



Food assistance in the Leys: current provision and recommendations for Good Food Oxford



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Executive summary

Blackbird Leys and Northfield Brook, collectively known as the Leys, were originally built as social housing estates and are some of the most deprived regions in Oxford. Good Food Oxford has identified a potential lack of food assistance in the Leys, which could be exacerbated by the upcoming extension of Universal Credit in October, as delays in payments could see families dip into food poverty without adequate food bank provision. Good Food Oxford would therefore like to improve food assistance in the Leys, particularly for those residents who may experience situational food poverty, and therefore do not have their needs adequately addressed.

We recommend a combination of short- and long-term solutions. In the short term, a community cupboard should be established ahead of the Universal Credit roll-out to bolster the emergency food provision already in place. Ideally this would operate out of the Agnes Smith Advice Centre or the Blackbird Leys Community Centre and food could be provided by the Oxford Food Bank. In the long term, a community shop could provide a sustainable and empowering form of food assistance that would offer a hand up, not a handout. It might be possible to incorporate this into the redevelopment plans for the Leys and it could be supplied by a subscription to FareShare.

Table of Contents

Executive summary	1
Introduction	3
Current food provision in the Leys	5
Possible improvements	8
Food bank	8
Community fridge/cupboard	10
Community shop	12
Conclusion	15
Legal disclaimer	16

Introduction

Blackbird Leys and Northfield Brook, collectively known as the Leys, were originally built as social housing estates and currently 50% of the households rent from the council or a housing association. The Leys is one of the most deprived regions in Oxford and has been identified as a “Regeneration Area” by the Oxford City Council,¹ which recommends additional investment and redevelopment. The unemployment rate in the Leys is double the Oxford average, with 17% of the working age population claiming out-of-work benefits and 41% in low skill routine or semi-routine occupations.² The Index of Multiple Deprivation places six of the Leys’ nine neighbourhoods in the 20% most deprived in England³ and 34% of children live below the poverty line.⁴

Good Food Oxford coordinates over 130 public, private, and community organisations which share the ambition to create a fairer, healthier, and more sustainable food system in Oxford. In particular, this involves ensuring everyone can afford to eat well every day and reducing food waste. As a backbone organisation, it promotes these aims by shaping strategy, building awareness, influencing policy, raising funds, and supporting the related activities of its partner organisations.

Good Food Oxford has identified a potential lack of food assistance in the Leys, as the Children’s Centre that previously provided bags of food to those in need is now referral only. With the upcoming extension of Universal Credit in October, there is particular concern that delays in payments could see families dip into food poverty without adequate food bank provision. Good Food Oxford would therefore like to improve food assistance in the Leys, particularly for those residents who may experience situational food poverty, and therefore do not have their needs adequately addressed. To this end, research is needed to determine what forms new methods of community-centered, empowering food poverty relief measures could take.

This report outlines the current food provision in the Leys and considers three possible options for further food assistance: (1) a community shop, (2) a community cupboard or fridge, and (3) a food bank. By evaluating existing food providers that operate under these models, we are able to assess their suitability for the Leys and consider how they might be implemented.

¹ Oxford City Council, *Oxford Regeneration Framework* (2009). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/oxford-regeneration>.

² Oxford City Council, *The Leys Profile - 2011 Census* (2011). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/leys-census>.

³ Department for Communities and Local Government, *Indices of Deprivation* (2015). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/deprivation-map>.

⁴ HM Revenue and Customs, *Children in Low-Income Families Local Measure* (2011). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/low-income-families>.

We would like to thank the following people for useful and interesting discussions:

Jane Benyon	Director, Community Emergency Foodbank
Clare Charleson	Manager, Agnes Smith Advice Centre
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David Growcott	Acting Communities Manager, Oxford City Council
Cathy Howard	Operations Manager, Oxford Food Bank
David Kay	Facilities and Communications Coordinator, Oxford Food Bank
Christine McDermott	Founder and Director, Relish
Riki Therivel	Founder, Botley Community Fridge
Hollie Tuckwell	Leys Locality Officer, Oxford City Council
Clara Widdison	National Growth Manager, Community Shop
Dawn Williams	Development Manager, CDI Clockhouse Project

Current food provision in the Leys

Food poverty can be defined as the inability to obtain healthy, affordable food—especially fruits and vegetables—and the consequences thereof, namely worse diet and worse health. The Leys is affected by this problem. A previous TSC project found that affordable, healthy food was not available on the estate. Local convenience stores are expensive and larger supermarkets are inaccessible (see Fig. 1), all the more so as 40% of people in the Leys have no access to a car, according to the City Council. A major consequence of this situation is the high rate of obesity: In 2011, 29% of adults and 26% of children living on the estates were obese.

The main reason why people find themselves in food poverty is benefits issues. From 2015 to 2016, benefits delays were the primary reason for referral to Trussell Trust foodbanks (27%) while benefits changes contributed to 13.50% of referrals.⁵ In the Leys, the most common reason for referral to the Community Emergency Foodbank by the Agnes Smith Advice Centre was benefits issues.

Over the past decade, food bank usage has steadily climbed and is expected to increase even more, due to the introduction of Universal Credit. Universal Credit was introduced in the Welfare Reform Act of 2012, in order to encourage people on benefits to start paid work and to simplify the system by replacing six existing benefits, previously known as “legacy benefits”.

Since 2013, the Trussell Trust has been collecting information about areas where a partial roll-out has occurred. Last April, it issued a research document—*Early Warnings: Universal Credit and Foodbanks*—identifying five problems with Universal Credit, the main one being a six week delay or more for the first payment, with some people waiting up to thirteen weeks. Other problems, such as the digitisation of the interface, poor administration, and payments in arrears, generate further delays. Moreover, claimants can be sanctioned while in work, when previously conditionality applied only to people not in work who were able to work.

Nationally, Trussell Trust food banks in areas of full Universal Credit roll-out have seen a 16.85% average increase in referrals for emergency food, more than double the national average of 6.64%. In the same areas, foodbanks have reported seeing their resources stretched, with at least one food bank in the Trussell network requesting donations from other food banks. Therefore, the upcoming extension of Universal Credit in the Leys next October raises concerns about families and individuals dipping into food poverty without adequate food bank provision.

The current provision of food in the Leys takes different shapes:

- Formal food banks such as the Community Emergency Foodbank (CEF) or Trussell Trust food banks (see Fig. 1). CEF provides three days’ worth of nonperishable food to families and individuals that have been referred to them. In the past year, the

⁵ Trussell Trust, *Early Warnings: Universal Credit and Foodbanks* (2017). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/trussell-report>.

Agnes Smith Advice Centre in the Leys referred 50 people from the estate to the CEF.

- Three schools offer free meals for children in year 1 and year 2, and for children in years 3 - 6 whose parents are on benefits. One other school offers free meals for all children in reception, year 1, and year 2.
- Various organisations offer services to specific groups of people: the Clockhouse in Greater Leys for over 50s, Oxford Survivors for people with mental health problems, and there are youth and afterschool clubs. These offer drinks, snacks, or cooked meals (for more details, see Fig. 1). Some of them also offer cooking classes.
- The Communi-Tea Café and the Boiler Room Café offer drinks, snacks, and lunch.
- The Leys Children's Centre provides food assistance to families that have been referred.

Despite these efforts to alleviate food poverty, there seem to be shortcomings of the food provision:

- Formal food banks are far from the Leys (see Fig. 2): Trussell Trust food banks are 20 km from Oxford and the CEF food banks, although closer, are not in the Leys and some people struggle with the journey, especially those with a disability or long-term illness—almost half of the people referred to CEF by the Agnes Smith Advice Centre. Although the advice centre can give a £10 voucher for the local shop—Delly's—to buy essentials.
- There is a shortage of food provision over summer when schools and some charities are closed.
- According to the Feeding the Gaps report, receiving free or subsidised food is stigmatised. For the same reason, some parents do not claim the free school meals they are entitled to.⁶
- There is a need for cooked meals, as many people have insufficient kitchen facilities or face the dilemma of eating or heating and cannot afford to cook.

This brief overview of the current situation of food provision in the Leys allow us to identify the following constraints on any new project aimed at tackling food poverty:

- In the short term, immediate food assistance is needed ahead of the Universal Credit extension.
- In the long term, crisis support should be complemented by support for those on the cusp of food poverty.
- The location should be central in order to be as accessible as possible.
- Ways should be found to avoid the stigma that comes with receiving help.
- We should also try to tackle other problems identified by the Feeding the Gaps report as contributing to food poverty, especially the lack of cooking skills and the lack of a social dimension to food.

⁶ Feeding the Gaps, *Food poverty and food surplus redistribution in Oxford* (2014). Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/feeding-gaps>.

Food provision in the Leys

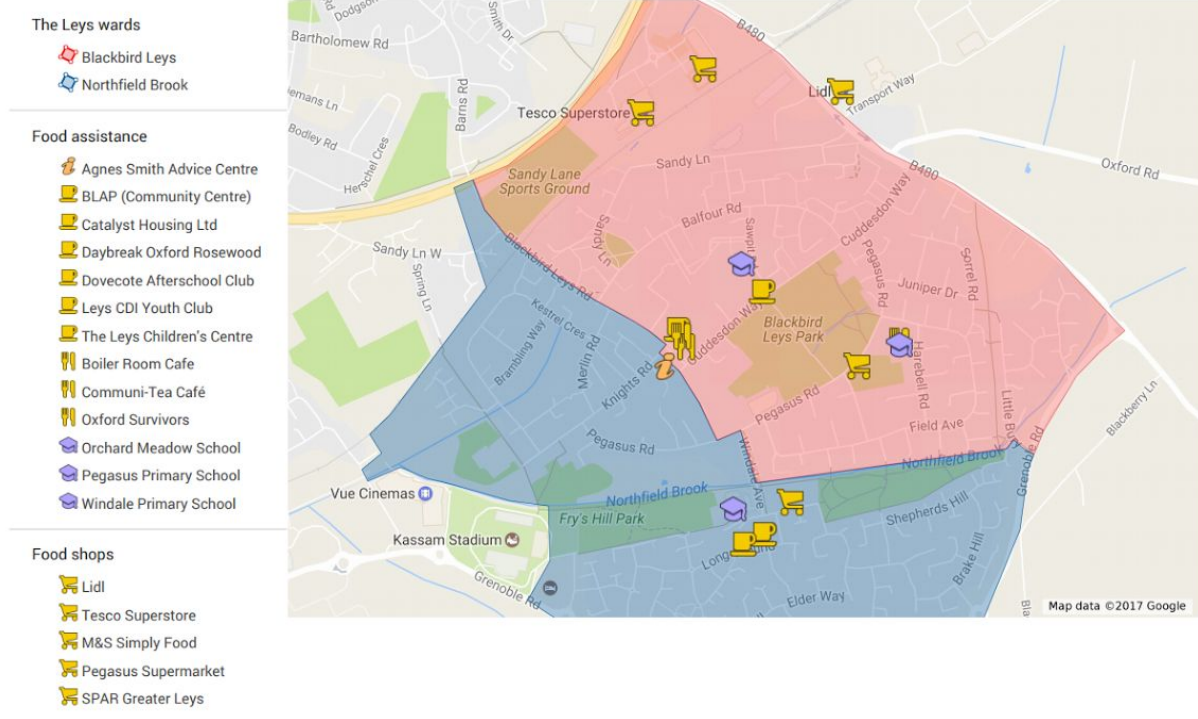


Figure 1: Map of food provision in the Leys. The map indicates the advice centre (information icon) and food shops (trolley icon), as well as food assistance in the form of snacks and drinks (cup icon), cooked food (knife and fork icon), and school meals (mortarboard icon). The Leys wards of Blackbird Leys and Northfield Brook are also shown. The interactive map can be found at <http://bit.ly/leys-food>.

Foodbanks in and around Oxford

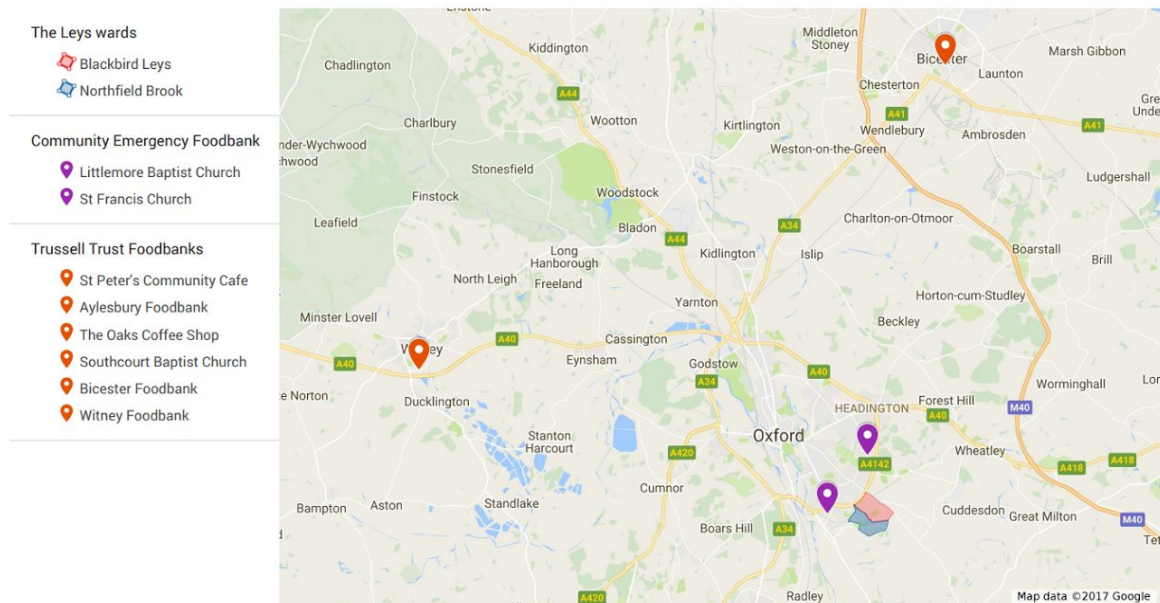


Figure 2: Map of foodbanks in and around Oxford. The map indicates foodbanks run by the Trussell Trust in Witney, Bicester and Aylesbury (not shown), and foodbanks run by Community Emergency Foodbank in Oxford. The Leys wards of Blackbird Leys and Northfield Brook are also shown for reference. The interactive map can be found at <http://bit.ly/oxford-foodbanks>.

Possible improvements

Food bank

Food banks usually operate by handing out food parcels to people who have been referred by a third party after demonstrating a need for emergency food support. We have researched two examples in Oxford that follow this model: the Community Emergency Foodbank (CEF) and the Rose Hill food bank run by GreenSquare Group.

CEF is a Christian charity that operates food banks out of St Francis Church on Tuesdays and Fridays between 12pm and 2pm and Littlemore Baptist Church on Thursdays between 10am and 11.30am (see Fig. 2). Referrals are made on the basis of need by about forty organisations, including GP surgeries, children's centres and homeless charities, and a food voucher gives a single parcel with three days' worth of nonperishable, nutritionally-balanced food. Users of the food bank are limited to about three food parcels every 12 months, as the service is intended as crisis support and there is a fear that more regular handouts would encourage dependency. Despite these restrictions, between 200 and 300 individuals and families are helped every month. Food is donated by churches and schools, and by individuals at collection boxes in supermarkets. The expenses totalled £22,741 in 2016, including fundraising, the rent paid to St Francis Church, and a part-time director. This means approximately £7.50 was spent on each food parcel.

The Rose Hill food bank is a small part of a Lottery-funded regeneration project, which includes a youth club, a health initiative, and a broader cultural food programme. Around 25 food crates are given out every week to people referred by the Rose Hill and Donnington Advice Centre, and the advice centre also has two freezers and a fridge which are kept stocked for emergency food provision. Cooked meals are prepared by a professional chef and a team of volunteers for about 180 people every week. All the food is supplied by the Oxford Food Bank (OFB) and FareShare.

The mission of OFB is to reduce food waste while alleviating food poverty. This core aim is accomplished by distributing surplus food primarily from wholesalers, but also supermarkets, manufacturers, and sometimes individuals to charities and community groups for free. FareShare Thames Valley is run by South Oxfordshire Food and Education Academy (SOFEA) and operates on a similar model to OFB, taking surplus food from a Tesco depot and redistributing it to local non-profit organisations. FareShare requires charities to sign up as a Community Food Member and pay a subscription fee. The Rose Hill project is on the medium plan, which costs £2400 per annum and gives them between 250 and 350 kg of food every week. Unlike OFB, FareShare have refrigerated vans and so are able to supply chilled foods, including meat and fish.

This form of food assistance has several benefits:

- A new food bank could take advantage of existing food redistribution networks, including FareShare, OFB, and CEF.

- The referral system ensures the food goes to those in need, which reassures donors and prevents any potential abuse.
- Such food banks are able to help a large number of people with minimal running costs, because short opening times mean they can usually be run by volunteers.
- A more formal system of food assistance makes it easier to collect data on its usage.

However, there are also significant shortcomings:

- As mentioned in the previous section, people may be reluctant to use a food bank due to the stigma associated with receiving a handout.
- Food banks are intended to be crisis support and do not offer long term solutions for those on the cusp of food poverty, who are currently underserved in the Leys.
- Limited opening hours might make the food banks inaccessible to some. For instance, the Barton community cupboard is most popular with parents after school between 3pm and 4.30pm,⁷ but CEF is only open over lunchtime.
- Larger food banks, such as CEF, require employing a part-time manager, which substantially increases the costs and requires a regular source of funding.
- Donations to food banks can be irregular and unreliable.

A new food bank in the Leys could be set up quickly at little or no cost, as OFB are happy to supply a new site in the Leys and it could be run by a group of volunteers. A suitable site would be the Blackbird Leys Community Centre, as it is a central location and it is highly likely the hire charges would be waived for a food bank. Referrals could then be made by the Agnes Smith Advice Centre, as an extension of the referrals they already make to CEF.

Alternatively, CEF have offered to supply a new food bank in the Leys with food, which would need to be collected from St Francis Church. However, CEF only provide nonperishable food and access to fresh fruit and vegetables is a priority for Good Food Oxford, as part of their strategy to promote healthy eating and combat food poverty. Bread and fresh fruit and vegetables have also proven to be some of the most in-demand items amongst users of the Oxford Food Bank and the Barton community cupboard.

Following the example of the Rose Hill food bank and subscribing to FareShare would give access to perishable food, including meat and fish, but with an added expense of £1200 per annum on the lowest rate. It also would be difficult to include meat and fish in the food parcels without breaking the cold chain and violating food safety standards. At the Rose Hill project, the meat and fish are only used in cooked meals.

It is unclear if there exists a need for a food bank in the Leys, particularly as the Agnes Smith Advice Centre is able to refer people to CEF, and so further research is needed. We think that a different model, that feels less like a handout and doesn't require recruiting a team of volunteers, would be more appropriate to serve the short term food needs in the Leys arising from the extension of Universal Credit. Any longer term solution shouldn't focus on providing crisis support through a food bank, but rather on helping to lift people out of food poverty.

⁷ The Student Consultancy, *TSC Final Report on the Usage of Foodbank in Barton Community Centre* (2016).

Community fridge/cupboard

Community fridges and community cupboards work along similar lines. Neither rely on referrals, and both are open to everyone. Often, the act of taking from them is presented as helping to reduce food waste rather than providing for those in need. We have looked at two instances in Oxford of this model: the Botley Community Fridge and the Barton Community Cupboard.

Botley Community Fridge is only a few months old, having been established in March to serve West Oxford, and is located in a church. No cooked food or raw meat and fish is provided. It is open to all, but with special sessions for people in need. The model is very cheap to run, as it requires no staff and is open every day for 6-8 hours. It took only £141 to set up, along with a large amount of environmental health planning and negotiations with the church. It relies on a small number of volunteers who clean the fridge, keep a record of what food has come in (customers should make a note of what they take), and throw out food past its use-by date. Food is mainly donated from Tesco, and other small businesses and individuals. This is undoubtedly a sustainable project, but is nevertheless very small, serving perhaps a dozen people a week on average.

Barton Community Cupboard is the result of Good Food Oxford's work in the area. It receives in-date food three times a week, and is based in a community centre. It emphasises reducing food waste to make it feel less like a handout. A problem in the past has been accusations that some people were abusing the cupboard. What people are allowed to take has since been limited to 1 bag per person. It cost £700 to set up, being considerably bigger than the Botley Community Fridge, and was awarded funding from the City Council as part of the NHS Healthy New Town project in Barton. It is maintained and cleaned by the staff of the café next to the Cupboard.

This model has many advantages:

- It doesn't feel like a handout and is relatively anonymous.
- A fridge allows for storage of fresh food.
- It does not require much maintenance, just the initial setting up, cleaning and keeping track of what's coming in and going out.
- Oxford already has models (Botley, Barton), and suppliers (Oxford Food Bank), whose environmental health models can be used for setup.
- It serves those who may be dipping in and out of food poverty, i.e. those who have access do not have to be experiencing an immediate crisis. This distinguishes it from emergency food banks.
- If a suitable host organisation is found, it doesn't have additional running costs, as it can use the same volunteers, cleaners etc.
- If it is in a community centre or an advice centre, it can be integrated with other services.
- A community fridge can be accessible for long hours and most of the week, basically whenever the host organisation is open. This is convenient for working families.
- It provides immediate food assistance without going through a referral organisation.

There are, though, drawbacks to this form of assistance:

- It can be difficult to keep it stocked, especially in the beginning.
- It might be difficult to find volunteers to maintain a community fridge.
- Commercial suppliers of surplus food are more wary because you cannot necessarily prove that only people in need are taking it all the time.
- It is hard to keep track of who is taking what.
- There are strict restrictions on what can go in, e.g. no dairy, meat, or cooked food.
- The fridge or cupboard is usually located in a host building. In the case of the Botley fridge the choice of a church might deter non-Christians from using it. Moreover, some sort of regular supervision is required either by volunteers or by members of the host organisation.
- It does not serve as many people as a food bank or a community shop.
- It is open to abuse, which antagonises other customers.
- It might result in dependency.

How it would work:

- The Agnes Smith Advice Centre is a potential host, although this has not yet been discussed with them. Putting the fridge there could ensure that the food goes to those in real need and would reduce the need for volunteers.
- It could also operate out of the Leys Community Centre, with the possibility of Oxford City Council waiving the rent. A church is another option but this might put people off.
- The allergen and use-by stickers and the paperwork (including the risk assessment) that were used to get approval from Environmental Health in the case of the Botley Fridge can be used again.
- The Co-op (and potentially other socially-minded businesses) are often willing to give food and staff time.
- OFB would supply a community fridge/cupboard, but would prefer to know who the food goes to.
- The fridge could be adopted by a Community Action Group (CAG) and then be covered by its public liability insurance.
- Funding could be provided by the City Council's grants commissioning programme, which includes an open bidding programme (£10k, for 3 years) and a small grants programme (£5k, self-sustaining after 1 year).
- The community fridge would support the "local priorities" outlined by the Council for the Leys, which include "healthy lives".⁸
- Other sources of funding include supermarkets' grants programmes, the National Lottery and Oxfam, which now funds food banks in the UK.

⁸ Oxford City Council, *The Leys Community Partnership*. Accessed at: <http://bit.ly/leys-priorities>.

Community shop

The final model we considered is a community shop, which is also known as a solidarity shop.

How it works:

- Provides in-date surplus food, including that which is short-dated, misshapen, has damaged packaging, out-of-season promotional packaging, or is simply surplus from over orders.
- All products are sold at around 70% off RRP.
- Access is determined by a rolling membership scheme, through which a predetermined number of people are given membership cards to allow them to shop.
- At least one paid staff member, likely a manager, would handle the finances and coordinate the volunteers and shifts.
- Profits from the shop would also fund community services, such as a café and cooking classes.

Our model for such a shop is based on the organisation Community Shop. An overview of Community Shop is as follows:

- It operates a total of four shops in England, primarily in the North.
- It is connected with a parent organisation called Company Shop that was founded as a retailer of surplus food specifically to employees of the food and beverage industry.
- Company Shop redistributes surplus food through a well-established, national network of staff shops, standalone stores, and a “click and collect” service.
- The same supply and distribution network supplies all Community Shops.
- Locations for Community Shops are chosen based on specific postcode areas, which are the most (around top 10%) deprived areas according to government indices.
- Members have to live in a household that receives some form of government income support (i.e. means-tested benefits).
- They allow 750 members at one time for each shop.
- Community Hub, Community Kitchen, and the Community Café assist in professional development, restoring relationships with food, and provide cooked meals.

We considered as a plausible precedent the Leys Community Market, which was located in The Barn but has since ceased operation. Opened once a month, the market provided a space for a variety of primarily local businesses to sell things such as baked goods, homemade honey, and non-food items such as clothing and jewelry, and included a café. The market does show that there is interest in the community for a community space surrounding food. However, given that the market was more like a farmers’ market rather than a self-sustaining shop modelled after a supermarket, we concluded that the Leys Community Market cannot be seen as an entirely accurate precedent to evaluate the potential of a community shop in the Leys.

An obstacle to opening such a shop in the Leys is that Company Shop does not have any plans to open a Community Shop in Oxfordshire in the near future. Their Company Shop

distribution centres and suppliers are located in the North, so opening a Community Shop too far from the supply and distribution network would not be profitable enough to be self-sustaining. However, we have been assured that Community Shop would be happy to assist in setting up any shop based on their model, although we do not know what form any such assistance will take.

We are aware that establishing a community shop in the Leys would require significant investment, time, and effort not only to begin but also to maintain. The following is a list of requirements for opening a community shop with proposals for how they could be met in the Leys.

- Requirement: a standalone storefront
 - Proposed solution: With the upcoming redevelopment of the “top shops” in the Leys, it may be possible to negotiate with the City Council to locate a community shop in one of the new or newly-vacated spaces. If the shop is set up as a charity, rent might be negotiated below market price.
- Requirement: a supply of surplus food that can be sold
 - Proposed solution: FareShare might be willing to allow their surplus food to be sold, according to Fran Gardner from the GreenSquare project in Rose Hill, who has enquired about opening a community shop. If FareShare is willing to consider the project, a subscription with them could provide consistent supply. In addition, wholesalers and CAGs near Oxford (such as Abundance Oxford) might be willing to supply it. OFB do not allow their food to be sold on, so could only be used to supply a community shop if visitors gave voluntary donations instead of paying for the food.
- Requirement: investment to cover the initial costs of purchasing stock for the first few weeks or months, hire a part-time manager, and pay for any fixed capital (shelving, storage, etc.)
 - Proposed solution: Apply for project funding from the Council, the Bright Ideas fund for community business, or the Oxfordshire Social Entrepreneurship Partnership. Other sources of funding include supermarkets’ grants programmes, the National Lottery and Oxfam.
- Requirement: a part-time manager and volunteers to keep the shop running
 - Proposed solution: Reaching out to volunteers at current food provision charities could encourage initial participation in the project. Once the shop is established, there can be a push to get community members involved in volunteering. The part-time manager would ideally be a local resident who has been active in the community.

Pros:

- It directly targets those who deal with periodic food poverty and not those who need temporary crisis support.
- The shop model means it doesn’t feel like a handout.

- It is profitable and self-sustaining, allowing it to pay for staff and buy extra food if it runs short.
- It has growth potential: If it works in the Leys it can spread to other in-need areas.
- It could address a much more fundamental problem of providing greater access to fresh food in the Leys for those who may lack time and/or a car.
- It has a better selection of products, including meat, fish and non-food items.
- Community shops are open for long hours, especially compared to food banks.
- The shops get most of their food from manufacturers and not stores, so it's fresher and lasts longer.
- The rolling membership model makes dependency and abuse less likely, and reassures suppliers.
- Community services such as a café and cooking classes provide hot meals and useful cooking skills, as well as a social hub and a sense of community.
- It helps a lot of people. 750 members at a time on a rolling membership might be possible in the Leys, although that number would have to be adjusted during the first few years of operation.

Cons:

- If we want to make it part of the redevelopment of the Leys, this will take 5-7 years.
- Users still have to pay for products, even though they are heavily discounted.
- There aren't any big food manufacturers nearby to work with, but there are local farmers.
- Having a café comes with extra health requirements and paperwork.
- It would need at least one paid member of staff, which increases the costs.

Conclusion

We think that in the long-term the community shop model would be effective in the Leys, especially given the redevelopment plans already underway. The self-sustainability, growth potential in terms of other community services and other locations, and the achievement of the dual aim of empowerment and environmental impact all make the community shop a high-potential solution and one that is in-keeping with the ambitions of Good Food Oxford. Such a model would offer a hand up, not a handout.

However, we also have concluded that the Leys requires a short-term solution, given the rollout of Universal Credit in October. In other areas, there have been delays in benefits payments, and in that gap it is crucial that residents do not go hungry. We recommend that the best way of doing this would be a community cupboard, or large community fridge, operating out of the Agnes Smith Advice Centre or the Leys Community Centre. Food could be provided for free by OFB. The advice centre could check if people are on means-tested benefits, and it could be used to test the water regarding demand for further assistance.

Further research and community consultation is needed to determine the demand for a community shop, plan a suitable location, and find an organisation willing to lead the project. We also recommend researching the accessibility and use of CEF by people in the Leys. Clare Charleson, Manager of the Agnes Smith Advice Centre, has kindly offered to help with this by asking the people she refers whether travelling to CEF is an obstacle.

Jane Benyon, Director of CEF, has suggested that Cutteslowe, which is another “Regeneration Area” in Oxford, is less well-served by existing food banks and so could be the focus of a future consultancy project.

“People need sustainable livelihoods rather than insecure poorly paid work, and social welfare benefits which offer dignity and sufficiency rather than penalties and indebtedness....systematising the dependent impoverishment of significant numbers of our citizens to an ineffectual, disempowering, food handout, under a mantra of ‘choice and responsibility’ and the Big Society, is deeply questionable. What is needed is food justice, not food charity.”

- Prof Liz Dowler, University of Warwick

Legal disclaimer

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