is something that is good for the private consumer, although self-sufficiency isn't possible.

"If you are an individual, absolutely. That you can meet a producer, have a conversation, and create a relationship with them, be able to shop from them, and get to know the history behind the product. For example, how the apple has been grown." (Interviewee 1)

When expressions of "local" are mentioned in the national food strategy, these are similarly coupled with sustainability and consumer demands. In the area of the strategy that concerns consumer and market, it is stated that goals in the strategy are important in meeting consumer demands on foods based on health, origin, and sustainability (Prop., 2016/17:104). Besides the origin and sustainability of food products being seen as factors that guide consumer choices, the strategy aims to

further work to make consumers conscious in making such choices. Consumers making conscious choices is described as a means to achieve the main goal in the strategy, which is, as stated earlier, to increase the domestic production of food.

“In order for it to be possible to achieve the goal of increased food production with purpose to create employment, growth and sustainable development, the Government believes that the goal for the strategic area Consumer and market should be that consumers should have a high level of confidence in food and be able to make conscious and sustainable choices, for example of locally produced and organic.” (Prop., 2016/17:104, p. 24)

The framing of the consumer as someone who wants, and desires local and sustainable foods is similar in both the national scale governance and the urban food governance.

4.4.4 Applications of 'the local'

As mentioned, the incubator in the Food Malmö project, applied the concept of 'local' in relation to sustainability. Although the limits of what local is wasn't fully defined, it was stated that the applicant needed some sort of connection to Malmö. The creation of a local food council is also taking place within the Food Malmö project. As the food council is supposed to be local, named Malmö food council in this case, a similar definition is applied here.

“We have said that there must be some connection to Malmö. It does not have to be that they are based in Malmö, but they should work towards Malmö, so to speak. Say if you are a grower who has his primary market and sales channels in Malmö. Then we think it is reasonable.” (Interviewee 3)

There is however some ambiguity on how the locality of the food council should be applied. The application requires motivations on their connection to the city, which aren't always easy to make. As one municipal official stated in relation to the local food council:

“Let's say that it is a larger authority, for example Region Skåne which has an office in Malmö and works actively with Malmö, so we thought they could be a part of this. But it becomes... Is it a different type of organization, let's say Krinnova. They work all over Skåne, but they live in Kristianstad. They have no particular focus on Malmö. And in that case we think that we do not

exclude, but it is not entirely optimal. Then of course, they can come if they want to. But we try to stick to Malmö as much as possible, because it's about the local context of Malmö.” (Interviewee 3)

In the inclusion process, it is seen that regional actors could be fitting in the local food council. But as the application of the local respond to a situation where motivations are needed to connect an organization’s locality to the city, it creates a situation where one regional actor is considered more relevant than the other.

4.4.5 Summary & discussion

Even though some statements, especially apparent in the Food Malmö project and the creation of a local food policy, the concept of ‘local’ is coupled with sustainability. And as evident in the choices of the policy for sustainable development and food, the local choice was both not possible due to the procurement law, but also didn’t fit the sustainable values that took priority.

The concept of the local is met with ambiguity by the municipal officials, who feel that it is difficult to grasp and define. Besides the problems of defining the geographical extent of the local, the officials are restricted by law in applying such notion in relation to public procurement. But the local in this case was neither perceived as something to be achieved based on that the production methods used in the surrounding area didn’t fit the values of sustainability taking priority within the municipal organization. Observed by Moragues-Faus and Morgan (2015) was how industrial and big producers weren’t considered fitting to the local stereotype in Malmö.

According to Born and Purcell (2006), the problem they identify as ‘the local trap’ is evident amongst municipal planners and other groups, such as alternative food networks. They argue that the trap of assuming that what is local is inherently good is causing planners to work towards a localization of the food system without critically assessing whether the choice of local is better than another (Born & Purcell, 2006). The findings in this study suggests that the city hasn’t fallen into the local trap, as assessments were made in relation to the policy for sustainable development and food, leading to the choice of organic instead of local. This is similar to findings of Mendes (2007) who argues that urban food governance isn’t taking an uncritical approach towards ‘the local’.

There are however still values connected to ‘the local’, as suggested by both municipal officials and in the national food strategy. As argued by Prové, de Krom and dessein (2019), the use of locality is a political process that goes into defining what is included in ‘local’. They further suggest that “in this process, sociopolitical inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders and their interests or values takes place” (2019:172). As the ‘local’ as seen in this study is coupled with sustainability responding to consumers wants and desires, the local producers in the surrounding area are excluded.

How the local scale is shaped and understood when it is applied in the Food Malmö project also shows the relevance of the politics of scale. Definitions of the border of a scale are socially constructed (Brenner, 2001), in this case supported by motivations made by the city organisation which rendered the inclusion of one regional actor more fitting than another. This example goes to show how scales cannot be approached as pre-given or geographically bound (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003; Bulkeley, 2005).

4.5 Multiscalar processes shaping urban food governance

4.5.1 Experiences of restricted support for food governance on a city level

Of the measures applied within the municipality, the policy for sustainable development and food stands out in its specific focus on greenhouse gas reduction and public procurement. It is however stated by the municipal officials that the municipal organization has worked with food issues in other ways, such as the measures presented in this study, and hope to do so more in the future. As one municipal official stated:

“We at the environmental department have always worked with food issues in other ways too. The policy is primarily aimed at public food, what we serve, what we procure and so on. But we have always known that we need to do more things to partly help ourselves on the run, to become even better in terms of climate-smart food and reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, then for example a lot of training is needed” (interviewee 3)

But applying measures that go beyond the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions is experienced by municipal officials as something that lacks support politically in the city, and that the municipality is unwilling to provide further funding. This was expressed by interviewee 1 in relation to urban farming:

“I would have liked to see more central support, mainly politically so that they could provide more resources for urban farming. Because it gives so much to the city, it really does.” (Interviewee 1)

Interviewee 2 confirms that the focus for the municipal organization isn't to actively increase urban farming, nor is there any goal formulated in the comprehensive plan for Malmö to do so (Malmö stad, 2018). Another municipal official expresses that although the idea of systems-thinking, including more aspects on food, is gaining popularity there is difficulty in finding the resources to apply it:

“It feels like things are starting to happen here that you talk more and more about food as a system. But you have to have resources to be able to work with it as well.” (Interviewee 4)

According to one of the municipal officials, there has been a shift in politics that has made it difficult to motivate the types of projects that the officials would like to work with when it comes to food system issues. In relation to the Food Malmö project the municipal official stated that;

“When we got this project, there was another political government in Malmö. And then there were other political goals for the city. And when the project started, there was a new political leadership and then there were also new, other political goals. Which may not have worked very well with the project, but which worked better when the previous government was in place. It is also an aspect that can be problematic.” (Interviewee 3)

The difficulty in acquiring resources for food projects had according to the same official to do with the new political goals being mainly focused on addressing the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, saying that the Food Malmö might not have been approved with the political goals in place today.

The values that are connected to the urban food governance in Malmö, as stated earlier being revolved around social wellbeing, the social value of food, sustainability and directed at consumers, seems to be difficult for municipal officials to motivate under the current political leadership in the municipality. While reduction of greenhouse gas emissions falls under a flag of sustainability,

the officials argue that the work that falls within the urban food governance is and should be more than that.

4.5.2 Funding found on the national and supranational level

The environmental department often draws on external funds to be able to work with food system issues that go beyond the core activities. Interviewee 3 explains that the projects funded externally provides them with the opportunity to be at the forefront in certain areas, the Stadsbruk project offering commercial cultivation in the city being such an example.

Looking into the measures and policy selected in this study, all of them have either received national or EU funding at some point during the time of their existence or have been fully connected to such funding. Two of the measures full scope was funded by EU or national agencies. One of them being the Stadsbruk project, which was funded as an innovation and cooperation project by Vinnova, the national innovation agency (SLU & Malmö stad, 2016). While the network for urban farming itself haven't received funding, the municipality also received funding from Vinnova to develop the coordination between municipal officials and urban farmers on public land, related to the network (Vinnova, 2017). The policy and network for urban farming has partially received national funding. According to interviewee 1, the municipality received funds from the Environmental Protection Agency mid-way to realize the goals formulated in the policy.

The Food Malmö project was the second measure to receive funds fully connected to the scope of the project. According to both one of the municipal officials and the Food Malmö website, the project was funded by the EU through the Swedish Board of Agriculture, the national agency for agriculture, specifically directed as to achieve goals in the national food strategy.

4.5.3 Discussion

What is being perceived by the municipal officials as being the scope for the city's food governance seems to get little attention in the city political leadership. Their visions are however being realized as the municipal officials are able to gain resources for projects from a national level, when the city politicians are unable or unwilling.

Two questions of scale come into play here;

- The redirection of resources in the re-scaling of food governance, and
- The multiscalar notion of urban governance

Food issues, which have formerly been understood as rural and national issues (Smaaal, Dessein, Wind & Rogge, 2020), are still to some extent being understood as such by the municipal officials in their view that the national food strategy is mainly producer focused. The shift in scales has caused the practice of food governance to be reshaped (McCann, 2003) on the urban scale, taking on a stronger consumer and sustainability focus that is being reproduced on the national level, which could be causing resources to be redirected to the urban scale (Bulkeley, 2005). The reliance on national or EU funds to achieve urban food measures has been found in other case studies on urban food governance (Mazzochi & Marino, 2020), which makes for an indication of a larger process of rescaling food governance.

The urban food governance is thus not only produced and made possible within a politics produced within the urban geography but is supported and formed by the view of urban, or consumption focused, food governance on a national level. Putting this in relation to statements drawn in the former chapter, showing that the consumer, local, and sustainability focus is understood as a means to fulfill the main goal of the national food strategy, the urban food governance as made possible by national funding cannot be separated from food governance on the national scale. The intersections of values of the urban food governance in Malmö and consumer values formulated in the national strategy, combined with the city's reliance on national funding, goes to show the way the urban scale relies on the relations of other scales. The urban scale food governance is created within the city, but is simultaneously produced by the national scale, being politically constructed in a relation between scales (Brenner, 2001; Bulkeley, 2005). This suggests that urban food governance isn't just urban. One of the measures in this study being financed from the national level, with specific aim to achieve goals in the national food strategy also suggests the rearticulation of national scale governance onto the urban

scale when ideas on food issues correlate, creating a “new geography of governance” (Bulkeley, 2005:882).

4.6 Struggles and resistances in the rescaling of food governance

4.6.1 A divide on sustainability causing difficulties to form cooperations

Mentioned earlier in this study, the city approach to food governance is characterized by values of sustainability, primarily organic, when it comes to the practices in measures and policy. This has caused conventional producers and the peri-urban surrounding area to be left out of city action. The divide between productivity and conventional production, and the city is also visible in the consultation responses that were made towards the policy on sustainable development and food. Before a formal decision was made on the policy, it was sent out on consultation to a total of 34 actors. Most of them, considering that the policy mainly concerns public procurement, were sent to different municipal administration. But a few outside actors, such as the national Swedish food agency were also invited. When asked on whether they recalled any of the consultation responses specifically, one municipal official said that;

“I remember that we received a long consultation response from LRF. Which wasn’t entirely in line with the policy we wanted” (Interviewee 4).

LRF (The Federation of Swedish Farmers), were in their consultation response skeptical towards the goal on procuring organic foods (LRF, 2010). They were also opposed to the decrease in meat consumption and protested against the municipality purchasing more land which they meant was followed by too short leasing times. Further, they wished that there were more possibilities for local producers being included in tenders. Towards the national food strategy, actors like LRF are taking a different approach in their consultation responses, where they take a more positive stance to the proposed strategy (LRF, 2015). The more critical consultation responses on the national food strategy are instead coming from for example consumer associations, calling for more efforts in developing a sustainable food production based on consumers’ requests on sustainable foods (Vi Konsumenter, 2015; Sveriges Konsumenter, 2015; Föreningen Medveten Konsumtion, 2015). The divide is thus seen on both the national and urban scale. But the consumer, and sustainability/organic perspective seems to have gained more ground within the urban scale of food governance.

The divide between conventional farmers and city has made it difficult to form a local food council. During the workshops leading up to the local food council, the

city has had difficulty in getting large producers in Malmö to join. As one of the municipal officials stated:

“It was difficult to reach the biggest ones. I am thinking of Orkla, Skånemejerier, Pågen, those in Malmö. Oatly ... We have invited them many times, but we have never managed to get them here for our meetings and workshops. [...] What we have felt is that we have to pitch and sell to them and in that way bring them to us. But it's very difficult to... Usually, and I kind of understand that it sounds fuzzy, "what is it", it's a little difficult to explain. Especially when it's big businesses.” (Interviewee 3)

The inability to include large producers and the experience of the need to “sell” the idea of the local food council suggests that the approach to food governance isn't met by large producers as a place where benefits for them can be obtained. As the local food council is starting to take form, the council has landed on the council containing five different working groups; production, gastronomy, food waste, education, and market. Still, there are difficulties in including the large primary producers in the food council despite their efforts to do so. This has caused an unbalance in the working group on production:

“To make a larger recruitment, we must act and reach out to our networks, get people to sign up and become members in these areas. In order for us to have this broad representation for each area. Because there is no point in us having an area called production and there are 10 urban growers. Because they think the same. We need to have this balance between urban growers, between officials and, what do I know, representatives from LRF and larger traditional farmers. That's when it becomes interesting, and relevant.” (Interviewee 3)

4.6.2 Efforts to influence peri-urban and big producers of food

Some efforts have been made from the municipality to work more closely with the peri-urban area and agriculture. One interviewee stated that Malmö municipality purchased areas of arable land in the municipality for exploitative purposes. But due to a shift in politics around 2010, it was decided that the city was to grow “inwards” instead of “outwards”. The focus on densification of the city, instead of using arable land for exploitative purposes is still a focus for the planning in Malmö (Malmö stad, 2018). In a way, the decision to not exploit arable land can be seen as a way to address food system issues in a way that addresses the peri-urban area.

Ways have however been explored to affect and put demands on producers in the surrounding area more directly. As the areas of arable land were left unexploited due to the shift in politics, the municipality had ended up with land they could lease to farmers. Explorations of ways of putting demands within the leasing agreements have been made, but the municipality has been unable to put such ideas into practice. As one of the interviewed explained:

“Quite a few of them lease land from the city of Malmö and then you can put some conditions in the lease agreements. But it's hard to do, I know people have tried it in many places. That you kind of want... Organic or whatever it may be. But it's a little difficult to solve. It can be difficult to solve it. It could be someone who has leased the same land from the municipality for several generations, so trying to go in and control what they should do is a bit...”
(Interviewee 4)

In 2018 the political leadership in the municipality decided that an agricultural strategy for Malmö should be developed, as formulated in the comprehensive plan (Malmö stad, 2018). The work to develop such strategy has however still not been commenced due to other tasks getting priority at the missioned administration. While there is an indication of the agricultural land in the municipality being considered less significant or important, there are no such final conclusions that can be drawn from the formulation of the strategy yet not being initiated.

While the municipality feel restricted in influencing big producers directly, they feel that the work on public procurement has an effect. One of the municipal officials stated that they've worked with their suppliers of food in relation to the policy, and that this has led to a larger assortment being available:

“We have worked with our suppliers as well. Because we have said we want more organic products, we want more plant-based products. Because we are such a large customer, we can influence their range, more than perhaps a smaller municipality. [...] And we have seen an increase in the quality of the products we buy. And that's very good. This is because the suppliers listen to us” (Interviewee 1)

The municipality seems to gain more ground in their work with the suppliers instead of with producers, where they both experience restrictions in possibilities to influence and conflicting ideas on production.

4.6.3 Discussion

The rescaling process is intertwined with struggles and resistances (Bulkeley, 2005), and are part of strategies “to combat and defend control over limited resources and/or a struggle for empowerment” (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003:913). The struggles and resistances identified connected to the rescaling of food governance are those between big and/or conventional producers and consumers, where the perspective of consumers is seen to promote a more sustainable production. The city in this case seems to take a stronger turn to the consumer perspective, framed as sustainable, resulting in the exclusion of producers and the peri-urban area in measures taken so far. Since the inability to include big producers into dialogue and cooperation has been seen in other European cities (Vára-Sanchez, Gallar-Hermández, García-García, Morán Alonso & Moragues-Faus, 2021), the inability to mobilize big producers in the local food council in Malmö might be an indication of such actors not resorting to the rescaled form of food governance, when obtaining more benefits in resorting to the national scale of food governance.

Conclusions on the role that cities take in reshaping the food system, or their impact on the sustainability of food systems, that can be drawn from this study are ambiguous. On the one hand, it is argued by political ecologist that no such thing as a sustainable city exists based on their global ecological footprint. This considering the urban metabolism where resources flow from outside of city borders to produce the cities wealth (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003). But urban food governance has also been argued to be part of a “quiet revolution” against the globalized corporate food regime that is found within the national scale of food governance (Coulsen & Sonnino, 2019). Cities engagement in environmental governance overall has also been characterized both as demonstrating alternatives to the current capitalistic economic system as well as mere regulations of the same (Bulkeley, 2005). Although big producers and peri-urban areas are left out of the urban scale food governance in terms of measures, the municipality is still trying to make a change in food production. Primarily by using their consumption power as a large actor together with other municipalities. Considering what in this case can be suggested to be a city/consumer alliance on the perspective of food issues and the municipality resorting to public procurement as a tool to make a change, it consequently becomes a question on the possibilities for consumers to have agency in matters of system transformation (Goodman & DuPuis, 2002).

5 Conclusions

How are food system activities and outcomes framed within the scope of urban food governance?

This study offers some insights on the values that are accompanied with the urban food governance in Malmö. In their efforts to develop the food system, they place high value on the social value of food, social benefits connected to measures concerning food, and environmental benefits, often understood as organic foods, as most measures consider the experienced wants and desires of the consumer in the city. There is a differentiation being made between urban food governance and national food governance, on the basis that the national perspective primarily considers food production and economic growth, where in the city this is less of a focus. The separation that is made is that food governance in the city is for individuals, whilst national food governance is for businesses. Values of ‘organic’ foods are also being given priority, where conventional farming is receiving less attention on the urban scale food governance. The idea of the surrounding, peri-urban area not working “for the citizen” based on its conventional farming and difficulties for urban dwellers to access these areas, has subsequently placed urban food governance in a geographical context that excludes the peri-urban area. The scale of urban food governance is defined by the values associated with the scale, which in turn define the geographical extent of the scale, showing how the geographical extent of the urban scale cannot be taken for granted.

How are scalar concepts used in the production of urban food governance?

This study suggests that the municipality of Malmö, in relation to their measures on food, hasn’t fallen into “the local trap”, as values of sustainable production, mostly represented as organic food, hold stronger value. The critical view of the concept as being vague and not always being the best choice regarding sustainability, together with the inability for the municipality to favor companies based on their locality due to the procurement law, local producers are disregarded in favor of producers of organic foods when it comes to the procurement policy. The ambiguity is further present when the concept “local” is being applied in other measures. As it is repeatedly being coupled with expressions on sustainability, the value on sustainable production yet seems to carry a stronger priority. The

exclusion and inclusion process in the shaping of urban food governance therefore seems to be made based on the values carried by the stakeholder, such as when a relation to the locality of Malmö is applied as a condition.

How is the urban food governance affected by other scales of governance?

All measures and policy included in the analysis has had its full scope, or part of the measure, funded from a national or EU agency. The view on consumer wants and desires being represented as sustainable is present on both the urban and national scale, but these ideas have a stronger presence in urban measures than it has in the national food policy which is still oriented towards increased production. The shift in scales (towards the urban) has caused the practice of food governance to be reshaped, and as the consumer ideals are being repeated on the national level, it might be what's causing resources to be redirected to the urban scale. This suggests that urban food governance isn't just urban. Especially since one of the measures is being financed from the national level with specific aim to achieve goals in the national food strategy. It suggests how the rearticulation of national scale governance onto the urban scale in managing ideas on consumer ideals creates a "new geography of governance".

What struggles and resistances can be identified in the rescaling of food governance?

The struggles identified are mainly that over values, where a consumer-focused food governance presumes ideals on "organic", which is not met by several of the surrounding producers. As the municipality feel constrained in the possibilities to influence producers in their surrounding area, the city instead works to offer citizens "organic" and "local" produce through their measures and using their consumption power as a means to influence producers and the availability of sustainable food. The understood values of food by the city have led to the urban scale of food governance being limited to the city and settled area. Based on this study it is suggested that the divide on "sustainable" values has caused a divide between the city and conventional farmers, making cooperation and dialogue difficult. It is also suggested that the struggles and resistances can be seen as intertwined with the rescaling process of food governance towards the urban scale. The consumer focus, both in motivations for urban measures and the repetitions of ideas of consumer wants on the national scale, calls for further research on the role of consumers and consumption in the development of the food system and urban food governance.

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