

Incredible Edible Todmorden: Impacts on Community Building, Education, and Local Culture. A Case for the Operationalization of a Sustainability-led Discourse.

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes how Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), a community-led project, operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on community building and the impacts it had on education and local culture. The research is informed by a framework encompassing Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, as well as notions of sustainability, discourse, and culture. The paper puts forth the argument that the discursive operationalization of sustainability, framed as a process of directed change, can produce important effects in community building, education, and local culture at a local level and suggests that the application of the framework may also yield results in the study of other sectors.

Keywords:

Sustainability

community
building

education

local culture

Todmorden

Introduction

The emergence of permaculture and urban farming projects is contextualized within the realities of post-industrial decay, the effects of the 2008 economic crisis, and the threats posed by climate change. Taking this into account, the analysis of urban farming and permaculture projects can focus on assessing the improvement in food security and overall living conditions due to economic renewals and shifts in consumption cycles brought about by these projects. These, however, are not the only positive impacts. In fact, as the case of Todmorden, a small post-industrial town in North West England, shows, community-led urban farming and permaculture projects can also serve as means for a broader reworking of the locality, having an effect on community building, education and local culture.

The objective of this research was to analyze how Todmorden's community-led project, called Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on the bringing together of the community and the impacts it had on education and local culture. This was done, first, through the analysis of documents belonging to IET in order to identify the ways in which sustainability has been used within their discourse and, second, through the revision of an evaluation report on the impacts of IET to establish a connection between the effects the project has had in Todmorden and the way its discourse has been operationalized.

The research is informed by Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, which proposes that places are symbolically constructed by its inhabitants, and so, they become a reflection of them, creating a link between place and identity. The conceptual framework also encompasses the definitions for sustainability, sustainability-led discourse, and culture through which the case was analyzed. These notions can help understand why sustainability projects that target local needs can also double as means for community building and as means to promote local culture and education.

The conceptual framework is followed by an overview of Todmorden and Incredible Edible, as well as permaculture and urban farming. These background sections are then followed by the case analysis, namely the analysis of the impacts IET has had in terms of community building, education and the promotion of local culture through the use of a sustainability-led discourse. The paper concludes by stating that the mise en action of a sustainability-led discourse through permaculture and urban farming or similar projects can produce positive effects on the areas chosen for this study and suggests that the framework explored here can be applied to encompass a wider range of human practices and structures.

Methodology

The analysis was carried out in two main parts. The first to determine the ways in which a sustainability

Codename	Document title & author	Type of document	Date
D1	"Incredible Edible pamphlet. INCREDIBLE: HOW ONE TOWN PROVED CHANGE IS POSSIBLE", IET	Pamphlet (Online)	Posted May 23, 2011.
D2	"How we can eat our landscapes", Pam Warhurst	TEDTalk (Online)	May 2012.
D3	"IET Newsletter November 2014", IET	Newsletter (Online)	
D4	"Incredible North. Growing health, wealth and happiness for all", IET	Presentation document (Online)	Posted May 27, 2016
D5	"Annual Report and Financial Statements for the period 27th October 2015 to 30th September 2016", IET2014", IET	Report (Online)	Posted November 19, 2016

TABLE 1. DOCUMENTS

Source: Michelle Brener M.

discourse has been employed by IET and the second to analyze the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. This is followed by a discussion that examines the conjunctions between the two parts in order to show that, through a sustainability-led discourse, IET has impacted the locality in terms of community-building, education, and the promotion of local culture.

The first part consisted in applying discourse analysis to a sample of four documents published by IET in their website¹ and a TEDTalk given by Pam Warhurst, co-founder of the project, at the TEDSalon in May, 2012, all of which are enlisted below. The documents were selected taking into account the amount of content (many documents in the site are very short), and the nature of the content (many documents address very specific events that are not useful for this research). The selection also contemplated having different kinds of documents to gain a clearer perspective on their use of discourse.

The objective was to identify the ways in which IET includes notions of sustainability within their discourse: directly or indirectly, on a scale of importance given to sustainability in the accomplishment of their objectives, and the registers and discursive devices they employ

to reference sustainability. These three categories were designed to identify the inclusion of sustainability in the documents, each with its set of classifications. The logic for these categories was inspired by Dryzek's (2005) elements for the analysis of discourses: basic entities recognized or constructed; assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives, key metaphors and other rhetorical devices. His approach allows to stress the link between the environment and discourse, particularly on how actors can "sponsor discourses of environmental concern conducive to their own interests" (p.13); in this case, how IET has employed the environment (through the notion of sustainability) within their discourse as a means to tackle issues related to community-building and its impact on education and local culture. Here, the categories have been adapted to focus on sustainability as the central category of analysis and not just as a type of discourse within the broader range of environmentalist discourses, which would follow Dryzek's work more closely (p.16) but which might prove confusing for this research's purpose.

With this in mind, Table 2 shows the description of each category and the relation it holds with Dryzek's

Category	Mode or Degree	Relation to Dryzek's original elements
1. Appearance of the term in the discourse <i>(whether IET recognizes sustainability as an entity within their own discourse)</i>	a. Direct mentions (DM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are directly employed.	Basic entities recognized or constructed
	b. Indirect mentions (IM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are not directly used but elements of its definition or application are employed.	
	c. No mentions (NM): neither the direct term nor elements of its definition or application are employed.	
2. Scale of importance <i>(how the notion of sustainability relates naturally to the IET project as presented discursively)</i>	a. High (H): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered a key element in the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are tied to sustainability.	Assumptions about natural relationships
	b. Medium (M): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered relevant but not crucial to the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are not exclusively tied to sustainability.	
	c. Low (L): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is not considered relevant in the accomplishment of the project's objectives.	
3. Discursive devices <i>(how the discourse is constructed to cater to IET's target audience)</i>	This category considers the use of rhetorical language and discursive devices to describe the overall construction of the documents.	Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices

TABLE 2. DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORIES

Source: Michelle Brener M.

¹ All four documents are available at Incredible Edible Todmorden: <https://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk>

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
DM (DIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
IM (INDIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
NM (NO MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H (HIGH)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
M (MEDIUM)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
L (LOW)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
SPECIFIC KIND OF RHETORICAL FIGURES AND DISCURSIVE DEVICES	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	

TABLE 3. DOCUMENT CATEGORIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION

Source: Michelle Brener M.

elements, while Table 3 shows the way in which each document was categorized and classified for analysis.

The second part consisted in reviewing a document titled "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report", a report commissioned by IET. The research was conducted by Dr. Adrian Morley (Manchester Metropolitan University), Dr. Alan Farrier (University of Central Lancashire), and Professor Mark Dooris (University of Central Lancashire), and published in July 2017. The data contained in this document is highly valuable given that the research was carried out in situ, using a mixed-method approach that included, among others: community surveys, volunteer surveys, semi-structured one-to-one interviews, and focus groups to samples of key stakeholders in the town, some members of IET and others belonging to the community, business, and learning sectors. The report assesses the social, economic, and environmental impacts IET has had in Todmorden in terms of community, learning, and business (the project's three spheres of action), which falls within the scope of what this paper set out to study.

Due to resource constraints at the moment this research began to be carried out, the choice was made to use existing data to assess the impacts the IET

project has had with regards to community-building, education, and the promotion of local culture and whether the sustainability-led discourse employed by IET was reflected in the perceptions of community members regarding said impact. Primary data is, of course, needed to complement the findings of this stage of the research. However, a preliminary approach to the impacts of the project in the three spheres mentioned was necessary to assess the operationalization of IET's discourse and the "Propagating Success?" evaluation report proved most useful given its scope, methods, and timeframe.

Sustainability, Discourse, Culture & Place: A Conceptual Framework

This section presents the conceptual framework that has guided the research, namely the definitions of sustainability and culture that have been used and the ways in which they are linked, what is meant by sustainability-led discourse, and Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity.

Sustainability

Two of the main issues when it comes to defining sustainability are ambiguity and instrumentalization. Ever since the definition produced by the 1987 Brundtland Report of sustainable development as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," (WCED, 1987: 43) the term has been instrumentalized by numerous actors to fit their needs and purposes (Johnston et al, 2007; Isar, 2017; De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and misused to the point where it is "almost devoid of meaning" (Hambleton, 2014:16). Moreover, it has tied the notion of sustainability almost inextricably to that of development, which in itself is problematic given that it, too, is polysemic (Isar, 2017) and subject to vested interests.

Johnston et al (2007) suggest using the four TNS² System Conditions coined by Karl-Henrik Robèrt (Robèrt et al, 2002 in Johnston et al, 2007: 62) as guiding principles in defining sustainability:

In the sustainable society, nature is not subject to systematically increasing...

1. ... concentrations of substances extracted from the Earth's crust
2. ... concentrations of substances produced by society
3. ... degradation by physical means and
4. people are not subject to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs

According to them, this is a definition that includes both the biosphere and human societies and it can be subject to operationalization and governance through precautionary ethics, meaning that the co-existence between humans and the natural world, so often problematic, must be defined and guided by "a new understanding of what is 'right' and what is demonstrably 'wrong' with respect to policy, technology and economic instruments brought to bear on the environment." (Johnston et al, 2007) This series of principles, they argue, draw on the Brundtland Report's original definition providing scientific backing to the notion of sustainability so that it can be the one to guide development (or any other issue for that matter) and not the other way around.

This is backed by Dessein et al (2015) who argue that the disassociation of sustainability from development suggests that the former could be a term

with "a more reaching set of objectives and values, one that can support de-growth and no growth agendas as well as growth, one that might have social equity and justice not economic prosperity as its goal." (Dessein et al, 2015: 23) This does not mean that economic factors must be left aside but it does imply that sustainability surpasses the economic and, therefore, is harder to co-opt by certain connotations of the term development, bringing us back to the TNS System Conditions and its ethical concerns.

Sustainability-led discourse

Now, in spite of the efforts above to define sustainability, it is important to note that the entire discussion on the meaning of the concept is framed within discourse (Hugé et al, 2013). The very concept of discourse is also subject to a wide array of conceptualizations; however, given that space is limited, it is not possible to dive into a full discussion on the matter, so I will frame these concepts as they are understood and employed in the upcoming analysis.

According to Hugé et al (2013), "[d]iscourses are structured ways of representation that evoke particular understandings and may subsequently enable particular types of actions to be envisaged." (p.188) They also draw on Hajer's (1995) definition: "discourse is (...) a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities." (p.188) Both of these definitions are relevant precisely because they highlight the link between what is being discussed, in this case sustainability, and, very importantly, the actions that derive from such content; in their words, the social practices. Of particular relevance to this paper is the argument that it is possible, through discourse analysis, to expose the manner "in which responses to sustainability challenges are reflected in ideas about the respective responsibilities of government and citizens" (Hugé et al, 2013: 189).

So within the multiplicity of meanings attached to sustainability, its meta-discourse (Hugé et al, 2013), there are different sub-discourses that emerge. Hugé et al (2013:190) propose a synthesized typology of three sustainability³ discourses:

1. Sustainability as the pragmatic integration of development and environmental goals
2. Sustainability as limits
3. Sustainability as a process of directed change.

² Short for "The Natural Step Framework"

³ The authors use the terms sustainable development and sustainability interchangeably.

It is the third one that applies to this case, as it will be shown in the analysis. This sub-discourse understands sustainability as a process of change where conventional notions and practices are challenged; it refutes the "business as usual" approach by emphasizing the need for human lifestyles and practices to change, including the socio-economic structure (Hugé et al, 2013). "Sustainable development requires social transformation processes or 'transitions' (Rotmans et al. 2001) that can be realised through new types of learning and management practices (networking, interactive governance)." (Hugé et al, 2013:192).

The intersection of the TNS System Conditions and the sub-discourse of sustainability as a process of directed change can offer a definition of sustainability as a process of transformation of lifestyles and practices that leads away from the degradation of nature and the increasing concentration of extracted resources from the Earth and of substances produced by society, and where people are not subjected to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs. When such a discourse that harnesses this understanding of sustainability is constructed and put into action, it can impact on a series of different spheres and practices in any given locality, as will be seen through the work of Robin Hambleton and the case of IET.

Culture

As with sustainability, or perhaps even more so, culture is a concept that has been worked on extensively from different fields of study. The concept as it is used in this paper refers to culture as a way of life, much in the manner that Raymond Williams (2011) defined it:

The analysis of culture (...) is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis (...) will also include analysis of

elements in the way of life (...): the organisation of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate.

Certainly, this does not reduce the validity of other definitions nor other elements associated with culture, such as arts and heritage (UNESCO, 1982, UNESCO, 2005); it simply seeks to outline a wider understanding of the concept. This definition of culture as a way of life was chosen because it can be more closely linked to a sustainability-led discourse⁴. In their critique to the 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity regarding the relationship between cultural diversity and sustainable development, De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) argue that a reductionist view of culture that does not contemplate it also as a way of life has limited potential for transformative action. This is related to the same issue discussed above regarding the instrumentalization of sustainability in the sense that, in discussions regarding the relationship between sustainable development and culture, the focus on culture tends to be on the cultural industry (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015; Isar, 2017)⁵ which makes it subject to utilitarian conceptions (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and prey to sectorial interests. When speaking of promotion of local culture in this case study, it is to be understood as the promotion of Todmorden's particular way of life (as perceived by its inhabitants).

By understanding culture as a way of life and sustainability as a process of directed change, where conventional practices are challenged and human lifestyles are encouraged to change, then both the conceptual and the practical link between the two becomes evident. The shift towards sustainability requires a shift in our ways of life, our culture. A shift that can be integrated into the values and structures of each group (or which can highlight those values and structures already prone to foster sustainability) and, therefore, operated in ways that will make

⁴ In the explorations of the culture-sustainability interface presented by Soini & Dessein (2016), of the three representations of culture in sustainable development, perhaps the closest to the way the relationship is conceived here is the second representation, "culture for sustainability", especially in how culture plays a mediating role, is a resource, to achieve other forms of sustainable development (p.3). The issue with the way the interaction is framed in their work and the overall discussion on the matter that has led them to propose this theoretical framework is that it contemplates how culture acts on sustainability and not how sustainability, framed within a discourse, can act on culture-as-a-way-of-life (or community building or education, for that matter), which is what is being studied here.

⁵ The relationship between culture and sustainability can point to numerous debates and conceptualizations, like those proposed by the discussion on cultural ecosystems and ecology of culture that address the interactions of culture with its environment and the impact the creation of these networks can have socially or economically in the communities involved at varying scales (see the 2015 CHCfE report or, in a more specific case study of the Po Delta in Italy, Borin and Donato, 2016); however, these approaches tend to focus more particularly on the cultural sector and, therefore, on creative industries, the arts or heritage and, while the environmental metaphor (ecosystems, ecology) fits in well with the underlying philosophy of IET, as it does with permaculture, for example, IET as such does not target the cultural sector. Its impact on local culture needs to be framed within the broader understanding of culture (Soini & Dessein, 2016) as a way of life (Williams, 2011); this does not mean that their activities could not encompass the cultural sector but it has not been the case yet.

sense for them. As De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) propose: "sustainable development can be seen as transformative (...) not [as] a universal blueprint, but rooted in cultural contexts" (p. 203). This is precisely the effect that will be analyzed with regards to IET's use of sustainability within their discourse and the promotion of local culture.

Notion of place and place-based identity

Both the notions of place and place-based identity as are understood and applied in this paper stem from the work of Robin Hambleton (2014). He defines place as "somewhere somebody cares about" (Hambleton, 2014: 83) encompassing several ideas, the first of which is that people assign meaning to places. For many people, this meaning is loaded with "a sense of attachment to their city and/or their 'home area', in some cases a strong sense of attachment, and it often forms part of their identity." (Hambleton, 2014: 84) This is what Hambleton calls place-based identity.

This identity is constructed on the basis that the place a person lives in greatly shapes the way they see and relate to the world. In other words, places are important because they are constructed by people (Castello, 2010 in Hambleton, 2014:82) in the sense that they are more than simple geographical spaces; they reflect the communities that inhabit them. "The place could not be separated from people who make places and invest meanings in them." (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015: 710)

Moreover, Hambleton stresses the importance that leadership has in generating change within the framework of what he calls New Civic Leadership, a model that shifts towards the inclusion of other sectors besides the state in decision-making processes, such as civil society, and where a local sense of identity is key to the creation of solutions (Hambleton, 2014). These place-based leaders are "those exercising decision-making power [who] have a concern for the communities living in a particular place" (Hambleton, 2014:109) and who operate in the public, private, and community/voluntary sectors at different geographical levels. Thus, community leaders under the place perspective are those members of the community interested in contributing to their localities in a wide variety of activities; they are independent from government and voluntarily engaged (Hambleton, 2014). It is my contention that the community leadership embodied by Incredible Edible fits into this model, given that the project was born out of the direct involvement of

citizens with their place and who, in turn, promoted the inclusion of their fellow citizens in the transformation. The birth of Incredible Edible cannot be separated from Todmorden, and can therefore be studied as place-based.

Finally, a lot of research has been done regarding the need to integrate the urban and natural spheres, from Green Theory and ecocentrism (Barry, 2014; Eckersley, 2013) to resilience (Wilkinson, 2012) and biophilic cities (Beatley, 2011). Hambleton (2014) follows these lines and calls for such an integration when studying place since it can be positively reflected in place-based loyalty, understood as the emotional attachment and commitment to a locality. The latter is relevant because "place-based loyalty and commitment can provide a particularly important contribution to the achievement of the environmental objectives of local governance" (Hambleton, 2014: 72). This means that there is a strong connection between the attachment to one's place and the way environmental issues are approached, which, in turn, might suggest that a strong sense of place-based loyalty and place-based identity can also be linked to culture and notions of sustainability.

Introducing the Incredible Edible Town of Todmorden

Located about 27km north of Manchester in the Upper Calderdale Valley in West Yorkshire, Todmorden is a small English town with a population of approximately 15,500 people and an area of 51.7 km² (Office for National Statistics, 2011); in other words, 0.02% of England's population and 0.05% of its area. In terms of economic activity, in 2011, the majority of the 7,310 economically active people worked in education (927 people); human health and social work activities (1063 people); wholesale, retail trade and motor vehicle repair (975 people); manufacturing (1048 people); and construction (636 people). Only 51 worked in the agriculture, forestry, and finishing sector (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

Historically, Todmorden lived off a textile industry that has virtually disappeared in the post-industrial world, leaving a lot of underutilized land and positioning the town in the top 10 most deprived communities in the North West of England (Thompson, 2012). The junction of land availability and deprivation was the perfect scenario for the creation of Incredible Edible Todmorden, a project started by Pam Warhurst, Mary Clear and Estelle Brown.

It all began in 2007 with the guerrilla planting of herbs, fruit trees and vegetable plants in any crevice or piece of land they could find (Thompson, 2012) with the purpose of catching people's attention and getting them involved in their local food growth project. Pam Warhurst and her team called this sort of actions "propaganda planting", in the sense that it encouraged "storytelling about what was happening and what might be possible. [It was] a twin approach of direct action and communicating a vision and purpose" (Thompson, 2012). This vision and purpose was that of seeking a safer, greener and kinder future for the next generations (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

They expressly avoided involving the local authorities at first because the aim of the project was to get citizens involved in their own communities without the pressures and commitments associated with politics and bureaucracy. Inclusiveness and community involvement are the main reasons why Incredible Edible started working with food. "Our project is all about finding the lowest common denominator, which is food, and then speaking in a language that everyone can understand," Pam Warhurst said in an interview published by Independent (Moorhead, 2009). They are not interested in growing food- that is the excuse, the vehicle. The real objective is growing as a resilient community. A community of kind people, who model kindness, and who collaborate and share resources (M. Clear, phone interview, July 30, 2019).

So, through food, they began to knit the community closer together. Their model is based on "three spinning plates": community, learning, and business. The community plate contemplates growing food in public spaces that people can take for free (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017), changing "how we live our everyday lives together" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); the learning plate includes offering training and informal education "both in school and out" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); and through the business plate "IET aspires to strengthen the local economy, creating a clear 'brand' that can be adopted by local businesses." (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017: 8). A place needs all three plates "spinning" together in order to thrive (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

Today, there are numerous, herb, vegetable and fruit patches around the town –in public parks, schools, in front of the police station, outside city hall, and even in the local graveyard- where people can freely take whatever they need. There are also foraging, farming, and cooking courses, and what they call "vegetable tourism", people from all over the world that come to

Todmorden to see what IET has done (Warhurst, 2012).

Its success has led them to expand, setting up a limited company (Incredible Edible Ltd.), an Incredible Edible Farm, and Incredible Edible Network to support other groups, an AquaGarden that functions as an educational resource, and Incredible North, an initiative to reach other areas in the north of England (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017).

The Role of Permaculture and Urban Farming

Although Incredible Edible was built upon its founders' decision to simply act (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014), its underlying ideas are part of a broader movement that is taking hold in many places, that of permaculture and urban farming.

The term permaculture was coined in the 1970s by Mollison and Holmgren, who joined the words "permanent" and "agriculture" (Pèzres, 2010) to create a system that could benefit all life forms, especially human beings, by providing "a sustainable and secure place for living things on this earth (Mollison, 1988 in Hathaway, 2015). In practice, permaculture is applied to the process through which humans create habitats that mimic the natural world, both in patterns and relationships (Hathaway, 2015). It fuels sustainability in the sense that its focus is on the relationships between the elements that make up an ecosystem and the way they work together as a whole.

In the agronomy sector, permaculture is evident in the design of forest gardens where trees, shrubs and other plants are mixed in such a way that they mimic the natural order found in a forest. This allows for better resource management seeing as every living creature has its purpose, thus reducing water usage, optimizing the role of sunlight, and rendering the use of harmful pesticides unnecessary. It is important to state, however, that even if permaculture is mostly known for its application in fields like agroecology, as seen with forest gardens, it can be applied anywhere human inventiveness is employed (Hathaway, 2015). The term has evolved to signify a culture in and of itself, where even urban environments can be designed to function as ecologically as possible. Applied to Incredible Edible, permaculture can be seen in the way every productive element in the town (farms, dairies, vegetable patches, shops) can be part of the food production chain; everything works as part of a whole that benefits the entire community. It is also evident in the way space is used. By planting fruits and vegetables in unused, empty places the community is benefiting not only

from the access to produce but also from better-looking public spaces. In this sense, permaculture can be applied in almost every case where the different elements in a town, city or garden combine to form a wholesome and functioning system.

The other movement present in Todmorden and closely related to permaculture is urban farming. The term urban farming or urban agriculture is defined as "the growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry in and around cities" (Urban Agriculture Committee of the CFSC, 2003 in Tornaghi, 2014); in other words, it is the transference of the farming system to the urban context. Currently, with the rising concerns regarding population growth and climate change, urban farming represents a sustainable, community-oriented solution to the problem of food supply in cities, seeing as transportation needs and costs are low, the use of heavy machinery is avoided, and citizen involvement in the farming projects contributes to the improvement of community relations. The latter translates to less pollution, the optimization of resources, and the strengthening of social ties as opposed to the more traditional models of industrial agriculture and mass consumption.

Analysis

The data for each of the four analyzed documents and the TEDTalk was collected and catalogued in a table (see Table 3). Each classification is illustrated by an extract from the text. Space constraints do not allow for the tables to be included here (but they are available in the Annex), so a recapitulation of the most relevant findings is presented below. Afterwards, the findings for the second part of the analysis will be presented, followed by a discussion.

Sustainability-led discourse: findings

Overall, the analysis shows consistency throughout the documents and the video. Regarding Category 1, Appearance of the term, the great majority of mentions⁶, are indirect (IM) with phrasing such as "ensuring a secure future", "securing a better legacy" in D1; "building resilience", "responding creatively (...) to what Rio demanded", "new way of living" in D2; "a kinder form of prosperity" in D4; "protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "supporting local

businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill" in D5. On the other hand, direct mentions included "Pam could see that ideas like (...) sustainability sounded more like academic concepts than something people could engage with in their everyday lives." in D1; "building on this sustainable success" and "creating a sustainable future for all" in D4. This extract from D1 sheds light as to why indirect mentions predominate: as it will be seen further along, IET prefers to avoid technical or "academic concepts", favoring colloquial language or circumventions, so as not to push people away and be consistent in their inclusiveness.

The extracts shown above share notions of needing a better future, change (doing things differently or finding new ways of doing things), and locality (protecting and supporting that which is local), all of them constants throughout the discourse as will be seen shortly. D3 had no mentions, either direct or indirect, of sustainability; this can be explained due to the fact that it is a newsletter which focused on specific events that had taken place during the months it covered.

The data for Category 2, Scale of importance, shows an important link between the project's objectives and sustainability, even if the term was not always directly addressed. In D1, classified as High: "But this isn't just about self-sufficiency. What is being achieved is far bigger. Through the shared language of food, the people of a small market town (...) are engaging in the biggest challenge facing the human race: how to ensure a secure future for the planet", "The simple, shared language of food is uniting the community in its efforts to create a kinder, greener world in and around their town", "It's about finding better ways to live that create opportunities for the future and avoid harm to our environment." In D2, classified as High: "If we want to inspire the farmers of tomorrow, then please let us say to every school, create a sense of purpose around the importance to the environment, local food and soils." In D3, classified as Medium: "It calls on each and every one of us, in times of crisis, and here they are discussing the global environmental crisis, to stand up and be counted (...) That, in or [sic] own, and many varied ways, is what IE is all about." In D4, classified as High: "Incredible North goes way beyond growing and eating locally produced food (although that's really important to us). It's also about creating a sustainable future for

⁶ Extracts have been edited for brevity and grammatical uniformity. Not every extract was included given space constraints.

everyone". And in D5, classified as High: "Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill."

As it can be observed, the extracts show that sustainability is a key element in IET's objectives; according to the documents, the purpose of IET and their network is to use what they call the language of food or the story of food to work towards a future that takes into account social and environmental wellbeing. Again, the writing circumvents around the direct word but the link is apparent enough.

As for Category 3, Discursive devices and rhetorical language, the data shows a consistent use of simplified and colloquial language: "stop passing the buck and waiting for someone else to save the world" and "And it's a story of having a lot of fun in the process" in D1; "Now, none of this is rocket science", "We've got a real show there, we've got some action theater" in D2; and "As they put it 'go down to the forum'" and "Well knock me down with a feather" in D3. This is consistent with their informal approach (the same that avoids "academic concepts"), seeing as what they want is to involve entire communities and, by employing this type of language, they make sure its appeal is universal. As Pam Warhurst says in her TEDTalk: "We are not daunted by the sophisticated arguments."

Furthermore, there are several allusions to victimhood, powerlessness and to overcoming them through food growing, which as has been said, is the vehicle to get people interested in working towards a sustainable future. "Could growing food be the catalyst to stop us thinking like disempowered victims and start taking responsibility for our own futures?" (D1), "We are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that's incredible." (D2), "The sense of not being powerless starts with that first step." (D3), and "We're starting to believe in ourselves again and in our capacity to shape an alternative, kinder future." (D4). These allusions can be related to Todmorden's state of deprivation and the role IET has played in fighting it as well as how projects like this can help lift the hopelessness brought about by climate change and environmental issues.

On a similar note, words like "unloved", "disused" (D4), and "clone" (D1) are used to describe the land and town, which are at the same time opposed by "kindness", "richness", "thriving" and "magic". In D1: "Incredible Edible can help keep independent local

shops and markets open and thriving, creating a distinctive town rather than a clone town". In D2: " (...) to build a different and a kinder future" In D4 "encouraging ordinary individuals to transform disused plots into rich sources of healthy food." In D5: " (...) "between all of this and magic we are able to achieve what we want", "We have shopkeepers, café owners (...) Weavers of magic", "Kindness will carry us through any difficulties", and "Kindness keeps us going, kindness has been shown to us in buckets."

The data from all five documents show that IET has constructed their discourse with sustainability at its center. This is not done directly but rather through the use of terms and formulations that allude to sustainability but that can be perceived as less technical yet more appealing to Todmorden residents. By opposing bleakness to richness, and powerlessness and victimhood to empowerment, IET presents its sustainability-led initiative as an answer to Todmorden's issues in which everybody is encouraged to contribute. This strengthens attachment to place and community building.

IET's impact on community building, education, and the promotion of local culture: findings

The second part of the analysis is based on the revision of "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report" (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017). The data collected in this report was quite useful to assess the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. The focus of this section will be its findings regarding community building, education and the promotion of local culture and whether the sustainability-led discourse employed by IET and analyzed above has permeated in survey respondents and interviewees.

In terms of community, Morley, Farrier & Dooris (2017) report that "IET made an immediate and visible impact on the use of space in Todmorden" (p.20). These spaces include the old Health Center, the police and trains stations, a care home, schools, and outdoor spaces like the now-called Pollination Street. This focus on public space has "begun to change people's perception of their locality and relationship to their local environment, creating a greater sense of ownership and positivity" (p. 20). The data from the community surveys also suggest that IET has infused residents with a sense of pride (including pride to belong to IET) and a new sense of community, developing connections within the community that might not have taken place

otherwise; for example, when the town flooded in 2012 and 2015 and people came together to provide assistance to others, actions where IET had influence (p. 22). Furthermore, "the notion that IET had brought people together for the shared purpose of improving the local community permeated both the one-to-one interviews and focus groups." (p.21) There has also been a perceived reduction in vandalism, on which one survey respondent commented that it might not be attributable entirely to IET but it could be attributed to this sense of ownership of place that has permeated in the community (p.22).

As for education, the authors report that IET has had an apparently stronger impact on young children, who have developed an interest in growing and gardening as well as on the provenance of food, nature and the environment (p. 26). Intergenerational work has also helped strengthen the efforts by encouraging parents and children to learn together about food growing and cooking (p.28) and the AquaGarden and Incredible Farm have contributed importantly as centers of didactic and informal training, respectively (p. 29). For instance, the AquaGarden has received children from local schools, from reception to year six, for lessons that had been woven into the curriculum (p. 29).

The impact on local culture can be seen in an enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and awareness attributable to the changes brought about by IET culture (p.22), with a survey respondent highlighting that Todmorden has differentiated itself from other northern towns (p.22), and another stating that the awareness of the value of buying locally-sourced food was already culturally present in Todmorden but that IET made people even more aware (p.25). The data in the report also indicates IET's approach has "resonated with Todmorden's residents, reflecting its particular history and culture, and galvanising deep and sustained community action in the town" (p. 69).

On another note, even though the views on IET's impact in the community have been overwhelmingly positive (p. 63), the report shows that the project has faced some challenges. These are basically articulated in dissenting views from some members of the community, especially older and long-term residents. Some have shown a degree of resistance to change; some have questioned IET's underlying motivations, in particular after the project began to gain massive media coverage due to the high degree of exposure and because the organization could not always keep

up with what was being reported (p. 41). There have also been tensions with stallholders from the local market who have felt threatened by IET's offer of free food, either via propaganda gardening or during planned events, or who perceive that IET is not bringing much trade to the market during the visitor tours (p.42). Fear of gentrification is also an important issue discussed in the report. Some residents have expressed concern regarding Todmorden's increased desirability, to which IET has contributed, considering as well the town's low housing prices compared with Manchester and Leeds (p. 3, 42). However, there is no real evidence of gentrification as of yet, these are merely perceptions, and, in the event that evidence was found, it could not be attributed entirely to IET as there are several other factors that would need to be taken into account.

Discursively, there are certain resonances between the IET documents and the responses provided by interviewees and survey respondents in the "Propagating Success?" report. The report contemplated IET members as well as representatives of the community, learning and business "plates". Here, only those responses which did not imply IET direct membership have been considered to better reflect the ways in which their discourse seems to have permeated to other members of the community. This was done by excluding those answers in which respondents refer to IET as "we". Given space constraints only a fraction of the replies will be analyzed here⁷; however a more detailed chart can be found in Annex II.

In line with the results of the previous section, some of the replies appeal to a need for a better future where the local element is of importance: "It grows kindness and sharing and makes us feel like we are in a great place to live" (p.21); "I didn't move to Todmorden because of it, but now that I'm here it's like, this makes sense why I would live in this town [...] there's this wonderful community, there's people who are really trying to make a better world, you know, their little corner at a time" (p.22); "That is very much where something like IE will come in... we have a wonderful ... natural environment here, and we want to have a...sustainable future around [...]" (p.27); "I find climate change and all of that...huge...issues that you feel, individually, quite powerless about...We know that there are things we can all do about energy saving and stuff, but you need somehow to get some 'glue' [...] This 'small action thing' appealed to me" (p.27); and "All our children, [...] accessed at least one, if not two, lessons down at the Aquaponics Centre, and again, that was

⁷ Edited for brevity.

woven into the curriculum. So it has really enhanced learning for children because, obviously, it's hands on and it's there in their community" (p.29).

The element of using the language of food to build a better future was also present: "It's so important to our future, to start to think about our food...It's a communication tool, it's a 'breakdown barriers' tool, it's a lovely thing we share for fun and for love. But it's massively important to our future health and wellbeing of ourselves...[and] the planet" (p.21); "Bringing families together for cooking classes at high school...that's great... across the generations and getting children to think about food" (p.28); and in this particular case, a member of the business plate directly ties the ways in which IET promotes local production to a positive impact on his business: "Joining IE does help us to a certain degree because we're standing out as being a local producer... I think they are buying it from the market because they do tours for tourists [...] so they buy [our product]" (p.24).

Finally, some of the answers even allude to the encouragement to use simplified concepts and colloquial language, and there are examples of opposition of negative and positive imagery being used: "It's respected as being an organisation that does a lot of things...you don't need any sort of education except to be observant and to be prepared to get your hands dirty to participate...in that sense, it's sort of a leveller really. (p.40)"; and "They've put a big board up, 'Welcome To Our Town', great. It was, I don't know if you saw it before, the old Health Centre?...Derelict building, looked a total mess. Tidied it all up" (p.20).

Discussion

The analysis shows, first, that IET has constructed its discourse around sustainability understood in terms of the sub-discourse described by Hugé et al (2013), as a process of change that requires a shift in conventional notions and practices, and where human lifestyles can be transformed by new ways of doing things. The basic premise of IET rests on securing a better, greener and kinder future by taking responsibility and acting to change a discouraging reality. The articulation of terms like kindness and green also points towards the idea that sustainability needs to conjoin both the human and the natural spheres, which relates to the TNS System Conditions.

Furthermore, the use of colloquial language and the avoidance of technical terms suggest that the discourse, and therefore the operationalization of sustainability, aims at being inclusive and of universal

appeal. This, plus the allusions to victimhood and powerlessness, seems to point towards Todmorden's population. By alluding to Todmorden itself and presenting a possibility of overall improvement in social and environmental terms, IET is putting in motion Hambleton's (2014) notion of place-based identity and loyalty. The latter is also supported by the fact that IET built on Todmorden's particularities, to its distinctiveness as a place and by the ways in which their discourse is reflected in the language used by survey respondents and interviewees.

Perhaps the strongest link between IET's sustainability-led discourse and community building, education and the promotion of local culture can be found in the argument that, for IET, growing food (through permaculture and urban farming) is a discursive vehicle to get people to come together as a community. Morley, Farrier & Dooris's report (2017) suggests that IET has had an overall positive impact in Todmorden. With respect to community building, the data shows that, among those interviewed, there is an increased sense of ownership and pride regarding Todmorden and IET as well as a sense of shared purpose. If seen through Hambleton's notion of place (2014), the latter indicates that these positive conceptions of the town, this rallying together of people with their town, reflects the way its inhabitants relate to each other as well.

The signs of cohesion seen with community building are transferred into education and local culture. IET's incursion into formal and informal education, as seen by the participation of school children and adults in the different activities and lessons, speaks to the impact the project has had and can have in this sector. Through teaching food growth and cooking, IET is also imparting their vision of sustainability, potentially influencing the development of young people and effecting change in the general population. Finally, if IET has played a role in bringing the community together and is making incursions in education and learning, then it is also having an impact on the town's way of life. The enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and heightened awareness regarding practices that were already in place in Todmorden, as was reported by survey respondents and interviewees, suggests, then, that the organization has also had an effect on the promotion of local culture.

Conclusions

This research has shown that IET's use of a sustainability-led discourse articulated around the need to secure a "better, greener, and kinder" future and put into action through their permaculture and urban farming projects, has had a positive impact on community building, education, and local culture in Todmorden. This stresses the argument that sustainability operates as a process of directed change that encompasses human lifestyles, practices, and structures aimed at ensuring an ethical co-existence between humans and between them and the natural world, which, in the end, is the underlying principle of IET's discourse. The focus here was on community building, education, and local culture but this framework can be applied to study other areas and sectors.

Further research in situ is, of course, necessary to collect more data to add to this line of inquiry and to properly assess the impact of this discourse in the community since, as it has been said, Morley, Farrier & Dooris's report addresses the overall impacts of the project although not through the lens of discourse. It is also necessary to conduct research on other localities where similar projects have been carried out, both within the Incredible Edible network and elsewhere. However, this paper presents an initial approach as to the range of effects of the use of a sustainability-led discourse can have on localities and their potential to devise solutions to social and environmental issues at a time when outlooks for the future seem to be increasingly challenging.

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ANNEX 1

D1 “Incredible Edible Pamphlet. INCREDIBLE: HOW ONE TOWN PROVED CHANGE IS POSSIBLE”

Description: Eight-page document posted to IET’s website on May 23, 2011. General presentation of IET and its history.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	“secure a better legacy for their grandchildren”
IM	“self-sufficiency”
DM	“Pam could see that ideas like (...) sustainability sounded more like academic concepts than something people could engage with in their everyday lives.”
IM	“how to ensure a secure future for the planet”
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	“But this isn’t just about self-sufficiency. What is being achieved is far bigger. Through the shared language of food, the people of a small market town in Yorkshire are engaging in the biggest challenge facing the human race: how to ensure a secure future for the planet.”
M	“The vision was for children to know how to feed themselves in the future”
H	The simple, shared language of food is uniting the community in its efforts to create a kinder, greener world in and around their town”
H	“In Todmorden, it’s all about spreading food and food production through the whole school curriculum and beyond, growing a generation of young people who understand the importance of good soil, sustainably grown products and connecting with local farmland.”
H	“It’s about finding better ways to live that create opportunities for the future and avoid harm to our environment.”
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
Allusion, simplified language, colloquial language, metaphor, simile, use of opposition	
“stop passing the buck and waiting for someone else to save the world”	
“It takes small things that capture the imagination (...) a vegetable plot with a revolutionary sign.”	
“And it’s a story of having a lot of fun in the process.”	
“Could growing food be the catalyst to stop us thinking like disempowered victims and start taking responsibility for our own futures?”	
“They know that, like a baby growing from infancy to adulthood, it is a long game.”	
“Incredible Edible can help keep independent local shops and markets open and thriving, creating a distinctive town rather than a clone town.”	

D2 “How we can eat our landscapes”

Description: TEDTalk by Pam Warhurst, IET co-founder, May 2012. Duration: 13:21 minutes.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	“We’re starting to build resilience ourselves.”
IM	“They know it’s time to take personal responsibility and invest in more kindness to each other and to the environment.”
IM	“We are responding creatively at last to what Rio demanded of us, and there’s lots more you could do.”
IM	“new way of living, see spaces around them differently, think about the resources they use differently”
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	“We tried to answer this simple question: Can you find a unifying language that cuts across age and income and culture that will help people themselves find a new way of living, see spaces around them differently, think about the resources they use differently, interact differently?”
M	“This is about us going to the people and saying, “We are all part of the local food jigsaw, we are all part of a solution.”
L	“This is about sharing and investing in kindness.”
H	“If we want to inspire the farmers of tomorrow, then please let us say to every school, create a sense of purpose around the importance to the environment, local food and soils.”
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
Metaphor, simplified language, colloquial language.	
“We’re doing it because we want to start a revolution.”	
“And what we did was we put people on our egg map”	
“Now, none of this is rocket science”	
“More than 30 towns in England now are spinning the Incredible Edible plate”	
“we are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that’s incredible.”	
we’ve got a real show there, we’ve got some action theater.	
“we are not daunted by the sophisticated arguments that say, “These small actions are meaningless in the face of tomorrow’s problems,”	
“People are ready and respond to the story of food.”	

D3 “IET Newsletter November 2014”

Description: Four-page document organized in text boxes with images. Posted to the IET website.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
NM	
The newsletter does not mention sustainability as such. It discusses happenings during the months it covers. The terms that could be related to sustainability are ambiguous and therefore, not to be included in this category.	
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	“This bed is part of the Green Route and is particularly aimed at supporting the bees and other pollinators so vital for our growing.”
M	“It calls on each and every one of us, in times of crisis, and here they are discussing the global environmental crisis, to stand up and be counted (...) That, in or own, and many varied ways, is what IE is all about.”
M	“And from those small actions we can see some of the simple things that could change to help even more people be part of the solution to a happy, healthy, dare I say, less money fixated future.”
M	We have seen the effect land planted with food around our health centres has made.”
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
Colloquial language, allusion	
“the rain had started to fall and just did not stop – but neither did our volunteers.”	
“As they put it ‘go down to the forum:”	
“The sense of not being powerless starts with that first step.”	
“Well knock me down with a feather.”	

D4 “Incredible North. Growing health, wealth and happiness for all”

Description: Nine-page document detailing the Incredible North initiative, an expansion of Incredible Edible in the north of England. Posted to the IET website on May 27, 2016.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
DM	“Building on this sustainable success, Incredible North is a wider partnership of individuals, businesses and organisations, coming together to unlock the power of food and small actions, invest in collaboration and inspire a generation to believe just how amazing they are.”
IM	“A kinder form of prosperity for all”
DM	“Creating a sustainable future for everyone”
IM	“It’s all about what we as individuals can do to sustain our local food economy.”
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
M	“Eight years ago, in my home town of Todmorden, me and a couple of like-minded friends threw ourselves into an experiment, to see if we could create a kinder form of prosperity through the power of local food.”
M	“We did it because we wanted to put an end to just talking about the future and start doing something, however small the actions.”
H	“Through the creation of Incredible North, we want to build capacity across the northern territories and connect all who understand the value and potential of local food.”
H	“Incredible North goes way beyond growing and eating locally produced food (although that’s really important to us). It’s also about creating a sustainable future for everyone – from Liverpool to Hull and all points in between!”
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
Metaphor, opposition	
By growing and sharing, teaching and buying, we got on with doing things in a different way.	
We created edible plots on unloved land with food for everyone to share	
Incredible North is home to all who know things don’t have to be like yesterday –they can be much, much better!	
“encouraging ordinary individuals to transform disused plots into rich sources of healthy food.”	
“we’re starting to believe in ourselves again and in our capacity to shape an alternative, kinder future.”	
“Fuelled by the power of food, we can inspire, invest and light the blue touch paper for a future worthy of our children.”	

D5 “Annual Report and Financial Statements for the period 27th October 2015 to 30th September 2016”

Description: Seven-page document posted to the IET website on November 19, 2016.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	“Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity.”
IM	“Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles”
IM	“Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill.”
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
L	“Building a strong local community by developing and offering volunteer opportunities and skills development”
H	“Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity.”
L	“Offering workshops and demonstrations to local residents to develop skills in cooking tasty, nutritional food on a budget.”
H	“Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles.”
H	“Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill.”
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
Synecdoche, alliteration, metaphor, personification	
“Incredibles could be seen cooking, shopping, helping rip up carpets and empty equipment from cellars, fetching and carrying, washing clothes and generally helping townsfolk wherever we could.”	
“It never stops, the talks, the tours and the presentations.”	
“So we have freedom and routines, because between all of this and magic we are able to achieve what we want.”	
“We have shopkeepers, café owners, bakers and makers, artists, drummers and dancers who we support and who we know will support us in all we need. Weavers of magic. And our door is always open to new people and new ideas.”	
“we are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that’s incredible.”	
“Our boldness has no boundaries”	
“Kindness keeps us going, kindness has been shown to us in buckets.”	
“Kindness will carry us through any difficulties.”	

ANNEX II

Needing a better future and importance of the local

It grows kindness and sharing and makes us feel like we are in a great place to live (p.21)

That actually is the biggest thing because that sense of place that is positive, allows a shift in mindset in your relationship with the place. It just, that to me, is the most significant thing. (p.20)

I didn't move to Todmorden because of it, but now that I'm here it's like, this makes sense why I would live in this town... because this is a town where this happens...there's a lot of northern towns...in England, where there isn't anything like this. And the High Street's really...deadly boring and...samey. And then suddenly, you come to...Hebden Bridge and Todmorden and there's this, there's this wonderful community, there's people who are really trying to make a better world, you know, their little corner at a time. (p.22)

That's what it's about, resilience. The floods were... a gift to us, because we're a natural group that can respond. We've got communication systems, we've got devoted people, passionate community...so it's great (p.22)

The crime rates for criminal damage came down. Whether you can attribute it all to IE I don't know, but...what you can attribute it to, is that there was, like, an ownership. So this is our town and this is our police station and we're not going to smash it up, we're going to take ownership of it. And if you walk round, it's not just at the police station, at the railway station, the community college, the fire station, at the health centre...it's all around the town...If you live here, look after it, treat it right, treat it with respect and be part of it...And yes...crime did go down. I think [IET] helped, I think it played a contributory factor in that. (p.22)

That is very much where something like IE will come in... we have a wonderful ... natural environment here, and we want to have a...sustainable future around, things like our air quality is an issue, our transport is a problem, and our rates of obesity and...health and wellbeing. (p.27)

I find climate change and all of that...huge...issues that you feel, individually, quite powerless about...We know that there are things we can all do about energy saving and stuff, but you need somehow to get some 'glue' and get people to [believe they can make a difference]...This 'small action thing' appealed to me. (p.27)

All our children, right from reception through to year six, accessed at least one, if not two, lessons down at the Aquaponics Centre, and again, that was woven into the curriculum. So it has really enhanced learning for children because, obviously, it's hands on and it's there in their community. (p.29)

Language of food leads towards a better future

Looking at air miles, looking at packaging, you know, looking at environment pollutions, fossil fuels, factories, all that sort of stuff – it's so important to our future, to start to think about our food...It's a communication tool, it's a 'breakdown barriers' tool, it's a lovely thing we share for fun and for love. But it's massively important to our future health and wellbeing of ourselves...[and] the planet. (p.21)

Joining IE does help us to a certain degree because we're standing out as being a local producer... I think they are buying it from the market because they do tours for tourists. And [IET tour organisers] do stop off in the market and they want to buy something local and there's not very much available, so they buy [our product]. (p.24)

I think there's definitely been a positive impact on the thing about local food, the understanding of the importance of it. (p.25)

They've made people aware...it's always been there but because of IE, they're more aware. (p.25)

Bringing families together for cooking classes at high school...that's great...across the generations and getting children to think about food. (p.28)

Encouragement of the use of simplified and colloquial language

It's respected as being an organisation that does a lot of things...you don't need any sort of education except to be observant and to be prepared to get your hands dirty to participate...in that sense, it's sort of a leveller really. (p.40)

[If] I see a job that needs doing, they'd roll up their sleeves and do it...If you wait for somebody to do it for you, it'll never get done. (p.40)

Opposition of negative and positive imagery

[People in]...Todmorden...feel as though they're on the outside...they're on the edge of Calderdale, they're on the edge of Burnley, they're on the edge of Lancashire, and they do feel as though they're being sort of squeezed out of all of those areas...so they do feel on the periphery quite a bit. [...] But [...] They have their own groups, which are strong, you know, the market traders and, you know, they do stick up for themselves. So the sort of double-edged sword I think it is. (p. 16-17)

They've put a big board up, 'Welcome To Our Town', great. It was, I don't know if you saw it before, the old Health Centre?...Derelict building, looked a total mess. Tidied it all up. (p.20)

Presence of discursive elements in survey responses and interviews

Source: MORLEY, A.; FARRIER, A.; DOORIS, M. (2017) Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model. Final Report. Manchester Metropolitan University; University of Central Lancashire.

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