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**Exploring potential for occupational therapy practice models
within areas of social deprivation: a qualitative inquiry
within a community-centred food cooperative**

Journal:	<i>British Journal of Occupational Therapy</i>
Manuscript ID	BJO-161-Aug-2021-RP.R2
Manuscript Type:	Research Article
Key Areas:	Theory and Philosophy, Research Methods and Methodology
Keywords:	Collective occupation, Foodbanks, Occupational injustice, research, qualitative, Psychosocial deprivation
Abstract:	<p>Background A health inequalities gap exists between wealthy and deprived areas. Community level occupation focused interventions may support citizens and address inequities within their environments. Since the global financial crash of 2008 and fiscal policy changes within the UK, there has been a rise in food insecurity. Community volunteer initiatives have responded by providing for their residents. The aim of this study was to explore how occupational therapists may be agents for social change through exploring perspectives of members and volunteers from a community food cooperative in an area of social deprivation.</p> <p>Methods Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with cooperative members and volunteers within a food cooperative established to address food insecurity in a local community. Data were analysed using thematic analysis.</p> <p>Results We found three main themes: It's Not a Foodbank, Shared Hardship and a cross-cutting theme of Community. The results suggest occupation-focused responses can support the development of community and collective occupations thereby contributing solutions to shared problems.</p> <p>Conclusion A community-centred, rights-based approach has supported local community need where socio-economic disadvantage and health inequalities were identified. Scope exists for occupational therapists to work genuinely with (not for) communities to address occupational injustice through collective occupation.</p>

Abstract

Background

A health inequalities gap exists between wealthy and deprived areas. Community level occupation focused interventions may support citizens and address inequities within their environments. Since the global financial crash of 2008 and fiscal policy changes within the UK, there has been a rise in food insecurity. Community volunteer initiatives have responded by providing for their residents. The aim of this study was to explore how occupational therapists may be agents for social change through exploring perspectives of members and volunteers from a community food cooperative in an area of social deprivation.

Methods

Eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with cooperative members and volunteers within a food cooperative established to address food insecurity in a local community. Data were analysed using thematic analysis.

Results

We found three main themes: *It's Not a Foodbank*, *Shared Hardship* and a cross-cutting theme of *Community*. The results suggest occupation-focused responses can support the development of community and collective occupations thereby contributing solutions to shared problems.

Conclusion

A community-centred, rights-based approach has supported local community need where socio-economic disadvantage and health inequalities were identified. Scope exists for occupational therapists to work genuinely with (not for) communities to address occupational injustice through collective occupation.

Key words (5)

Collective occupation, foodbanks, occupational injustice, qualitative, health inequalities.

Introduction

Socio-economic context and health inequalities in the UK

The global financial crisis of 2008 and a subsequent decade of fiscal measures in the United Kingdom, referred to widely as a policy of austerity, altered the rights, freedoms and incomes of many of the UK citizens experiencing vulnerable circumstances (OHCHR, 2012). Such differentiated impacts have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic which has led to reduced activity in some sectors of the economy and resulted in an increase in unemployment (Ahmed et al., 2020).

In 2012, Universal Credit, a single benefit designed to replace six existing benefits, was legislated by UK government as part of its welfare reforms (UK Government, 2012). It was introduced in 2013 against a background of cuts to public services and some have criticised it for contributing towards rising levels of poverty and homelessness (Cooper and Whyte, 2017). Many remaining public services have been bound by increasing budget cuts and have been viewed as 'agents of austerity' – through having to save money - rather than service the needs of their populations (Cooper and Whyte, 2017). Several studies have shown that the most severe effects of austerity have disproportionately affected the poorest in society (Oxfam, 2013). One of the most reported consequences has been the widening of inequality, particularly health inequality (Marmot, 2020).

Agents of social control or agents of social change? An occupation-focused response

Participation in meaningful occupation has been held up as a human right (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2019). The literature engages with this in two main ways. Firstly, by considering health economics and demonstrating how meaningful occupation may contribute to a cost saving and service cutting narrative of neoliberal austerity (Green and Lambert, 2016). The second response is more

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2
3 politically conscious and critical, embracing concepts of occupational apartheid,
4 (in)justice, deprivation, and rights in working with communities (Lauckner et al., 2019;
5 Whalley Hammell and Beagan, 2017); particularly those that are marginalised.
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9 Working with populations in vulnerable circumstances means resolving a
10 fundamental tension between being agents of social change, supporting growth and
11 development, or agents of social control, encouraging adaptation to the prevailing
12 environment (Creek and Cook, 2017). Van Bruggen (2014) concurs, arguing new roles
13 in partnership with communities should be created to address structural inequities while
14 Townsend (2007: 154) refers to 'just and inclusive societies' as the kind of social
15 change occupational therapists work towards. Despite the wealth of literature on these
16 injustices, there is very little research into practical responses to them (Galvin et al.,
17 2011). Collective occupations are important in bringing about social transformation
18 (Laliberte Rudman et al., 2019) and further research is required to explore how
19 occupation-focused practitioners, including occupational therapists, can be more
20 socially responsive (Malfitano et al., 2016).
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36 **Community-centred practice**

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38 Hyett et al.'s (2019) community-centred practice framework enables occupational
39 therapists to conceptualise engagement with communities. This includes notions of
40 community identity, community occupations, community resources/barriers, and
41 processes supporting community participation enablement. In community-centred
42 practice, the community itself is the client, and work is done with, and not for, the
43 community (Hyett et al., 2019). This principle of co-production and co-creation requires
44 critical reflexivity to recognise and address the impact of professional privilege and
45 power (Whalley Hammell, 2013) on community relations and practices.
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56 **Food poverty in the UK**

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3 Foodbanks provide emergency food parcels to those in need, often on a referral basis.
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5 However, they are politically controversial with widespread use being praised for
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7 demonstrating the community-minded nature of society, whilst also receiving criticism
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9 for assuaging guilt rather than prompting active engagement - allowing the state to
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11 retreat whilst a 'sticking plaster' is applied over failures in income levels, job security
12
13 and welfare support (Williams et al., 2016).
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16 There has been increase in the use of foodbanks in the UK, from 26,000 users
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18 in 2008/9 to 1.9 million in 2019/20 (Clark, 2020), and other forms of food welfare with
19
20 170 medical experts claiming that food poverty in the UK amounts to a public health
21
22 emergency (Ashton et al., 2014). The United Nations and Human Rights Watch have
23
24 declared the inequality in Britain an abuse of human rights (Human-Rights-Watch,
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26 2019; OHCHR, 2012) with its effects linked to a crisis in mental health (Wickham et al.,
27
28 2020). The Policy Press proposed that despite neoliberalism's appeals to personal
29
30 responsibility, the reasons for food poverty and people using foodbanks are structural
31
32 in their nature, not down to individual characteristics or abilities (Garthwaite, 2016).
33
34 Food cooperatives are different to food banks. Food cooperatives are food distribution
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36 outlets which often offer a choice of food and household items at low cost to its
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38 members, giving members choice and autonomy.
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41 The aim of this qualitative enquiry was to explore perspectives of members and
42
43 volunteers from a community food cooperative in a socially disadvantaged community
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45 with a view to illuminating potential for occupation and justice focused social change
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47 within communities experiencing social deprivation.
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52 53 **Methods**

54 55 **Qualitative approach and research paradigm**

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58 A qualitative inquiry was conducted with data being collected through semi-structured
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3 interviews. A phenomenological approach was used to understand the stakeholders'
4 experiences in their own terms. Phenomenology places the person and their
5 experience at the centre of the research (Finlay and Ballinger, 2006). From an
6 ontological perspective, we operated from a critical realist position that gives primacy to
7 the lived experience of the participants that is rooted in a very specific context (Braun
8 and Clarke, 2013). It is the reality of the participants that this study aims to elucidate,
9 with the acknowledgment that this reality maybe shared by others in similar settings.
10 For this reason, the epistemological paradigm for this study is contextualism (Braun
11 and Clarke, 2013). The participants' contexts being crucial to the formation of their own
12 experience and any gained knowledge is local, situated and provisional to that or
13 similar contexts (Tebes, 2005).
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28 **Researcher Characteristics and reflexivity**

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30 Reflexivity within the study design was maintained by the primary researcher ANON
31 (an occupational therapy student) who kept a research journal with the contents being
32 discussed in regular meetings with the supervisory author (ANON), an academic
33 occupational therapist. One example discussion was when the primary researcher
34 (ANON) discussed his feelings of being "an outsider" after being stopped in the street
35 by a group of young people on his way to the co-operative. In this moment he realised
36 that he was seen as a curiosity to them as someone who did not live on the estate.
37 During the supervision session that followed this was discussed, particularly in relation
38 to a subtheme which arose from the data, to try as much as possible to not allow any
39 feelings that arose from that encounter to influence the coding and data analysis and
40 so avoid 'unconscious editing' (Berger, 2015).
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56 **Context**

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58 The food cooperative is within a housing estate in a city in the Northeast of England. It
59 was established and is managed by a church group using rented premises, adjacent to
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2
3 estate's housing association offices. It includes a small shop and space for members to
4
5 have a hot drink and conversation with each other and the volunteers. The food
6
7 cooperative was established to support residents experiencing food and financial
8
9 insecurity and to build community. Membership is exclusive to anyone who resides,
10
11 works, or has children attending school within the estate's postcode area. To join,
12
13 members are required to pay a small one-off joining fee of £2 and add money to an
14
15 account, which is then converted to points. Points are used to purchase items from the
16
17 shop. Refreshments are available free of charge to members. Partly stocked by
18
19 donations from the church and local businesses, items are available at least 50%
20
21 cheaper than supermarkets with proceeds going back into the cooperative. The
22
23 cooperative is part of a network of services run by both the voluntary sector and
24
25 council. Occupational therapists were not involved in the set-up or running of the food
26
27 cooperative.
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32 **Sample Strategy and recruitment**

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35 We sought to gain insights from a cross section of adult participants (aged 18 and over)
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37 who were members, volunteers or both members and volunteers of the food
38
39 cooperative. We used convenience sampling to recruit participants: The cooperative
40
41 managers informed members as they arrived that a study was being conducted on site
42
43 and then the researcher approached members in person to explain more about the
44
45 project with the participant information sheet. An element of snowballing took place as
46
47 some of the participants encouraged their friends to take part. A total of eight
48
49 participants were recruited. Participants consisted of six women and two men who
50
51 were either food cooperative members (n=5), food cooperative members who also
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53 spent some of their time volunteering at the project (n=2), or volunteers who were not
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55 users of the food cooperative (1).
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Ethical approval

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3 Ethical approval for this study was granted from ANON Ethics Committee (ref. xxxxx) in
4
5 January 2019. Informed consent was gained via a signed and dated consent form
6
7 which had been shared with the participant, along with the study participant information
8
9 sheet prior to any interviews taking place.
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11 12 13 **Data collection**

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16 Each participant was interviewed once by (ANON) during February and March 2019 in
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18 a private room at the cooperative, using pre-designed interview schedule (Pope and
19
20 Mays, 2006) (see Table 1). Interviews were audio recorded and each one lasted
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22 between 30 and 90 minutes.
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27 -----Insert Table 1 around here-----
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29 30 31 **Participants and interviews**

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33 **Table 2 provides information about the participants.**
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35
36 -----Insert Table 2 around here-----
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38 39 40 **Data processing and analysis**

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42 Recorded transcripts of the data were transcribed by the first author (ANON).
43
44 Descriptive phenomenology provided a framework for thematic analysis to identify,
45
46 analyse and report patterns in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This was done
47
48 following the phases proposed by Braun and Clarke (2013). First, a member of the
49
50 research team (ANON) familiarised themselves with the data before identifying initial
51
52 codes which were then grouped into themes. The codes and themes were discussed in
53
54 regular meetings with (ANON). These themes were then analysed in relation to the
55
56 whole data set. Analysis was inductive to allow the stories of the participants to take
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58 precedence (Azungah, 2018). An interpretative element was also applied when using
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3 Hyett's et al.'s (2019) community-centred practice framework as a lens through which
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5 to view the impact of the food cooperative.
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8 **Results**

9 **Main themes**

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15 Two main themes, with sub-themes, were extrapolated from the data collected: 'It's not
16
17 a foodbank' and 'Shared hardship', with a further third cross-cutting theme which
18
19 informed our understanding of the data – 'Community' (see Figure 1). Notions of
20
21 community (what it means, who is included and who is not and how they are
22
23 maintained) are central to this study which positions communities, rather than just the
24
25 individuals within them, as the focus of a church-led initiative. Therefore, the cross-
26
27 cutting theme of community is discussed first to understand and frame the importance
28
29 and role of the cooperative to the participants. All participants discussed the concept of
30
31 community during their interviews and how the cooperative related to it. Therefore, by
32
33 collating and examining those comments first, we hope to contextualise the comments
34
35 about the cooperative.
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38 -----Insert Figure 1 around here-----
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41 **Community**

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45 All participants were asked about community to provide context to their responses
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47 about the impact of the food cooperative upon their community.
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50 **People and places**

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54 The main sub-themes arising from these responses involved the centrality of familiar
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56 people and places:
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59 Community for me, I would say that it is...erm...getting to know people...being
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3 able to talk, you know ... saying hi on the street, looking out for each other
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5 (P.2).
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8 As well as the sharing of lives through shared experiences and activities:
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10 My community would be, like, family orientated. Anyone like children, adults,
11 who are struggling, they're on, maybe, not the best wages or, I mean, I'm on a
12 zero hours contract so, the community, for someone who is in that situation like
13 me, it means we can all raise kids as well as working, and not feel like we have
14 to struggle (P.1).
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22 **Belonging**

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25 There was also the sense of belonging resulting from this:
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27 I think you need to be strong and grow trust in a community, and know that it's a
28 safe place to go...because I think a lot of people in [name of estate] might be
29 scared to go out the door but if they came in here they'd know that this is a safe
30 community to be in and that it might make them more confident and think, 'It's
31 ok this place' (P.3).
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38 In relation to the cooperative, all participants referred to the positive impact it has had
39 on the local community: "the community has always been there but [name of
40 cooperative]... it's like a foundation, it's like glued wuh [us] together" (P.2).
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44 Volunteers at the food cooperative were clear that contributing to the
45 community, promoted a collected sense of identity: "we are much more than what we
46 sell" (P.6). The opportunities the cooperative afforded for residents, including
47 affordable food items and volunteer roles, made the cooperative accessible to anyone
48 living within the estate. With this system, based on locality, and the participatory ethos
49 of the cooperative model members know they won't be turned away and have a place
50 where they too can belong.
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Shared lives

Rather than the anonymity of a large foodbank, the cooperative forms relationships with its members and so can offer help and support outside of its immediate remit: if you need anything, they can put a notice around and ask, if you need plates or cups and they'll try and sort you out, you just leave it with her [the manager]" (P.4).

Mentioned across the interviews was the way the cooperative brought people together: "Before you could walk down the street and not know anyone but now, I can walk past people and say, "Hello, oh, you've been to [name of the cooperative], haven't you?" (P.1). It had provided a starting point for a conversation while being out and about. By providing a space at regular times each week the cooperative is helping to form social bonds that otherwise would not have existed, with beneficial effects on the wellbeing of members, including the opportunity to relax and feel more at ease:

Yeah, it's like every Tuesday and Thursday you can come in and...even if you've had a really bad week and you can just feel yourself...the weight lifting off your shoulders, even if it's just having a chat with someone in there for 20 mins you can just feel yourself going 'Ahhhh!' (P.2).

The cross-generational appeal of the cooperative was expressed unanimously with participants referring to its popularity for all age groups, especially families and the elderly: "I think in this place, especially for the older people, the adults and the mams and dads this is a community in itself because it's like our little community" (P.3).

All participants said they wanted to see the cooperative get bigger and/or expand into other areas so that it could help more people: "At the moment it's just in this area but if we could get people from other areas or even go to their area and try to open one there...I think a lot of people would benefit from it" (P.2).

Since its inception, the food cooperative has grown organically through, predominantly, word-of-mouth recommendations, demonstrating its valued place amongst members. Having local volunteers also bolsters the community-feel of the

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3 cooperative and this was a major plus for the participants: “you need people who live
4 on the estate who can talk like normal people, and they understand, and they can get
5 people in and this has gotta be a word-of-mouth thing” (P.3). The way the cooperative
6 is viewed as part of the community is key to both its popularity and perceived
7 importance.
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13 **Shared Hardship**

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18 A key theme arising from participant responses, was a shared experience of hardship.
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20 The three subthemes, illustrating the kind of shared hardship experienced by the
21 community are financial insecurity, a sense of isolation and an ‘us and them’ mentality.
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26 **Financial Insecurity**

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29 Several participants mentioned the pitfalls of low pay and/or precarious work such as
30 zero hour’s contracts: “you know most people are only one pay-check away from
31 homelessness” (P.3). Even those in work noticed others in the workplace with more
32 senior roles (and therefore – receiving more pay) also find themselves in a precarious
33 position. One participant spoke of their colleague who had made use of the
34 cooperative: “Well, at work a while ago it was me boss who said “I’m on me butt skint”
35 and she went and spent about two quid and came out with 3 full bags of shopping.”
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60 (P.7). In addition to this, Universal Credit was singled out across many responses as a
major contributor to the struggles local people face: “Universal Credit has done for a lot
of people” (P.5). The lumping together of separate benefits into one monthly payment
has caused significant problems for people without experience of managing their
money in this way. “Universal Credit put your benefits all in one and nobody knows
where the hell they are” (P.5). Furthermore, the tightening of rules around Personal
Independent Payments (PIP) has led to more insecurity for those living with illness or
disability: “He’s had problems with his Universal Credit, they’ve stopped his PIP and he
had nothing” (P.8). The main outcome of this has been food poverty “they can afford to

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3 pay the rent, but they can't afford to eat...so they're paying one bit, they've got a roof
4 over their heads but what are they going to do about food" (P.3). Every cooperative
5 member participant mentioned either first or second-hand accounts of running out of
6 food and/or money. Families felt the strain particularly: "You've got kids you've gotta
7 look after them and you've gotta have money on your electric, money on your gas, to
8 use your cooker to cook your food, so you know" (P.2). In this environment the food
9 cooperative has become indispensable to many in the community: "I think...people,
10 especially the ones that come here, would be lost without [name of the cooperative]"
11 (P.2). While the most obvious advantage it provides its members is cheap groceries,
12 its points system also allows people to load money on to their account when they have
13 it, which helps with budgeting and food security.

27 **Isolation**

30 Social isolation was cited as key feature of life in a marginal setting. The issue is
31 especially pronounced for the elderly who were described as having few options for
32 social interaction: "My grandma was never alone because she had family around her
33 and had lots of friends, but you do get people that are...they're really lonely" (P.2). This
34 appears to have led to a generational divide, as young people with few opportunities
35 for meaningful activity become involved in anti-social behaviour and older people,
36 reluctant to go out because of the perceived threat, stay indoors: "there's a lot of older
37 people who don't get out as much, and there's all the kids as well. You see them
38 mooching about all over the place and you don't always want to go out" (P.7). The
39 withdrawal of local services for young people and adults has compounded the
40 problems of isolation: "But there's nothing on it, nothing for them to do, not even
41 football nets... they closed that police station down – the nearest one is town" (P.8).

57 **Us and Them**

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3 The breakdown of trust between residents and their local institutions and between
4 residents themselves has led to the formation of an 'us and them' mentality. Common
5 across the interviews was a negative view of how the estate and its residents are
6 perceived by outsiders. The area's negative reputation was mentioned by all
7 participants and is a key feature of how they understand their community and its place
8 in the dominant social order. These perceptions are often reinforced by the media: "on
9 the news and stuff they say...and you think, 'Why?'...You're making us sound like a
10 warzone" (P.2). The estate itself also seemed to be especially prone to this mentality
11 on account of its architectural design separating it from the rest of the city: "I mean, this
12 place is a bit of an enclave, you know the way it's been designed and that –
13 everything...is cut off" (P.8). However, these perceptions can come from residents
14 themselves, directed towards those on the margins of the estate, and go some way
15 towards explaining community divisions mentioned across the interviews – between old
16 and young; employed and unemployed; those who are still receiving benefits payments
17 and those who have had them cut; those who have lived here for a while and newer,
18 more transient residents; or those with drug and alcohol problems and those without.

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37 Most participants referred to judgements within the community about being
38 known as someone who was in need or deemed by others as not being able to look
39 after themselves. This contributed to a sense of shame for those who needed to seek
40 help. When asked about where the perceived sense of shame comes from, one
41 interviewee replied:

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47 That actually comes from the community, so it's the people you live around, in a
48 way...And you know the gossip mongers asking what she's doing in there
49 an...or there's a police car out in the street...curtain twitchers...cos you know,
50 as I say, there is a big drug problem (P.3).

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57 Shame and stigmatisation were revealed to be a pervasive part of life in this
58 community. Ideas of being deserving or **undeserving** permeated discussions of shame:
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3 But then you get people who abuse the system, which is some of the hard
4 things that I find. I had to sit down with the vicar that used to be my line
5 manager and ask ‘How do you differentiate? How do you work out who’s
6 genuine and who’s not?’ and when you see people coming back week after
7 week asking for food vouchers and then you see them walking around in
8 designer gear, with an up-to-date smart phone, smoking proper cigarettes (P.3).

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17 Over time the removal of services also seems to have led to a divided community on
18 the estate – “I mean you’ve got various parts of [the estate] – you’ve got the top end,
19 you’ve got us at the bottom end, you’ve got them on this side, you’ve got them on that
20 side and they never really mix” (P.3) – suggesting different parts of the community are
21 either reluctant or too intimidated to engage with each other.

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 **It’s not a foodbank**

30
31 The theme “It’s not a foodbank” originated from participants. It includes positive
32 attributions towards being a member of a food cooperative, such as feeling empowered
33 through buying food and making a contribution rather than receiving it for free from a
34 food bank. The cooperative model enabled its members to participate in a shared
35 community where there were “familiar faces”. Further participation was enabled
36 through volunteering opportunities, supporting feelings of empowerment and shared
37 support for a collective project. Participants felt that they had more choice about the
38 types of food they could select for themselves and their families from the cooperative.
39 The cooperative model was also seen to be more sustainable than a foodbank with its
40 members not being dependent on food vouchers that may be issued in limited
41 numbers. Participants experienced the food cooperative as being person-centred,
42 feeling themselves to be valued and important, which promoted a sense of wellbeing
43 through developing trusting relationships and self-confidence. Alongside receiving
44 personalised support within the food cooperative, which led to employment
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3 opportunities for some, members felt enabled to participate in wider community
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5 activities with their families with funds that they no longer had to set aside for food
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7 provision.
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11 The use of foodbanks was expressed in negative terms across all interviewees with
12
13 higher value being placed upon the resource being set up as a community food
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15 cooperative. Being a member of a cooperative through making a contribution helped
16
17 people to avoid strong feelings of shame, disempowerment, and negative
18
19 characterisations like “scrounging” (P.2). Negative experiences reported by participants
20
21 related to foodbanks were expressed in terms of shame: “I think there’s that shame
22
23 going to a foodbank” (P.1); disempowerment: “in some ways you feel bad because
24
25 you’ve got to go cap in hand to someone and say I’ve got nothing, I need something”
26
27 (P.2); and frustration “they had two carrier bags of food that you couldn’t even eat, I
28
29 couldn’t eat it” (P.4). A foodbank, was not considered as sustainable: “If you’re only
30
31 allowed 3 foodbank vouchers, how else are you going to feed yourself?” (P.3). Much of
32
33 the praise for the food cooperative was initially expressed by participants in terms of its
34
35 difference to a foodbank. The following sub-themes highlight further benefits of the
36
37 food cooperative expressed by both service users and volunteers.
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42 Participatory

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44
45 The participatory aspect of the cooperative was acknowledged by all participants.
46
47 Although food can be obtained for free at a foodbank, the participants were positive
48
49 about the food cooperative as their contributions eradicated potential feelings of shame
50
51 from relying on a foodbank: “you’re not just scrounging as some people would say”
52
53 (P.2). They also helped to foster a sense of empowerment over their own lives: “it’s
54
55 giving them that little bit more control and making them feel that little bit better because
56
57 they are still actually buying it” (P.3); and removed the frustration that comes with lack
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3 of choice over such an important part of our lives – what we choose to put in our and
4 our families' bodies: "I can actually feed myself and my kids" (P.1). Once a part of the
5 cooperative, members are also able to volunteer and participate more fully in helping to
6 run it. This has powerful effects for the individuals whose wellbeing is improved by
7 regularly lending time and skills to a collective project, as well as for the cooperative
8 itself, where members benefit from seeing familiar faces from within the community,
9 who understand its idiosyncrasies and are invested in it.
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19 **Person-centred**

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21
22 Prominent across participant responses was the person-centred approach of the food
23 cooperative. All participants mentioned the warmth of the environment created by the
24 friendliness of the volunteers, many of whom are local community members and some
25 discussed how it made them feel valued as people: "You're always made to feel that
26 it's really important what you're talking about even, it might not be, but to you it really is,
27 and they make you feel like it is important and you're important" (P.2). Notable across
28 all interviews was the positive impact on mental wellbeing a visit to the cooperative left
29 members with: "Just coming in here for 20 mins...it's like, it does you good...it makes
30 you feel really happy and good..." (P.1). Personal growth, in particular confidence-
31 building, was one of the most common impacts participants (volunteers and members)
32 reported after regularly using the cooperative: "when I first came, I was like, really shy
33 and didn't really talk to people but now...I've kind of come out of me shell meself" (P.2).
34 Once confidence and trust are established it provides a foundation for other types of
35 support that members may need such as the development of life skills:
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52 Someone that uses [name of the food cooperative] now, had problems filling
53 forms in so he'd bring the forms in and we'd sit and fill them in, it was getting
54 over that first hurdle and we got him more confident and a bit more confident
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3 and then he got a job... you're getting help with other things that are part of the
4
5 reason you're in food poverty in the first place (P.3).
6
7

8 This has further positive benefits as participants reported being able to participate more
9
10 fully in wider society because of the skills and savings the food cooperative has helped
11
12 them with:
13

14 I come here and I put a fiver on [credit added to their account] and it would be
15
16 £20 in Morrisons...that's £15 I could put into the kids Christmas fund or go and
17
18 get them a treat, even a McDonald's or...take them to soft play and that is
19
20 something I wouldn't have been able to do before cos you haven't got the
21
22 money to do it like. (P.2).
23
24
25

26 The combination of a person-centred and a participatory ethos was praised by the
27
28 participants, all of whom cited the friendly, supportive environment and the ability to
29
30 have choice and control over their consumption as equally important as the financial
31
32 savings they made.
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36 **Discussion**

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38 This study addresses calls in the occupational therapy and occupational science
39
40 literature for pragmatic examples of how occupational therapy might respond to
41
42 structural inequalities that impact on the wellbeing of communities and individuals'
43
44 through socially responsive practice (Malfitano et al., 2016), that prioritises the shared
45
46 experiences of communities not just individuals (Lauckner et al., 2019; Lavalley, 2017).
47
48 By observing examples such as community-centred food cooperatives, occupational
49
50 therapists may learn how they could better position themselves to be agents of social
51
52 change rather than social control.
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55 The findings of the study suggest that the cooperative fulfils an important role
56
57 for both individuals and the community; not just in relation to food but in terms of their
58
59 overall wellbeing and ability to participate in meaningful occupations. The food
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3 cooperative is a collective, offering a community-centred approach which has had
4 substantive impacts on the rights, freedoms and opportunities of the participants. It has
5 provided a community resource (Hyett et al., 2019), which recognises the diversity of
6 individuals, the strengths of the community while enabling access to affordable food
7 and opportunities to address financial literacy. This has been realised, through support
8 with individual occupations such as budgeting and form completion and the co-
9 occupation of volunteering, leading to members being able to overcome barriers to
10 wider participation in society. This has worked on different levels with some members
11 using the money saved on groceries to participate in “luxury” activities such as soft play
12 or swimming for their children; others making use of their expanded social network to
13 collectively source previously inaccessible items such as homewares; and in some
14 cases, just making use of a safe, welcoming space on a twice weekly basis to help
15 overcome social isolation

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Participating in the food cooperative enables its members to collectively overcome some shared problems of social deprivation. It represents a refreshing alternative to foodbanks and community spaces which have been affected by austerity (Williams et al., 2016). In this way, the cooperative, as a meso-level, collective occupation, is clearly contributing to the social fabric and sense of community within the estate (Kantartzis and Molineux, 2017). As others have noted, individuals mirror the values encoded into their environments (Verhaeghe and Hedley-Prôle, 2014). A change to that environment can lead to a change in individuals and the communities that shape them. The participants suggest that that change is happening in the transactional way (Lavalley, 2017) as their individual development mirrors the development of the community around the cooperative. By involving volunteers from that community, the cooperative is becoming embedded so that it is both for, and of the community. This is what Lauckner et al. describe as a key distinction between community-centred practice, like the cooperative, and community-based practice which

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3 involves communities being done to rather than with (Lauckner et al., 2019) and is one
4
5 of the key principles of participation enablement (Hyett et al., 2019).
6

7 This research has indicated that to succeed in community-centred practice,
8
9 practitioners must genuinely work *with* communities. It suggests that engagement with
10
11 issues of food poverty through food cooperatives is one way in which occupational
12
13 therapists can address social and occupational inequalities and direct their actions
14
15 towards a socially orientated, collectivist occupational therapy (Malfitano and Lopes,
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17 2018). Such actions might include identifying collective approaches to addressing
18
19 financial literacy, supporting access to nourishing meals, volunteering and on a wider
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21 scale - facilitating intergenerational dialogue with local government to address wider
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23 community occupational injustices.
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26 27 28 **Limitations**

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30 The small sample size and locality focused inquiry limits the transferability of this study;
31
32 however, the study was designed to give space to the detailed experiences of each
33
34 participant. The sampling process was also convenience-based. Purposive sampling
35
36 could have resulted in a more diverse and representative sample with richer data
37
38 (Braun and Clarke, 2013). A pragmatic approach was taken, due to the difficulty of
39
40 arranging interviews in advance and the fact that access to the food cooperative and its
41
42 members was only possible on its two regular opening days. Research of additional
43
44 community-centred initiatives could further expand understanding of how occupational
45
46 therapists may work with communities to improve participation in meaningful
47
48 occupations by collectively addressing collective issues affecting whole communities.
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50 Examples may include groups who collectively experience social isolation and loss of
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52 confidence following the COVID-19 pandemic.
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58 **Conclusion**

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3 In this study, we aimed to answer calls in the literature for socially responsive practice
4 that prioritise the shared experiences of communities, not just individuals. Occupational
5 therapists should consider how they may work *with* (not for) communities experiencing
6 social deprivation, be agents of social change by engagement and co-facilitate a
7 collective approach to address identified occupational injustices. This might be through
8 supporting skills development, facilitating access to affordable and nourishing food and
9 creating opportunities for connection and belonging through engagement in meaningful
10 occupations which support health and wellbeing and positively impact on the rights,
11 freedoms and opportunities of community members.
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25
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27 in this study for contributing their time and their experiences to this research.
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33 **Key Findings**

- 34 • To succeed in community-centred practice in areas with structural
35 inequalities, practitioners must genuinely work *with* communities.
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- 38 • Working with communities, occupational therapists can facilitate meaningful
39 occupation and autonomy.
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46 **What the study has added**

47 This study has identified some practical insights in how **occupation** focused
48 practitioners might embrace concepts of occupational apartheid, (in)justice, deprivation,
49 and rights by working with a community in a marginal setting.
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Table 1. Interview schedule

Table 2. Demographics of participants

Figure 1. Themes and subthemes

Table 1. Interview schedule**Cooperative members:**

1. How would you describe the pantry to someone who didn't know what it was?
2. How often do you use the pantry?
3. Why do you use the pantry?
4. Have you used any other service similar to the pantry?
5. How has the pantry made a difference to you?
6. Have you noticed any changes within yourself since using the pantry? If so, how?
7. How important is the place/space where the pantry is?
8. What do you think the word 'community' means? How would you describe your community?
9. What role do you think the pantry plays in your community?
10. Has the pantry changed the way you think/feel about your community?
11. Why do you think the pantry was set up?

Volunteers:

1. How would you describe the pantry to someone who didn't know what it was?
2. How has the pantry made a difference to you?
3. Have you noticed any changes within yourself since using the pantry? If so, how?
4. What motivates you to get involved with the pantry?
5. Why do you think the pantry is important?
6. How important is the place/space where the pantry is?
7. What role do you think the pantry plays in your community?
8. Has the pantry changed the way you think/feel about your community?
9. How would you describe the people who use the pantry?
10. How would you describe the community that the pantry serves?

Table 2. Demographics of participants

Participant	Cooperative Member (CM) or Volunteer (V)	Employment Status	Dependents	Lives on the Estate	Gender
1	CM	Employed – zero hours contract	Y	Y	F
2	CM	Universal Credit	Y	Y	F
3	CM	Universal Credit	N	Y	F
4	CM & V	Benefits*	N	Y	F
5	CM & V	Benefits - PIP	N	Y	M
6	V	Employed	N/A	N	F
7	CM	Benefits - PIP	N	Y	F
8	CM	Employed – part time	N	Y	M

*not specified, PIP - Personal Independence Payments

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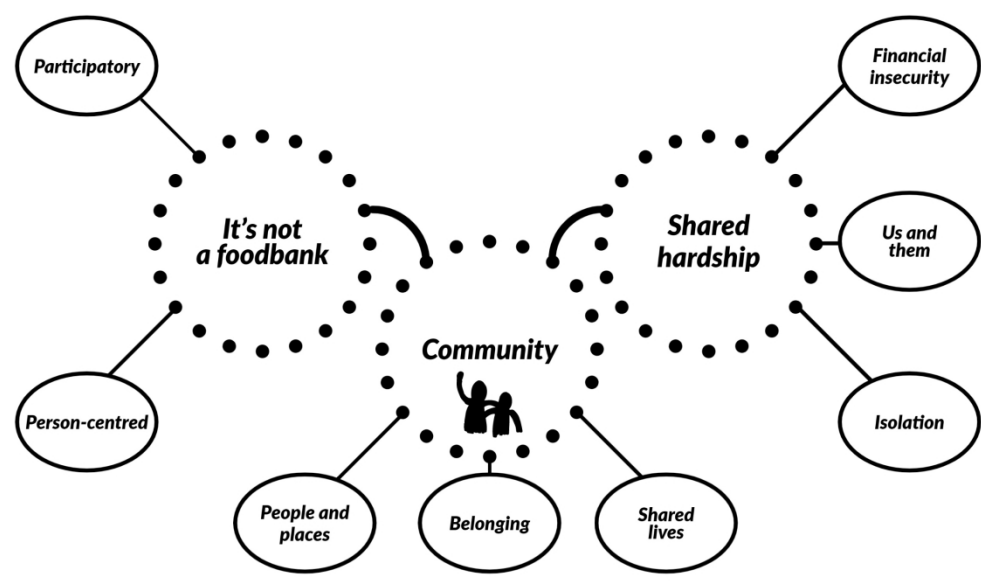


Figure 1: Themes and subthemes

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