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The Changing Face of Food Poverty with Special Reference to Wales

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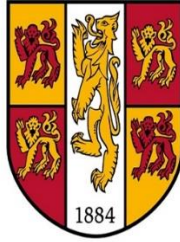*Awarding institution:*
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The Changing Face of Food Poverty
with Special Reference to Wales

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"Poverty, hunger and misery in a hundred forms had already invaded thousands of homes and stood upon the thresholds of thousands more."

(The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists by Robert Tressell, 1914)

Abstract

As a marker of current austerity policies, the growth of the emergency food aid landscape has become recognisable through the 'food bank'. These places of charitable food-redistribution have seen their presence increase within an evolving social policy context. Understanding food bank use as two modes of 'experience', this thesis has mapped both the quantitative geographical 'experience' of the food bank, alongside the qualitative 'experience' gained from understanding why people have turned to them for help.

Attending to the quantitative rise of the food bank as a means of support, this thesis has recognised that there has been substantial changes within the recent socio-political landscape of the UK that have stimulated food bank growth as an inadequate response to rising levels of poverty. In approaching the knowledge construction of the geospatial distribution of food banks across Wales, this thesis provides clarity to the organisational structures of both; the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, and independent food banks.

As a social policy, the Welfare Reform Act (2012) has been concluded within this thesis as holding the bonds of responsibility for driving the quantitative rise in food bank numbers across Wales. Recognition of increased 'need' triggered the opening of food banks as a way of providing emergency relief where social security failed. This thesis has mapped the growth of food banks in Wales and has recognised further growth as being attended to the rise in neoliberal policies of recent governments (1998-2015).

Employing several data collection methods, the qualitative experience of food poverty has been illuminated through semi-structured thematic interviews and focus group interviews conducted with service providers detailing how the changing landscape of

social security, and the ways in which the rise in attitudes of individualism have changed the acceptability of social security. Analysed within a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach, the key conceptual themes within this thesis centre upon the rise of a deserving and undeserving attitude within poverty, and how this resides within a neoliberal attitude of structure and agency driven poverty.

Service provider interviews have been augmented by biographical focused semi-structured interviews with service users, detailing their experience of having to resort to food bank use as their only means of sustenance. Here service users identified with a deserving and undeserving narrative, identifying with the structural and agency driven poverty as a cause of food bank use. Applying this approach, service users placed a hierarchical attitude to food bank use and furthered this distinction between the deserving and the undeserving user.

Acknowledgements

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Gratitude is also expressly given to my supervisors Dr Hefin Gwilym and Dr Eifiona Thomas Lane, not only for their expert knowledge, but also for their time, patience and effort that they have heroically bestowed upon myself, and this study. A very special thank you is also due to Mr Ian Harris, as the success of this research pays homage to his expert knowledge of all that is GIS.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

In 1996, The World Food Summit brought world leaders together to reach consensus on the growing problem of food security. Here, food security was defined as; *"the situation in which at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels' all peoples, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life"* (World Food Summit Rome Declaration (1996), cited in Lang and Heasman, 2008: 92). Further political intention of this formal recognition should see that access to food has become an acknowledged Human Right under article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that to deny any person of this would be an infringement of this declaration. This should now provide focus on how Governments of developed nations, such as the UK, need to be able to ensure that all its citizens have access to healthy, nutritious, socially acceptable food which can be consumed within ways that are socially and culturally acceptable to the consumer (Dowler, Turner, and Dobson, 2001). That was in 1996. Fast-forward 20 years and political responses to post 2008 economic crisis has ushered in socioeconomic measures in the name of 'austerity', and created an opportunity for the Government to bring about polices that aspire to the Neoliberal dogma of welfare retrenchment. As a result, the understanding of food security has moved from a primarily national discourse concerned with sourcing food for the country and has stimulated discussions concerned with the sourcing of food at a more personal level.

Given the worry over the ability of people to source an adequate amount of food given the implications associated with austerity measures and welfare retrenchment, we have

seen the growth of a national effort, represented by charitable providers, of free food for people experiencing personal crisis, poverty and potential destitution (Fitzpatrick et al, 2016).

Within the UK, some individuals (and families) are restricted temporarily from accessing sustainable food resources. As a result, charitable organisations such as food banks, Pay as you Feel Cafés and Social Supermarkets have been catching those who fall through the welfare safety net, with ever-increasing food redistribution networks growing exponentially since 2010. Some organisations, such as the Foodbank provider the Trussell Trust are now feeding over one million people annually from their 400 plus UK wide Foodbanks (Trussell Trust, 2017).

Studying and writing about a subject, such as the experience of peoples' poverty, has been described by Lister (2004: 124) as having to walk a fine tightrope. She details that studying people in poverty provides another level of scrutiny and objectification, and that we must recognise the fine line between acknowledging the 'agency' of people experiencing poverty, and their 'capacity', like everyone else, to make 'wrong decisions'. The face of poverty is changing, along with the diet available to different social groups. This has altered from Victorian definitions of poverty discussed by Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (Townsend, 1979). Here, the *'poverty line'* is argued; however, where this describes the ability to provide a nutritionally balanced diet, Townsend finds that Rowntree's assessment will not suffice as it addresses minimum nutritional standards, and overlooks other instances, such as occupation, and fails to address the 'needs *vs* wants' based approach highlighted in more recent studies (Lambie-Mumford et al, 2014: 22). Townsend continues to describe how poverty assessments should be based upon *"'relative deprivation'- by which I mean the*

absence or inadequacy of those diets, amenities, standards, services and activities which are common or customary in society" (Townsend, 1979: 915).

As the discussion above highlights, food poverty needs to acknowledge the recognition of a 'changing face'. One such change is how this changing face has, over time, seen a complete reversal over what may constitute as 'food poverty'. For example - the acquisition of calories may have historically been difficult during the assessments noted by Booth and Rowntree, however, the situation for today's food insecure individual finds that calories are very cheap and very accessible, but empty. It is healthy, nutritious food which is the more expensive, and thus, inaccessible to those struggling with a low or reduced income.

The scope of the research

At present, there is little UK based research concerning first-hand experiences of food poverty, yet the academic interest within this area of social-political debate is growing at a rapid rate. What research does exist is primarily concerned with food poverty as a quantifiable issue addressing; its rising numbers, its causes, and how both policy makers and those working with food poverty should tackle the issue.

Cloke, May and Williams (2016: 707) have brought into context areas of uncertainty that surround the growing landscape of food banks, in particular; important questions are asked about the scale and geospatial distribution of food banks; how are food banks organised, and is there a diversity in provision? Within the food banks themselves Cloke, May and Williams (ibid) also ask for a discourse around the understanding of the varieties of approaches undertaken; the users of food banks; not just the who, how and why, but to understand the lived experiences of service users.

It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to current research undertaken by researchers with this shared interest in understanding the developing emergency food aid landscape, and addressing those areas under-researched acknowledged by Cloke, May and Williams (ibid). This thesis approaches the issues raised above, and has done so though combining both the geographical 'experience' of the distribution of the food bank landscape of Wales - through the use of quantitative geospatial GIS maps, along with a number of biographical qualitative interviews addressing the lived 'experience' of food poverty and food bank use.

As noted above, there has been a continual thread of poverty dialogue held throughout the academic community since the time of Charles Booth and Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree in the late 1800s and early to mid-1900s. Their initial assessments focused on explaining the extent of poverty which may be applicable (revealing that which may once have been considered hidden), and setting this within an industrialised and urban country context. Social and philanthropic researchers such as Booth and Rowntree have been meticulous in their approach to revealing early understandings of poverty and how this may be applied to fit within the 'developed poverty' narrative and how to make this information available to civil society.

Fast-forward through time, nearly 115 years, and again, a discussion over the understanding of food poverty, and how this sits within the more general understanding of relative poverty seems to be again required for the UK. This thesis will probe the extent to which poverty, and in more specific terms food poverty, and the methods by which people have begun to internalise and address this situation, has been contextualised within a developed country context. The renewal of a poverty-focused narrative within the academic community has been given attention based on the reappearance of austerity-targeted methods imposed from within the political

level. This thesis also seeks to address the implications to which these austerity measures have brought about (sometimes for the least able within society) new coping strategies and hunger management methodologies, and the extent to which these may generate further policy implications for food security going forward.

List of abbreviations and terms

BSA	Budget Standards Approach.
LEDC	Less Economically Developed Countries.
Foodbank(s)	Trussell Trust food banks.
Food bank(s)	Independent sector name.
Food bank	The term 'food bank' or 'Food Bank' is also used as the general term when discussing collectively food banks and Foodbanks.
Food banking	The collective term applied to the use of food banks or Foodbanks.
GIS	Geographical Information Systems.
Service User	The term service user refers to the person who is in receipt of food from the food bank. Sometimes named as a 'client' by some organisations within this thesis.
Service Provider	The term service provider is used to describe providers of emergency food, such as through a food bank. It is also used to describe the providers of referrals to food banks, such as local agencies that are linked to their local food bank.
JCP/JC+	Job Centre Plus
PAYF	Pay as you Feel (Café)
WIMD	Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation

Poverty and Food Poverty in the UK

"There are [...] however, great uncertainties about the appropriate way of conceptualising poverty in the richer countries" (Sen, 1983: 153). As implied by Amartya Sen, the understanding of poverty for the UK may be considered a contested term, especially how this resonates between the arguments put forward by both Townsend (1985: 659-668) and Sen (1985: 669-676). Townsend is clearly stating the case for there to be a recognition of the understanding of relative poverty and how this fits within a developed country context, and, the nature of poverty becoming relative to the state in which it is applied. However, Sen (1985) is also clear in his argument that the very notion of poverty may not be wholly applicable to the UK, or any other 'developed' country context, as he finds that the development process should be considered as a completely different level of poverty

altogether.

The use of the term 'absolute poverty' and its application to less economically developed nations is not an area which is to have great significance within this thesis, however, it will be initially addressed as a marker of respect to the understanding of the experience of absolute poverty. This thesis will focus on the understanding and the development of what is recognised to be relative poverty, and will develop a focus of the understanding of the contemporary context to which 'relative' food poverty is held.

Aim of the Research and Research Questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine the changing face of food poverty and the development of emergency food aid provision in Wales. Starting with some of the earliest discussions found within the works of primary British research on poverty, the

very nature of food poverty and its application within a relative poverty context has seen recent structural changes, especially so for people with low incomes. This has resulted in elevated levels of individualised food insecurity following changes made to social security and the introduction of austerity policies in 2010. The result has seen an increase in people seeking help from emergency food aid providers, such as food banks.

In addressing the aim of this thesis, the following research questions will be investigated:

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

   This will be achieved through:

   a. A visual representation – GIS mapping exercise showing civil society responses to austerity represented as a rise in food banks across Wales.

   b. Interviews with two groups associated with food poverty (delivery and end use), explaining how they relate to the growth of food poverty/food bank use.

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

   This will be achieved through:

   a. Discussions over the development and subsequent retrenchment of social welfare (Theoretical approach looking at structure and agency and the renewal of deserving and undeserving narrative).

   b. The 'Big/Shared Society' as a response to, or a source of acceptable, food poverty.

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

   This will be achieved through:

     a. Identifying the 'structure or agency' debate behind poverty and the ability for people to move out of food poverty.

     b. Identifying the relationships that exist between the food aid providers and the food aid users.

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

This will be achieved through:

     a) Tracing the trajectory of the emergency food aid sector in the USA and Canada, as a potential reflection for UK food banks.

     b) Discussions with emergency food aid providers, presented as case studies, and users of food banks.

To provide a full assessment of food bank service this research has been conducted by looking at the service provision as a whole. The food bank service, understood to be an emergency response providing emergency food aid[1] has been divided into two distinct categories;

1. Service Delivery - encompassing the referral process through a linked referral organisation, through to the collection of a food bank parcel from a food bank organisation containing both coordinators and volunteers.

2. Service User – encompassing those people who have made use of the food bank provision provided.

The research will address the experience of service-users and other groups who contribute to the service provision of food banks. The research will also assess the combination of social and political factors that have influenced the changing face of food poverty, and how the growth of food banks has become a socio-political response

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[1] Other types of food providers - PAYF and social supermarkets are not considered emergency food aid providers.

delivering a service that challenges the social exclusionary factors associated with food poverty.

Design of the research

Split into two distinct yet connected parts of data collection, the mapping of food poverty is presented in both physical and experiential narratives and subsequent analysis. Data collection part one works to effectively map the quantitative changing face of food poverty in Wales, by charting the growth of one type of emergency food aid provider, the food bank. This has been done using GIS mapping, highlighting the location and the timeframe in which the food bank became established, and the social political environment directing this change.

Elaborating this quantitative growth of the emergency food-banking sector in Wales, data collection part two works to connect this physical examination with an experiential reflection on the use of food banks, provided by people involved with food poverty alleviation in Wales. This section will convey discussions held with both the service providers and the service users of Welsh food banks, within a Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis approach, with the intention of understanding the experience of a changing face of food poverty within Wales.

Approaching these two distinct yet linked qualitative parts of the whole service provision required differential approaches for each distinct group. The use of semi-structured interviews was considered more appropriate for the service delivery side allowing each different organisation to express their link with the food bank and the importance to which they placed this within their organisation and for the help it afforded their client. Additional service delivery discussions were conducted as focus

groups with food bank volunteers, looking at the final step in food bank delivery. The use of biographical narrative interviews with service users (client) allowed for depth of discussion to facilitate a full understanding regarding the trajectory and subsequent experience of food poverty and the extent to which this plays a significant role in their life.

Chapter Two: Literature Review: From Poverty to Food Poverty

"The food of these poor people is totally inadequate" (Rowntree, 1902: 43).

Introduction

The purpose of this literature review chapter is to explore the concept of food poverty and food bank use in the UK currently, and to develop an understanding of how this sits within the wider discourse of poverty applicable within a UK context. This chapter aims to critically examine the key literature that has been debated throughout a changing narrative of poverty and food poverty since the beginning of the last century. This chapter also aims to identify associated gaps in this current received knowledge about how food poverty and, most centrally, food bank use sits within a broader analysis of poverty. These gaps include an absence of qualitative biographical research on the rise of food poverty and food bank use, and also, how people arrive at such a situation.

The first section of the literature review focusses on poverty and how the understanding of contemporary poverty is understood through changes made to social security. Following from here, the association between relative poverty and food bank use will be investigated drawing on evidence compiled from academics studying the quantitative rise of food bank numbers in the UK, Canada and the USA.

Poverty as an Identity

"It often seems that if you put five academics (or policy makers) in a room you would get at least six different definitions of poverty" (Gordon: 2006: 32).

In the statement above, David Gordon fittingly captures the difficulty of trying to explain what is meant by the term 'poverty'. Nonetheless, to discuss poverty in any meaningful sense involves a fundamental discussion about the differences between those who 'have' and those who 'have-not'. Even this can be seen as another problematic area, as the difference between the haves and the have-nots will vary when examined over a geographical context. Tim Lang confirms that in Britain, as with other developed nations we like to associate food poverty with problems which affect less developed parts of the world (2001: viii), and it is Lang's assertion which advances our understanding between 'absolute' and 'relative' poverty; with the former possibly being at the forefront of typical poverty narrative. However, since the recognition of the growth of socio-inequalities which have come to blight developed nations, research into relative poverty has been found to be of growing importance within sociological enquiry (for example Jones, 2016, Katz, 2013 and Lister, 2004).

This thesis seeks to identify the changing face of food poverty - with special reference to Wales, in a relative sense, the argument put forward by Gordon (2006: 32) suggests that the general "meaning of the concept of poverty has changed and evolved over time in Britain". This statement reveals that although the discussion on the changing face of food poverty is the main argument under discussion, it would be amiss to not locate this within the wider context of the changing face of general poverty first.

What is 'poverty'? And how is it operationalised

Seabrook has brought the idea of how poverty has been conceptualised over time to light (2013: 1). Here, the etymological awareness of *poverty* is explored, and how the use of this one word, and thus the identity of 'poverty' has been shaped and transformed over the years is discussed. Seabrook's argument of what exactly poverty is offers a multitude of answers which exemplifies the fraught nature and difficulty of trying to analyse this highly emotive word. To discuss poverty in its most basic sense is to look at what forms the basis of poverty as such a poignant word. Seabrook identifies that the synonyms of the word poverty provide a substantial clue; such as to be *lacking* or *deficient* of something necessary would be a recognition of a certain level of poverty, and it is this *scarcity*, or *shortage* which is at the heart of what it means to be *poor*. However, this still fails to bring into context the operational-ability of what it means to be *lacking* or having a *shortage* of something, and that this something has been deemed a necessity within your society. In order to operationalise what it means to be poor highlights that there is a need to discuss; *hardship*, *deprivation* and *destitution*, and how this is applicable to the society in question.

Seabrook (2013: 3) argues that the most common word associated with poverty today is *deprivation*, and that deprivation evokes suggestions of having had something taken away or withheld. He goes further and describes the process of deprivation as an active verb, thus giving poverty/deprivation an operational quality. It is the understanding of deprivation however, which can cause further confusion, as to be deprived of something that is not important to you or culturally important to your community may not be such a deprivation. This highlights the distinction needed between the two major schools of poverty narrative, that of 'absolute' poverty and that of 'relative' poverty.

Absolute Poverty

"Absolute poverty is a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information" (United Nations, 1995: Annex II, Chapter II, Para 19). Thus, the concept of absolute poverty is thought not applicable to studies of poverty within the UK, or any other developed nation. However, it is thought appropriate to ascertain whether this was always the case, and whether this would still be a justifiable assumption given the steep rise in people accessing food banks today[2].

Following the establishment of the Welfare State in the UK Gordon (2006: 31) has argued that the definition of poverty, at that time, included ideas of subsistence, and that these were based around a minimum income standard. However, in a more modern sense, as a developed nation following the establishment of a welfare system, the application of absolute poverty is not considered pertinent to the UK; however, it can be argued this was not always the case. In their ground-breaking studies exposing the levels of poverty within London and York, both Booth (1889) and Rowntree (1902) (respectively) highlighted through some of the earliest studies that the recognition of poverty felt by the working class was clearly reflective of poverty more akin to that recognised in an absolute sense.

Poverty, Worklessness and Identity of the 'Poor'

The existence of poverty in the UK has long been a convoluted subject for both academics and policy makers (Alcock, 2008: 38). For example, historically, the treatment of the poor and impoverished was to criminalise them, and the rise of the

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[2] See Lambie-Mumford et al, 2014

term 'vagabond' and 'vagrant' became synonymous with the poor during the Poor Law era (Seabrook, 2013: 44). Advancing to a comparatively modern poverty narrative, the works of both Booth and Rowntree bridges the divide between absolute poverty and relative poverty focussed research conducted during the final years of the Poor Laws, and the beginnings of the welfare state. Their works principally discuss poverty in more modern times whilst dealing with rapid industrialisation and the influence this had on poverty affecting the UK. It is Peter Townsend (1979: 33) who acknowledges that from the earliest studies of poverty, it is the work of Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree that is most important. Accordingly, to confidently explore the literature surrounding the changing face of poverty, it is with Rowntree where this thesis also finds its foundation.

The Documented Discovery of Poverty

In 1899, Rowntree conducted the first study into working class poverty in the city of York, and in doing so; he set out to interview and document the lives of the poor in York. For Rowntree, the face of poverty before 1948 remained one of relative destitution, poor education and of poor health, as he finds that the poverty felt by the working class falls into two distinct categories; 'Primary' and 'Secondary' poverty, whereby the characteristics of each was dependent upon earnings, education standards and lifestyle choices. The division between primary and secondary poverty is important to understand as Rowntree argues that one group (secondary) may not necessarily be in poverty, if it were not for a proportion of their income being absorbed elsewhere, or, their improvident attitudes towards their income (1902: 87). For those defined as being in primary poverty, Rowntree describes their situation as being caused by a number of factors – chiefly it is the inability of the chief wage earner

(man) to earn an adequate amount of income sufficient to live within his society. Rowntree lists a number of reasons for this, such as; the death of the wage-earner, the incapacity of chief wage-earner - through accident, sickness, or old age, or the fact that the wage earner could be out of work. Being out of work over a long period or periods of irregular work, or if there is work, but the wages are not high enough to support the family would also be major reasons for poverty in 1900s York (1902: 119-120).

Rowntree hints at a supposition that in order to meet the basic needs within the UK at the turn of the Century then personal income needs to be at a sufficient level. Aligning the situation acknowledged by Rowntree with the understanding of absolute poverty is the fact that without income, serious, possibly even life threatening destitution will ensue. Therefore, in order to operationalise an approach for the reduction of poverty, Rowntree sought to highlight how far the incomes of the poorest could go, and underline the severity of how rudimentary the basic necessities were for the poorest to survive. In doing so, Rowntree devised the Budget Standards Approach (BSA) which aimed to calculate an estimate for the provisions of food, rent and household sundries (1902: 87-88) needed to maintain basic survival. This basic survival through the BSA showed that through the absence of any form of social security system, or social welfare safety net provided to people without gainful employment could result in a family suffering hardship. Thus, for a family at the turn of the 20th Century, poverty, akin to the absolute sense was a real matter of fact.

A Better Social Security (path to 'relative poverty')
As has been addressed above, the foundation of poverty research within the UK follows from the influential work of Charles Booth and B.S. Rowntree, as their works

suggest that incomes for the poorest were not keeping pace with nationally recognised level of development of that time. However, the understanding of poverty following an absolute perspective invalidates investigations of contemporary poverty applicable within a modern UK context. This is especially so when considering the level of progress that has occurred in the UK and landmark developmental procedures such as seen through the creation of a universal social welfare system of benefits and the free at the point of use National Health Service.

Changes in the social welfare of developed nations have brought about a distinct transformation from subsistence poverty narrative of the Rowntree era, through to an acknowledgement of a poverty narrative that now must include a system of social security welfare payments available to every citizen. Attempts to define poverty within a current developed nation context, cannot fall within the backdrop of the common conceptions of poverty as has been historically contended by the likes of Rowntree. Yet, as Seabrook (2013) has pointed to, the language used to describe 'the poor' still persists. The notion of a British poverty narrative and development of the Welfare State growing from the seeds of the Poor Laws sees their growth into the contemporary Welfare State via the introduction of substantial welfare policies by the Liberal Governments of 1905-1922. The introduction of policies aimed at providing a national minimum level of subsistence began during the early part of the Twentieth Century whereby the establishment of 'The People's Budget' in 1909 had the aim of redistributing wealth through the tax system. This budget proposed progressive taxes on the wealthiest owners of land in the country, and was entitled as the 'Embryonic Welfare State' by Sullivan (1996: 4). This early Principle for social provisioning brought about the National Insurance Act (1911) which provided unemployment benefits and health benefits as part of a social insurance scheme, whereby workers

would pay into the scheme and be able to withdraw during times of ill health or unemployment, signalling the imminent end of absolute poverty.

Following the 1943 report from Sir William Beveridge (*Social Insurance and Allied Services*), plans were laid for a flat-rate benefit system, and social provision for all. Therefore, Midwinter (1994: 91) finds it appropriate to consider the period 1945-51 as the birth of the modern era of the welfare state in Britain under the lead of Clement Attlee. The introduction of a flat-rate financial system paid through social security to all citizens allows a poverty discourse to enter into an understanding of poverty becoming relative to the country in which it occurs, and has been articulated substantially by Peter Townsend (1979). This was following his seminal research studying the levels of potential poverty felt by persons within the UK, aptly named 'Poverty in The United Kingdom'. Townsend argued that upon inspection of the poverty associated with the UK, to consider poverty to be absolute would, under any sustained examination, become abandoned (1979: 38), arguing that the fundamental need for a distinction between absolute and relative poverty falls within the understanding of creating a contrast between "actual and socially perceived need" (1979: 46).

Townsend (1979) drew upon survey data collected largely during 1968/69, involving 3,260 households consisting of 10,048 individuals from various locations of the UK, conducted through both questionnaires and interviews (Townsend, 1979: 94). The central mechanism used to identify and discuss the concept, and thus the understanding of relative poverty applied to the Poverty in The United Kingdom survey involved the creation of an index of sixty deprivation markers, stretched over 12 categories. It is this index, which Townsend has used to describe the amount of poverty, and

deprivation felt by certain members of the population, and described how this type of identifier is related to the individual's living standards (material and social).

Taking the works of early social research by Rowntree into poverty as an appropriate and influential foundation, Townsend (1979) has demonstrated that poverty should be defined in an objective manner that can thus be applied consistently, aiding the understanding of relative deprivation (1979: 31). Townsend's research has emphasised how poverty, and in particular deprivation, also affects wealthier nations, and that any consensus about what should be regarded as a definition of 'poverty' should not just focus on international levels of development, but also the felt deprivation (leading to social exclusion or isolation) which endures within all countries. It is this understanding of poverty that invites further examination of the extent to which poverty is relative. Yet, for Flaherty et al (2004: 16) a question of 'relative' poverty should also ask, *relative* to what? For Townsend (1979: 52), poverty, in a relative logic, not only is viewed nationally, but also offers an argument for this to be regarded within a local framework, allowing for expressions and manifestations of cultural poverty, and how poverty should be considered as historically relative. He clarifies that poverty becomes relative to time as well as place. This is quite marked in the evolution of UK poverty narrative as it has evidently moved from the subsistence poverty, identified and discussed at length by Rowntree (1902), to one that has become identified as containing the social and cultural necessities of the individual need to be considered to allow for full participation within society. The understanding of poverty in modern times differs from the interpretation of subsistence poverty arrived at by Rowntree at the turn of the last century. The perception of poverty being based upon minimum subsistence levels had been adopted and applied to the inauguration of the welfare state by Sir William Beveridge (Gordon, 2006: 31). What is more, it is this

acknowledgement of being able to have full participation within society which brings the discussion of UK poverty into a more modern, and relative context.

Societal participation within the context of food has seen developments within society in the way food has been identified as a distinguishing feature of poverty, as argued passionately by Sutton (2016) in his appraisal of the role in which food has shaped society through involvement in socio-political unrest. Sutton has focussed on the role of social discontent in the face of food shortages, and thus he has appropriately brought the discussion of modern-day food poverty along a journey of a changing face of food shaped by poverty, and resulting in riots (2016: 37). In deciphering the picture of food poverty triggering food riots, Sutton agrees that both Booth and Rowntree were at the forefront of socio-political research of that time. He also acknowledges that their work actively challenged the traditional concepts of individualism, adopting an understanding that the State should have more of a key role in being able to help its poorest citizens, especially where this contains the provision for adequate access to food.

Contesting the BSA, Townsend (1979) offers a rational criticism of the pioneering work, arguing that the BSA adopted by Rowntree is hard to defend with crude totals of the required dietary needs being based on pure physical efficiency. Rowntree's approach of making an assessment about basic dietary needs based upon physical efficiency would not be wholly appropriate either today or during Townsend's investigation, but there is an undoubted importance attached to his pioneering work for the foundations of understanding that creates a framework for the analysis of food and its inherent links to poverty in a developed nation. This is a similar assessment made in the acknowledgement of personal desires that still should be attained by people living in poverty. Dowler, Turner and Dobson challenge that the problem with

costing a basic standard of living is that assumptions over cost, diet and desires become forgotten (2001: 16-17), as focus is usually levied on the numbers of people in food poverty. What is lost is the real stories and the experiences of people associated with food poverty, and the challenges that they encounter as desires get pushed aside. This is because, any costing of a 'food poverty diet' is usually based on a diet of least-cost (such as with the BSA), and that "entails unrealistic assumptions" about what people in poverty *should* be eating, and ignores what people would *like* to eat (2001: 17).

These experiences declared by Dowler, Turner and Dobson, in line with the index of deprivation drawn up by Townsend has been taken further through modern sociological research by the Poverty and Social Exclusion unit (PSE). The 2012 Attitudes Survey (Gordon et al, 2013: 5), published by the PSE identify that having two meals per day is considered a necessity by 91% of the respondents. This, alongside children having fresh fruit and vegetables at least once per day and living in a damp-free home identifies that the poorest today, once again may not be keeping pace with what is commonly accepted as necessary. The PSE Survey argues that what is commonly accepted across society today is that for children; they should be given three meals per day, with access to fresh fruit and vegetables every day. For adults, they should be able to access at least two main meals per day, and fresh fruit and vegetables every other day (Gordon et al, 2013: 8).

Detailing the data, the PSE (2012) Survey records that over 3.5 million UK adults and half a million children cannot afford to eat properly. Within these households, the PSE (2012) Survey also records that 93% of respondents also cut back on food to ensure that others in the household have enough to eat (Gordon et al, 2013: 9).

The Deserving and Undeserving Face of Poverty

Acknowledging a long history of attempts to 'deal' with poverty and paupers, the British system of 'Poor Laws' struggled to ameliorate the poor through legislation. The Poor Laws emerged as the first substantial link between poverty and livelihood, commencing with the Statute of Labourers in 1351. This was an effort by King Edward III to restrict population movement and moderate wages in the wake of the Black Death – ensuing from the consequent losses of labour (Seabrook, 2013: 43). Treatment of the poor at that time was to criminalise them instead of helping, and thus the rise of the term 'vagabond' and 'vagrant' became synonymous with the poor that led to punishment and incarceration (Seabrook, 2013: 44). The late Seventeenth Century saw the establishment of the first poorhouses and workhouses, a period which has been acknowledged by Fraser (2009: 38) as being an early attempt at a communitarian response to the challenge of dealing with the rising population of 'the poor'.

Attempting to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving poor throughout the British system of 'state' (or charitable) aid has been an area of contention. The edifice of the British Poor Law system sought to discern the deserving from the undeserving poor by providing the former with some form of relief (acknowledged that they cannot work due to age, health or disability), and the latter with some form of punishment, as it was thought that they were unwilling to work (Fraser, 2009: 39). This help/punishment was provided in one of two types of houses, either the alms-house for the deserving poor or, the workhouse for the undeserving poor (ibid: 39).

Understanding the perspectives taken on the deserving and the undeserving poor, delivered throughout the early State and community approaches to the relief of poverty, sees that there was an encouragement to make a distinction between those who were thought deserving of aid, and those who were not. Fraser (2009: 285)

furthers that there became a "moralistic diagnosis" of those who deserve state help with the relief of poverty, and this was driven by their personal abilities and attributes.

The Modern Face of Poverty

Ridge and Wright (2008: 285) supports Fraser's appraisal of the transition from Poor Law through to social security, arguing that the welfare state was installed as an attempt to eradicate the sense of 'want' in modern times. The rollout of universal social security, ideally, should have worked to effectively remove any such distinction between those once considered to be (un)deserving of state help. Yet, continuing the etymological journey through the historic names for the 'poor', Seabrook (2013: 155) redresses this distinction made regarding the poor of modern Britain as being described as 'hard-to-reach', 'problem-families', and recalls 'the underclass' theory pursued through the USA in the 1980s. Settling on the 'excluded', Seabrook finally relates their hierarchical position in society, as being acknowledged that they lack some form of influence within their society.

The modern face of poverty has a profile that has been subject to a continued demonization through classification and categorisation. As a process, Lister (2004: 102) shows that the implications associated with the identity of 'the poor', even in modern discourse, still features divisive grouping into the deserving and undeserving poor, each with its own connotations and stereotypes, and their own treatment by the welfare state. Describing the representational 'Other', Lister (2004: 101) strengthens the argument surrounding the 'undeserving' and their 'Other' the 'deserving' poor as a conversation about 'them' and 'us' and as a dualistic differentiation and demarcation between the competing 'powerful, and the powerless'. This demarcation is the foundation on which social distancing develops, whereby the powerful are allowed to

form negative judgments in constructing an identity of the poor, for the poor, represented as the 'Other'. This identity demarcation becomes instilled with thoughts of 'moral contamination, a threat, an 'undeserving' economic burden, an object of pity…' (ibid: 101).

Residing within theories of labelling, Ruth Lister's identification of the 'Other' coalesces the discussion over the deserving and the undeserving in terms of 'the food poor', by drawing attention to the question of who is the 'other' when it comes to poverty and food bank use? Lister furthers this argument by maintaining that the bifurcation of the poor into distinct categories such as 'deserving' and 'undeserving' will result in a distinction of how they are received and thus treated by society (2004: 102). It is this treatment within society that becomes allied to current understandings about the cyclical nature of poverty, or a 'culture of welfare dependency', a term that Lister relates to the 'underclass' (2010: 158). This assumes that the problem of 'poverty' is bound-up with 'problems of the behaviour of the poor', and that it is the behaviour of those who are dependent upon benefits that have their deservedness brought into question. The divisive process of othering, in terms of group identity as a way of creating a representation of exclusion, allows for the legitimised persecutions of such groups throughout society (Sibley, 1995: 10). It is this point which Sibley argues helps affirm 'our' identity, and representations of the 'self', or 'us' as being different to 'them' informing social practices and enforcing the exclusion of one group and the inclusion of the other (ibid: 5). Given the existence of the representation of the 'excluded' in terms of relative poverty, French (2017) finds that even with the wealth of the UK, there are pockets of immense poverty which are typically hidden from view, and that these pockets often feature heavily within areas of perceived wealth.

Privation Equals Powerlessness

The modernisation of poverty, as argued by Seabrook (2013: 157), has transformed the identity of the poor. Described as being someone who lives outside of the market, the poor suffer the economic violence of market forces, as they are forced to live within a market system, yet denied the income, and the purchasing power needed to maintain a credible position. Yet, what contemporary research (Lister, 2013, Shildrick et al, 2012, Shildrick and MacDonald, 2013) into the identities of 'the poor' and 'the working class' has shown, is that there exists a social stigma around poverty, and that people work tirelessly to shift this label. In shifting the label of 'poverty', people act to remove any personal identity or association of poverty away from himself or herself, and deflect this on to someone else. In identifying the 'other' Shildrick and MacDonald (2013: 229) discovered in their paper 'Poverty Talk', that people living in poverty actively deny their hardship, and, as a method of self-preservation, in effect seek to blame others for societal problems. This deflection of stigma associated with poverty is reflected in processes such as 'hiding poverty' as a way of navigating around feelings of social exclusion. Owen Jones (2016: 158) refers to this as keeping up with the Joneses, yet, for people living in poverty, maintaining a façade of wealth (or even just about managing), can be costly, as the poor, inevitably pay more.

Reflecting on a similar theoretical position, Shildrick et al (2012: 199) adopts Seabrook's antagonism of the capitalist system, stating that it works to effectively leave some people behind due to low skills or lack of suitable qualifications. This is true within the Poverty Premium Thesis (Hirsch, 2013), which details that people who are in poverty inevitably pay more for similar services, compared to their wealthier, better positioned counterparts. The Poverty Premium addresses the sentiment of being able to hide the association of poverty, within the Townsendian understanding of

relative poverty, and as such 'resist' the label of 'poor', by providing poorer people with the same services, albeit at an increased cost. Linda Tirado (2014) has validated the Poverty Premium in her book about her personal strife through living 'Hand to Mouth'. In this vitriolic attack on the preconceptions of society, that poor people make poor choices, Tirado confronts the misconceptions of poverty head-on, and addresses that - in the main - most 'decisions' are not in fact choices which people in poverty make, they are means by which people with very little navigate through the difficulty of living in a capitalist economy. Research by Church Action on Poverty (McBride and Purcell, 2014: 4) have found that, on average, the estimated premium for being from a poor household costs typically and extra £1,300 per year, as low income individuals and families struggle to meet the rising costs associated with essentials such as; food, fuel and access to finance. These additional costs are accrued due to the fact that low income areas suffering with the poverty premium effect are –typically – identified as being caused by decisive pricing strategies, a lack of competition, and increased costs for delivery of some services (ibid, 2014: 5). For some, living within a rural place is presented within the poverty premium thesis, as for those struggling with a low income, the additional costs associated with accessing food shops, where food prices are kept low (such as the larger supermarkets), can perpetuate poverty and the feeling of isolation. However, it is not just rural spaces that struggle with access to food, as some urban areas have become classified as a 'food desert'.

Pemberton et al (2014: 21) describes the situation outlined by Tirado and Church Action on Poverty as being understood to be a 'poverty coping strategy', which is an analogy for 'financial decision making' when in a low-income situation, and trying to make the family budget stretch as far as possible. From their findings, the association with cutting back on expenses usually amounted to cutting back on what was spent on

food. Dowler and Lambie-Mumford (2015: 419) find that this is usually because the household income has to consist of paying bills and rent which are fixed, and that it is the food element of this income that is forced to shrink as and when needed. This is nothing new for researchers associated with food poverty, as findings from Poppendieck in the USA argues that; "food is often the most flexible item in the family budget, the place where you can economize, and the easiest kind of help to get" (1998: 57).

Dealing with the cost of the poverty premium and the resultant squeeze on incomes and expenditure, The Fabian Commission report 'Hungry for Change' (2015: 14) finds that low-income households are also most likely to be paying more for their energy usage through pre-payment meters, adding an additional charge to the total cost of feeding the family. Pemberton et al (2014: 24) detail that families and individuals with low incomes struggle to maintain a healthy diet and, instead, feel pressured into eating a diet of process and tinned foods as they can be kept for longer periods thus minimising the potential for waste.

Hunger and Food Poverty in the UK

The deprivation and exclusion from participating within one's society, argued by Townsend (1979), draws on the notion of poverty as having an insufficient command of resources (such as food). Sen (1983: 157) contends that it is not correct to argue developed nation poverty in an absolutist term, but due to basic benefits, any discussion over relative poverty should be positioned as a discussion of inequality of distribution instead. Graham Riches, however (1997a: 10) offers a reflection on the power of societal influence and food resourcing ability by arguing that the experience

of hunger and poverty becomes related to the society in which you live because of the standards that are customarily enjoyed. Therefore, should this standard slip, then the experience of food poverty will be felt. The justification of this is that hunger is not a lack of food, but is a manifestation of the gross inequalities in the distribution of income (1997a: 54), and thus represents a symptom of this inequality. Sen (1983) furthers, however, that any discussion over access to a resource as necessary as food is in its self a reflection of poverty.

Developing from Poppendieck's acknowledgment above (1998: 57), that the most flexible part of the family budget is the income reserved for food, the use of emergency providers of free food, such as food banks has increased. The voices of food bank research, both through civil society and within the academic community over the recent years has been gaining pace, and the process, through empirical study in both qualitative and quantitative[3] terms of food poverty and food bank use has been brought in to mainstream discussion. There has been a growing discourse within the field of food poverty research in the UK, such as the Breadline Britain studies by Mack and Lansley (1983) and the subsequent production of 'Poor Britain' (1985) and contemporary updated accounts. These accounts have added to the growing wealth of data augmented by similar studies in the USA and Canada. Writing in 1996 and nearing the end of Conservative Government in Britain, Suzi Leather in her discussion of the early development of food poverty, argues how the experience of food poverty is intrinsic to the politicised food system. In 'The Making of Modern Malnutrition' (1996) Leather paints a rather stoic picture of the association of food poverty through the food supply chain arguing that income, access, and tackling problems associated

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[3] See Perry et al (2014)

with social exclusion are needed to revitalise the food system and to abolish food poverty.

Leather advocates that the traditional rollback of state interventions associated with Neoliberalism needs to address some important areas of social policy that cannot be completely left to the market to resolve without creating some serious knock-on effects and detrimental social consequences. Addressing this Neoliberal ascendancy, understood to mean that individual freedom and responsibility, and the provision of services and goods are provided through a competitive market (Fulcher and Scott, 2003: 873), Leather is, in effect, arguing that there are some elements of social policy with which the government must intervene for the wellbeing of society. This also means that the government cannot negate its role in addressing any decline in the nation's diet, especially if this is through structural causes of food poverty such as; limited access, limited income and increased social exclusion (1996: 53-56) at the hands of Neoliberalism.

These structural foundations of food poverty have been explained by Radimer et al (1990), who provides confirmation along similar lines taken by both Peter Townsend and Amartya Sen that hunger should be understood within a social context. Yet, they also examine the difficulty of setting a cultural context given that there is little agreement on what should constitute as 'hunger'. This was 1980s hunger in the USA where Radimer et al (1990: 1544) were exploring the extent to which hunger should be assessed at the political level, and that in doing so should allow for the operationalisation of hunger which would, in turn, allow for the development of policy approaches to tackling its root causes.

Leather (1996) and Riches (1997a) both argue that food poverty can exist within a developed nation, declaring that it arises from inadequate access to food or an

insufficient income to purchase food, and that this also should consider the social acceptability of the food that is consumed. For Leather, writing in 1996, the shortage of income denotes a small indicator of the existence of food poverty, as Leather contends (1996: 32) that the issue over *access* to food produces a more comprehensive account of who may fall victim to food poverty. This is specifically because the issues associated with the lack of *access* to food covers geographical, social and practical issues that are not portrayed through shortage of *income* alone. Leather (1996) furthers that food should also be socially and culturally acceptable, ensuring that dietary requirements are acknowledged.

Arguing that food poverty also holds a connotation of relativity and subjectivity, Townsend (1979: 50) proclaims that the level of deprivation (and thus poverty) becomes set by the cultural expectations of members within that society and by what they are accustomed to. Using an example of tea, Townsend demonstrates that tea, although it contains little or no nutritional value and is of insignificant benefit to diet, holds great cultural significance within some nations. The facility to be able to buy and consume tea holds vast cultural implications, especially where this involves consumption within a sociocultural/sociospatial setting (China, Japan etc.). This same idea can be transposed to the Western World whereby the inability to offer a visitor a cup of tea (or maybe coffee) could be an identifier to the poverty suffered by this individual, and an indication pointing towards a lack of resources. This lack of resources manifests within the notion of being socially excluded from participating within mainstream society, and thus positions those people as less able. What Townsend (1979) is arguing is that social exclusion can be a consequence of fear associated with feelings of anxiety and of being considered as 'less than' within your own society.

The underlying framework linking the argument put forward by Leather (1996) is how can food, as a human right[4], fit within a capitalist system, whereby some have more resources (financial or otherwise) at their disposal than others? Does this mean some people in society have more rights to food than others? This was almost certainly the case pre-Welfare State, as lack of income was a cause of destitution and potential incarceration within a Workhouse. Alternatively, does it simply mean that some people have just more opportunity to have food? As Leather testifies, that through social exclusionary factors associated with the food system, the development of a nutritional underclass is a reality (ibid, 1996: 55).

In his vitriolic assessment of the power which capitalism has over the global food system, Paul Albritton (2009: 202) maintains that state intervention may now be too far removed from having any power in how people source food. He maintains that a 'capitalist command economy' has taken hold of our food system and food is now controlled by a small handful of giant corporations. As an economist, Albritton contends that food and the capitalist system is a situation which does not fit well within society, as capitalism has an overriding profit perspective and very much sits within a quantitative sphere. Food, on the other hand, is consumed at societal level and is essentially qualitative (2009: 27).

Capitalism - Social Exclusion and Food Poverty

Research by Donkin et al, (1999: 31) has shown that food, both healthy and unhealthy, are more expensive when purchased from local convenience stores. They argue that in 2000, 13.8 million British people lived in households that had incomes below that set

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[4] Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25

by the European poverty line at 60% of the median average, and that access to healthy food was difficult in both financial and geographical terms for these people. This was a concern also argued by Pichaud and Webb (1996) cited in Dowler (1998: 62) confirming that food from convenience stores typically tends to be 24 per cent more expensive than within supermarkets. Putting a monetary figure on this, Robinson, Caraher and Lang (2000: 8) clarify that people who lack access to private transport typically spend over £20 extra per week in their local convenience store. A point raised previously by Leather (1996: 43) who declares that the exclusion of the poor is part and parcel of our food economy punishing them further by charging higher prices for food when bought form local convenience shops. Albeit the argument for the higher prices is aimed at the damage inflicted on smaller shops striving to contend with competition waged by the low-cost supermarket model. Reduced access to food has been identified as one structural reason for food poverty. Poorer communities also suffer from reduced access to healthier food options such as fruit and vegetables, and consequently, have been shown to have a greater incidence of avoidable chronic diseases (Donkin et al, 1999: 37).

The potential for a residual reliance on local convenience stores has proven to be a more expensive concern with damaging and far-reaching consequences. For example, the peculiar situation aligned to people from rural areas, such as in North Wales, especially the rural poor and the excluded nature they find themselves in, living within a place where food is produced, yet feeling restricted from being unable to buy this produce. A situation that did not readily exist when Rowntree produced his study of poverty in 1902. Here, Rowntree discovered that for the farm worker and rural dweller, the derivatives that could be taken from living and working within such an industry would supplement poor wages (Rowntree, 1902: 112). Additionally, they would have

offered better nutrition compared to the urban dweller as they had ready access to the freshest fruit and vegetables from the land. However, as the growth of industrial farming and the loss of local employment within the sector, coupled with the growth of the out of town shopping, the ability for the rural poor to have access to this food has become subsumed by the capitalist system. In a later study, Rowntree (1918: 51) notes that that the food expenditure of the working-class family constitutes a very high proportion of the family living cost. Summarising the deficiency of food for the lower classes Rowntree reminds us that the income of people experiencing poverty in 1900s York, who have very low and infrequent earnings, was considered at the time, that these people are - due to poverty - starving. The only way that people in poverty were able to have a diet necessary for survival was met partly by private charity, or, for those failing in this, met by starvation (1902: 41).

The 'Food Bank' and its Early Beginnings

Acknowledging that there is an association with poverty and hunger above, it is evident that there have been significant socio-political changes that forced people within society to make use of the food bank due to declining social security. However, to provide clarity for the UK structure of food banks, it is important to look at how the food bank model - which we undoubtedly see being rolled out in the UK - has been implemented throughout other parts of the world, and if there are to be any lessons to be learnt from this. The two most notable countries with a significant history of emergency food aid facilitated through food banks are the USA and Canada, where food banks have been operating since 1967 and 1981 respectively.

Jan Poppendieck (1998, 112) shows that the start of food banking grew out of the recognition of there being an unmet need and a decidedly unbalanced approach within

the American food distribution structure. Citing Kotz (1969), Poppendieck (1997: 135) underlines that the food bank movement within the USA rose as a response to the poverty that occurred within the existing federal food programmes, coupled with depression era policies, and a realisation that the existing wartime cutbacks were not providing enough for sections of society to maintain an adequate diet. The beginning of the food banking movement aimed to redress the rising number of people experiencing hunger, whilst simultaneously tackling the discrepancy of food waste (1998: 112). This was characterised by community driven surplus food rescue and redistribution initiative, the St Mary's Food Bank Alliance, founded by Arizonan businessperson John Van Hengel and Catholic deacon Bob McCarthy. Working to redress the imbalance between food surplus and the neglected need of the hungry, St Mary's Food Bank became the world's first recognised food bank dating back to 1967 when they began redistributing food which had been rejected by supermarkets, diverting this from the waste stream to be given away to the local charities helping feed the hungry.

Continuing at a pace, food banking in the USA grew due to economic changes of the 1970s, as Poppendieck places the poverty rate during this time to be between 11 and 12 percent, arguing that the 1970s were associated with a long, slow erosion of social security. By 1983 the poverty line had risen to 15.2 percent as this period entered into a new way of political thinking characterised by Neoliberal policies of welfare distribution and Ronald Reagan's assault on domestic social spending through the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act 1981 (Poppendieck,1998: 82). Although food banks in the USA had been established as early as 1967, Poppendieck (1998: 56) declares that it was not until this increase in poverty that food banks came to national attention, owing to a steep recession of the 1980s.

Similarly, writing about the development of the Canadian food bank landscape, Graham Riches (1986, 16) argues that Canadian food banks follow a style which is comparable to the USA model. Riches identifies that they also act as warehouses with the purpose of collecting, storing and distributing surplus food to frontline agencies (food pantries), who are then best placed to issue this food to those in need. Both Riches (1986) and Poppendieck (1998) make clear that the start of the food banking system within Canada and the USA were grounded in the need to match the growing inefficiencies in the food supply chain. These inefficiencies were responsible for creating surpluses within the distribution and retailing sector (Riches, 1986, 16), coupled with the growing number of people lacking the means to be able to support themselves and their families through the retreat of the social security system (Riches, 1986: 62). Riches furthers that, at the time, the reasoning behind the food bank movement in Canada (and the USA to the same extent) was that 'food banks… had tapped two enormous problems – waste and hunger' (1986: 22). In order to contextualise the impact food poverty has had on forcing social policy changes in the Canadian social security system, Riches (1986: 59) indicates that food banks work to both alleviate and perpetuate food poverty and longer term hunger, stating that "the rise of the food bank is concrete evidence of the collapse of the public safety net". Further to this, Poppendieck (1997, 138) cautions that the proliferation of food banks transform the image of anti-hunger activities of lobbying for food as a right, over to food as a gift. In doing so, the very issue of food poverty becomes depoliticised, as the rights of fairness of redistribution through the collection of taxes becomes residualised to supermarket collections and charitable giving.

Food Poverty and Food Banks in the UK

Consistent with the discussions put forward through studies conducted by Booth and Rowntree during the turn of the Century, the provision of food aid has been something that has existed in Britain for many years (Lambie-Mumford et al, 2014: 21). However, it is only during this current state that we have begun to look more closely, and ask questions regarding both the quantitative reasons and qualitative experiences of hunger in the UK.

Evidence on the quantitative rise of emergency food provisioning such as through the proliferation of food banks by Perry et al (2014: 16) argue that any discussions over the increase in food bank visits are set within the broader context of the economic climate, and that these in turn are characterised by, and simultaneously influence public spending. Perry et al (2014) also argue that the rise in food bank use following the recent recession has been exemplified by the stagnation or decline in real incomes for the poorest and major changes in the way that welfare is provisioned. Added to this, the cost of food and fuel has risen 43.5% between 2005 and 2013 and that people are spending more on food, yet actually buying less (Cooper, Purcell and Jackson, 2014: 10). Lambie-Mumford and Dowler (2015: 498) have rendered this to a period of change over the last seven to eight years, whereby the combination of austerity driven policy, coupled with rising food and fuel prices have been forcing people into seeking charitable food help. They also note that charitable food help is usually one of many strategies taken as a way of mitigating the effects of austerity, and that it is unclear how many people are actually in food poverty. As Lambie-Mumford and Dowler explain that, in fact, the wider problem of food poverty should also address the numbers of people who have not fallen into needing to use a food bank, however

they have reported a considerably worsening household food security situation (2015: 498).

In offering an assessment of the noticeable rise in food bank numbers, Hannah Lambie-Mumford (2013: 78) has measured the growth of the Trussell Trust Foodbank network, and the development of the franchise during the Labour Government and the first two years of the Conservative led Coalition Government. Arguing that the Trussell Trust Foodbank network grew out of historical welfare reforms, instigated by the 1997-2010 Labour Government, the number of Trussell Trust Foodbanks at that time stood at fifty-four UK-wide. Lambie-Mumford reasons that the further development of the Trussell Trust Foodbank network then grew exponentially under the first two years of the Conservative led Coalition Government, resulting in a hike to a massive 201 Foodbank openings, as the government of the time installed further changes to social security and significant cuts to public spending in the name of austerity politics.

The Depoliticisation of Food Poverty

Acknowledging the foundation of the American system of food banks, Poppendieck (1998: 68) maintains that there is a direct link between governmental changes in welfare assistance provided to the least able in society, and the growth of the food banks across the USA. Noting that a "disenchantment with welfare" occurred from the 1970s within society whereby welfare programmes were accused of creating dependency, fraud and abuse, identifying an early association with Neoliberal thought. Continuing through to the late 1980s, the introduction of the Family Support Act 1988 placed controls on the eligibility criteria of family support. The result, according to

Poppendieck (1998: 68) was that there was an increased dependence on emergency food aid providers. For Poppendieck in the USA, this period emphasised the early growth of the food bank and the acknowledgment of early residualisation of social security, as further administrative changes to social security were included in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act 1996 (PRWORA). This Act, according to Poppendieck has been part of the long Neoliberal process to undermine the nation's social security safety net, and has been hailed as "the end of welfare as we know it" (1998: 4).

Here in the UK, the Trussell Trust provide incremental updates on the numbers of people requesting help from their Foodbanks. Increasing year on year, visits to Trussell Trust Foodbanks have risen from 113,264 in 2012, up to 586,907 in 2017. This was 67,565 more people making use of the Trussell Trust Foodbanks than in the year 2016. This surge in numbers of people experiencing food poverty, and thus food bank use, hints that the UK is potentially following the precedent set by the USA and Canada, as the UK too has begun a similar assault on social security through the reforms made to welfare. Riches (2002: 650) notes that the rapid emergence and embedding of charitable food aid provision is a significant indicator of the failure of the welfare state for first-world societies, and that they are an inadequate response to issues of social exclusion and the government's responsibility over food rights.

Commenting on the rise of UK food banks, Riches (2014a) forces a warning regarding the potential for the further use of UK food banks. Cautioning that long-term entrenchment of food banks within Canada fostered a de-politicisation of hunger. Riches (2002: 649) also states that the breakdown of social security, as a safety net, emboldened the government's ability to restrict people's access to social security. This, Riches continues, is in fact, a commodification of welfare rights and

responsibilities that deflects the political issue of hunger, and instead refocuses it as being one of personal/individual weakness.

Depoliticising hunger works to shift the blame away from the real issues behind food poverty, that they are in fact structural and allows the Canadian government to, in effect "look the other way" whilst compelling the charitable sector to deal with the problem (Riches, 2002: 648). The structural conditions causing food poverty are clarified by Riches (ibid) as being an association of; rising prices, devalued minimum incomes, low wages and a defective benefits system that has complicated policies and criteria.

For Fisher (2017: 20), the depoliticisation of food poverty entrenches the problem further into society, simultaneously shifting the burden of responsibility over to society, and forces the public to ease the problem as a community driven response, typically through a non-profit organisation. For Fisher (ibid), this non-profit role as a public response to food poverty alleviation becomes a "double-edged sword", as the public become accepting of this responsibility for its alleviation, which, as a result, pushes away further any chance of a political response. Fisher contends that this process of addressing hunger through a societal response (such as through a food bank) also works to shift the blame of what causes food poverty. In doing so, the blame for food poverty becomes one of individual weakness, however, Fisher argues that addressing food poverty as an individual weakness is a false concept. Individuals in society do not face food poverty in isolation, it is always embodied within other, structural disadvantages associated with things far beyond their abilities to change, such as; income and employment levels, the cost of living, inflation, geography, sexism, racism and other prejudices (2017: 20).

Food Banks as a Depoliticised Welfare Response

Seibel, in discussing the role of the non-profit organisation sector (of which food banks operate within), identifies that there exists an inherent failure within the non-profit organisations, especially where they are performing a role once occupied by a statutory body (1989: 178). Describing them as "shunting-yards" providing "organisational slack", charities (such as food banks, in this case) enable the statutory bodies to off-load their responsibilities onto the non-profit sector during austere times. Confidence is then placed in the public conscious that something is being done to solve the problem (Seibel: 1989: 187) of hunger as the non-profit charities are forced to act as a replacement. Seibel (1989: 187) continues that the role of the non-profit organisation is the "nonsolving of problems", and that the competitive advantage of the non-profit is not to try to do things better than the statutory body, but to disguise how inadequately things are being done.

What this means is that the food bank becomes the societal answer to the political problem of rising food poverty. The UK government have been criticised for allowing the legitimisation of food banks (Riches, 2014) as has happened in both Canada and the USA, and as the numbers of food insecure continues to rise, the growing unease of a concerned public also increases (Harris, 2016). Seibel argues that the shifting of public concern from the statutory authorities, over to the charitable sector diverts public attention and muddies the water of accountability, ensuring that it can create the publicly acceptable illusion of being successful in its own failure (1989: 188). This level of involvement from the non-profit organisations has been argued by Seibel (1989: 188), as allowing the government to be discharged from its political responsibilities and maintaining a safer political position, as it reflects the illusion that

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help is at hand, as food becomes increasingly supplied by the emergency food aid providers, such as food banks.

The spread of food banks across both the USA and Canada, as a legitimised response to the decline in welfare spending has also been observed in Finland. Silvasti (2015: 471) has acknowledged that the deep recession of the mid-1990s was the precursor to the cutting and freezing of social security, and that it was the reforming of welfare that encouraged the growth of food banks. Silvasti describes the legitimisation of Finish food banks as being the normalising of the abnormal, and that this has been achieved, primarily, through the redistribution of waste/surplus food from Finnish supermarkets. The redistribution of supermarket waste to food banks was only supposed to be a temporary measure; however, Silvasti contends that by 2013, there were still many people in Finland who were "totally dependent on food charity" (ibid).

Conclusion

Charting the changing face of food poverty, this chapter has served to operationalise the understanding of relative poverty and the ways in which individual food security has been recognised. The literature has provided insight into the ways in which 'the poor' have become identified and politicised, and worked to delineate absolute and relative understandings of contemporary food poverty within the UK. This chapter has focussed on modernising the face of food poverty and has worked to explain the link between poverty and food. The chapter has shown that there is a body of work in academia that is concerned with developing the generalised understanding of poverty, othering, social distancing and deprivation. However, the chapter has also identified

that there is a lack of research concerning the lived experience of food poverty and food bank use.

Food banks are a relatively new occurrence in the social structure of the UK. As such, existing evidence surrounding their usage, development and their political backdrop is scarce. For this reason, this chapter has focused much of its attention on locations around the world where food banks have been established as part of a welfare crisis response, most notably the USA and Canada.

The following chapter attempts to place the changing face of food poverty into context within a framework of social policy changes. This framework identifies how the experience of food poverty is guided by changes made to the structures of social security and the values that we place on the food we eat.

Chapter Three: Contextual Framework

"It is, after all, one of the nation's first duties to see that its citizens are adequately provided for" (Rowntree, 1918: 143).

Introduction

The Contextual Framework Chapter strengthens the evidence presented within the literature review chapter. This is done by attending to the development of social security in the UK, and the influence this has had on the experience of poverty as it shifted from an absolute to a relative definition. As identified in the previous chapter, this shift has centred around the ways in which being in poverty is bound-up within a demarcation between the deserving and the undeserving poor, and thus, the further indignity associated with being in poverty, and the identity which this embodies. This chapter provides a focus for the study in terms of scope as attention is now situated with the impact of government decisions and food choices. This is marked by the changes which have been seen throughout the welfare system and the development (and decline) of social security seen through the impact of various Welfare Reform Acts. This chapter presents these changes as having a profound effect on food poverty and choice in the UK.

The literature-based evidence provides a systematic and chronologic representation of social welfare and food poverty in relation to the aim of the thesis by approaching two of the research questions in detail:

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

Changes in Social Security, Poor Law and Modern Welfare 1900-2015

The British system of social security has an extremely long history, and one that intersects within the struggle of morality between the deserving and the undeserving poor. Traced as far back as 1536, the Poor Law System of England and Wales sought to determine a distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor (Shildrick et al, 2012: 27). After centuries under the Poor Laws, the Welfare State officially came into being in 1948, witnessing an attempt to try to rectify the existent levels of inequality, and as a method of preventing poverty.

Figure 1 evidences how the different colours of governments have applied changes to welfare over the last century; changes have also been made towards the way food is controlled from a policy level. For example, Rowntree contends that the wages of the poorest had not risen during the First World War; however, the cost of food had risen by 24 per cent (1918: 79). It was at this time (1917) that developments in social feeding programmes aimed at providing for the poor began with rationing and the less well-known National Kitchens movement. This was a movement associated with the political will of the war effort, trying to provide people with access to cheap food (Evans, 2016: 2), and as a way of people coming together to cook meals for the community, increasing social connections between families affected by the Great War.

Timeline Changes in Social Security and Food Policies

1905-1915 Liberal
1915-1922 Liberal Coalition

1922-1924 Conservative

1924-1924 Labour

1924-1929 Conservative

1929-1935 Labour

(1906) State School Meals

(1908) Old Age Pensions

(1911) National Insurance Act

(1919) Addison Act

(1924) Coal Miners' strike

(1925) Widows, Orphans and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act.

(1927) Unemployment Insurance Act

(1934) Free School Milk

(1909) The People's Budget & Labour Exchanges

(1914-1918) WW1

(1919-1921) Great Depression

(1916-1921) Ministry of Food Control

(1917) National Kitchens

(1918-1921) Out of work donations

(1945) National Insurance Act

(1945) Family Allowances Act

(1940-1954) Rationing

(1939-1945) WW2

1951-1964 Conservative

1945-1951 Labour
Beginning of The Welfare State

1935-1940 National (Conservatie led Coalition)
1940-1945 Coalition (Churchill War Ministry)

(1961) Recession

(1954) Rationing ends

(1949) Housing Act

(1948) Marshall Aid

(1947) GATT

(1946) National Health Service Act

(1937-1979) Free school milk

(1942) The Beveridge Report

(1961) Morrison's open its first supermarket

(1956) National Loaf abolished

(1948) National Assistance Act

(1948) Children Act

(1946) New Towns Act

(1941) National School Meals Policy

(1942-1956) National Loaf

(1956) Recession

(1939-1958) Ministry of Food

(1958) Tesco opens its first Supermarket

(1955) Waitrose opens its first supermarket

(1947) Winter of Discontent

(1947) Town and Country Planning Act

(1944) Butler Education Act

(1945) Family Allowance Act

Timeline (top row, left to right):

- **1964-1970 Labour**
- **1970-1974 Conservative**
- **1974-1979 Labour**
- **1979-1997 Conservative**

(1965) Asda opens its first supermarket

(1966) Ministry of Social Security Act

(1971) Invalidity Benefit

(1973-1975) Recession

(1973) Joined EEC

(1974) Subsidised Food

(1980-1982) Recession

(1980) Education Act

(1980) The Black Report

(1984-1985) NUM Strike

(1984) Women against Pit Closures

(1991) Nutrition Task Force

(1986) Social Security Act

(1987) The Social Fund

(1988) Income Support

(1990-1991) Recession

(1996) Jobseeker's Allowance Regulations

(1995) World Trade Organisation

(1995) Incapacity Benefit

Timeline (bottom row, left to right):

- **2015-Present Day Conservative**
- **2010-2015 Conservative Liberal Coalition**
- **1997-2010 New Labour**

(2012) Tackling Poverty Action Plan

(2010) Work Programme

(2008) Ebbw Vale Trussell Trust Foodbank

(2008-2009) Recession

(2004) Free Breakfast Initiative

(1999) Asda becomes part of Wal-Mart

(1998) Introduction of New Deal

(2015) EU Membership Referendum

(2012) Welfare Reform Act

(2012) Welsh Discretionary Assistance Fund

(2007) Flying Start Programme

(2007) Welfare Reform Act

(2005) Prestatyn Food bank

(2001) Communities First

(1998) Newport Food bank

(2010) Children and Families

(1998) Sure Start

Figure 1 Timeline Changes in Social Security and Food

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During the Liberal Government years, (1905-1922) Britain saw the introduction of early social security payments aimed at providing for the poor, instead of castigating them along lines of deservedness, as was typical for the Poor Law era. Some of the early reforms saw the introduction of state provided school meals (1906) and the Old Age Pensions Act (1909). Further social reforms would begin following 'The People's Budget' (1909) which were based on the findings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George who had the opportunity to see social welfare as a national policy applied in Germany - whereby social welfare had started as early as 1884. Added to this, Lloyd George was aware of the poverty experienced by North Wales quarrymen in his Caernarvonshire Constituency. For Rowntree (1942: 212) some form of collective insurance in times of need has existed amongst poor communities for a while. He finds that for the poor labourer, there is a definite need to be a part of a sickness benefit club or of a 'friendly society'. Rowntree argues that life assurance payments are made by many working-class people, so much so, that during his social investigation of York he found it quite difficult to find a working-class family that do not pay towards life assurance. The reason for this, Rowntree argues, is that there is an amount of shame which follows if a person must depend upon Parish Relief, the acceptance of which practically declared the recipients as paupers and that many families 'preferred to starve rather than ask for Poor Relief' (ibid: 454).

Moving forward through to the Great Depression (1919 – 2021), turbulent food times were to follow. Charting UK food policy and how this has incited community revolt, Sutton (2016: 113) finds that this period saw great uncertainty of access to food resulting in a growing number of food riots between 1920 and 1930. He argues that rationing provided people with a nutritional minimum, however, when rationing ended, this minimum led to people being left with empty larders once more. Within

the home the distribution of food followed that the father, the male breadwinner would take the lion's share of the food, especially with meat (Spencer, 2011: 295). As Rowntree continues; 'as a rule… it is the wife and sometimes the children who have to forego a portion of their food – the importance of maintaining the strength of the wage-earner is recognised, and he obtains his ordinary share' (1902: 55). It was important to keep the breadwinner of the family well fed so that there would be a continuation of earned income, therefore food would be distributed within a family hierarchy. The resultant impact of this distribution, especially on children, saw that growing children suffered horrendously at the lack of nutrients present in their diets. Diseases associated with poor diets such as rickets were exceedingly common in children during the early 20th Century (Spencer, 2011: 296).

The outbreak of the Second World War once again saw food and poverty having an impact on society as rationing was reinstated. At the time, the UK was only 30 per cent self-sufficient in its food production (Spencer, 2011: 313). Sutton (2016: 108) has remarked that 'rationing is a military term which carries with it connotations of equality and discipline', forcing a limited supply of goods to be distributed equally. Leather (1996: 14) affirms that it 'was rationing that fundamentally changed the income-related inequalities of food distribution in the UK, acting as a great leveller in the way food is organised and distributed, affecting not just the diets of the poor but also that of the wealthy as we saw a more equitable distribution of food through rationing'. In addition to rationing, and akin to the National Kitchens of the Great War was the introduction of the 'British Restaurants', again, this was community feeding centres which could provide people with one square meal a day at an affordable price (Sutton, 2016: 120).

Modernising Welfare

Following the ground-breaking proposals put forward in 1943 by Sir William Beveridge (*Social Insurance and Allied Services*), it was the socialist-inclined Labour Government of 1945-51 that heralded the inauguration of the modern welfare state (Midwinter, 1994: 91). Beveridge had proposed that a flat-rate benefit should be paid to certain groups in society and believed in universalism and advocated that 'all should pay and all might benefit' (ibid: 96).

By centralising financial support and making it more comprehensive as a 'social security' effectively ended the Poor Law. Within the new system of social security, universalism of benefits and services was encouraged through the idea of equality of opportunity for all (Midwinter, 1994: 113). Hinting at levelling any distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor, equality of distribution has been argued by Leather to be at its height between 1930 and 1970, leading to a greater reduction in food/nutrition related inequality.

A Changing Language – Social Security, the State of Welfare and Inequality

Arguably, issues related to the changing face of modern social security have their roots in Neoliberal policies descended from the 1974-79 Labour Government and accelerated under the Conservatives, led by Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) and maintained through New Labour. McDowell reveals how over the decade 1980-90 increasing inequality was starting to take hold and that the numbers of families living in poverty was on the rise, stating that 'the rich were richer, and the poor were poorer' (1992: 327-328). Reinforcing this fact, McDowall also declares that under the Thatcher Government the total number of households receiving incomes that were less

than half of the average also expanded at this time. This effectively meant a double blow within society saw both a widening differential between the poorest and the richest, and a growth within absolute numbers of families on low incomes. Famed for policies aimed at rolling back the welfare state, the language of 'social security' during the Thatcher Government also entered into a change which has had profound impact on how we consider social security today (Lister, 2013). The language of 'social security' during the 1980s was replaced by the understanding of 'welfare' as being a negative concept, especially when spoken in context with the word 'state', as in the 'welfare state'. Lister (2013) presses that the idea of a 'welfare state' begun to reflect a dependency on the state as a provider, which was seen very much to be undesirable. Not fitting within the Neoliberal idea of welfare (un)deservedness, to be 'welfare dependent' has now become negatively synonymous with 'social security', creating a sea-change in the way social security is viewed from a public perspective.

Although inequality grew under Thatcher, Davey Smith et al (2001: LXXXVII) also contend that during the formative years of New Labour inequality increased, and so did a hardening of attitudes towards social security. Mooney (2008: 65) agrees stating that under New Labour, welfare (née social security), was considered a drain on the economy that encouraged dependency and undermined incentives to work. The workshy underclass became a common thread associated with being feckless scroungers, willing to take advantage of taxpayers' hard-earned money. Under New Labour welfare, as it was now known shifted from being a universal provision over to means-tested benefits, which could now be highly controlled (ibid: 66).

Key changes to welfare policies have been installed by various governments, however, none so vital as those which have formed the background to the research conducted within this thesis introduced by the both the Conservative led Coalition Government

(2010-2015), and the current Conservative Government (2015-) respectively. This thesis focusses on the substantial changes that have brought about the erosion of social security, most notably through the most recent Welfare Reform Act (2012). Through academic research, it is beneficial to understand how this policy has influenced the development of modern-day food poverty and changes within the way people understand, access, and feel about food and poverty.

The Welfare Reform Act 2012

Following the financial crisis of 2008 the incoming Conservative led Coalition Government proposed changes to the way welfare is delivered and emphasised the need to tackle 'welfare dependency and making work pay' (Shildrick et al, 2012: 216). The proposition was to cut welfare spending by £15 billion in the aftermath of the Great Recession, bringing reforms to not just the amount of welfare that is paid out but also making fundamental changes to the ways in which it is paid.

Shildrick et al (2012: 217) argue that these changes are aimed at an ideological justification of wanting to tackle welfare dependency as a matter of lifestyle choice, and not needs based. This resonates within the argument of deservedness of welfare seen throughout the administration of the Poor Laws, with eligibility becoming the driver forcing change. This change is seen as the government 'hardening of welfare policy', tackling dependency through a more punitive approach to welfare. The reorganisation of welfare during this time has taken on a rule of less eligibility (ibid: 216) and has seen the application of various new initiatives to show that for those inclined to be welfare dependent, work should be the better option. Exploring some of the changes brought in by the Welfare Reform Act 2012, such as; The Work

Programme, devolution of the Social Fund to local authorities, the Under-Occupancy Penalty (affectionately known as the 'Bedroom Tax'), and their influence on food poverty, as a policy adjustment focusses on tighter conditionality. In other words, modernising and reinforcing the argument for the deserving and the undeserving claimants, and foregoing the 'right' to benefits. These changes have been highlighted by Cloke, May and Williams (2016: 703-704) who proposes that "the very visible presence, and contested politics, of food banks in the UK has become iconic of social injustice and welfare failure". Here, Cloke, May and Williams are arguing that the existence of food banks has been one that has unwittingly expedited and permitted the role back of the welfare state, as volunteers have become the sticking plaster over the gaping wound. The descriptive term of food banks as 'sticking plasters' has been used by academics and civil society as a way of illustrating how much of a temporary solution food banks are for people experiencing food poverty (Morgan, 2013). For Wiggan (2012: 384), the Welfare Reform Act has been responsible for the creation of gaps within the safety net of the welfare state. These gaps, Wiggan argues emphasises that social security is no-longer recognised as being a welcome form of collective protection sheltering people from the structural effects of unequal distribution (ibid: 384).

Poverty – Structural or Agency?

Above, the notion of 'poverty' is provided through an interpretation that it is agency driven i.e. that it is the fault of the individual, although progressively reinforced in contemporary society. Lister (2010: 13) reminds us that traditional social policy and its understanding of poverty has tended to focus on the theory of social structures as a

driver for poverty. Deacon (2002: 138) cited in Lister (2010: 13) argues that these social structures (class, gender, ethnicity, economic and political institutions, sexuality etc.) act as divisions, and in effect, shape and/or constrain people's lives and their ability to participate within society. With social policy rendering the cause of poverty being a structural one meant that the problems usually resided within the economic institutions (the labour market), failures within the social institutions such as the welfare state, or failures of the political institutions and the government of the time (Lister, 2010: 14). This position offered an analysis of the individuals 'life-course' and took into considerations these divisions with reference to the individuals social positioning within social structures of 'class, gender, 'race', sexuality or disability, rather than looking at 'their own choices and actions' (ibid: 14). This had the power of removing any blame for poverty away from the individual, shifting this over to the structural inequalities of society.

Increasingly however, we are seeing a refocus on the involvement of agency and culture, combined with the above structural factors, as a method for understanding the depth and breadth of poverty in the UK. Deacon (2002: 135) cited in Lister (2010: 13) furthers that agency allows us to understand the 'capacity of individuals to operate independently of the social structure'. Lister (2010: 14) maintains that the shift in blame, away from poverty being structural towards poverty being agency driven, follows a Neoliberal approach expressing the individualism and the shifting political debate of welfare from the USA. Focus is now shifted towards an understanding of poverty as a discussion of dependency, rather than of an inequality of chances. It also asks us to shift blame onto the behaviour of the individual, rather than blaming the structural deficiencies in the distribution of resources and to see the individual as a rational actor instead of the victim (Lister, 2004: 128).

The view of poverty and the poor can be negatively reinforced through structures such as the media, who are responsible for the portrayal and representations of 'the poor'. It is these representations that can be considered as creating exemplifications of Stanley Cohen's (1972) 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics' – for example where a spotlight is placed over the deservedness of the individual's claim to social security. This individual is usually cherry-picked for their perceived moral deficiencies, thus creating a moral panic associated with a culture of dependency. The moral panic would associate all benefit claimants with these moral deficiencies. This is something that has been highlighted through the media portrayal of poverty through T.V. programmes, most recently such as Channel 4's 'Benefits Street', and has been dubbed as a form of 'Poverty Porn'.

Resisting a focus of blame and bridging the gap between poverty as structural, or poverty as agency is the understanding of 'resilience' (Bartley 2006, Seccombe 2002, Garmezy 1993), whereby the individual is able to withstand the negative effects of poverty through demonstrating a positive adjustment in the face of adversity (Bartley, 2006: 4). Still addressing the impact of agency within resilience, Bartley contends that this should not ignore the prevailing structural forces that can still undermine reliance. Arguing that it is unreasonable to expect individuals to be able to develop resilience alone, Bartley observes that they need the structural support of a conducive environment such as decent schools and a good neighbourhood in order to fend off potential problems associated with poverty (2006: 5). This point is made clear by Sibley (1995: 74) who advances;

> 'Structure does not just contain activity but is also enabling, although the agency of actors, their capacity to effect the circumstances of their existence, will not be equal in relation to all the structured properties of the social system'.

Minority and Majority Reports (1909)

The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress, set up to understand and ease the social and economic hardship of the poor, published two reports in 1909 - The Majority Report and the Minority Report. Both reports were written from common origins of idealism in how they perceived the future of help for the poor (Bosanquet, 2009: 71). Whilst the Majority Report held that moral factors were to blame for individual poverty, it maintained that the administration through the Poor Laws were the most appropriate method for providing help for people experiencing economic hardship. This position maintained that poverty was a voluntary condition therefore, driven by the choices of the individual. Consequently, deterrence to this condition would thus be achieved through punishment (Horton, 2009: 10), such as incarceration within a workhouse.

As a retort to the Royal Commission's Majority Report, historical policy advancements working towards the acknowledgement of resilience came in the form of Beatrice Webb's 1909 Minority Report to the Poor Law Commission. The Minority Report took the position that the dominant assumption of the time - that individual failing is the cause of destitution - should be overturned (Horton, 2009: 9), and that focus should be shifted to the prevention of poverty. Taking this approach, the Minority Report aimed to reframe poverty from being a voluntary position caused by individual choice, which viewed the individual as a perpetrator of individual distress, over to an understanding that the individual was, in fact, a victim of structural explanations (ibid), for example unemployment.

Holding very little weight with the Balfour Liberal Government of the time, the Minority Report's proposals, and to an extent, the Majority report also, were unsuccessful in their reform endeavours, maintaining the status-quo of the Poor Laws.

However, following the beginnings of a more generous post-war welfare provision, much of the Minority Reports arguments were subsequently reflected within the welfare proposals recommended by Beveridge and the 1942 Social Insurance and Allied Services report (Horton, 2009: 18), and the progress towards full employment as an important policy until the mid-1970s.

Following the advancements of the welfare state in post-war Britain, Lister (2004: 126) indicates that attitudes within British social policy was characterised by the denial that individual agency was to blame for poverty and emphasis was placed upon tackling structural causes. Lister furthers that this downplaying of agency created a vacuum which became filled by arguments of an 'underclass' rhetoric, most notably from such proponents as Charles Murray (2004: 126). Arguments for the underclass as being causes and symptoms of poverty, nominally known as 'lifestyle choices', for example smoking, may also be reflected upon as being coping mechanisms as revealed by Linda Tirado (2015: 80) in her personal rebuttal of the underclass theory.

The Changing Landscape of Food and Food Values

Free food has taken many forms throughout modern UK history. As detailed in Chapter Two, the methods of how people navigate the effects of poverty and the consequences this has on how people source an adequate amount of food has been discussed through social investigation undertaken throughout various periods of the Twentieth Century. Most influential in highlighting the early experiences of poverty in the UK came from the works of Booth (1889 and 1930) and Rowntree (1902, 1918, 1942 and 1951) in both London and York respectively, and identified various levels of absolute poverty in their earliest studies. As they were able to chart the

modifications applied to the social security landscape of the early half of the century, they were also able to note how levels of poverty had begun to decline. These positions on the changes of levels of poverty were carried along with changing social attitudes of the 1960s and early 1970s and the work of Peter Townsend. Townsend, in his influential work on poverty within the UK argued a departure from reflections of 'absolute' poverty to one offering more of a 'relative' narrative.

Understanding the importance of food and the significance of its role in society also aids our understanding of poverty. In an absolutist sense, poverty is about the minimum necessary to function, and absolute poverty will be the result should this minimum not be attained. Yet, in a relativist sense, poverty takes on a multifaceted dimension whereby it becomes relative to what is customary within a certain setting. Food, and the values placed upon it in society also works along these same lines of analysis, whereby the absolutist view would be that taken by Booth (1889) and Rowntree (1902) in their studies of London and York, whereby they could adequately describe a minimum acceptable diet needed to sustain life. The genesis of Rowntree's investigation as a social reformer was to help establish and provide an approach to discussing and managing the poor. In doing so he had proposed an approach to match the spending abilities of the poor which he termed the Budget Standards Approach, as Rowntree admits; "My aim throughout has been to select a standard diet which gives adequate nutrition at the lowest possible cost" (1902: 106). Contrast that with questions over what people actually want to eat and we need to reframe what food is for. Here, we can reflect on the considerations proposed by Townsend and relative poverty, as he substantiates; "people's needs, even for food are conditioned by the society in which they live and to which they belong, and just as needs differ in different societies so they differ in different time periods" (1979: 38).

Food Values for Wales

Back in 2000 following a request from the then Assembly Minister for Health and Social Services Jane Hutt to the Food Standards Agency Wales, a request was made for them to make a commitment towards developing a nutrition strategy aimed at improving the diets of the least well off in Wales. The Food and Well Being strategy set out to tackle food poverty and to promote food equality within low-income, elderly and minority groups. In achieving this, the momentum would be sustained through working within Communities First areas (areas identified as being in the top 10 per cent most deprived communities in Wales) as part of the Tackling Poverty Programme.

Setting a wide vision for the intrinsic value for the place of food in Wales, the 'Food for Wales, Food from Wales 2010-2020' strategy addresses how the value of Welsh food can be maintained throughout all stages of the supply chain. This is, however, spoken about within broadly economic and social approaches, and there is no mention of the consequences or impact of food poverty. The main aim of this ten-year strategy is to realise and strengthen environmental, health, and social impacts of the Welsh food system (WAG, 2010: 5). At the heart of this strategy, however, is a conversation about how the economy and society can benefit from the value attached to Welsh food. This is a point raised, more specifically, within the 'Food Values' project, a collaboration between the Organic Centre Wales and several Welsh Universities. Here, the focus is on gauging people's sentiments around food and how it influences/is influenced by their lives, as they question; 'what does food mean to people?' (Powell, 2015: 1). Addressing the absolutist dogma of food being necessary as a fuel, they also invite the reader to think about food more laterally; as a fashion, a vehicle for cultural expression and celebration and as a religious and political ethos. The identity which is surrounded by what people eat, how they eat it, where and why, are reservations we

make about our food choices. For example, one value that exists within food is the way in which food is 'framed'. Framing 'food access' as a human rights issue, for example, is a powerful way of increasing the values which people attach to food, and the repetition of this is argued to further increase its value, and attract other values such as buying organic or shopping local (Powell, 2015: 6). This frame is then valued both intrinsically by the individual and results in wider socioeconomic benefits within the local region. Yet, the values which an individual places around food are bound-up within an overwhelming array of influences such as; family, choice, education, experience, religion, location and, especially for contemporary society, the impact of globalisation, individual purchasing power, advertising, and fear of social exclusion. This ideology serves to highlight Lang and Heasman's (2004: 197) argument that the global food industry spends hundreds of millions of dollars on food advertising annually, and that they have the ability to do so, usually at the detriment of local food cultures and values.

The loss of local intrinsic values associated with food has been argued by Sutton (2016: 14) as being one which has been facilitated through the rise of the supermarket, whereby we have been dumbed down to accept what the supermarket tells us we want. Food has moved from the centre to the periphery, as consumers we are now shopping less locally as more is spent within the multiples, a figure which has been estimated to be at around 75 per cent of national grocery shopping is spent within just five companies - Tesco, Sainsbury's, Asda, Morrison's and The Co-Operative (ibid: 142). Bell and Valentine note that the supermarket has become an incredibly important aspect of the urban landscape moving grocery shopping from the local to the out of town multiples (1997: 136). They argue that this has manifested a loss of the values that people would place on the origins of their food, as supermarkets thrive on

homogeneity across the board (increases efficiency) and offering consistency. This may have facilitated the loss of identity with food and the intrinsic values that people place on the locality of their food. This value has been stolen from communities and handed over to the supermarkets, as Fischler (1998: 275) testifies; 'food is central to our sense of identity', yet, do we all now share a homogenised food identity? According to Lang and Heasman (2004: 209) food shopping has become an identical experience the world over.

A Nation of Shopkeepers? Or a kingdom of 'Food Deserts'

Beaumont et al (1995) recommend that areas lacking access to healthy, nutritious food should be understood as a 'food desert'. Cummins and Macintyre further that the existence of food deserts in the UK is due to the advancement of the large multiple retail sector (2002: 438), and that a food desert is created through the supermarket being able to entice shoppers in through insurmountable dominance of the market. They are able to offer value for money commensurate with their economies of scale, creating a vacuum in locations where local producers and retailers once thrived. As a consequence of supermarkets being sited away from central areas, such as on new industrial retail parks or other 'out-of-town' facilities, also maintains a reduction in local economic based value of food, as the money spent in these shops is not returned to the local economy. The profit, inevitably, becomes part of the profit of large corporations, usually with head offices in distant cities (Blythman, 2005: 303). The prompt growth seen within the supermarket sector was invigorated through the sale of Greenfield sites located to nearby motorways and arterial-routes at a low price. These locations became convenient for the supermarket system that is driven by their central distribution networks coupled with the advance in post-war car ownership (Leather,

1996). Shops which remain in so called 'food deserts' are usually general convenience stores (Donkin et al, 2000: 31) which do not have the purchasing power of the large multiples. The effect of which is a higher price for the consumer, an issue previously raised by Pichaud and Webb (1996) cited in Dowler (1998: 62). Pichaud and Webb found that food from convenience shops, generally tends to be 24 per cent more expensive than when purchased from a supermarket. Placing a monetary figure on this, Robinson, Caraher and Lang (2000: 8) clarify that people lacking access to transportation routinely spend over £20 extra per week in their local corner shop. Consequently, this equates to the poor having to spend around 25 per cent of their income on food. This is a point that had been raised previously by Leather (1996: 43) declaring that the marginalisation of the poor is part-and-parcel of our food economy, which penalises people by charging higher prices for food when bought form local corner shops.

Supermarkets –Creating and Alleviating Food Poverty

As highlighted above by Donkin et al (2000), the advance of UK supermarket and the vacuum that they have created has enabled a recognition of both income based, and access based food poverty (Leather, 1997, Riches, 1997). Consolidating this into a quantifiable figure, Lang and Heasman emphasise the dominance of the supermarket sector and the impact that this has had on the 'values' we place on food. They argue that there has been a shrinkage in the number of retail outlets selling food, and that nearly fifty per cent of all food and drink purchases come from just 1,000 stores nationwide, and that just four large companies (2004: 281) control these. The pull for shoppers towards the supermarket, and away from the independent retailer is illustrated through the low price of the produce; however, these low prices come at a

cost. Cheap food, is, in effect not cheap at all, as the cost paid at the till is offset higher up the supply chain. The true cost of low cost food, argued by Tait (2015: 17) offsets costs associated with its production and transportation, welfare of the producers and livestock, the environment, and ultimately, the sustainability of the current food system. Reflecting the far-reaching negative values of low cost food, Tait (2015: 17) declares that the economic value of food is not reflected in the governmental approach to food security, as this government as with those previous, aim to keep food prices as low as possible instead of increasing people's purchasing power (income). In effect this furthers supply side economics, and will have long term implications with regards to combatting climate change, improving diet related illnesses, and reducing the poverty of people involved within the food industry (ibid: 17).

Values in food have been lost through multiple levels within the current food supply chain. For example, producers see the loss of food values, and the value of the food that they produce through the demands placed upon them by the large retailers (Young, 2004: 36). The demands placed upon producers by the supermarkets, go as far as to dictate the produce size, colour, shape, quality and quantity of fresh produce, or the fat content and marbling of meat (Stuart, 2009). These specifications are used by supermarket buyers to ensure that the chain can be as competitive as possible with its nearest rivals. Yet, in securing their own position within the competitive market, supermarkets (although clearly responsible for the creation of food waste during multiple steps within the capitalist food system) regard their waste levels as competitive information, which, if disclosed could have a detrimental effect on their retail position. Essentially, these demands, on occasions have been known to force producers out of business, as the supermarket dictates what and when they will purchase from the producer as powerful supermarkets have created a monopoly over

markets (ibid, 36). Tristram Stuart identifies throughout his book 'Waste' a number of farmers who have been told by supermarket buyers that their produce was 'out-graded' for the supermarket shelves and that this would have to go to animal feed, or be ploughed back into the ground (2009: 103).

Allied to the demands placed on producers, the monopoly controlled by supermarkets ensures that the retailer is able to further remove values within the food supply chain through the use of bullying tactics (ibid: 36). These strategies are ones that also actively enforce the offsetting of the value of food through offers such as 'Buy-One-Get-One-Free', whereby the cost (loss) is levied against the producer, not the store running the promotion. As mentioned above by Tait (2015: 17), on the face (or at the till) offers such as 'Buy-One-Get-One-Free' seems to be beneficial in alleviating poverty for the consumer, as they directly benefit from this lowered cost, however, the true value of the food has been lost to the producer. Unfortunately, this practice effectively creates poverty through fluctuations of the demand supply chain and the resultant food waste contributing to the loss of value, both through the economy, but also as an intrinsic value to the producer.

The Conventional Alternative

One argument that resonates within a resurgence of the intrinsic values once associated with food have typically become associated with 'movements'. Local food, organic, farmers' markets and veg box schemes have now become associated with the 'alternative' instead of the 'conventional' and are now seen as occupying the 'niche' when it comes to food values. In the main, the standard now is that the food that consumers purchase has been produced and retailed through long chains which have

a global reach (Lang and Heasman, 2004: 281). Pollan reveals (2006: 168) that there has been a reduction in the number of producers who supply supermarkets, partly through bullying, but also, because supermarkets demand efficiency (profit), and therefore, would rather deal with one supplier, who can supply a whole consignment of different produce, than to have to deal with many smaller individual producers.

As above has revealed, the supermarket, along with national governmental policies have allowed for the creation of food poverty as a structural entity; through the siting of stores, the supply-side policies encouraged by the government, and as the subtitle of Lang and Heasman's book hints as the 'The Global Battle for Hearts and Minds'. All these, and more, have worked to formulate a loss in the values that were once intrinsic within food when it was a local endeavour. Although notionally, tackling food poverty by providing low cost food products may appear to be appropriate, however, many academic/civil society voices reject this assertion. For example, Tait (2015: 8) identifies that the rise in the number of food banks is more indicative of the problems associated with the wider broken food system, and the additional pressure caused by the broken social security system.

Food Aid and Food Aid Providers

Tackling food poverty through providing people with free food is one way of approaching food poverty, yet, as described above, it neglects the values people associate with food, and the value of 'choice'. Food aid, as a method by which people can receive help with food availability, can be distilled into a number of areas and provider types, Figure 2 below draws attention to the array of food providers that can be accessed throughout the UK and exemplified in Wales. Although not all examples

above appear within this thesis, this section intends to provide an outline of some of these types of providers.
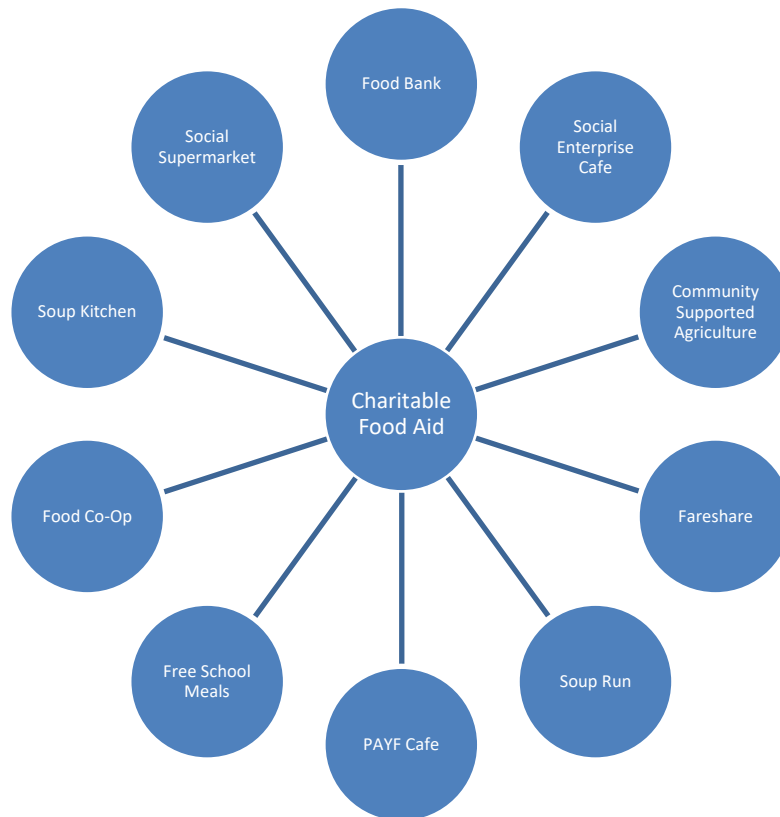
Figure 2 Food Aid Provider Types

There are some providers who give food away for free, whilst some charge a fee or have some other form of means testing. For example, the use of a pay as you feel café (PAYF) would be considered free food and no obligation for the service user to either pay or reciprocate the cost of the meal, or, pay if they would like to. Another form of providing food through socially acceptable means would be the social supermarket model. The social supermarket 'Community Shop' was set-up within deprived communities within Bradford and London and they operate with the intention of being able to provide food and non-essentials to people within a means-tested limit and, within a geographical boundary. There are some providers who depend upon donations in order to facilitate a service, such as a food bank would, and there are

some organisations whom make use of surplus food. Again, an example of this would be a social supermarket, Fareshare or a PAYF café, as they place emphasis on the redistribution of surplus food, effectively removing edible food from the waste stream, and redistributing this to people from the local community. This edible food can then be sold at a discounted rate to other organisations (i.e. food bank) via Fareshare or sold within the community through a social supermarket. The PAYF model, however, makes use of this intercepted 'waste' food by repackaging it into a different meal fit for human consumption and then given away at a 'Pay as You Feel' price. This redistributed food is to be consumed by a diverse range of people from a multitude of backgrounds with the hope that the most needy will also be involved[5]. Recent research by Caraher and Furey (2017) suggest, however, that the two variables of food waste and food poverty should be maintained as separate entities of social and environmental justice, and that one 'problem' should not be used to solve the other.

	Free food	Addressing Immediate Food Poverty	Addressing Long Term Food Poverty	Universally Accessible	Redistribution of Food Waste	Allowing People Choice	Signposting
Social Enterprise Café	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Food Bank	✓	✓					✓
Soup Kitchen	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓
Free School Meals	✓	✓					
Evening Soup Run	✓	✓			✓		✓

[5] Personal Communication (phone call) with the manager of the PAYF Café Bethesda, Dr Denise Barker. 2015. January 2015.

Growing Scheme	✓		✓	✓		✓	
Pay as You Feel café	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Fareshare					✓	✓	
Social Supermarket		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Food Co-Op			✓	✓		✓	

Figure 3 Forms of Food Providers

As highlighted above, figure three goes some way to address to interchange of food, poverty, access, choice, and supply. Some of the providers above focus on providing free food, whilst some focus on addressing either long-term or immediate food needs. Some, are able to provide a choice, whilst others are only able to function in such a way which allows no margin of choice for the service user. However, questions around universal accessibility, highlight that some form of decision making over the use of some of these services highlight that somewhere along the line, someone is making a decision over the deservedness of use. For example, free school meals are means tested and therefore not universally accessible. Likewise, the social supermarket model necessitates some form of benefits means testing, alongside postcode data. The food bank, as the main focus of this thesis also apply a form of means testing, as they too are not universally accessible, whereby the ability to use the food bank requires the passing of a gatekeeper such as a referral organisation.

What is a food bank?

As Townsend discovered (1979: 263), food can be seen as an indicator of poverty, as diets change according to economic positioning. Free food has also been part of how people are able to supplement low wages, and society has applied various methods to navigating food insecurity whether this is aimed at the individual (allotments and personal growing) or aimed at supplying food en-masse (soup kitchens). Even during times of economic difficulty for the country, such as during war time, food skills have been adapted to suit – such as with the Dig for Victory campaign which increased arable acreage by a half nationally up from twelve to eighteen million acres to the domestic market (Spencer, 2011: 314).

Food banks offer yet another detour from developing a coherent understanding of food insecurity. Relatively new within a UK context, the food bank has recently entered the nation's vocabulary, as Garthwaite (2016: 3) indicates that pre-2008 there were no food bank related UK newspaper articles, yet in the run-up to 2012 and since to date, the number of articles has dramatically increased. This is not the case for both Canada and the US as Jan Poppendieck describes how a series of interrelated events, creating a perfect storm resulted in the expansion of food banks across the USA. Explaining that emergency food outlets, although small, had been around since before 1980, however, following the recession of the early 1980s, the resultant unemployment and the decrease in job security, coupled with cut-backs in federal social spending the number of food banks, food pantries and soup kitchens brought about a "dramatic expansion of private charitable food programs" (1998: 2-3). The rise in food banks in the UK seems to be emulating the rise acknowledged by Poppendieck in the US. The same position has been recognised in Canada in the work of Graham Riches as he describes how food banks were brought into public discourse as early as the 1980s

(Riches 1997: 46, Riches and Tarasuk 2014: 45) with the establishment of the first Canadian food bank in 1981. The situation seen in Canada was also associated to economic recession of the early 1980s and the resultant Neoliberal agenda of deficit reduction, high interest rates and free-trade agreements consistent with trickle-down economics, all coming together creating a perfect storm of high unemployment, substantial underemployment and an insecure labour market (Ternowetsky and Riches, 1992: 9, quoted in Riches, 1997: 54).

Fast-forward almost 35 years and the UK, following a similar onslaught to the economic standing of the country during the recession of 2008 started to see the emergence of a similar type of free food initiative in the form of food banks as described above by Poppendieck and Riches. As the name suggests, fundamentally, a food bank acts similarly to any other type of 'bank' where deposits (donations of food) are made, and where withdrawals (taking food out) can be made (Poppendieck, 1998: 113). Food banks are run through the voluntary contributions (time and food) of members of the local public who have come together as part of an effort to help the vulnerable members of their local community and are usually operated as an outreach project from local churches and community centres. Designed to be an emergency intervention, food banks offer support through food whilst the service user waits for support from other services or the statutory authorities (Lambie-Mumford, 2013).

Who are the food banks?

In the UK, as with Canada and the USA there are a number of different forms of emergency food providers which have been involved in emergency food provisioning throughout most of the last century. A summary of some of these have been provided;

- Food bank (USA/Canada) – The first recorded food bank in the USA was the St Mary's Food bank Arizona in 1967 that acted as a warehouse for surplus/redistributed food (Poppendieck, 1998: 112-113). John Van Hengel was its founder. Receiving a federal (Community Services Association) grant in 1976 Van Hengel went on to launch America's first national food bank America's Second Harvest which has now become the larger organisation known as Feeding America (ibid: 124).

  Food banks in the US function as large warehouse style collection and distribution centres which operate as a hub and central distribution for a collective network of local (e.g. State) food pantries and soup kitchens (1998: 138).

  - A food pantry (USA) – Food pantries are one such distribution centre for the food bank and are part of a wider distribution network of food pantries linked to a central food bank (1998: 236).

- Food bank (UK) – Operated on a small scale, and may typically form part of an extra provision offered by a charity or church. Originally, provisions that were given out by charitable organisations were not known as a 'food bank', as they consisted of items of food held within an office cupboard that could be offered to people in crisis.

  The first recorded food bank in Wales was established in January 1998 in Newport. UK food banks are comparable to what is known in the USA as a 'food pantry' and can be split into two categories;

  - Trussell Trust Foodbanks – Originating in Salisbury in 2004, the Trussell Trust is a Christian organisation providing management to a national network of franchised Foodbanks. These are usually organised

through churches and community centres and operate within a defined region. Each Local Authority boundary within Wales, for example, has a Trussell Trust Foodbank. A Foodbank may also have associated Foodbank centres usually within the same Local Authority. The Trussell Trust Foodbanks will submit statistical records into a collective, allowing the Trussell Trust to be able to create a national picture of how many people use the Trussell Trust Foodbanks and gather information regarding the reason for Foodbank referral (Trussell Trust n.d.).

  o Independent food banks – work along equivalent lines as the Trussell Trust Foodbanks, yet they are not linked within the Trussell Trust network. They have varying rules of use, and may or may not collect any data. These too are often/mostly run through churches and community centres.

- Soup Kitchen – a place where food is usually consumed on-site, people form a queue for handouts of a free meal. Soup kitchens are thought of as holding a lower status of free food than a food pantry (Poppendieck, 1998: 243).

- Suspended Items idea – originating in Italy, the idea of a suspended item, or in line with its origins, a suspended coffee, 'Il caffè sospeso' saw that wealthy people in Naples would suspend a coffee for the poorer inhabitants of the city (Buscemi, 2015).

In the US Poppendieck (1997: 138) strengthens the argument for food distribution networks and tracks their significance to the growth of soup kitchens and food pantries recognising the need to coalesce into a network. This network is then served by a warehouse type food bank able to receive and distribute large amounts of donated

food. Contrary to the way food banks work in the UK, US food banks aim to 'rescue' perishable food from restaurant kitchens, food manufacturers and wholesalers. Although this is not currently the approach taken in the UK, research from Canada by Tarasuk and Eakin (2005: 183) suggest that this may be the final stage of embedding food banking as part of the social welfare response, offering them as a form of social welfare provision. They find that in Canada with surplus food being redistributed to food banks, suggests that food banks can very rapidly become an attachment to the social welfare system. Not only does it allow the government to say that the issue of food poverty is being eased through charitable donations, it also allows large food retailing corporations to look more responsible, both environmentally and socially.

The Referral Process

As with the food pantries of the USA, the UK approach to food banking involves a process of referral. Being referred to a food bank ensures that the food which is given out for free is given to people who are experiencing a crisis, and as findings from Lambie-Mumford et al (2014: 63) suggest, that when people ask for food aid it is normally as a measure of last resort by those experiencing the highest level of food insecurity. The Trussell Trust website states;

> "Foodbanks work with frontline professionals to identify people in need and issue them with a foodbank voucher… Trussell Trust foodbanks are designed to provide short-term, emergency support with food during a crisis. Their aim is to relieve the immediate pressure of the crisis by providing food, whilst also offering solutions to help identify and resolve the underlying causes of the crisis" (Trussell Trust, 2016).

This identification of people in need in order to issue people with a food voucher is used by Trussell Trust Foodbanks (and most independent food banks), to ensure they are only being used as part of a crisis intervention, and not, as former Minister of State for Welfare Reform under the Coalition Government (2010-2015) Lord Freud contended a supply-led demand. Lord Freud has argued that the current rise in the numbers of food banks is because more people are asking for the service, not because of a crisis, but because food banks give away free food. In a House of Lords debate he argued that "food from a food bank—the supply—is a free good, and by definition there is an almost infinite demand for a free good" (HL Deb 2nd July, 2013. c1071).

Although the food from a food bank is free, Purdam, Garratt and Esmail (2015:8) argue that there is a hidden cost in the social stigma and shame of having to use a food bank, and having to navigate the referral system. Navigating the referral system often means that an individual has to exhibit their poverty to a stranger as they explain why they are in such a crisis as to need help from a food bank. This social stigma follows one of embarrassment, shame and humiliation, which are exacerbated through an association with feeling socially excluded from being able to have a choice over food preferences and unable to engage in normal consumer activity, as food from the food bank is chosen for service the user by a volunteer (Tarasuk and Eakin, 2005: 184).

As one interviewee states in Poppendieck's research (1998: 234) the referral system that food banks employ looks to decipher those who 'need' to use a food bank from those who do not, therefore they refer on a needs basis. In Poppendieck's research, one of her participants' frames this as a question over "are you worthy?" to use a food bank? Chapter Six takes a deeper look at the position of assessing the "worthiness" of someone who is asking for a referral to a food bank as this inevitably furthers the discussion above over the deserving and the underserving poor. An argument for and

against assessing the 'worth' of people in need (or otherwise) forms a large part of the discussion.

Poppendieck (1998: 235) argues that the sheer willingness for people to occupy a soup kitchen queue, and bear the degradation and shame of this process reflects a level of worthiness assessment formed by the self, ensuring that the people who are in that queue are more than likely there because they are experiencing hunger. However, unlike food from a soup kitchen, food bank food is not consumed on-site, it is taken away to be consumed in the home, in a slightly more acceptable way. Therefore, any form of assessment, or as Poppendieck (1998: 237) calls "on-site screening" for food bank referral has been out-sourced to an organisation that is able to appropriately assess people's need. Poppendieck indicates that a certain level of assessment is required as providing free food – no questions asked – raises the question "will people who could afford to purchase food show up at a pantry for a food box…?" (1998: 236). Food pantries in the US usually require some form of assessment before they handout food, arguing that if the food pantry option is made too appealing on the basis of it being free food – no questions asked, then they could be inundated with people not necessarily experiencing a crisis (1998: 237). Additionally, this will also create a negative effect on those who donate to food banks, as food on a constant supply to anyone could not be maintained indefinitely.

In the main, UK food banks also operate via a referral and voucher process with the voucher holders being local front-line service providers from within the community. Front-line service providers are agencies such as; doctor's surgeries, midwives and community care organisations (Garthwaite, 2016: 43). They also include third sector housing authorities, careers offices and social care organisations such as Nacro, CAB and MIND. These agencies form part of a cohort of referral organisations linked to

their local food bank and are provided with a set of food bank referral vouchers. This system of referral means that the front-line agency takes on a gatekeeper role to the food requiring the agency to make a judgement decision over appropriate signposting of the client either to a food bank or towards other help.

This approach to food bank use is predicated on the fact that it should aim to help the service user by ensuring that the referring organisation is providing all the help which is at their disposal. This process also aims to ensure that the food banks are not becoming exhausted though continual and non-essential use. The concern is that referring organisations could be negating their ability to help people, or perhaps saving on the costs associated with helping people, by simply providing them with a food bank voucher to access free food. However, Lambie-Mumford (2013: 75-76) summarises that the voucher referral system is the most appropriate in terms of securing sustainability for the Trussell Trust Foodbank franchise prioritising their use as a crisis intervention[6].

Figure four below illustrates how the referral process should work. Following an identification of a crisis, an individual would visit an organisation to discuss the issue (for example the CAB). Here, the CAB would conduct an evaluation of the crisis and a decision would be made to refer to the food bank (if appropriate). This gives the individual access to three days' worth of emergency food, and should work to lessen any anxieties over being unable to buy food, in the hope that during these three days, the CAB has also helped the individual to overcome their crisis issue. From here, further signposting can be offered to the individual to ensure that the crisis can become fully resolved.

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[6] For all intents and purposes most independent food banks also apply a voucher referral system approach to accessing their food bank.
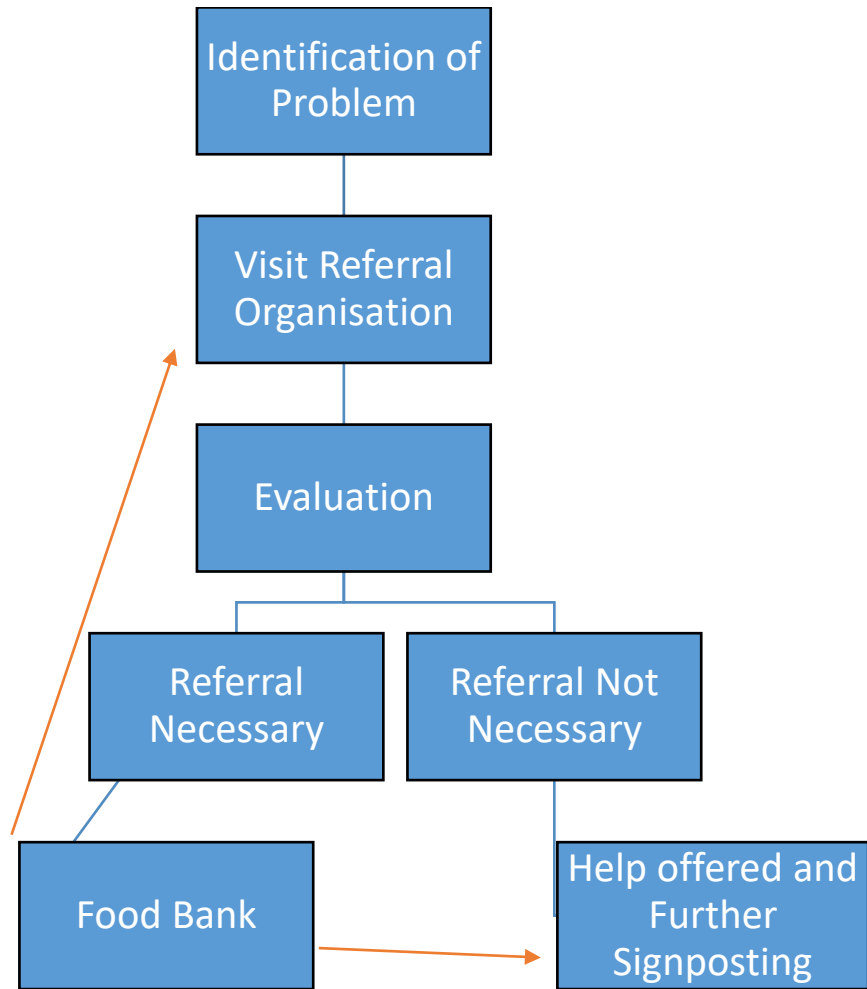
Figure 4 Food Bank use and referral system

The Big Society and the Shared Society

Throughout the history of social welfare provision in the UK there has been many

ways in which the government has tried to support the least well off in society. Usually

this has taken the form of social security and more recently means tested welfare

benefits, however, as this chapter has shown, social security and welfare have

undergone many changes under various governments. Where this applies to current

food poverty and food choices, the Welfare Reform Act (2012) has begun to have a

profound effect on the most vulnerable. Following election success in 2010, the

Conservative Liberal Democrat Coalition Government pledged to develop their vison of the 'Big Society' as a way to support the most vulnerable within local communities. This was in light of unprecedented spending cuts as part of their attack on national debt through imposing austerity measures also aiming to tackle the social ills of modern society (Levitas, 2012: 1). Following thirteen years of Labour Government, the new Conservative Liberal Democrat Coalition Government decided to undertake major reforms to the system of welfare, making the case to cut public spending throughout the next parliament (Shildrick et al, 2012: 214). What services would be provided could be either tendered out to private providers or, picked up by the 'Big Society' as a form of collective action operating within a 'post-bureaucratic society' (Smith, 2010:828-829). Smith further debates that the Big Society, as proclaimed by David Cameron, is a way of reforming public sector provisions through the increased use of the voluntary sector, and that this is not a totally new way of thinking for a Conservative Government. Distilling the virtues of the Big Society Levitas (2012: 9) argues that the ideal of which the Big Society proposes is just an extension of a self-serving hypocrisy derived from within Thatcherism and New Labour, whereby civil society provides the backbone for the needs of the community. Furthering this claim, Levitas also states that the very notion of the Big Society rests on providing localised help. Yet localism in this sense is deeply flawed, as the state should be the guarantor for the equal treatment of all its citizens. How can this happen if there is no state involvement (2012: 12)? Moreover, structurally, equality cannot be managed (as would be the case for the differences between both rural and urban poverty) as different localities have different abilities.

Politically, the Big Society draws on a traditional Conservative way of thinking of welfare, where needed, being provided by an 'organic civil society' of voluntary

organisations doing-good within their community, rather than the state as a provider. The Big Society required a refocus on the Thatcherite philosophy of the market, not society, being able to provide, with the aim now towards a collective action and a 'sense of duty', much of which is underpinned by a 'rational choice ontology' (Smith, 2010: 830). Again, the language used such as 'sense of duty' and 'rational choice' is rather characteristic of pre-Welfare State 'deservedness', as the Conservative Government of 2010 aimed to provide more emphasis on society as a provider and less involvement from the state (Williams, Goodwin and Cloke, 2014: 2800).

Recent research by the Independent Food Aid Network and the Trussell Trust (2017) have calculated that the combined number of volunteer hours currently being provided across food banks totals at least four million hours of unpaid voluntary work. The Independent Food Aid Network have calculated this figure to be representative of around £30 million per year in unpaid work tackling the rise of food poverty across the UK (IFAN, 2017).

Following the change of political leadership in 2016, and the start of Teresa May's Conservative Government, the ideology of the 'Big Society' remained, albeit by a different name. In January 2017 Teresa May, had introduced the new 'Shared Society' by stating that "[T]he Shared Society is one that doesn't just value our individual rights but focuses rather more on the responsibilities we have to one another" (Andrew Marr Show, 2017), reaffirming the same political and ideological position on small government – big society.

Food Poverty and Food Insecurity

As in the USA, Canada and across Europe the advancement of austerity measures has created a rise in people experiencing poverty, and thus facilitated the growth of food banks (Riches and Silvasti, 2014, Garthwaite et al, 2015, Loopstra, Reeves and Stuckler, 2015). Pre-welfare state, dealings with the hungry and the destitute would have been the job of the church through 'poor relief', however, with the advent of state provided help through social security, the notion of either indoor/outdoor poor relief was ended. As discussed above, food banks have been a part of the American and Canadian system of emergency food for a number of decades, yet, their recent appearance in the UK has been noted as a cause for concern by numerous academic voices (Lambie-Mumford and Dowler (2015), Loopstra et al (2015) and Garthwaite (2015) to name but a few). The recent rise in UK food banks has become a provision both facilitated and supported by churches and faith based organisations. Working within what is usually understood by them as being part of their ministry of faith, these organisations have taken a massive step-backwards, as Sutton proclaims; 'poor relief, it seems, is back in the hands of the church' (2016: 147), and in doing so, churches have unwittingly found themselves becoming facilitators in the furthering of Big Society principals.

Recent research by Taylor and Loopstra (2016: 4), analysing the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation data for 2014have found that since the start of austerity measures under the Coalition Government the number of people experiencing food poverty has reached an estimated 3.7 million people experienced moderate food insecurity in the UK. This, added to the 4.7 who were also identified as experiencing severe food insecurity, brings the total of people experiencing food insecure in the UK in 2014 to 8.4 million. Food poverty, as described by Dowler and O'Connor is; being

unable to maintain an adequate quantity and/or quality of food in sociably acceptable ways, or the uncertainty of being unable to do so (2011: 44), with some of the most deprived having to spend around one quarter of their income on food (Garthwaite et al, 2015: 38). Oxfam have found that the levels of food insecure people in the UK by 2013 had been at approximately 500,000, and that the demand for help from food banks was on the increase. Confirming similar findings the Office for National Statistics (2016: 2) finds that 16.8 per cent of the population were living in poverty during 2014, and that almost one third of the population between 2011 and 2014 had experienced poverty at least once.

Conclusion

This chapter has defined how social security has evolved over the last one hundred or so years. It has also followed this timeframe with a look at the changes made in the way society and government consider food and food policies. As a broadening of the literature presented in Chapter Two, this chapter has capitalised on the identification of the values which we associate with food, and how these have become transformed through investment in mass-retailing. This has created a homogenous association with food at the detriment of intrinsic values once associated with locally produced and retailed food. It has also been considered that the start of modern food poverty has been a feature of the development of so called 'cheap' food through supermarkets, and that it is not just as simple to think of food poverty as being indicative of changes made to social security of the UK. However, this chapter has drawn attention to the impact of social security changes especially so where this relates to the Welfare Reform Act (2012). In addition, this chapter has taken the changing landscape of welfare, combined this with the changing language of social security, and argued that there is

a need to understand the structure – agency debate within social policy and poverty, and its origins within the Majority and Minority Reports.

The following chapter will argue how the findings presented within part one of this thesis have been utilised to locate the current study in aiding the development and understanding of a crisis within modern welfare. This is done by detailing the methodological background to the research and the influence this had on the data collection approaches used in order to uncover a changing face of food poverty in Wales, and how this has been applied to various groups involved in alleviating food poverty.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods

"If there is starvation and hunger, then - no matter what the relative picture looks like - there clearly is poverty" (Sen, 1983: 159).

Introduction

This chapter seeks to argue the methodological approach applied to the production of this research thesis. The previous chapters have already examined how poverty research has a long tradition in the UK with the pioneering works of Booth (1889, 1891), Rowntree (1902, 1942, 1951), Townsend (1979), and the establishment of differing paradigms of an understanding of poverty within the developed context. This chapter will seek to bring clarity over the approach used in furthering this knowledge of UK poverty with reference to the experience of contemporary food poverty, and will argue the ontological stance, and the epistemological approach taken, and the methods used in obtaining this evidence. This research brings forth peoples' experience of poverty, food poverty, and food bank use. It also presents these experiences through the approaches employed to navigate food poverty, and the understanding of a changing landscape of food production, distribution and food poverty. Exploring peoples lived experiences of food poverty and employing a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach, this chapter presents both the methodological philosophies and the subsequent methods employed for answering the aims and objectives below.

Aims of the Research

The aim of the research is to examine the changing face of food poverty in Wales. In achieving this, the approach taken throughout this research aims to further the voices of the people involved with food bank use from Wales. This has been done by discussing the experience of food poverty and food bank use with those involved; food bank users, food bank volunteers and the referring organisations. The understanding of food bank use within a UK context is a relatively new area of study, and contemporary evidence is usually quantitative in focus examining the momentous rise of food banking and the growth of austerity driven welfare reforms (Garthwaite, 2016: 3). With this in mind, there is acknowledgement of a general scarcity of existing material examining this new horizon in sociological and social policy research, especially so for qualitative researchers (ibid: 159). Therefore, the research questions aim to ascertain:

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why does food poverty exist in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

The chapter is divided into two separate parts. Part One – Methodology is an examination of the development of Constructivist Grounded Theory as the methodological approach taken and applied to the development and understanding of food poverty as a sociological enquiry. Part Two – Methods is informed by the methodological approach and discusses which research methods were employed for this empirical study.

Part One: Methodology

Introduction

The research methodology deployed for this examination is aimed at developing greater understanding of the experience of food bank use, and has followed that of a qualitative research approach through the application of semi-structured interviews and a small number of biographical interviews. Part one of this chapter provides clarity on the methodological approach deployed, and how this methodology of qualitative research was influenced by the development of the research questions.

Epistemological background

Positivist research has its foundations in the values raised during the Enlightenment, offering the understandings of objectivity, reason, and progress in science (Charmaz, 2008: 400). Snape and Spencer (2003: 5) describe how the development of qualitative research should be seen largely as a part of the development of social research in its fullest sense. Early developments in qualitative methodology can be placed with Rene Descartes (1596-1650) and his focus on the importance of objectivity and evidence in support of the search for 'truth'. Truth, being in an analytical capacity through a distanced (objective) researcher, not having influence on findings (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 6). Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) further argued that there are ways of knowing about the world that are not purely observational, and that an understanding of how people interpret their world (interpretivism) should also be considered. Kant argues that the perceptions which people hold, and how they are developed, is an important consideration as it recognises an awareness of both 'knowing' and 'knowledge' which transcends plain empirical enquiry. Kant observes that acknowledging interpretivism

allows a distinction to be made between 'scientific' reason and 'practical' reason. The former is focussed on determinism, and the latter being inferred from moral-freedom and thus contains less certainty (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 7) as different people may act in different ways given any situation.

Auguste Comte (1798-1857) furthered the improvement of qualitative research understanding by asserting that there are invariant laws which exist in the social world as there are in the natural world and that these could also be studied (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 6). This is the basis of and the development towards the understanding of a paradigm shift in research recognising the existence and validity of an anti-positivist approach. Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) however, had previously argued in favour of recognising the importance of interpretivism within social research and furthered an awareness of the German 'verstehen' (understanding) and allowing for the understanding of 'lived experience' of the research participants to play a role in how we understand social life. Within social science research, as within scientific research in general, positivism previously was held to be the dominant epistemological paradigm between the 1930's and the 1960's, maintaining the core argument that the external world exists externally to that of the researcher (Gray, 2018: 22), as was such in the study of natural science. However, taking this interpretive stance, Dilthey argued that social research should explore the lived experiences of people's lives examining the connections that bind social, cultural and historical elements (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 7).

Early Sociological Approaches

Early sociological research, such as that conducted by Charles Booth (1889) and Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1902) during the turn of the last century, illustrated the

use of both survey and field research on the lives and lived experiences of poor people (Neuman, 2014: 434). Moreover, the use of inductive data gathering methods allowed the researchers to be able to illustrate their encounters with people within their natural setting (ibid). Following this early groundwork and the fostering of this as a practical approach to sociological research, the substantial development of qualitative research observed through the 1920s and 1930s saw qualitative social research becoming more established as an academic approach to learning (ibid).

Thomas Kuhn's work The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962) highlighted that there are two broad research paradigms which are applied to scientific knowledge; those which sit within a quantitative paradigm, and those which sit within a qualitative paradigm (Jupp, 2006: 212). Scientific knowledge, typically that which is to be found within the quantitative paradigm, are underpinned by a distinct epistemological and ontological character, predictably that of positivism. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is underpinned by a different epistemology and ontological foundation, particularly those that begin from an anti-positivist approach, as it is concerned with more subjective issues of understanding social society (Jupp, 2006: 213).

This type of qualitative research was exemplified through the prominent work of the Chicago School of Sociology, expanding the study of subjective issues, and the understanding of society through life history research. This fostered the development of techniques such as symbolic interactionism and participant observation as an approach to understanding meaning through interpretive interaction (Neuman, 2014: 435). Chicago School social anthropologists were encouraged to study the life history of the people of Chicago through direct observation and informal interviews (Neuman, 2014: 434), allowing them to directly record the experiences of the study group as

observations (Jupp, 2006: 214) adding to the development of sociological understanding.

Glaser and Strauss: Grounded Theory

It was at this same time that the shift in sociological research ushered in a radical turn from all-inclusive grand theory imposition in favour of the development of new theories and new approaches to theory development. As a postgraduate student within The Chicago School (1939-1945) Anselm Strauss studied under prominent Chicago Sociologist Herbert Blumer, and it is this direct link to the early works in symbolic interactionism that have encouraged the advance of Grounded Theory by Strauss and his collaborator Barney Glaser. In 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1999), the authors assert that theory can be discovered from within the data, that in fact, they are grounded within it. They argue that in sociology, theory becomes a tool for handling data and can be used for describing and explaining data, and that the categories developed should be readily applicable and effectively relate to the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1999: 3). Through Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss (1999: 4) propose that research should not have a "tacked-on explanation" or a logically deduced grand theory applied to it, thus avoiding a potentially "dubious fit". Instead, they prescribe that the data should be allowed to drive the theoretical development, allowing the researcher to be able to interpret the findings, and that the grounded theorist should be involved within the data collection with an interest in 'meanings and perceptions' (Oliver, Serovich and Mason, 2005: 1273). Within a Grounded Theory study, concepts are derived from within the data, and systematically arrived from the data during the research process (Glaser and Strauss, 1697: 6). This is done via an inductive process exploring the rich data through for example interview

transcripts (Glaser and Strauss, 1999: 5), as opposed to the natural sciences traditional positivist approach.

This research project follows a qualitative approach that has used Grounded Theory analytical process to analyse the qualitative data that has been gathered. However, in the use of Grounded Theory generally, Glaser and Strauss (1999: 5) identified a number of Grounded Theory canons or principles to be followed, relevant to the application of Grounded Theory to research. Scientifically, these canons offer Grounded Theory validity in the sense that it makes its processes explicit (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 4) and offers a research project rigour (ibid, 1990: 6). These canons see that there should be a simultaneous data collection and analysis, which should allow for the construction of analytical codes and categories arising from the data (and not informed by grand theories). During this process, the researcher should also be involved with further constant comparison between interview transcripts during the analysis, as this, in its self, forms an important part of the analysis. For Grounded Theory analysis, participating within this process allows for the advancement of theory development, which can be understood as being grounded within data, to emerge during the analysis of data collected. Further to this, a Grounded Theory analysis also involves memo writing as a way of conceptualising thoughts and allowing the researcher to elaborate and think about interview findings such as; emergent relationships between categories, the identification of any gaps and, discuss any relationships as they appear. Importantly, these thoughts are identified through the reading and constant comparison of other interview transcripts which have been conducted within the Grounded Theory study (Charmaz, 2014: 7-8). Within this research, the use of memos served as a way of conceptualising the emergent data, as

they were written, read and analysed throughout the interview process maintaining the approach prescribed by Glaser and Strauss[7].

Glaser and Strauss (1999) originally argued that to avoid contamination of original thought (received theory), the researcher should delay reviewing any literature associated with the research area until after the analysis of data has been completed (Charmaz, 2014: 306). Mills, Bonner and Francis (2006: 29) caution that a Grounded Theory study, such as advocated by Glaser and Strauss, consider that reviewing existing literature should be avoided for fear of contamination of the data. David and Sutton (2011: 202) describe this as being naïve in the face of scientific research. Therefore, as this research has been working within a very new area of socio-political concern, that is the rise of food banks throughout Wales, the literature review was conducted and identified as being an integral element situating the understanding of the changing face of food poverty. Considering this, the use of Grounded Theory has been dedicated to the analysis of the data only, and not afforded to the whole study. Charmaz (2014: 306) also argues that ignoring the literature review completely is both unlikely and unattainable, as most people approaching a research project will have an active interest within the subject. Further to this and discussing the role of the literature review in Grounded Theory, Bryman (2008: 550) recognises that, even with this acknowledgment towards these doubts of the validity in the approach to research, that Grounded Theory represents possibly the most influential general strategy for accomplishing a qualitative data investigation.

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[7] See Appendix 1 for examples of memos which have formed part of the interview process conducted for this research.

Charmaz: Constructivist Grounded Theory

Containing a relativist ontology and a subjectivist epistemology, Constructivist Grounded Theory seeks to reshape the relationship between the researcher and the participant and the emerging data. Kathy Charmaz (2014: 12) advanced the Constructivist variant of Grounded Theory that sought to utilise the methodical approach designed by Glaser and Strauss in 1967, but to also highlight the potential flexibility of the traditional methodology by recognising further the relativist understanding of how people construct reality. Constructivist Grounded Theory is consistent with traditional Grounded Theory in that it requires the researcher to be inductivist in their approach allowing the data to generate and reveal theory, as opposed to forcing a predetermined theory onto the data (ibid: 17). Charmaz indicates that Constructivist Grounded Theory requires the researcher to view research as constructed rather than being discovered. This ensures that the researcher has to acknowledge their position, actions and decisions, fostering a greater responsibility on reflexivity, and removes the notion of being a "neutral observer and value-free expert" (ibid: 13). This provides a deeper level of analysis to the data as the researcher must also examine how their own position and preconceptions could have a possible impact on the research, analysis and subsequent findings (ibid: 13). The Constructivist approach to Grounded Theory therefore requires the acceptance of a position of mutuality between the participant and the researcher within the research process, a position invalidated by traditional Grounded Theorists, who opted for the more established role of objective observer (Mills, Bonner and Francis, 2006a: 8).

This goes some way to answering the criticism levied against traditional Grounded Theory by the likes of Robson (2002), Bryman (2008), David and Sutton (2002), in contention with Glaser and Strauss' canon (1967) of leaving the literature review until

the analysis has been completed. They believe this was the best way to avoid working within a 'received theory' (Charmaz, 2014: 306). However, as Charmaz, and the Constructivist Grounded Theory argue, it is difficult, if not impossible, to approach any serious research project with having no prior knowledge, and that, in fact, having a literature review is under the Constructivist Grounded Theory dictum seen as being required, as it avoids reinventing the theoretical wheel (2014: 308). Charmaz recognises that researchers will already hold a typical view and possibly even have a developed knowledge within their field of work (ibid: 306).

As proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1999: 1) the discovery of 'theory from data' is the main principle within Grounded Theory that requires an inductivist approach aimed at generating conceptual codes. Charmaz (2008: 401) adds to this assertion that Grounded Theory strategies become the vehicle for creating and interrogating our data, in essence, a method for making sense out of the data we have collected. In making sense out of the data, Charmaz advocates that taking an objective approach assumes a single reality exists from within the data, which attends to the passive neutral observer with an objectivist ontology (ibid: 401). Charmaz (2014) however offers an approach to Grounded Theory that focusses on more of a Constructivist ontology, whereby the construction of theory is not imposed by the authoritative researcher, but is coconstructed through understanding of the social realities of the multiple actors involved within the research process.

Biographical methods and the Conceptual Framework

For the qualitative interviews, biographical interviewing was chosen as the most appropriate methodological approach for this research, as it allowed for focus to be

given to those who have been subjected to the first-hand experience of food bank use through their experience of food poverty, as illustrated above. Biographical interviewing provides a sound methodological approach whereby the expert knowledge associated with the involvement of food poverty, seen through the lens of both those providing, and those using the service, becomes derived from the voices of such participants, and thus contributed to the understanding of the participants being represented as the expert.

Approaching the development of an understanding of food bank use in Wales, the conceptual framework is informed by a social constructionist perspective, one which approaches the understanding of the social world as an ongoing and evolving reality of its social actors, and not external to them, as objectivism would posit (Bryman, 2008: 20). The social world is thus a creation of socially constructed products generated through social interaction. This also includes an understanding (and recognition) of the researcher's position, privileges and perspectives (Charmaz 2014: 13) and thus requires the researcher to apply a reflexive approach to knowledge construction.

Ethics and Recruitment

Understanding the necessity of having ethical consideration involved within a qualitative study of people's lives is all too common within the social sciences. Bryman (2008: 118) discusses the work of Diener and Crandall (1978) who advocate that the consensus over ethical consideration should factor – potential harm to participants, lack of informed consent, potential for the invasion of privacy and, if there is any deception involved. Before the empirical research for this study began, I applied for, and secured ethical approval from the School of Social Sciences Ethics

Board[8]. Addressing the potential impact of the proposed study, the ethical approval process aims to attend to potential areas that could see participants involved in the research come to some form of harm due to their participation.

In acknowledging the potential for the participant to be harmed by this study, Bryman (2008: 118) has illustrated that harm can be evident in many ways. It could be physical, mental or emotional harm, or harm which results in a loss of self-esteem for the participant. It was important to ensure that both food bank service users and food bank service delivery participants were not harmed from participating within any stage of this research, for each group needed to be protected and given anonymity. For the service users, their intrinsic stories that they have told are segments of their lives that relate to their positioning in society, and how they have descended into food poverty. Their privacy and dignity has been accounted for throughout the thesis by following the protocols set by the university, namely that all participants were under no obligation to participate in the research, and those who did contribute have been provided with a pseudonym. For the service providers, they are usually people who occupy a position in civil society that places demands upon them to deliver governmental directions that produce unequivocal control over food bank service users, or, as noted earlier, referred to as Lipsky's Street Level bureaucrats' (1980). In some cases, the service providers were very much seen as being helpful organisations, running to respond to issues of desperation and linked to a particular service user group such as; the CAB or a drugs and alcohol support charity. However, a few organisations were unequivocal in their organisations approach to dealing with issues that are thought to cause poverty, typically addressed as either 'structural' or 'agency' driven causes. They also needed to have their anonymity protected, as they discussed their

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[8] See Appendix 2 for ethical approval forms

thoughts over their organisational links to food poverty and the development of the emergency food aid system. In many cases, this can be directly linked to their organisations' approach, and new ways of working with social welfare following the changes brought about by the Welfare Reform Act 2012.

Addressing issues of informed consent, again, both service users and service providers were issued with letters[9] outlining the intentions of the research and explaining how their right to privacy and anonymity would be protected at all times. This provided the participants with enough information as to allow them to come to their own decision whether they wished to participate in the research or not. The ethical considerations that are required of a qualitative research project also extend to cover the issue of privacy. To ensure that this was maintained, the information and recruitment letter issued to each potential participant informed him or her that they did not have to answer any questions that they felt uncomfortable with, and that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time, without giving a reason. The recording of interviews was done through an MP3 recording device and subsequently uploaded to a secure password protected file on the M-Drive of the University computer. All participants were provided with a document that detailed the reason for their participation, and a consent form for the interview to be recorded[10].

As this research is exploring the lived experience through the changing face of food poverty in Wales, a subject that can evoke strong feelings over food poverty as an experience of deprivation, embarrassment and stigma, those who participated within the research have been given pseudonyms. Sime (2008: 65) highlights concerns that within the context of empirical poverty research, the research process may actually

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[9] Recruitment Letter and information packs: Appendix 3 And Appendix 4
[10] See also: Appendix 3 And Appendix 4

contribute to a disempowering of the participant. Lister (2004: 168), on the other hand advocates that involvement from within this group may actually empower people through participation, as the voices usually silenced by poverty are given a platform as an 'insider expert'.

Recruitment and Sampling

Addressing the research questions, highlighted within the specific aim of this research project, this thesis has followed both a convenience sampling approach, applied to service user interviews, and a purposive sampling approach, applied to interviews with service providers. Convenience sampling was considered the most appropriate means towards attaining a suitable sample size within the community of food bank service users. This is because they are *recipients* of food aid and their only association with food bank use is dependent upon *need,* and as such are there to use the service that is provided, and therefore not part of the food bank through any official capacity such as employment. Added to this, as has been explored earlier, food bank use is associated with feelings of embarrassment, stigma and stress as the added pressure which poverty exerts upon the lives of people perhaps can increase the chaotic nature of deprivation.

This research saw a total sample size of seventy-two (N = 72) participants which has been divided into two main categories; Food Bank Service Users (n = 27), and emergency food aid provider (n = 45). The service provider category has been divided further; food aid provider thematic interviews (n = 7) [including n = 4 case study interviews], three food bank volunteer focus groups (n = 19), and referral organisation thematic interviews (n = 19). The service user category, similarly has also been divided along type of interview; biographical interview (n = 2) and a biography focused semi-structured interview (n = 25).

Service Users (n = 27)

This research had initially set out to discuss food bank use with service users through employing a biographical interview approach, whereby the respondent would be encouraged to detail their life history at length and off-the-cuff, and the events which are of significance. Attention would then be applied to their application of how the details of their life have interacted with, and relate to their poverty, and food bank use, the deviations of which they detail and find pertinent to the story of their life becomes highlighted as their biography. However, recruitment for this method yielded low responses in part due to the impersonal approach of the recruitment procedure applied. The recruitment procedure involved placing a recruitment pack in a food bank parcel that would then be taken home by the recipient. On opening the food parcel at home, the recipient would discover the recruitment pack and therefore be able to make an informed decision whether they would like to participate within the study or not. This recruitment method was too demanding upon the respondent as it placed them in the position whereby they had to initiate contact with me. For the two (n = 2) interviews where this did happen, the next stage was to organise a suitable time and convenient place to meet and conduct the interview. Again, this also raised a constraint over the abilities of certain groups of people to be able to fully participate within this, as it required a fairly high attention to structure which may also have been seen as creating a barrier to participation. As mentioned within earlier chapters, people experiencing food poverty and food bank use may also be experiencing what is understood to be 'chaotic lives', and therefore it becomes difficult to negotiate structured research needs within the confines of a less-structured and perhaps chaotic daily life (Bryman, 2008: 458).

To facilitate more confidence in the recruitment of service users, the recruitment process evolved to compliment the circumstances of the target group. The recruitment process now involved maintaining an active presence within food banks and conducting the recruitment through a gatekeeper. This gatekeeper was a volunteer member of the food bank staff who, after handing over the food bank parcel to the service user, and thus fulfilling their immediate need, would ask them if they would like to participate in a research project about food poverty and the use of the food bank. This approach still maintained informed consent, as the service user was under no perceived reciprocal obligation to participate. Applying this as the preferred recruitment method also increased the number of participants to twenty-five (n = 25) making a total of twenty-seven (N= 27). As the service user research interviews were now to be conducted within the food banks it was impossible to know how many service users would be in attendance during each session, therefore, service user recruitment didn't aim to emulate food bank user representativeness and is affirmed as convenience sampling. However, early identification of the representativeness of food banks users, for which this research project interacted with, distinguished the gendered identities of participants; male (n=17) and female (n=10).

Bryman offers a justification of convenience sampling, especially within hard to reach groups, as the depth of analysis that can be generated from these discussions may outweigh the lack of representativeness (2008: 458). The sample size was drawn from an intensive period of recruitment and interviews within food banks across Wales, and that the only criteria for inclusion in the research was that they were food bank users, and that they had called into use the food bank that day. All service user interviews; biographical interviews (n=2) and focused biographical semi-structured interviews

(n=25) were conducted in Welsh food banks, both Trussell Trust and independent over a period of twelve months, between September 2014 and September 2015.

Food Aid Providers (n = 45)

The research was not limited to discussions with food bank service users, but also aimed to develop a fuller picture of the role food banks play in society today. In attaining this, food bank volunteers and coordinators were also interviewed, as were representatives from the referring organisations associated with food banks. Approaching these participants was somewhat easier than developing the sample size needed for food bank users, as they operate within a more structured role and, on occasions are in paid positions and are directly contactable through this employed position.

Attending to the emergency food aid delivery sample size was determined through a purposive sampling strategy, whereby the sample size was determined and reached based upon a more strategic approach than was seen with the service user sample. Bryman illustrates that purposive sampling aims to develop a reliable correspondence among the research questions and the sampling, and that the researcher endeavours to interview people who have direct relevance to their research questions (2008: 459). For Jupp (2006: 245) this method is more suited to a research study that seeks to identify the most appropriate research participants who are likely to be able to provide data that is detailed and relevant to the research questions.

Recruitment of focus group participants consisted of email correspondence with the food bank coordinator or email correspondence with line managers. Kitzinger clarifies that any number between four and eight participants would be an ideal size for a focus

group (1995: 301), however, other qualitative researchers have argued that the ideal focus group size should be larger than this; Liamputtong (2011: 42) places the ideal size to be between six and ten participants. Sarantakos explains that for the focus group situation to work best, participant numbers need to be large enough to provide adequate discussion, yet not so large as to make discussion and interaction difficult (2013: 208). Sarantakos warns that the ideal group should be between five and ten participants but acknowledges that significant deviations from this are the norm. In agreement with Liamputtong (2011), Macnaghten and Jacobs (1997) contends that the ideal size for a focus group should be between six and ten; similarly, for Warr (2005), the upper number of between four and nine seems to be preferable. One caveat to these figures, as expressed by Bryman (2008: 479), and made quite clear by the differences discussed by various practitioners, is that these numbers should be fluid, especially given the nature of the research area. For example, when discussing a topic which the participants are likely to be vocal, due to having a vested interest in the subject (such as a focus group formed as part of a pre-existing group, as seen in this research, whereby all the volunteers know, and work with each other), then a lower number could be just as rewarding as having a higher participant rate where emphasis can be directed towards the quality of discussion, not quantity of participants. For this research, numbers of participants within focus groups also attracted similar amounts to those argued above. Having this number of participants means that there needs to be enough time to allow for a conducive discussion between all participants and that every participant should have the power to speak. The food bank volunteer focus groups were between four and seven participants and lasted between one hour and forty minutes and two hours and twenty minutes.

Using purposive sampling, case study interviews [n = 4] were recruited as a reflection of different types of food aid providers from across Wales. Yin (2003), cited in Bryman (2008: 56), argues that in elucidating the unique features of the cases, case study research intends to emulate the 'representative case', as they seek to display representativeness of the conditions of the case under investigation. Bryman (2008: 54) continues; that this is done as the case exemplifies the broader category of which it is a member. For the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank this was chosen as an exemplary case of the ways in which the Trussell Trust Network of Foodbank across Wales work, and, that this is operated within an urban environment. Following from here, representation of an independent food bank which operates within a rural setting led to the selection of the Pantri Pobl in rural North wales. Te a Cofi was chosen as an alternative to food banks, as a local provider which challenges the normal provisions of a food bank, and operates more of a social enterprise and community development facility, however, within a more urbanised area of North Wales. All three cases also share in the high levels of multiple deprivation that exist, acknowledged through the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014.

The Geospatial Visual Representation of Food Bank Locations

This research also has the intention of elucidating the experience of food bank use, and placing this within the context of a changing landscape of social welfare within Wales. As noted above, understanding the 'experience' of food bank use, as told by the service users and service providers followed; a biographical and focussed semi-structured approach to interviews with service users, and a thematic semi-structured interview approach with service providers. However, to develop a fuller understanding of food poverty as a changing 'experience' and how the food banks fit within this, the

geospatial mapping of every food bank in Wales was also conducted. As a new method in exploring data driven theory, the use of cartographic skills and visual representation, such as through GIS software (Geographical Information Systems), has begun to find its place within other academic disciplines, both similar and slightly removed from the traditional geography and natural science base (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011). Described as a 'spatial turn', the role of visual representations of data may help to bridge the gap between quantitative and qualitative research methods and data, by allowing social scientists to be able to add a new dimension to their research. This 'spatial turn' has been further described by Kitchin, Gleeson and Dodge (2012: 494) as a rethink in the ontological foundations used within cartography to represent 'processual' awareness of the role of maps within public discourse, and away from being purely 'representational'.

Although the use of GIS holds a strong relationship within the ability to present visual representations of quantitative data, and how to then project this into a visual landscape of a map, there is a growing importance of providing visual representation of qualitative data for academics working within humanities subjects. Margolis and Pauwels (2011: 457) argue that this may be for no other benefit than just a simple display of research findings and maps of reference. However, being able to apply the use of geographically significant data to research that is inherently geographical in its construction allows for a deeper understanding of the social world in which we live. This ensures that socio-spatial research should also be considering the spatial differences intrinsic to where we live, and that to understand questions of socio-political importance, we should also be asking questions of socio-geographical importance too (Margolis and Pauwels, 2011: 457-458).

Grounded Visualisation, a term coined by Knigge and Cope (2006: 2024), addresses the need for visual data projection through GIS to have a more significant role, not just in the exploration of Grounded Theory driven data, but, also more generally within the social sciences. Knigge and Cope (2006: 2025) further argue that Grounded Theory researchers are inherently concerned with people's embodied stories, which in turn, are influenced by associations with their history and geographical background, providing Grounded Theory analysis as a useful tool for 'incorporating both human agency and social structures'. Taking this issue further, Knigge and Cope (2006: 2024) identify that socio-spatial Grounded Theory interacts with the understanding that knowledge lies within the socio-spatial sphere, and as such, aims to draw upon local knowledge of the area studied for the emergence of geospatial data which maybe not immediately visible to the researcher.

Qualitative interviews may produce very rich, detailed data however; they also produce quantities of interview transcripts that require refining and separating the familiar axiom of the 'wheat from the chaff'. It is this process of coding, as a method of evaluation and organisation of data that allows the researcher to identify categories and understand meanings derived from the text. Therefore, coding becomes a method of both data reduction and data analysis through the identification of emerging patterns. Knigge and Cope (2006: 2025) validate that this is a process consistent with research within cartography and GIS as both will involve the synthesis of rich data and identifying the emergent issues and patterns. It is this synthesising of rich data that Corbin and Strauss (1998: 32) gives value to the use of Grounded Theory, as it becomes an ally to analysis, not just for the qualitative researcher, but one which can be equally applied to the quantitative research too.

Reflexivity and Positioning

Charmaz (2014: 31) recognises that the researcher may already have a developed knowledge of the subject that they are studying, therefore reflexivity and positioning is given more value throughout the research process. For this research, I have recognised my own position as knowledgeable within the field of food bank use within Wales, given my previous postgraduate MA study on the subject; therefore, it is important to acknowledge that this awareness of the subject could not be ignored. However, given that this research has been conducted to understand the experience of food poverty from the service user and service provider perspective, it was important to be able to confer the representation of 'expert' onto the interviewee, and for them to recognise me as a sensitive listener, and not the expert. Ultimately, they are the expert within their association of food poverty. This point is also validated by Lister (2004: 126) who finds that when researching poverty, a question over how far people are able to be the authors of their own biography should be considered. Therefore, the approach to each interview was to allow the interviewees to be able to express themselves completely and not to present any leading questions. Interview notes were made for areas that I felt I would like to discuss further with the participant for clarity and further interpretation if needed.

Highlighting the approach of a sensitive and responsive listener within the interview situation, Charmaz (2014: 30) argues that the approach to building trust and encouraging research participants' helps to build reciprocity within the interview. This is particularly important for this research, as food bank users have previously been discussed as being a hard to reach group of individuals. This is associated typically with the embarrassment and the social stigma that surrounds food poverty, therefore a

cautious approach to the research and the interview questions and, consequentially the positioning of myself as a researcher was essential.

Conclusion

Part one of this chapter has explored the methodological ways in which this thesis has been constructed, but more importantly, has also addressed why this approach was taken. Taking its epistemological position from the foundation of qualitative research within the Enlightenment Period, this research thesis has methodologically approached the understanding of food poverty from a grounded theory stance, in that it has used an experiential position on food poverty which has been found grounded within the data from participants.

Employing a conceptual framework, informed by a social Constructivist perspective, the biographical approach employed within this research thesis made use of a Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis, as a way of engaging within a co-construction of knowledge, and recognising that the knowledge experience of food poverty lies with those who have a direct association with it. Utilizing food poverty experts, such as the service users and the service providers, this co-construction of knowledge has also involved the geospatial visualisation of the food poverty landscape in Wales, as a method for operationalising the growth of food poverty, and emergency food aid providers as a response.

In section two of this chapter detail is provided as to how this methodology was utilised with the various groups involved in the research. Part two will explain the methods applied and the operationalisation of those methods in their approach to explaining the changing face of food poverty in Wales.

Part Two: Methods

This thesis has furthered the understanding of food poverty and food bank use by exploring the experiences that surround their recent growth across Wales. The research however would also be applicable to other parts of the UK and could contribute towards the development of a national picture of food poverty and food bank use. By taking the epistemological background and the methodology explained previously, this section of the chapter will explain the data collection methods and how they were applied to the research and data analysis.

The Development of the Research Questions

As outlined above, this research project has been part of my previous academic interest, and one in which I had already developed a specialised knowledge during a masters' research dissertation. Therefore, the development of research questions that could be applied to this study could not ignore what knowledge had previously been acquired. Returning to the postgraduate dissertation, and the more recent published literature (for example; Lambie-Mumford (2014), Riches and Tarasuk (2014) and May (2014)), the intention was to further develop these findings and to provide a more holistic interpretation of food poverty and emergent food bank use, and to provide this within a Welsh socio-political and socio-geographical framework.

When designing the questions to be used in qualitative research interviews Charmaz (2014: 62) recommends the use of a flexible interview guide as a tool to be used to obtain data, but also flexible enough that it can be revised. Having a detailed interview guide is useful to the novice researcher as it can aid the fulfilment of the research objectives, but also to learn how to ask questions, as asking the wrong questions, or even asking questions in the wrong way can invalidate a qualitative research study. As

this research has been conducted within a qualitative epistemology, all interviews were conducted with an interview guide that was revised over the course of data collection. Charmaz (2014: 111) furthers that the collection of first-hand data in an interview setting also allows for the collection of non-verbal data such as the participants physical behaviour within the interview setting. Being immersed in a face-to-face interview allows the researcher to develop analytical ideas about not just what is being said within an interview, but *how* it is said, as this can create context behind the significance of the interview (Robson, 2002: 273).

The Pilot Interview

Wengraf signifies that an interview is a form of conversation and should be considered a coconstruction of knowledge between the participants (2001: 25). The recruitment of potential interview participants who are currently users of food banks had already been understood to be a difficult to reach group, and the nature of the lifestyles for the more frequent users was, in line with Schnirer and Stack-Cutler (2012:19) understood to be in some instances quite 'chaotic'. Drawing on previous research and the familiarity of contacts made with one local food bank, I was able to re-approach this same food bank and use this as a suitable location to pilot the service user interviews. In line with early concerns over a potential for there to be a low service user sample size, the pilot interview with Michael has also been included in the final data.

Wengraf (2001: 187) furthers the importance of the pilot interview, arguing that they allow for the improvement of interview design and afford a level of 'practice' for the interviewer. Acknowledging this, the pilot interview that was conducted for this research served as a way to reflect on the ordering of the questions, and to test the reliability and answerability of the questions through the interview guide. Following

the pilot interview, some changes were made to the interview schedule, such as a slight reordering of questions; I had also identified the need to provide a small biography of myself, as a way of introduction to the service user, and an outline of the research.

The use of an interview guide was important in allowing the participant to be able to discuss the subject of food poverty, as it pertained to the research questions and aim of this thesis. The topic guide was also used to manage and steer interviews if the conversation became less focussed than expected. A further benefit of having a topic guide was that it served as an aide-memoire for me as a researcher where focus could be supplied by prompts (Bryman, 2008: 695).

Food Bank Service Users: Approaches to Interviews

The Dramaturgical Model of interviewing developed by Erving Goffman is a way of analysing the face-to-face interactions, and the social situation in which they can be interpreted (Myers and Newman, 2007: 11). In discussing this dramaturgical approach, the need for the researcher to assess his or her own situational approach to the interview i.e. in a reflexive manner is one that is emphasised by Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday life* (1959). Portraying the approach to an interview setting, or as Goffman describes in his analogy, the 'performance' of the interview, the understanding of 'Front and Back Stage' are embedded within the narrative of the performance of the interview (1959: 32). "First, there is the 'setting', involving furniture, décor, physical layout, and other background items which supply the scenery and stage" for the interview performance (1959: 32), and for which Goffman argues should be considered before the interview. To this could also be added other performance related roles integral to the staging of the interview. For example, Myers

and Newman (2007) take Goffman's discussion on the performance further by providing details on the element of 'Impression Management', and how this is provided through the staging of the interview via its props, actors, audience and script (2007: 12). Myers and Newman (2007: 12), like Goffman (1959: 35) consider the appearance and manner of the actors (namely the researcher) is all part of setting the scene for the interview, such as with the other "stage props" mentioned above. They also contend that the researcher must consider the dress code required for the interview, as this will have influence on the disclosure of material from the interviewee. Guided by Impression Management, dress codes were slightly different for both service providers and service user interviews. Interviews with food bank managers, their volunteers and referral organisations, people in both paid and unpaid positions, the dress code was smart yet casual for a normal working day to reflect this study as a serious and necessary area of research. Likewise, for the interviews conducted with service users, attire was slightly more casual to dismiss possible fears of status, and to ensure a level approach that could produce rewarding discussions.

Employing focused semi-structured interviews within a qualitative biographical methodology is one which recognises that the researcher is required to also consider the *presentation of self* and the impact this could have upon the discovery of data, as proposed by both Goffman (1959) and Charmaz (2014). Following each interview field notes were taken acknowledging some of my initial thoughts on the emergence of categories, these served to inform subsequent interviews. Semi-structured interviews conducted with food bank users lasted between eight and forty-three minutes and allowed the participants to be able to discuss their experience of food poverty and food bank use as they felt comfortable. In contrast, the two biographical interviews were both longer lasting over one and a half hours each. During the

interview process, the interviewee's confidentiality and comfort was maintained by the area of the interview being private and quiet, whilst still within the main room of the food bank. The interviews were also conducted in an informal manner with an introduction of myself first as a way of setting the interviewee at ease. Tea, coffee and biscuits, which are typical offerings in food banks, were available throughout the interview. This ensured that the interview emulated more of a conversation about food bank use for the participant, and did not reflect any appearance of a formal interview situation.

Biographical Interviews

The use of biographical interviewing as an approach to research allows for the service user to confidently, in a constructive environment, discuss aspects of their lives that they feel most pertinent to the interview (Bryman, 2008: 441 - 442). The intention was that all service user interviews would be conducted using a biographical enquiry approach, as the methodology works to construct understandings of experiential data. This foundation aims to work towards an inductive discovery of embodied knowledge through the research project. The biographical interview asks the interview participant to become almost unrestricted in the way they detail their life in the pursuit of knowledge development for the researcher. This process encourages the researcher to be able listen intently, whilst the interviewee discusses the trials and tribulations of their life.

The two main approaches of biographical interviewing stem from the works of Gerhard Reimann and Fritz Schütze (1991) and Tom Wengraf (2000). The former is concerned with the interview progressing without interruption from the interviewer, allowing the interviewee to discuss their life without guidance or interruption. The

latter, Wengraf favours a more semi-structured approach, presenting the interviewee with some questions and guidance, or topics to discuss throughout the interview. This approach argues that semi-structured interviews are a special type of conversation, one that facilitates the co-construction of data through improvisation and interpretation, allowing for structure and focus (Wengraf, 2001: 3). This research has employed a focused semi-structured approach to its biographical enquiry advocated by Wengraf, as the most suitable method, and it is one that places less pressure on the interviewee to 'preform' as the method proposed by Schütze requires. This was considered important, especially as most interviews for this research were conducted with service users of the food banks and the awareness of potential difficulties associated with hard to reach groups. Therefore, having a semi-structured topic guide that could be used in the interview acted as a support and guide through some of the more uncommunicative interviews.

As mentioned earlier, it was intended that all service user interviews would be conducted using a biographical enquiry approach, however, the structural problems associated with food poverty and extenuating factors associated with some of the embodied stories and chaotic lifestyles of the food bank users themselves served as mitigating factors over making full use of the biographical approach. This, coupled with the extenuating factors associated with achieving the desired sample size, developments were made to the structure of the interview guide and the type of interview. This also encouraged the biographical interviews to therefore evolve into taking a more focused semi-structured interview approach instead. A small number interviews with food bank users (Michael and Teresa) did follow a biographical enquiry approach (n=2), however for this sample, most interviews with food banks service users were conducted as semi-structured interviews (n=25) with a biographical

focus. Both biographical and semi-structured interviews were analysed using exactly the same Constructivist Grounded Theory process.

Focused Semi-Structured Interviews

Following the pilot interview, and one subsequent biographical interview, the interview guide was then reconfiguring to allow for a more adaptable interview that worked better in achieving and addressing the aim of the thesis and the research questions. The focused semi-structured interview questions provided an intrinsic focus on food poverty as a journey, rather than asking details over historical experiences that the biographical interview looked for. This approach to interviewing recognised that the service user was already on a journey of a changing experience with food and food poverty. The focused semi-structured research questions accordingly addressed areas such as; why help from the food bank was needed, awareness of other food support means, and the trajectories and turning points associated with their experiences of food poverty. These broad areas of enquiry allowed the respondent the space to be able to contextualise their experience of food poverty and resultant food bank use, and how these shared spaces of food aid have become part of, and resisted forms of, food poverty as an identity of deservedness.

In response to the answers provided by interview participants, Bryman (2008: 438) highlights that the influence of the focused semi-structured technique, and why it is favoured amongst social researchers, is that it is dynamic and fluid, and that it works well to change within responses to the answers provided by the interviewee. It also recognises that the interviewee commands the position of expert in their own lives, and that it is the researchers' role to attempt to obtain some of this knowledge. In doing so, the research questions should allow and encourage the interviewer to probe deeper

into a line of enquiry (Bryman, 2007: 438). Bryman furthers that the semi-structured interview facilitates an 'open approach' to interviewing, much required for qualitative analysis (2008: 456).

However, as identified above, generating the sample size proved difficult owing to the unstructured lives of some people experiencing poverty. Because of this understanding, the use of interviews which were more focused and semi-structured in nature were thought to be more appropriate and, less demanding upon the service user. The focus of the interview and the research questions remained, however, this more detailed interview method concentrated on attending to the service users' association of food poverty throughout their lives through the use of a focused semi-structured interview. Bryman (2008: 442) further suggests that this mode of interviewing is characterised by a more specific tone - in tune with a given subject which the interviewee can reflect upon the significance of the subject matter (food poverty for example) on their lives.

Wengraf (2001: 5) offers the concept of flexibility for the employment of a more semi-structured in nature interview approach, and why this would be better applied to this research, in that the semi-structured interview makes use of having a number of predesigned questions that are adaptable and sufficiently open to allow the discussion to be able to flow. This was key within this research, especially with food bank service users, as questioning some participants over a prolonged period proved to be a barrier to early service user involvement. The revision from a biographical interview over to a semi-structured interview method proved to be key in being able to further the knowledge gained from service user experience of food bank use, as it allowed the service user to feel less pressured in having to 'perform' within the role of 'interviewee', such as required for a full biographical interview. The benefit of the

semi-structured approach to the service user interviews was that it allowed the service user to be able to talk about their experience of food poverty for as long as they felt comfortable or able, maintaining the 'insider expertise' as described by Lister (2004: 168).

Food Aid Service Providers: Approaches to Interviews (n = 45)

Thematic interviews, described as a scientific method for the collection of data about issues related directly to the object of study (Astedt-Kurki and Heikkinen, 1994: 418), was chosen as the best interview method to be taken with the providers of emergency food aid. The semi-structured nature of the interviews was aimed at providing analytical focus on emergent themes around food poverty and food bank use, and how this, as a new evolving service, was being provided by the organisation. The research also focused on attending to the relationship with food aid providers and their associated referral organisations, and how this alliance had grown since the implementation of austerity measures and welfare reform.

Approaching interviews with the service providers, interviews with food aid coordinators and referral organisations were not conducted in silos, as interviews were conducted simultaneously when visiting different parts of Wales. As a reminder, the total number of food aid provider interviews (N = 45) are divided into; food aid coordinator thematic interviews (n = 7) [including n = 4 case study thematic interviews], three food bank volunteer focus groups (n = 19), and referral organisation thematic interviews (n = 19). All food aid providers were conducted between September 2014 and September 2015, and encompassed various parts of North, South and Mid Wales.

Food Aid Providers: Thematic Interviews (n = 7)

Separated into four parts, the food aid provider thematic interviews[11] worked to address key areas of the food bank landscape, as it pertained to the growth of this as a new sociological area of study. The thematic approach aimed to discuss with food aid providers areas of research such as 'motivation', 'current activities', and 'the future of the service', both at the individual food bank level, and how this represents the national picture.

For the food aid providers, the use of thematic interviewing focused on attending to the development, use and continuation of the food bank as a service that could be relied upon by people experiencing food poverty. Working to identify reasons behind the opening of their emergency food aid provision, the thematic interviews with providers drew on the idea of a recognition of 'need', both within their locality, and as a national picture of increasing poverty, and how this need was thus being met, albeit hesitantly, by the service. The thematic interviews also attended to the ways in which the emergency food aid provision, succeeded in creating identities of 'deserving and underserving' food bank users. As identities permeated through the interview, the identities of the food bank itself also stimulated discussion regarding the two types of food banks, and how the decision to become part of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network or an independent food bank was reached.

Case Study of Three Emergency Food Aid Providers (n = 4)

Aiming to examine many features of a few cases, this research has also employed a representative case study approach to a number emergency food aid providers across

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[11] See Appendix 5 for a sample Food Bank Manager Interview Schedule

Wales. Seeking to develop an in-depth, detailed knowledge of an intervention, organisation or other element of inquiry, through an investigation of individual cases, the case study approach, described by Ragin (1994: 92, cited in Neuman, 2014: 42), seeks to develop this in-depth, detailed knowledge of particular cases. Within this research, the exploration of different types of food aid providers, has studied three separate food aid providers; namely, the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, Môn CF's food bank the Pantri Pobl, and Gisda's Tea a Cofi coffee shop. In doing so, the case studies are used to exemplify each individual cases' approach to welfare reform, and the tackling of rising levels of food poverty. The representative cases applied to this research have not only attended to the different types of food aid providers, but they have also provided cases attending to the different geographical areas of Wales correspondingly.

Working well within a Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis, the use of case studies within research have been described by Walton (1992: 129, cited in Neuman, 2014: 42), as being likely to be able to "produce the best theory". Neuman (2014: 42) understands this as being due to the researcher becoming immersed in the 'case'. This comes from being involved in an examination of some of the more intricate details associated with the case of study, and encourages the development of a richer, comprehensive explanation (ibid). This, as with the Constructivist Grounded Theory approach attends to what Neuman (2014: 42) has described as a Heuristic impact, such as the help they can provide in the construction of new theories, or the development of concepts and "exploring the boundaries among related concepts" (ibid).

As addressed within this research, the two main types of food bank providers across Wales (and the UK) are split between the Trussell Trust and the independent sector. Within this research, understanding both types of food banks, and their subsequent

position within a developing emergency food aid landscape across Wales, information was sought to address the application of emergency food aid; in terms of geographical spread and influence. This research has seen a representative case study approach applied to the understanding of both the Trussell Trust's Cardiff depot, as an emergency food aid provider, and to an independent food aid provider (Pantri Pobl) based in North Wales, both of which identify as food bank organisations. In addition to this, the representative case study approach used also extended to look at the role of one other emergency food aid provider who does not identify as a food bank. Gisda's social enterprise coffee shop; Te a Cofi, as this occupies a similar position of distributing emergency food aid to the local population, however, is not considered to be a food bank but could be a model that will be used more in the future as the changing face of food poverty in Wales evolves.

Gray (2018: 262) argues the application of case studies into research are used as a way of applying specific focus and thus gaining understandings of the dynamics presented through the case. Addressing the elements that should be associated with the inclusion of a case study approach to this research process, Gray (2018: 269) finds that when comparing cases, tentative themes, concepts and relationships between the cases start to emerge. It is this emergence process that encourages the researcher to begin a process of comparing the data and theory as they emerge from further data and synthesis. Bryman (2008: 54) has argued this to be the idiographic approach to case study design, insofar as the researcher intends to elucidate the unique features of the case.

Food Aid Providers: Volunteer Focus Groups (n = 19)

The application of the focus group as an appropriate research method is considered as a fitting way to explore people's understanding, experiences and attitudes towards a particular subject (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). In addition, the application of the focus group interview in this study was considered an appropriate method that could address views on the growth of food poverty, given that this is a relatively new area of British socio-political research. As discussed by Dobson, the use of the focus group is to "generate rich data as respondents rise to challenges and defend views" (2004: 284), and it is these 'views' which this research has attended to. Through the discussion the research has been able to further develop an understanding around how the 'voluntary army' of food bank workers has arisen (Berry, 2015) to the existence of food poverty in Wales. Moreover, the research has also furthered knowledge regarding how they are able to conceptualise the actuality of food poverty in current Britain and, that they can situate this with reference to their own knowledge and experience of food poverty throughout their life.

Owing to the semi-structured nature of the focus group research method, participants have the role of responding not only to the facilitator, but also to one another (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2015: 45). Therefore, the questions were intended to follow a loose formula, able to adapt when needed if one participant mentions an area of interest, it became important to follow this thread, listen to the arguments from others in the group, and then continue. A situation that Albrecht et al (1993: 53) considers as being at the heart of the focus group research process. Albrecht further describes focus groups as being a "*communication* event" [emphasis Albrecht et al, 1993] and that it is through this communication event, that participants are able to perhaps present a unified voice over opinions (1993: 53). The dramaturgical process contained within

qualitative interviewing is also on full display within the focus group, as Sarantakos informs, a seating fashion that allows easy eye contact within and between each participant should be provided, as this will allow for a comfortable, but stimulating debate (2013: 208). To encourage this, the interview rooms were arranged around tables allowing the participants to face each other. This aimed to reward each participant with equal status within the group, and maintain a recognition for sharing a conversation between the group.

As with the semi-structured approach to interviewing, as described above, memos and transcriptions have been conducted for all the focus groups, and these have served again as an important step in the creation of emergent knowledge on the experience of food poverty and food bank use. As the participants involved within the focus groups were occupied in the service delivery side of food banks, they inevitably presented a nuanced view of 'their' experience of food poverty, and how they think it shapes, and is shaped by the lives of those who make use of the service they provide.

Keeping within ethical limitations, the process of conducting a focus group treads a fine line when aiming to provide and maintain anonymity. As a focus group is a group discussion, all participants were informed that anonymity within the group would be maintained for research purposes, and that comments should not be shared outside the group (Stewart and Shamdasani, 2015: 54). Anonymity within the group and between participants could not be guaranteed. All participants were provided with details of the study in advance of the focus group with information and consent forms offering a statement of these features (Krueger and Casey, 2015: 34).

Food Aid Referral Organisations: Thematic Interviews (n = 19)

As with the themes addressed within the emergency food aid provider thematic interviews, a similar approach to interviewing was undertaken with the referral organisations associated with food bank use[12]. Being divided into three distinct themes of; 'motivation', 'the referral process' and 'the future of the service', the interviews sought to draw thematic conclusions behind the rise of the need for food aid, how the food aid systems works, and ideas about future reform as told by people helping in its most immediate relief. Within the interviews with referring organisations, however, a focus was placed on allowing them to discuss how they came to understand the referral process, and how they make decisions over who to refer.

Moreover, and commensurate with the thematic interviews conducted with emergency food aid providers, welfare reform, changes to social security and deserving identities of food bank users saturated most of the interview process with referral organisations. This form of interviewing, as an approach to understanding the emergent themes associated with food bank use, and food bank need were understood and analysed within context to the findings associated with the service user interviews described above.

Memoing and Transcribing

Wengraf (2001: 209) contends that the process of memo writing is the initial step into theorising about the data. Lampert (2007: 245) furthers this assertion by arguing that the process of memo writing is essential to Grounded Theory methodological and analytical practices and principals, and that they are part of the 'distillation process

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[12] See Appendix 6 for sample Referral Organisation Interview Schedule

through which the researcher transforms data into theory', stimulating ideas and understanding emergent categories. For this study, numerous memos were written both during and after the data, collection stage and constantly modified during analysis. Regarded as an informal collection of analytical notes (Charmaz, 2014:182), memos are the analytical space, bridging between data collection and writing. Each interview and focus group was followed with the production of memos based on my immediate thoughts and conclusions, and how they compared across other interviews. This allowed me to question areas of the interview, such as; did the participants discuss similar themes? Did the participants have similar stories over their understanding of food poverty as an experience? How did the participants appear to present themselves during the interviews (nervous, relaxed, calm etc?).

With permission granted from the participants[13], all interviews were audio recorded. Marking the transition from oral to written, the transcript is an important step in qualitative research. The transcript however, can become viewed as a plain account of the interview, devoid of characteristics and stresses inherent within the recording of an interview, and articulated by the participant explaining their situation. The transcript loses all nuances that are provided through the oral interview, which can, dramaturgically, provide an account of meaning over specific values and expressions pertinent to the participant and the story they are telling. Therefore, it is fundamental to qualitative researchers using Constructivist Grounded Theory as a mode of analysis that memos are created. These memos connect the plain transcript to the oral recording through the recognition of these values and the subsequent generation of ideas and the thought processes of the researcher. The memo allows the researcher to explain what the informant was expressing and what they were saying (Wengraf, 2001: 201).

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[13] See Appendix 7 For example consent form

Charmaz (2014: 169) addresses the construction of early memos as being a way for the researcher to explore what is happening in the field, scrutinise what informants are saying and doing (or not saying or doing), and then, to see if the researcher is able to make any connections or comparisons across further memos. The ability for the researcher to become immersed within the data through writing and developing memos is key to being able to address the next steps needed for research. Charmaz (2014: 170) recommends that allowing your 'mind to roam freely', and to play with the emergent categories becomes an interactive part of the data exploration and discovery[14]. Importantly for Charmaz, memos help the researcher to be able to take the emergent categories apart, explore and challenge their meaning and then how to work with them analytically (2014: 170).

Within this research, all service user biographical interviews and semi-structured interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were read and re-read, whilst listening to the audio recordings and looking over memos, as the analysis allowed for the encouragement and further development of the data through working with the emergent codes, memos and interviews, allowing the interview transcript to become part of the analysis.

For service provider interviews, all volunteer focus groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim as with all thematic semi-structured interviews with food aid coordinators. The thematic semi-structured interviews with referral organisations were also recorded; however, they were not transcribed verbatim. They were however, listened to and re-listen to several times, with memos written about the emergent themes attended to within the interview. From this position, sections of pertinent data

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[14] See Appendix 1 for example of memos written during data collection phase

were subsequently transcribed where the interviewee discussed emergent themes that coalesced with emergent codes identified through other transcribed interviews.

Coding: Qualitative Research and Constructivist Grounded Theory Analysis

Within the development of a qualitative research project, and one that has made use of a Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis, making use of the data that has been gathered involves several different, but equally important stages of analysis. Initially, the grounded theorist is interested in opening the data, unlocking basic meanings and learning what elementary categories exist as described by interview participants (Holton, 2007: 275). Taking the first steps towards understanding the data, Charmaz (2003: 67) recommends examining each line of transcribed data, allowing the representation of actions and events as they occur within the data. This level of analysis requires the researcher to fracture the data (Charmaz 2014: 341) by assigning a code to each line of text. Doing this encourages the researcher to be active with the data and provides the basis for the exploration of other codes as they appear across other interviews in a comparative approach, identifying early concepts as they start to emerge as categories within, and across the data (Charmaz, 2003: 67). Bryman furthers that this approach is to assess the viability of potential 'indicators of concepts' and that they can and indeed are, in a constant state of fluidity and revision (2008: 542). This constant fluidity is necessary as the codes begin to develop into the next stage of data analysis. This next stage of analysis sees the codes adapt, fit, evolve and eventually flourish into more established categories by pulling together codes from across the sample. Heuristic in its approach, line-by-line coding, as a form of initial analysis should be conceived with an open mind and encourage the researcher to think

analytically (Charmaz, 2014: 343). Eventually, the Grounded Theory researcher aims to reduce the line-by-line codes into larger, more encompassing categories that have been created through the constant comparison of data, codes and memos[15]. Lampert (2007: 245) and Sarantakos (2013: 373) advance that initial coding is built upon the theorising that is conducted through memos, whereby the researcher is able to reduce the level of abstraction of these analytical ideas.

For this study, interview transcripts (either partial or full) were read and re-read whilst listening to the audio recordings allowing for a submersion within the data. Initial coding followed a line-by-line approach were descriptive codes were applied to almost every line of interview respondents' words[16]. Charmaz advocates that codes should reflect action (2014: 166), therefore line-by-line coding generally reflected terms where respondents addressed experience of; food poverty, food insecurity, welfare reform and coping strategies. Glossing over respondents' actions and the meanings behind them may result in an outsider's view of their social world. Engaging in the analytical process of line-by-line coding allows the researcher to see from an insider perspective (Charmaz, 2014: 121); it also helps the researcher to develop a systematic analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2014: 125). Bryman (2008: 543) confirms that this process is the first step in identifying and making sense of the collected data.

As the collection of more prominent codes begins to emerge, analysis evolves into becoming more focussed on theorising over the stimulus behind the line-by-line codes. Memos were then constructed which helped to coalesce the emergent codes, and to group them into emergent themes which were identified as being consistent throughout and across the interviews. Collecting the initial codes and developing them

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[15] See Appendix 8 for Coding Process Diagram
[16] See Appendix 9 for example coding of interview transcription

into focussed codes, Charmaz (2014: 434) affirms as being the next stage of data analysis and encourages the researcher to focus on the 'most frequent and/or significant codes' which can be verified against other data within the sample. Focussed coding requires the researcher to make decisions over codes that make the greatest analytic sense, as they become the most revealing about the emergent data. This process allows for the researcher to be able to categorise incisively the data, and thus emphasise and develop the most common and frequent codes (Charmaz, 2006: 57-58, as cited in Bryman, 2008: 543), and how to take these forward into further data collection and theorising, by revisiting the data with a newer, more focussed perspective (ibid).

The coding process then aims to reconstruct the data, revisiting it with a more focussed understanding of the emergent categories, treating each category as an axis for the researcher to develop, understand and theorise upon the relationships within the categories. From this standpoint, Glaser and Strauss (1999: 32) argue that through the initial and focussed coding and the comparative analysis, two forms of theory can emerge; substantive and formal. Describing both theories as 'middle range', insomuch as they do not yet emerge with the development of a testable hypothesis, however, Bryman (2008: 453) goes further to describe them as being part of a three-stage approach that the Grounded Theory researcher further develops the focussed codes into more selective codes, whereby the researcher looks at developing and selecting a core category from within the data. It is this core category and selective coding which addresses and validates relationships between the focussed codes, acting as a core category for which all other categories are integrated (Dey, 2007: 184).

Focussed coding requires the researcher to reengage with the data iteratively as a process of further reducing the level of abstraction contained within the data. This

process, described by Sarantakos (2013: 375), as 'selective coding' furthers the abstraction of the data and works towards 'identifying 'the higher-order category'' as the researcher works through the data searching for a central phenomenon or central category which could be the driving force behind the studied phenomenon. Finally coding within this research project reached a deeper understanding of the driving forces behind the growing levels of food poverty and the escalating use of food banks and allowed the data to be discussed within selective codes. These codes have been discussed at length within the following chapters, they represent my focused comprehension, and interpretation of the studied data as it has emerged from the service user and service provider interviews.

Coding: Focused Coding, Theoretical Coding and NVivo 10

For this research, focussed coding was conducted through NVivo 10 as an effective tool for the management of the large data sources (Basit, 2003: 152). The use of NVivo, especially within qualitative research is to assist in the management and storage of data for analysis, and then to enable the researcher to be able to ask questions of the data. Bazeley (2013: 3), strengthens the use of NVivo, insomuch as it is a tool which the qualitative researcher can use for supporting rigour within the analysis process. Bazeley also cautions that the use of computer aided qualitative research software, such as NVivo, still requires the abilities of a competent qualitative researcher as human factors are still involved (2013: 4). The use of NVivo for focus coding during this research still required the data to have my interpretations of what the participants are expressing, and how this fits within a development of the theoretical codes, as noted by Bryman (2008: 566). Overall, the use of NVivo has been argued by Coffey et al (1996) as fitting well within a Grounded Theory approach to

analysis as the computer programme itself is based on the 'coding and retrieving [of] text'. Combining NVivo with Grounded Theory as a mode of analysis allows the researcher to be able to import several kinds of data sources into the one project and then to be able to analyse these alongside traditional interview transcripts. Memos that were created throughout the data collection phase were also imported into NVivo, which were then subsequently coded in conjunction with interview transcripts, facilitating a constant comparative method required by a Grounded Theory analysis. Given the large sample size, and the Grounded Theory data analysis process, the ease of electronic management of large amounts of data was also understandably favourable than having to depend upon a more traditional 'cut and paste' method.

To provide an early example of the influence of Constructivist Grounded Theory analysis through attentive memoing and coding, I provide a sample of how data abstraction from initial analysis (line-by-line coding) progresses through to data consolidation seen in the focussed coding whereby analytic ideas about food poverty and its process have proposed. Described as an "emergent process" (Charmaz, 2014:143), line-by-line coding, along with focused coding allows the development of unexpected ideas (ibid). For example, although not entirely new to social sciences, but something which became very pronounced during all interviews, one service user 'Gabe' discusses the 'deserving and the undeserving poor' as seen through the lens of social distancing, and the distance he creates between himself and 'The Others' who uses the food bank. Gabe describes himself as not the typical food bank user, but as someone who has recently fallen on hard times, and frequently uses the term 'it can happen to the best of us', often referring to himself as 'speaking from an outsider's point of view…' Further to this, Gabe identifies the positioning of himself in a hierarchy of who should use the food bank.

Figure 5 Sample Line-by-line coding

As figure 5 above shows, the process of line-by-line coding invokes words that describe 'actions', encouraging open thinking on behalf of the researcher (Charmaz, 2008: 116-117). Based on this, my initial line-by-line coding with Gabe reflected the initial code of 'Othering', along with a further comment identifying a contextual reason (such as 'substance misuse', or 'wrong choices') and was subsequently identified and coded for throughout other interviews. Identifying that 'Othering' was a prominent feature throughout this, and subsequent interviews, Gabe's memo was reflected thusly;

> 'The interview with Gabe is profoundly concerned with 'justification' of food bank use, and the pathways to abuse and exploitation. He also covers the potential for normalisation of the food banking system within society.'

Through the iterative process of moving through the interview transcripts and memos, and comparison across other interviews, the identification of focused codes begins to emerge, as these codes become raised as conceptual categories (Charmaz, 2008: 189). Here, the initial code of 'Othering' became understood to reflect the identity politics at play within food bank use, thus through engaging with other interview transcripts and memos, subsuming common themes and patterns of several codes (Charmaz, 2008: 189), 'Othering' became conceptualised into the focused code of '**deserving and undeserving**'.

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The next stage, sees a similar process of bringing together the focused codes and developing a theoretical explanation of the concepts from which they are formed (Charmaz, 2014: 150). Taking this process further, Charmaz (2014: 151) describes the identification of theoretical codes as an important step working across the interviews making the data analysis coherent and comprehensible. As the memo and codes above identify, the concept of 'normalisation' began the process of developing an emergent theoretical code which was reflected across both interviews with service providers and service users. This 'normalisation', in combination with other focused codes, led to the development of the theoretical code of **embedding** of food banks. This was recognised as driven from within the data, as the recognition from both service users and service providers accepts that food banks are becoming a more normalised provision within our society.

The Use of Cartography and the Geospatial Plotting of Food Banks

As identified within previous chapters, the geospatial location of food banks, either across Wales or across the whole of the UK, is limited to the data that is produced by the Trussell Trust. The Trussell Trust, therefore, in its capacity as acting as a national provider, can offer locational details of the extent of their Foodbank Network across Wales and the UK. However, as the literature review has discussed, the Trussell Trust are not the only provider of emergency food aid through food banks, and that this research, in line with its overall aim, has sought to provide clarity on the location of all food banks across Wales, Trussell Trust or otherwise. This has been completed within this research through the use of GIS as a tool to understand the geographical distribution of the food banks across Wales and in doing so has encouraged a mixed-methods approach to interpreting food banks as an 'experience'. Understanding the

position of being able to provide a cartographic representation of the growth of the food banking landscape of the UK, Perkins (2003: 347) offers the idiom that 'a picture is worth a thousand words'. In doing so, complimenting this approach to providing a cartographic representation of Welsh food banks, the mixing of qualitative and quantitative methods has been described by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007: 5) as being methodologically routed within a theoretical assumption, as well as within its method of inquiry. Guided by theoretical assumptions over its data collection and analysis, this thesis has, as furthered by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007: 5), brought together within a single research project a method which has focused on the collection, analysis and mixing of both quantitative and qualitative data.

Generating Food Bank Locational Data

To adequately identify the location of all Trussell Trust and independent food banks, desk-based research was conducted, with the intention of building a database, bringing together the location of both Trussell Trust and independent food banks. The first stage in this data collection sought to systematically use data that already existed. In doing so, the principal source of food bank locational information came from the Trussell Trust website data, and this was used as a benchmark to start from. As the Trussell Trust have already applied an interactive GIS data-mapping programme used to illustrate the location of every Trussell Trust Foodbank across the UK, this use of this data proved an adequate area of initial research and data collection. From this website, postcode data of every listed Trussell Trust and Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre Foodbanks[17] across each of the twenty-two Welsh Local Authorities was

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[17] Data for all Trussell Trust Foodbanks can be found through their website available at: https://www.trusselltrust.org/

extracted and used to compile a database of post-coded locations. This postcode data was then inputted into a web-based longitude and latitude converter that allowed for the generation of geographical location data that could be applied to ArcGIS 10.5.1 as a visualization of this data.

Generating this data created a base map identifying the location of every Foodbank across Wales within the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network. From here the desk-based research continued by systematically (Local Authority by Local Authority) verifying these locations through published media reporting of food bank openings. Taking these publication dates, and the reading of online media articles, the opening dates of each Foodbank were then assigned and added to the database. At the same time, through using the Trussell Trust website, contact details for each Trussell Trust Foodbank were also available, and each of the identified Wales based Foodbanks were sent an emailed questionnaire[18] requesting details about their food bank. This questionnaire asked details regarding the location of their Foodbank, whether they had organised any Satellite Distribution Centres, and the dates in which they (and their Satellite Distribution Centres) opened. Finally, the emailed questionnaire also asked for details regarding their awareness of their nearest independent food bank, and if they could provide contact or locational details. In total, thirty-three questionnaires were emailed, one to every Trussell Trust Foodbank within the Network operational during this period. The recorded responses saw the return of twelve completed forms giving a response rate of 36%.

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[18] See Appendix 10 For Email Questionnaire sent to every Trussell Trust Foodbank within Wales

The Independent Food Bank Sector

Whilst the Trussell Trust data was, initially the main area of research at the outset of the desk-based study, evidence of independent food banks was also being collected in the same way and applied to the database. Combined with the details that had been provided through the Trussell Trust Foodbank emailed questionnaire, the data was verified through continuation of the desk-based research, this time with a focus on the independent Welsh food banks. As applied to the Trussell Trust research, a systematic Local Authority by Local Authority approach was adopted verifying the location of independent food banks. As there is no one organisation that pulls together data associated with the independent food banks, as is with the Trussell Trust, the desk-based research applied also sharpened its scope of research to include searches made at town and city level.

The locational postcodes that were generated were subsequently applied to the same web-based longitude and latitude converter and was used to convert postcode data into GIS usable longitudinal and latitudinal data. This created a GIS representation of the geographical distribution of all food banks across Wales, combining both the independent data with the Trussell Trust Foodbank data and, the Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre data. In addition to this, and as with the Trussell Trust data, the dates of opening for each independent food bank were also generated. This was achieved through furthering the desk-based research, again focused at Local Authority, town and city levels, by looking at online media publications of food banks being opened within each area of Wales. This process of data collection and desk-based research has been detailed in figure 6 below.

Combining this new data sets of food bank locations, and using them as a layer in ArcGis, other layers could be applied to encourage the visual analysis and examination

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of the data. It is at this point where the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 and 2014, and the Communities First locational data encouraged the analytical examination of the geographical spread of both the Trussell Trust and the independent food banks across Wales. It also allowed for the data to be viewed as separate layers, of either Trussell Trust, Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres, or independent food banks, and to visualise their proximity within deprivation indicators, as an examination of a changing landscape of food banks.
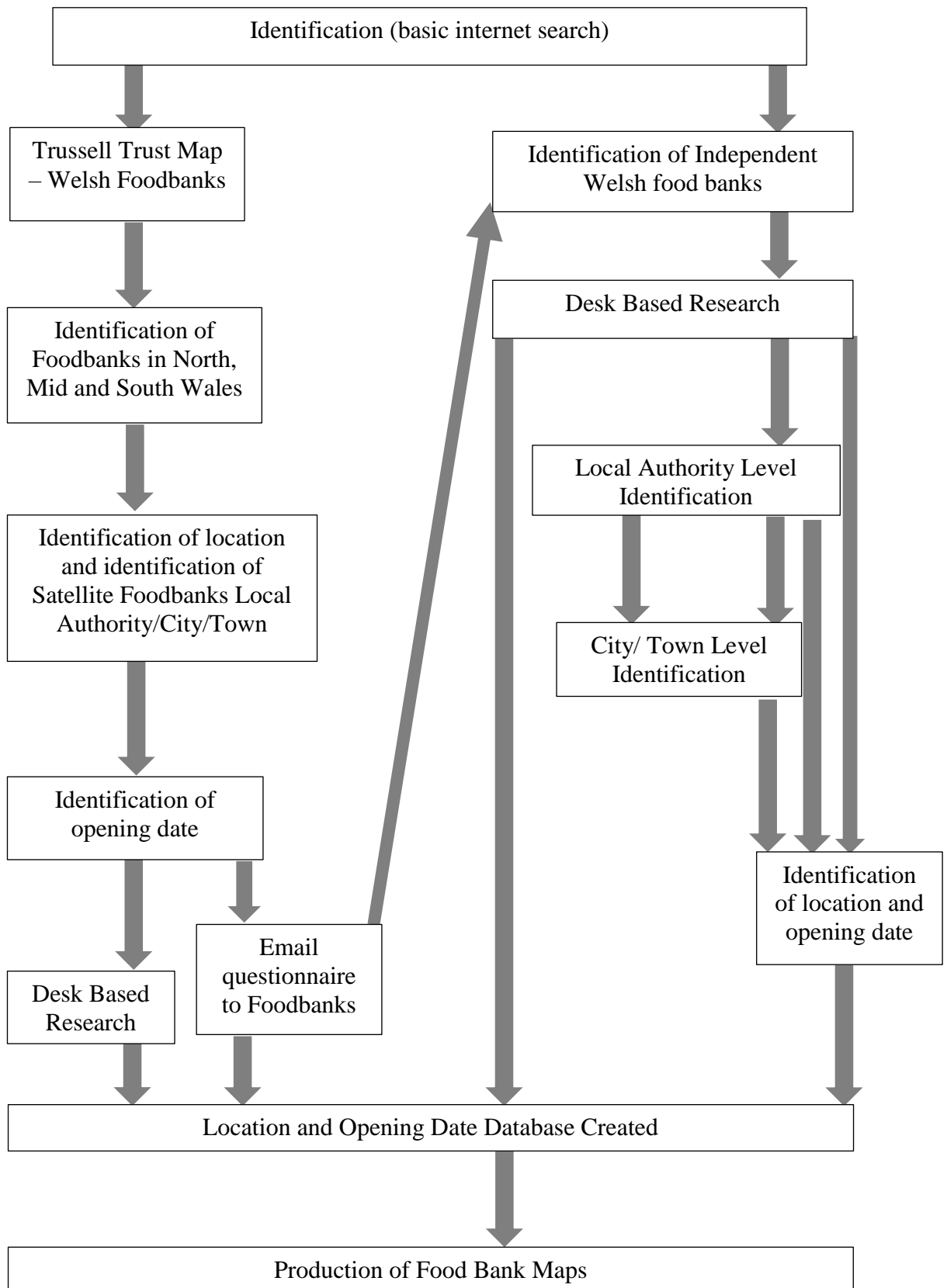
Figure 6 How the Mapping of Wales's Food Banks was Conducted

Political Representation and Food Bank Openings

The databased collection of geographical locational data, combined with the data surrounding the dates of openings for each food bank in Wales could now be represented through the production of a number of maps, allowing for illustrative representation of the geographical spread of all food banks across Wales. Similarly, the collection and visualisation of this database allows for generating an understanding of a truer landscape of food bank distribution, as it illustrates the geographical spread of both the Trussell Trust and the independent sector, and how they are represented across the geography of Wales. Added to this, as through the collection of data considering the dates in which the food banks opened, this database aimed to allow for the distribution of food banks to be illustrated through these dates, and thus provides a politico-historical context to the data analysis.

This geographical spread of food banks, combined with the date of food bank openings allows for an understanding of the political and historical context of Wales at the time. It has also worked to create research data findings that illustrates the changing landscape of social policy and welfare retrenchment at that time, and has worked to do this both through quantitative means, provided through maps, but also through the qualitative interview approaches discussed previously.

Conclusion

This chapter has offered a comprehensive argument for the methodological approaches used in furthering the understanding, and the experience of food poverty and food banks use in Wales. It has located the research project within a qualitative approach and argued for this to be understood through a Constructivist Grounded Theory lens. It has also allowed me to situate myself within this tradition given my

own reflexivity on previous research. This chapter has also furthered the understanding of how this methodology is complimented by the methods employed to research this data. The use of focused semi-structured interviews and biographical interviewing has been beneficial to understanding the storied lives of people experiencing food poverty. This too, has been further complimented by the use of interviews with service providers, again through semi-structured interviews with referral organisations and food bank coordinators, and focus group interviews with food bank volunteers.

Analysing the data through a Constructivist Grounded Theory approach encouraged the development of ideas that surrounded food poverty and the use of emergency food aid providers, such as food banks. The use of interview memos within the analysis process, combined with the development of initial codes derived from the data encouraged further sorting and refining of qualitative data into larger focussed codes as the level of abstraction increased. With using Constructivist Grounded Theory as the method for analysis within this thesis, the process of data coding, theorising and further refining of these codes created the analytical playground for the development of theoretical understanding and encouraged the production of a deep level of knowledge of food poverty within a developed nation. It is this process, which, argued by Charmaz (2014: 162), aims to stimulate the development of the analytical process within a qualitative research project. In addition to this, this thesis has also attended to the geospatial representation of quantitative data associated with food poverty and thus the development of the food bank. In doing so, this chapter has argued that the quantitative spatial representation of food banks, alongside qualitative food bank interviews encourages a bridging of the gap between qualitative and quantitative data. Thus, providing attention to what Knigge and Cope (2006) have described as needing

to realise that peoples' stories are also bound up within their history and their geographical location. Approaching a geographical visualisation of food banks, the analysis of this research attends to the position identified by Knigge and Cope (2006) in that socio-spatial Grounded Theory advances the knowledge beyond that of the typical quantitative or qualitative researcher. Expanding the use of GIS mapping, the use of geographical representation of food banks has also been used to further the identity of the independent sector of food banks, and to position the political climate, in reference to the growth of food banks, as a way for understanding the implications of changing social policy.

The chapters to follow detail the findings of this research, and work to answer the research aim through the voices of the participants attending to the research questions. This has been done through extrapolating the experience and association of food poverty, as told by those closest to it; the food bank users and the food bank providers. Split into four distinct parts, the findings chapters reveal the association between food and poverty, and how this is can be understood as a food poverty 'experience'. The subsequent chapters present the research findings through two distinct but associated 'experiences'. The first experience brings clarity to the geospatial experience of the food poverty landscape of Wales, through the production of GIS maps, liked to existent levels of poverty derived from the WIMD 20008/2014 data. Following this, the next two findings chapters provide space for the service users and the service providers to detail the lived experience of food poverty and food bank use. Finally, a case study approach detailing three different types of providers explores different methods of tackling food poverty in Wales, also derived from the WIMD 2014 data.

Chapter Five: The Experience of Food Bank Use - The Food Bank Landscape of Wales

"The charitable food sector has snowballed out of control. It has grown from what was supposed to be a temporary stopgap into a seemingly permanent feature of our country's landscape" (Fisher, 2017: 71-72)

Introduction

Attending to the changing landscape of social welfare addressed in Chapter Three, and the recognition of a rise in the number of food banks across the UK, expressed in the literature addressed in Chapter Two, Chapter Five aims to detail the geographical changing face of food poverty and food bank use in Wales presented through the use of geospatial maps. These maps are used to examine and detail the growth in the number of food banks identified in Wales. This examination will present the findings of empirical research through a series of maps illustrative of the evolution of social policy retrenchment, as non-profit organisations attend to the rising number of food insecure people.

This chapter serves to illustrates how the increase in social insecurity and the surge in food insecurity have gone hand-in-hand and will do this through the examination of geospatial maps detailing the location of the food bank providers across Wales. The production of food bank maps establishes the first of four findings chapters that seek to explain the experience of food bank use over time. Evidence supporting the growth of food banks as a voluntary, and somewhat, evolutionary organic response in the face of declining social security, is evidenced through the numbers of food bank openings

throughout Wales. As the first of four findings chapters, Chapter Five aims to set the scene, addressing the geographical distribution of food bank providers, and food bank openings under successive governmental administrations.

In consideration of this, this chapter therefore, seeks to further the knowledge around food bank numbers and food bank locations by providing new evidence through the use of geospatial maps representing the quantitative growth of the food bank landscape, attendant to the growth of emergency food aid provisioning in Wales. This chapter will examine the geospatial location of all food banks throughout Wales as they have been mapped and displayed as a changing landscape of food poverty. This has been done by providing maps detailing the growth of the food banks in Wales and how these food banks are organised, starting with the opening of Wales' first food bank in 1998, through to the end of data collection in December 2015.

The mapping of food banks throughout Wales is also used to reflect upon the political representation of food poverty and the influence that austerity and welfare reform have had in facilitating food bank demand. As a reminder, the aim of this study is to examine the changing face of food poverty and the development of emergency food aid provisions in Wales. To do this, the maps within this chapter illustrate;

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

The Geographical Representation of Food Banks

This chapter focuses on mapping the growth of the food bank landscape as it has risen across Wales. Understanding that the experience of food poverty and food insecurity is not always marked by the use of the food bank, this chapter aims to exclusively highlight the experience of food poverty as it is experienced through the food bank. This chapter, therefore, does not intend to map the growth of food insecurity, or food poverty per se, in Wales, yet it does serve to highlight that food bank use is also recognised as a reasonable proxy for rising food insecurity.

In situating the emergency food bank landscape for the UK, Lambie-Mumford et al (2014: 14) has explained that UK food aid provision operates both large-scale national activities, and small-scale, local activates. It is understood that the 'large-scale' activities are taken to mean the national network of 'Foodbanks' provided by the Christian charity the Trussell Trust, and that 'small-scale' activities are identified as other charitable organisations which also operate 'food banks', which are independent of the Trussell Trust. The 'small-scale' food banks recognised by Lambie-Mumford (2014: 41) are not just independent of the Trussell Trust Network, but, importantly, they are also independent of each other, working as local independent emergency food aid initiatives. The structures of both of these provider types have been discussed within Chapter Three.

In understanding and portraying the depth of food poverty within the UK, Lambie Mumford et al (2014: 41) declare that as the Trussell Trust operate within the 'large-scale' position as the national networked provider; they are, therefore, at the forefront of public discourse and statistical dissemination as it pertains to the use of food banks across the UK. Moreover, and towards addressing the main aim of this thesis, Lambie-Mumford et al (ibid) affirm that this level of publicly available data from the Trussell

Trust not only includes details of localised and national usage and growing trends associated with provisioning and service, but that it also includes the collection and dissemination of spatial information regarding the whereabouts of every Trussell Trust Foodbank (and Satellite Distribution Centres) within the network. The collection and dissemination of the data held by the Trussell Trust forces this identification of the 'Foodbank' into becoming the nationally recognised 'brand' of food bank provision. To this end, food poverty may, *typically*, be associated with Trussell Trust 'Foodbank' use, and the link to the locations of Foodbanks, be restricted to simply just those associated with the Trussell Trust and, potentially, only representing approximately half of the story.

Acknowledging that the dissemination of this data is strictly associated with the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network model of food banking in the UK, undermines an accurate picture of the extent of food banks in Wales, as this pays no attention to any data associated with the 'small-scale' providers, acknowledged by Lambie-Mumford et al (2014) which are independent of this network. In verifying that the Trussell Trust are not the only providers of emergency food aid in the UK, Lambie-Mumford et al (2014: 41-42) confirms that any omission of any details regarding data associated with the independent small-scale providers represents an oversight in the ability to provide a true account of the impact in which emergency food aid initiatives are having on food poverty. This is because the numbers reported within the media concerning growing numbers of people needing to visit a food bank are usually taken from the collective data from the Trussell Trust, and in the main, fails to represent the impact had by the independent sector of food bank providers.

Due to their independent nature, the independent food aid initiatives (data and location) are much more difficult to systematically capture, for the purpose of data

dissemination, than those centrally collated by the Trussell Trust. Therefore, through the mapping exercise completed within this thesis (concluding in December 2015), the locations of all food banks across Wales, including the Trussell Trust and the independent sector, has been completed and brought together within the maps which follow. In doing so, this thesis provides ground-breaking evidence showing a more holistic picture and accurate representation of the food bank landscape of Wales.

Locating the Food Bank Landscape of Wales

Garthwaite (2016: 3) has indicated the rising incidence of food poverty has precipitated a rise in the number of news articles recognising the growth in food banks opening as an emergency response. As detailed above, the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network collect and disseminate a wealth of data regarding their food banks, and that this includes details of the geographical spread and location of each Foodbank within the network. However, as Lambie-Mumford et al (2014) has also indicated, that this fails to include representation of the geographical distribution (and other such data) of those food banks independent of the Trussell Trust network. This underrepresentation holds significance as it fails to reflect the true extent of the food bank landscape of Wales.

Recognising that food insecurity is on the rise, numbers of emergency food aid providers, such as food banks have been opening as a direct and immediate response. This has been facilitated from within communities responding to this need as they work to provide people with access to emergency food. As the maps below show, food bank locations are in direct response to the rising levels of associated overall deprivation within geographical areas, and, as such, food banks coexist within recognised levels of multiple deprivation recorded in Wales.

The maps within this chapter detail the opening of Wales' food banks in relation to a set of geographically defined indicators. These include the organisation of the Welsh Government Flagship poverty alleviation strategy of 'Communities First' areas, and statistical collection of data through the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2008 and 2014. In completing this important part of the food bank picture, food bank locations have been plotted bi-annually (January-June and July-December), starting in January 1998 and moving through to December 2015. In doing so, the findings within this chapter not only provide a geographical representation of the spread of Wales' food banks, both Trussell Trust and independent, it also underlines the politico-historical context behind the growing number of food banks in Wales, highlighting the potential socio-political driven need behind their establishment.

Poverty Representations: Areas Previously Designated as Communities First

Map 1 below illustrates the location of Wales' Communities First Programme areas as designated in 2001. Starting in 2001 as a ten-year poverty reduction programme, the Communities First areas were designed to work within the one hundred most deprived electoral divisions of Wales as identified through the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (James, 2007). Designed as the Welsh Government's flagship anti-poverty strategy, this deprivation level also extended to include an identified thirty-two additional 'pockets of deprivation' and, ten 'communities of interest', identifying additional needs of support; Black and Minority Ethnic communities in Cardiff and Newport, victims of domestic abuse in Pembrokeshire and, a number of geographically dispersed rural communities (Welsh Government, 2011: 10). This ten-year period saw the extent of the Communities First programme

to be working with almost 20% of the total population of Wales (Welsh Government, 2011: 10).
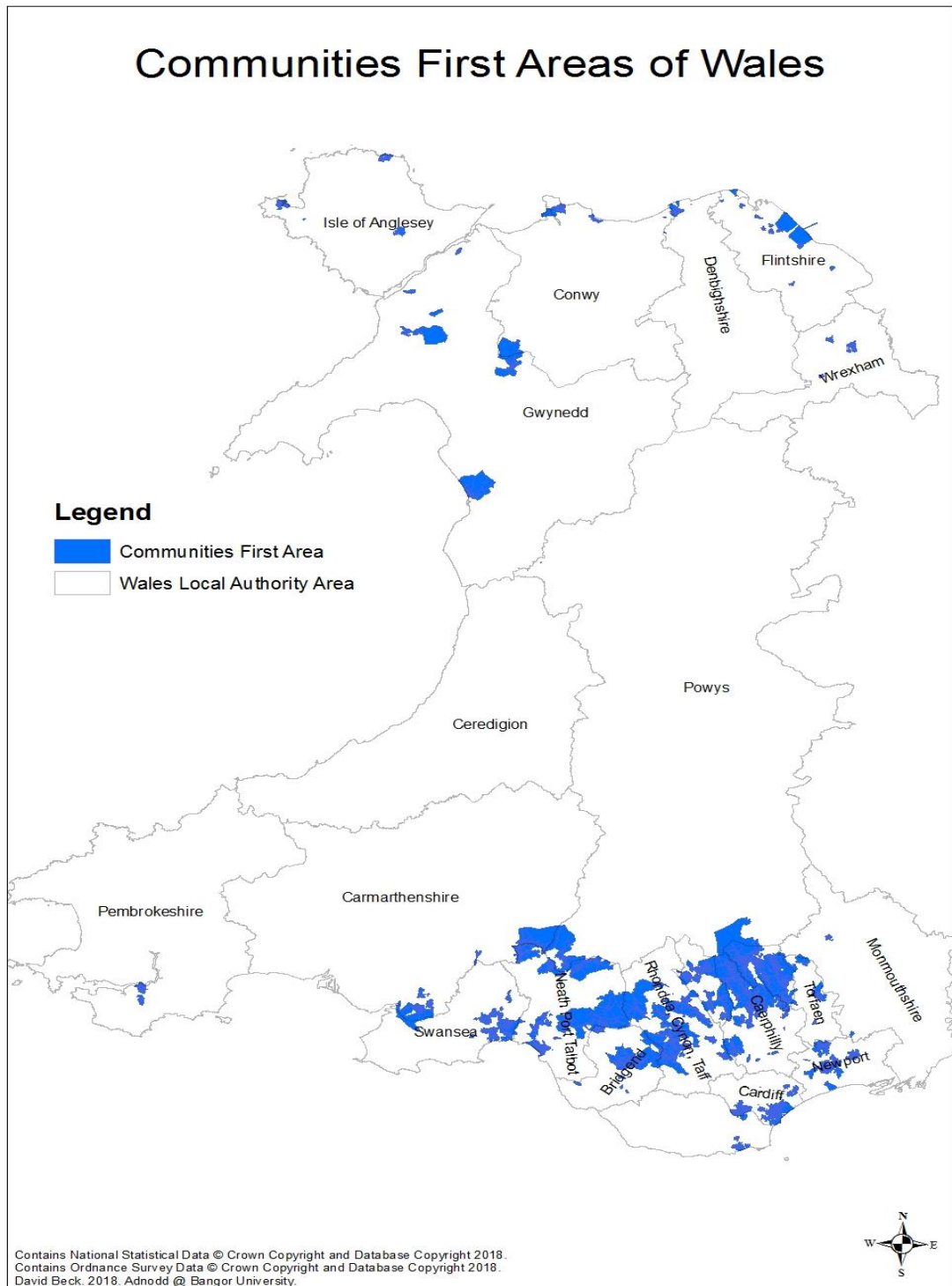
Map 1 Communities First Areas of Wales

Geographically distributed, largely, throughout the South Wales Heads of the Valleys

Regions, Map 1 illustrates how the influence of the Communities First Programme is

represented as an almost continuous area across the South. The individual Communities First programmes of South Wales work within areas that have been effected by the hands of the declining coal mining industries for almost thirty years, and further decline of other manufacturing activities within these semi-rural areas (JRF, 2016: 8). Along the North Wales Coastline, Map 1 also details the location of Communities First Projects that are underway throughout the North. The pockets of poverty which exist across both South Wales and North Wales may also be ascribed to varied sources and, potentially associated with diverse structural causes such as; rural deprivation of farming communities and the decline in key primary industries such as tourism, agriculture, forestry and quarrying.

Poverty Representations: Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (2008)

The location of the Communities First Programme areas, as described above was consequent on the findings of areas of deprivation (Lower Super Output Area – LSOA or electoral ward level), and was the result of the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000 (WIMD). This has served to exemplify the potential for a geographical representation of what French (2017) has argued to be pockets of relative poverty and deprivation within seemingly wealthy locations. Moving forward, Map 2, below, illustrates this deprivation indicia through the more recent WIMD 2008 data which highlights, as a visual representation, the calculation of deprivation as it stood by 2008. Within the locations highlighted on Map 2, the large blue areas highlight what is understood to be representative of areas of Wales which are recognised as being the least deprived regions, as measured through indicators namely; income, employment, health, education, access to services, community safety, physical environment and housing, (Welsh Government n.d.). This is contrary to the areas that record high

indicia of deprivation within these categories, highlighting a degree of deprivation, and is thus represented through the colour variant on the sliding 'heat' scale towards the colour red.

Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (2008) & The Food Banks of Wales (1998-2008)

Legend

▲ The First Independent food bank Newport (1998)
■ The First Trussell Trust Foodbank Ebbw Vale (2009)
▲ Independent food banks

WIMD Overall Deprivation 2008

- 2 - 14 (Least Deprived Areas)
- 15 - 24
- 25 - 36
- 37 - 52
- 53 - 82 (Most Deprived Areas)
- Wales Local Authority Area

Contains National Statistical Data © Crown Copyright and Database Copyright 2018.
Contains Ordnance Survey Data © Crown Copyright and Database Copyright 2018.
David Beck. 2018. Adnodd @ Bangor University.

Map 2 Food bank locations in reference to the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (2008)

As Map 2 exemplifies, high indices of multiple deprivation within locations are shown as being proximate to those designated as Community First areas in 2001, and therefore, still likely to be indicative of the existence of heightened levels of relative poverty within these communities. These locations feature heavily within the heads of the Valleys region of South Wales (Rhondda Cynon Taff, Merthyr Tydfil and Blaenau Gwent), showing an almost contiguous spread of deprivation inclusive within the remaining southern counties.

Map 1 and 2 have situated the level of deprivation in Wales up to 2008, showing the policy response to the structural association of deprivation. Taking this response further, Map 2 also provides details of the location of the first food bank in Wales, and subsequent food banks that have opened by 2008. The opening of these food banks, as emergency responses to poverty, described by Poppendieck (1998: 68) represent that of a community response to the local deprivation, potentially seen as bolstering the work of the official structural policy response, in the form of The Communities First Programme.

The Birth of Food Banks and the Early Years

Opened ten years before the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 data, the Raven House Trust Food Bank in Newport started to distribute food in 1998 as a response to the number of street homeless, mainly helping people who needed an immediate crisis intervention. Due to the small number of users at this time, no referral organisations were involved or needed as the volunteer staff within the food bank knew by name their regular service users and those in need[19]. As is clear from both

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[19] Personal Communication (phone call) with the manager of the Raven House Trust Food Bank in Newport, Mrs M Smith, 2015. April 2015.

Map 1 and from Map 2, the area that surrounds the Food Bank in Newport is both recognised as deprived through the WIMD 2008 data, and a designated Communities First Programme area.

Broadly consisting of an almost unbroken rural expanse, Mid-Wales features low within the 2008 WIMD data, and is, therefore, illustrative of low indices of multiple deprivation. This should also recognise that the population density of Mid-Wales is lower than that of South Wales and consists of a widespread rural expanse. This rural area between the boarders of Snowdonia National Park and the Brecon Beacons National Park covers a large number of small towns, and therefore, may contain different and diverse structures that may insulate, to a certain extent, against the impact of poverty and deprivation more akin to that seen in the urban areas of Wales.

Exemplifying the indication of pockets of deprivation, argued by both Townsend (1979) and French (2017), Map 2 illustrates also how North Wales characterises the potential for there to be poverty within areas of plenty. As with the South, small pockets of marginally deprived areas and highly deprived areas sit beside large contiguous areas of less deprived regions. As previously illustrated in Map 1, Map 2 also reflects the proximity of Communities First areas, described in 2001, to the proximity of levels of persistent poverty discovered by 2008. In North Wales, as Map 2 details, the coastal town of Prestatyn in 2005 saw the opening of Wales' second independent food bank. As with the beginnings of the Raven House Trust in Newport in 1998, the Prestatyn Food Bank served the small number of street homeless of the town, without the need for referral[20].

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[20] Personal Communication (phone call) with the manager of the Prestatyn Food Bank Mrs H Norris, 2015. April, 2015.

Following on from the establishment of the food bank in Prestatyn, the three-year period through to the end of 2008, saw the opening of three more independent food banks across Wales, all of which opened within the twelve months of 2008. The independent food bank at Milford Haven run by the charity PATCH (Pembrokeshire Action To Combat Hardship) opened during the first half of 2008, making this the third food bank in Wales. Following this, Map 2 indicates that the fourth food bank to open was again, in Newport, situated slightly over one mile away from the original Newport food bank that had opened ten years earlier. Striking possibly a contradiction to the perceived norm, Map 2 indicates that the fifth independent food bank to open its doors in Wales was situated within the relatively affluent area of Penarth. Map 2 indicates that this area shows no sign of relative deprivation, scoring very low on indices of multiple deprivation according to the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008 data; neither does it have a Communities First Programme running within its immediate locality.

Set up in September 2008, the food bank at the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Penarth, in conjunction with their in-house homelessness charity 'Home Access', provides help to people threatened with homelessness in and around the Vale of Glamorgan area[21]. The setting of the Penarth food bank is potentially indicative of the impact which poverty, and thus food poverty is starting to have on areas considered financially sound, and not solely confined to localised areas illustrative of high multiple deprivation. This example addresses issues of a potentiality for hidden poverty to coexist within areas of wealth, acknowledged by French (2017) in Chapter Two.

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[21] Personal Communication (phone call) with the manager of the Penarth Food Bank Mrs. C Grafton. 2017. November, 2017.

Finally, Map 2 also details the location of the first Trussell Trust Foodbank to open in Wales. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the Trussell Trust opened their first Foodbank in 2004 in Salisbury, England. However, by 2008 the Trussell Trust had established their first Welsh Foodbank in Ebbw Vale, bringing the total number of food banks in Wales by the end of December 2008 to six.

Poverty Representations: Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (2014)

Addressing the growth of the food bank landscape in Wales, evidence taken from the updated Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014 confirms that differential levels of poverty have taken hold within more communities when compared with the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2008, and that the opening of new food banks corresponds to the levels of economic change. Communities that were deprived in 2008 are still deprived by 2014, and that heightened levels of deprivation has spread into neighbouring locations. By 2014, as represented within the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation data, there was an escalation of areas within Wales experiencing multiple symptoms of deprivation. Although this spread is depicted across the country, most areas have seen a rise in multiple aspects of poverty. Moreover, by looking at the data shown in Map 3 below, it becomes clear to see that a growing number of food banks are beginning to cluster around the more deprived areas of the North Wales coastline and within the Heads of the Valleys region.
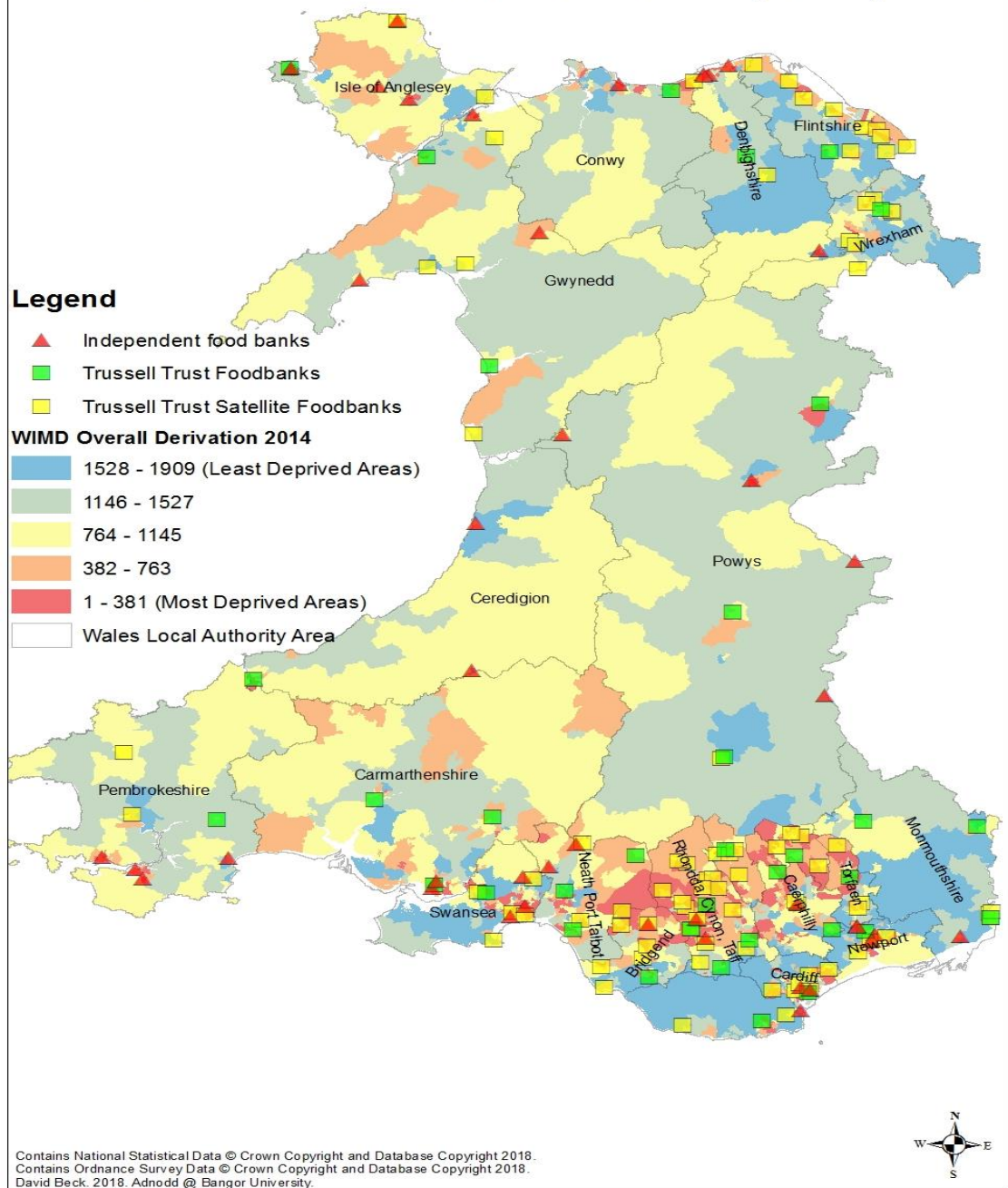
Map 3 The Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation 2014 and the Distribution of Food Banks

The growing number of food banks are reflective of an intensification of multiple deprivation within localised pockets of Wales, but also across the whole of Wales. For example, within North Wales, the work which exists usually centres around work within tourism, retail and food service sectors, which are usually low paid, precarious,

and in some instances seasonal (Bevan Foundation, 2016: 13). In addition to this, it is this type of work where employers make particular use of zero hours' contracts. Here, the argument between structure and agency driven poverty reveals that it is the employment opportunities that act as a structural manifestation of poverty within the local environment, and thus furthering the potential need for the emergency provision of food.

Food Poverty Responses: Development of a Food Banking Landscape

The development of a food banking landscape attached to the rise and proliferation of emergency food aid providers, such as food banks, addresses a direct association with the increase in food poverty. As acknowledged above however, the media response to food bank statistics, in the main, is taken from the data that is collected by the Trussell Trust, representing their national interpretation of Foodbank numbers. Within the maps below, details have been evidenced regarding the geographical location of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network taken from their website, and includes the location of all identified Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres.

As a response to the acknowledgement that the Trussell Trust are not the only providers of food banks in the UK, and thus creating an under-representation of the number of food bank users, the maps below aim to provide clarity on the real food bank landscape of Wales.

Cumulative Count of Food Banks 2008 and 2009
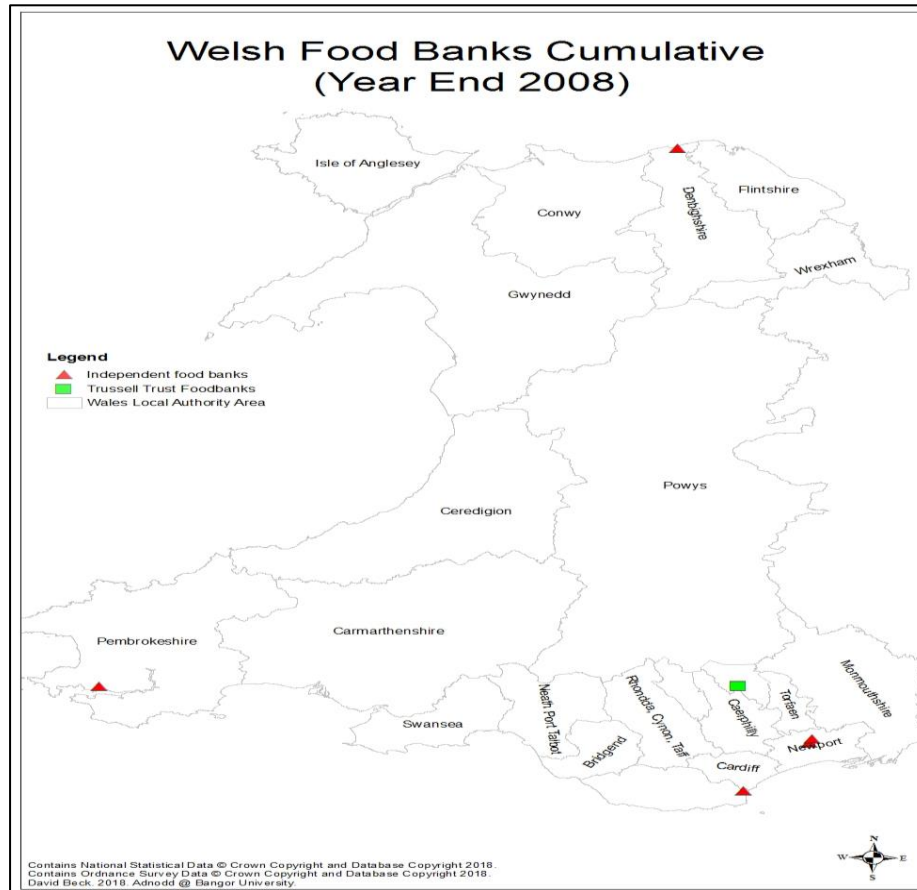
Map 4 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2008
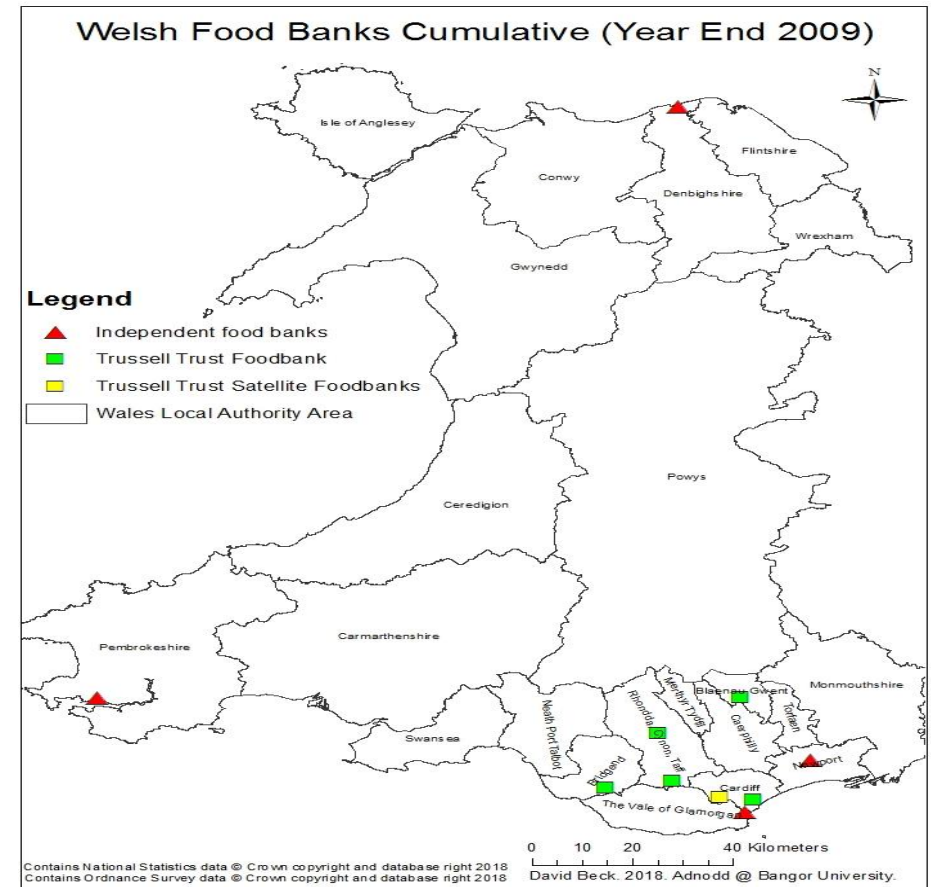
Map 5 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2009

Highlighting an identification of the early occurrence of food banks across Wales, Map 4 serves to underline the acknowledgement of the existence of the earliest food bank locations across Wales, as depicted within Map 2, however, this time without taking into consideration the additional WIMD data or the Communities First data. Following into 2009, Map 5 shows the development of the emergency food bank sector across Wales, as this year sees the addition of six more food banks. Between January 2009 and December 2009, Wales saw steady development of its food bank landscape and acknowledges the addition of five more food banks, almost doubling the number of food banks recognised in 2008. Map 5 also illustrates how the Trussell Trust began to have an increased presence in the emergency food bank landscape of Wales, as they were the only food banks to open in multiple locations throughout this year, all focused within the South Wales Region.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
1998	1	-	-	1
2005	1	-	-	2
2006	-	-	-	2
2007	-	-	-	2
2008	3	1	-	6
2009	-	4	1	11

Table 1 Development of Wales' Food Banks (1998-2009)

The five Trussell Trust Foodbanks to open within 2009 were; Bridgend, Cardiff, Taff-Ely, Rhondda, as they opened as main Trussell Trust Foodbanks however, by the end of the year the Cardiff Foodbank had also acknowledged the need to open within another part of the city, and so had organised the first Welsh Trussell Trust Foodbank satellite distribution centre.

Cumulative Count of Food Banks 2010 and 2011
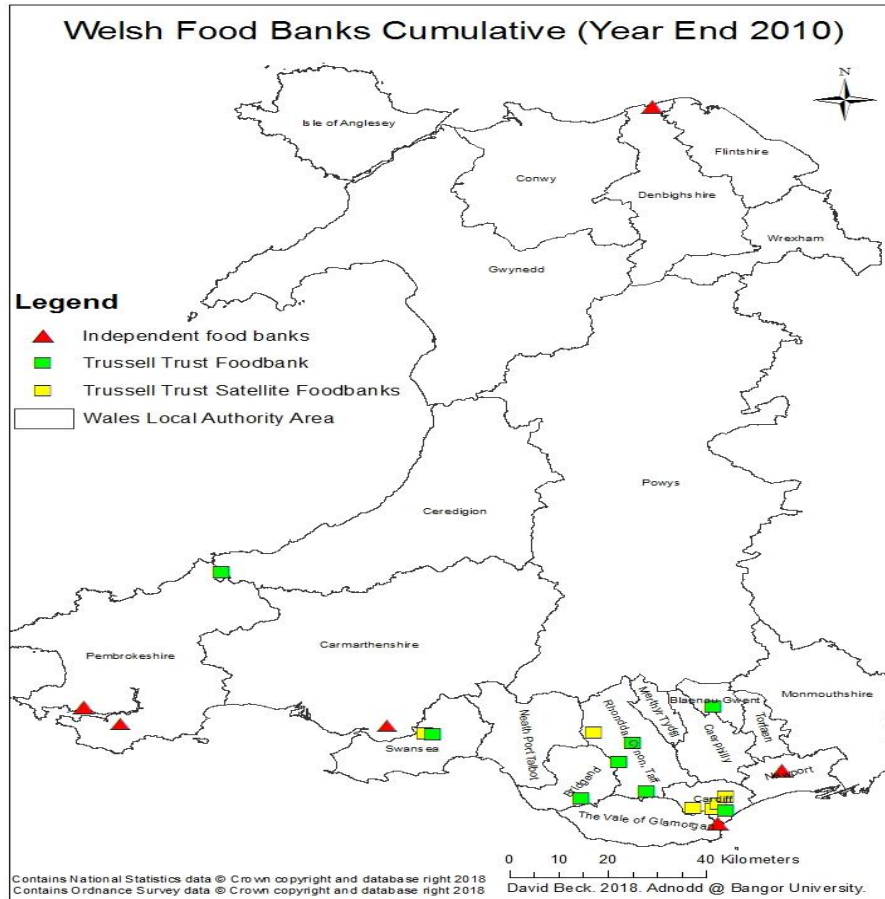
Map 6 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2010
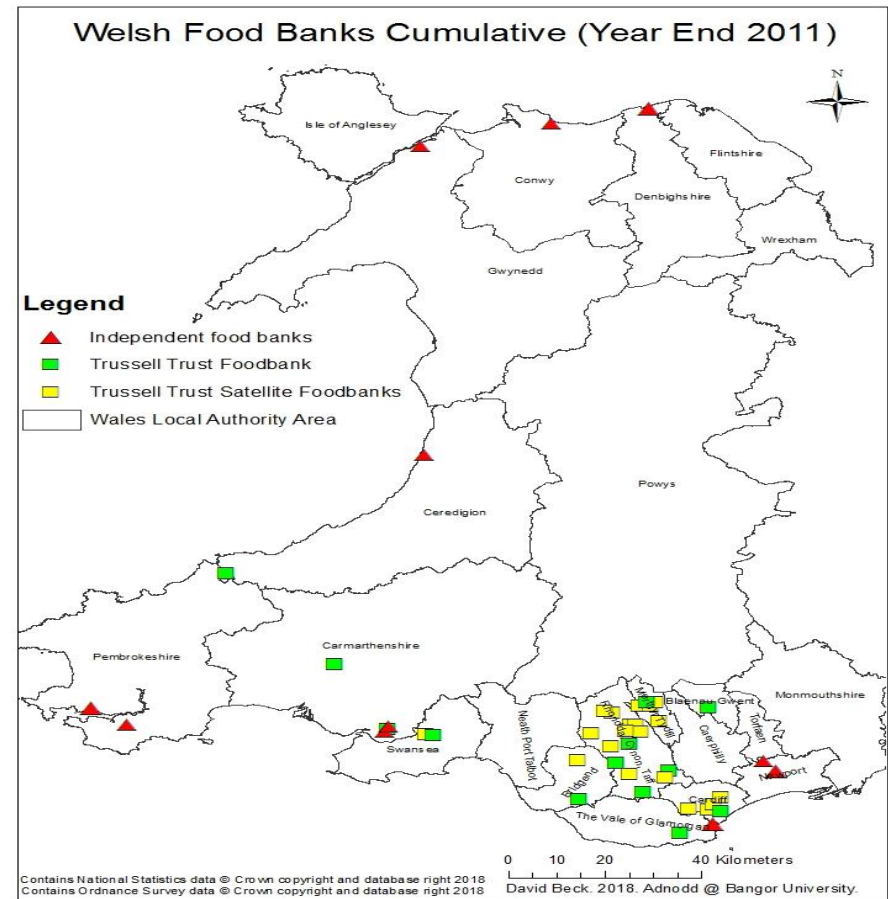
Map 7 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2011

Furthering the development of the Welsh food bank landscape, Map 6 serves to highlight the continued growth of the emergency food banking sector, with the acknowledgement that this year, again, saw the doubling of food banks across Wales, as food banks rose from eleven in 2009 to twenty-two by the end of 2010. Map 6 also shows that there was a continued growth of emergency food aid providers, both independent and the Trussell Trust across South Wales, as here became the focal point for all new food banks within Map 6.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
1998	1	-	-	1
2005	1	-	-	2
2006	-	-	-	2
2007	-	-	-	2
2008	3	1	-	6
2009	-	4	1	11
2010	2	3	6	22
2011	5	5	13	45

Table 2 Development of Wales' Food Banks (1998-2011)

The new food banks which Map 6 highlights shows that two independent food banks opened their doors, located in; Llanelli (Salvation Army) and Pembroke Dock in 2010, alongside three more Trussell Trust Foodbanks situated in; Cardigan, Gilfach Goch and Swansea. Moreover, Map 6 also shows that 2010 was the first year in which the opening of Trussell Trust Satellite Foodbank Distribution Centres grew quicker than the opening of main Trussell Trust Foodbanks, as three Trussell Trust Foodbanks also opened six additional Distribution Centres. The Swansea Foodbank for example, within a matter of months, had opened its first satellite distribution centre a little over

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one mile from the main Swansea Foodbank. The Rhondda Foodbank opened two satellite distribution centres in 2010, focused within rural parts of the county, and The Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank opened three additional distribution centres in 2010, making the Cardiff Foodbank accessible across multiple locations of the city and surrounding suburbs. By the end of 2010, the number of food banks across Wales stood at twenty-two, and, as table 2 above shows, the main delivery body for these were the Trussell Trust (15:7) over the Independents, and that they were heavily focused within South Wales.

As Map 7 illustrates, food bank numbers begun to spread to the North of Wales, as independent food banks opened in Mid-Wales in Aberystwyth and, North Wales in the town of Conwy and city of Bangor. Independent food banks also opened in South Wales, with one in Llanelli, and once again, a third independent food bank in Newport. Within this year, Map 7 also finds that the Trussell Trust focused their new Foodbanks for this year again across South Wales, with Foodbanks opening in Llanelli (less than one mile from the independent food bank that opened in the same year), Carmarthen, Vale, Pontypridd and Merthyr Tydfil (Merthyr Cynon).

As Chapter Three discussed, Trussell Trust Satellite Distributions Centres serve as outposts to a main Trussell Trust Foodbank and form part of the total network of Trussell Trust Foodbanks. In doing so, the Trussell Trust, as a collection of networked Foodbanks, therefore, begins to operate rather like the America system of food pantries, whereby food is distributed to pantries from a central food bank. As Map 7 and table 2 illustrate, 2011 saw more than a doubling of the Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres across Wales, as numbers rose from six in 2010, up to thirteen by the end of 2011. Merthyr Tydfil features heavily in the figures behind the growing numbers of Trussell Trust Foodbank locations during 2011, as within this one year,

the Merthyr Cynon Trussell Trust Foodbank opened ten satellite distribution centres across the county, Taff-Ely Foodbank opened two distribution centres, and The Rhondda Foodbank opened one. As Map 7, and table 2 illustrate, the cumulative number of food banks, both associated with the Trussell Trust and independent of the Trust across Wales had more than doubled by the end of 2011 to forty-five.

Cumulative Count of Food Banks 2012 and 2013
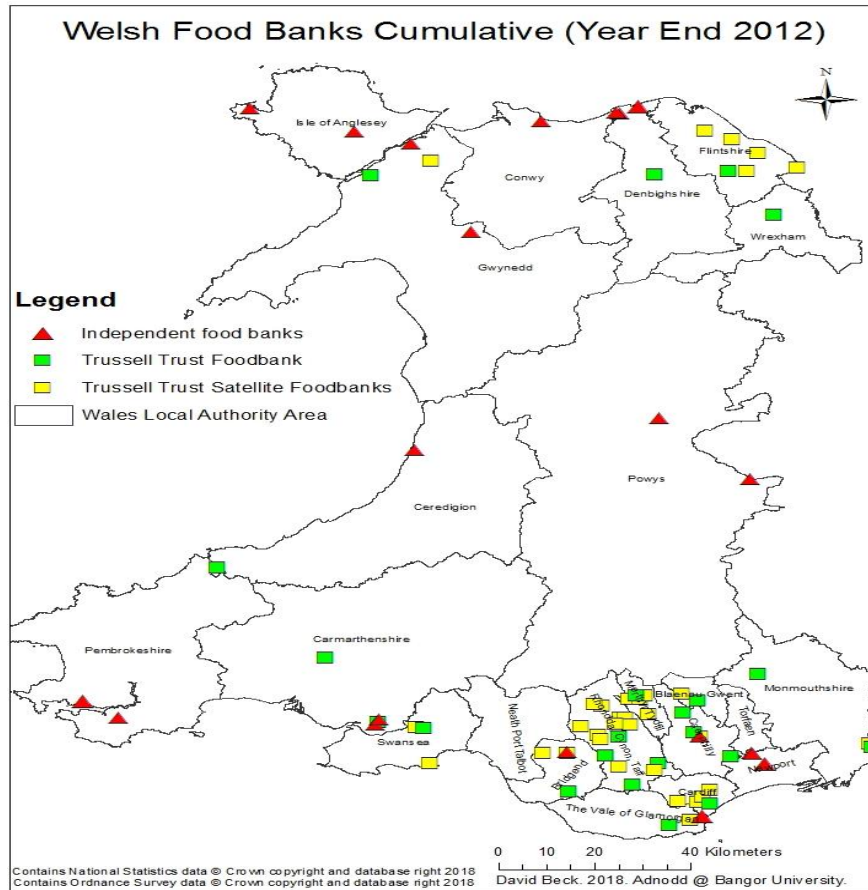
Map 8 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2012
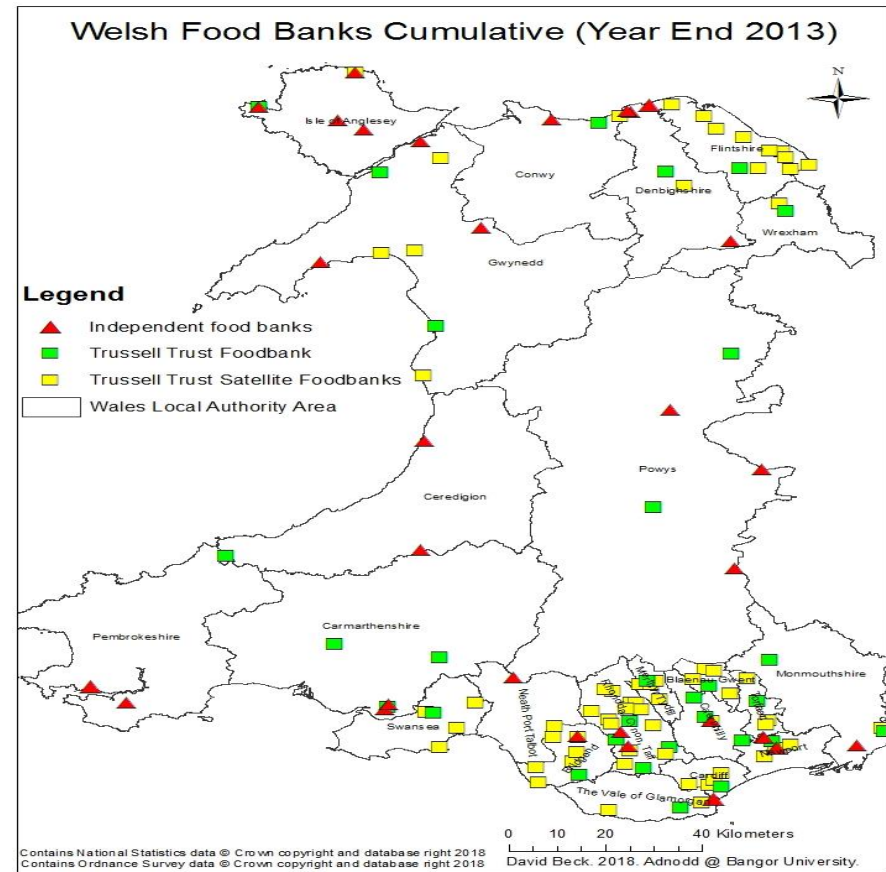
Map 9 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2013

Food Poverty Responses: Care and Support

The beginning of 2012 saw the development of the North Wales food bank landscape continue at a pace, as Map 8 shows, with the opening of four independent food banks within the first six months of the year. This saw new food banks open in; Holyhead and Llangefni, both of which formed part of the Communities First area 'Môn CF' through which the Môn CF food bank 'Pantri Pobl' is operated. Likewise, the North Wales tourist resort of Rhyl saw the opening of two separate independent food banks situated less than one mile apart of each other. Rhyl, as with other areas of North Wales particularly associated with tourism such as Prestatyn, acknowledge the persistent level of deprivation in the area, and is shown through the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation data for both 2008 and 2014.

The remainder of 2012 saw the development of six more independent food banks, spreading from North to South, with openings in the rural areas of; Blaenau Ffestiniog, Newton, Knighton and Pontycymer. The last two months of 2012 saw the opening of one food bank in Pontllanfraith, and a fourth independent food bank in Newport.

Understood to be spaces of care and support (Lambie-Mumford, 2017: 105), food banks have, as detailed in Chapter Two, begun to symbolise a standardised, organised and familiar presence in society, as they become more recognised as facilitators of emergency food aid. As Map 8 illustrates, in North Wales, the Trussell Trust began to extend its influence to the North Wales region with Trussell Trust Foodbanks opening in; the Vale of Clwyd, Flintshire, Wrexham and Caernarfon. Alongside these, came the opening of six associated Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres across North Wales, with five opening in Flintshire, and one Satellite Distribution Centre associated with the Caernarfon Foodbank opening in the rural village of Bethesda.

Within South Wales, as Map 8 serves to illustrate however, again received the highest concentration of new Trussell Trust Foodbank openings (and new Satellite Distribution Centre openings) during 2012. During this year, South Wales saw the Trussell Trust opened five new Foodbanks in the areas of; The Rhymney Valley, Blackwood, Chepstow, Risca and Abergavenny. The location of these Foodbank expose a high concentration of food insecurity within the Valleys Region, potentially reflecting the impact of rural poverty within these areas, and the continuation of persistent levels of poverty. Augmenting this, Map 8 shows that the Trussell Trust also opened a further seven Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres across the South Wales Region, with openings in; Bridgend, Rhondda, Ebbw Vale, Swansea, Vale, Blackwood and Chepstow. This, effectively, brought the total openings of food banks across Wales between 1998 and 2012 to seventy-seven.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
1998	1	-	-	1
2005	1	-	-	2
2006	-	-	-	2
2007	-	-	-	2
2008	3	1	-	6
2009	-	4	1	11
2010	2	3	6	22
2011	5	5	13	45
2012	10	9	13	77
2013	10	8	32	127

Table 3 Development of Wales' Food Banks (1998-2013)

Table 3 above emphasises that in 2013 there was a significant rise in the number new food banks opening across Wales. Continuing from the seventy-seven food banks acknowledged by the end of 2012, the twelve months through to the end of 2013 saw food bank numbers increase by the highest quantity to date. During these twelve months, as illustrated in Map 9, Wales recorded an astonishing fifty new food bank

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openings as both the Trussell Trust and the independent food banks expanded their reach into communities that sought the need of a food bank. The independent food banks during 2013 opened ten food banks, split between; four within the rural parts of North Wales (Amlwch, Llynfaes, Pwllheli and Llangollen). A further two food banks within the deep-rural parts of Mid-Wales; Lampeter and Hey-on-Wye, and the remaining four within South Wales; Caldicott, Cwmtawe, Tonyrefail and Rhondda Cynon Taff.

Food Banks: Increased Geographical Distribution

Procedural changes to the way in which the Government in Westminster administers welfare, as discussed in Chapter Three, brought about an evidential rise in the number of food banks operating as a direct response to reduced welfare spending. Expanding the reach of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, the Trust in 2013 saw the need to open more Foodbanks than ever before within a single year.

Trussell Trust Foodbank	Satellite Distribution Centres (2013)
Eastern Valley	2
Flintshire	5
Taff-Ely	1
Abergavenny	1
Barmouth	3
Blaenau Gwent	3
Bridgend	5
Vale of Clwyd	1
Swansea	2
Pontypridd	1
Anglesey	1
Chepstow	1
Vale	1
Newport	3
Wrexham	1
Abergele	1

Table 4 The 32 new Satellite Dist. Centres opened in 2013

Representing a more even-spread cross Wales with the opening of four Trussell Trust Main Foodbanks in the North (Anglesey, Abergele, Barmouth, and Welshpool). One in Mid-Wales (Llandrindod Wells), and three in the South (Ammanford, Eastern Valley and Newport). These Foodbanks, were, as usual supported by the opening of Satellite Distribution Centres associated with their main Foodbank, as Map 9 illustrates the Trussell Trust opened a massive thirty-two new Satellite Distribution Centres across Wales within this one year, almost tripling the figure seen within Map 8. Table 4 above brings forward details of the thirty-two new locations in which these Satellite Distribution Centres opened.

Cumulative Count of Food Banks 2014 and 2015
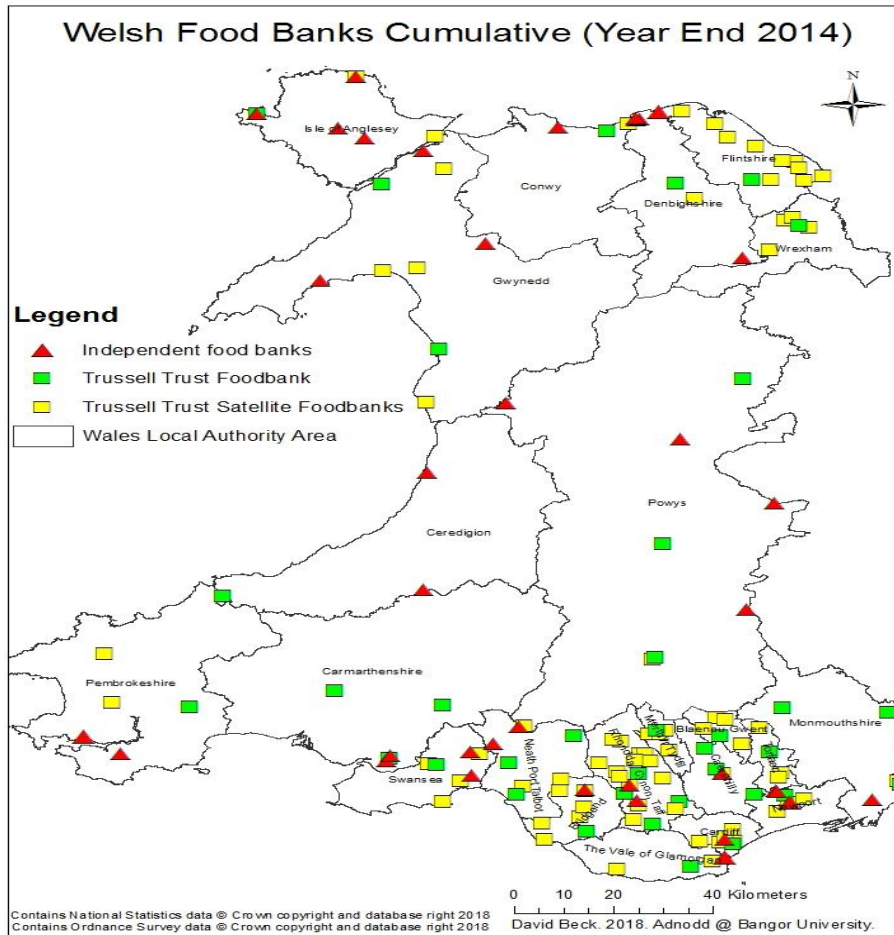
Map 10 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2014
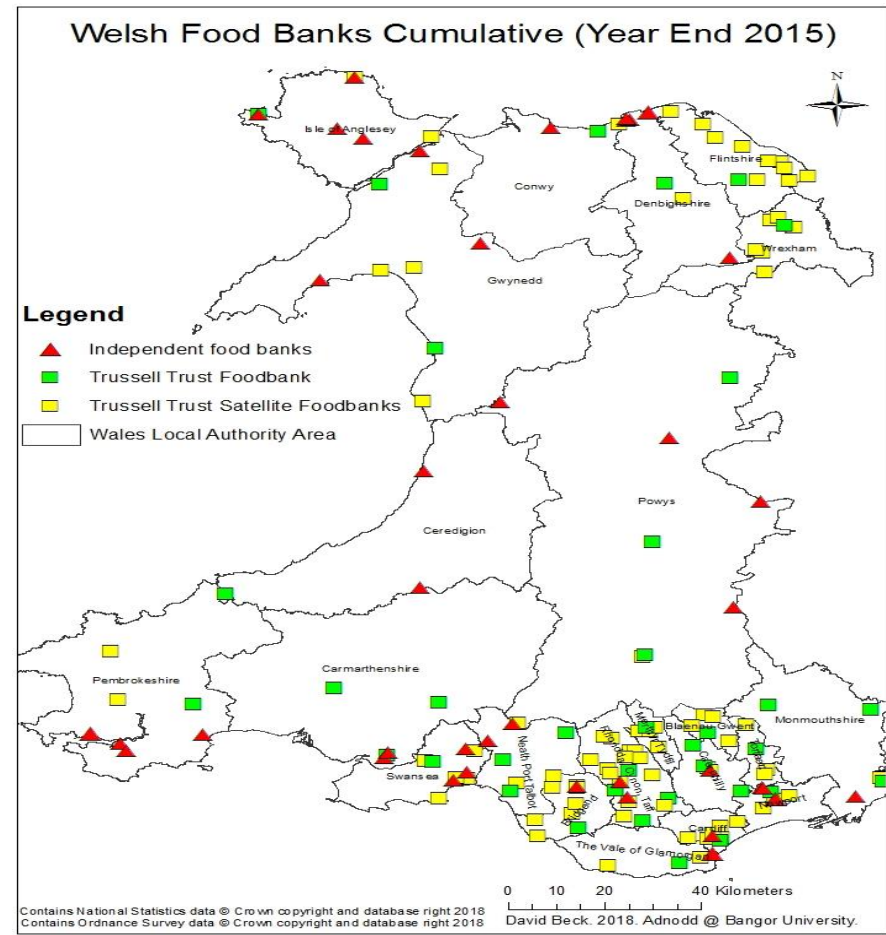
Map 11 Welsh Food Banks and their Cumulative Growth by 2015

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Map 10 illustrates that the growth of the emergency food banking landscape continued to become more diverse, however, with a slightly slower development following the significant growth seen in Map 9. Within 2014, the independent food bank openings had receded to something similar to the figures shown within Map 7, as only six more independent food banks opened during this year. Mapping quite closely to a number of already existing food banks, the geographical representation of the new food banks illustrated within Map 10 serves to highlight the significance of poverty within these geographical locations. Within the North, Map 10 illustrates that a third food bank was opened in the town of Rhyl, and that this is situated, again, just less than one mile from the first two food banks in Rhyl which had opened a number of years earlier. Moving slightly south, the very rural Mid-Wales market town of Machynlleth also saw the establishment of its first food bank at Bro Ddyfi, just on the outskirts of the town. In the South, Map 10 also illustrates the launch of three new independent food banks within the county of Swansea, all within the same year (Rhydypandy, Pontardawe and Bon-y-Maen). The final new independent food bank shown in Map 10 sees the opening of the 'We Feed' food bank at the Al-Manar Centre Mosque in Cathays (Cardiff).

As with the independent sector, Map 10 also illustrates that the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network this year, grew to include six new Trussell Trust Foodbanks, focused wholly across the South Wales Region (Pembrokeshire, Monmouthshire and District, Port Talbot, Brecon, Neath and the Vale of Neath). Within these areas, the location of the Foodbank, and the proximity to Communities First areas and areas of multiple deprivation is apparent, for some Foodbanks, such as Port Talbot, Neath and the Vale of Neath, as these places score highly on their levels of multiple deprivation. However, for the remaining Foodbanks established within 2014 (Pembrokeshire,

Brecon and Monmouthshire and District), the representation of these Foodbanks within these areas are not characterised as deprived by either the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation data or, the Communities First data.

Attached to the opening of the new 2014 Trussell Trust Foodbanks, and to some of the previously established Foodbanks, and thus extending the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, Map 10 details the opening of an additional twelve Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres across Wales, representing double the number of Trussell Trust Foodbanks that opened within 2014. Within the North, the Trussell Trust opened four new Foodbank Distribution Centres. The Wrexham Foodbank, saw an increase of three new distribution centres across the county (Cefn Mawr, Caia Parc and Town), and the Anglesey Foodbank also opened one distribution centre within the town of Beaumaris. Looking across the county of Anglesey (Ynys Môn), Map 10 shows that the opening of this Foodbank at Beaumaris marks the opening of the sixth food bank on the island. Surprisingly, as has been argued through acknowledgement of the need to have a food bank in the relatively wealthy area of Penarth, just outside of Cardiff, the town of Beaumaris is also considered one of the more affluent parts of Anglesey. As shown within Map 2 and Map 3, Beaumaris is represented as being held within the highest bracket of the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation data for both 2008 and 2014, and therefore, potentially not considered to be deprived.

Acknowledging that Beaumaris is considered a relatively wealthy tourist location within Anglesey, the launch of the Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre in this location is rather surprising. However, given the geographical distance between Beaumaris, and its neighbouring towns, or its next nearest food bank in Llangefni, the launch of the Beaumaris food bank serves to highlight a symptomatic understanding of rural deprivation and exclusion, and hidden poverty within plenty.

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Across South of Wales, the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network spread to acknowledge the opening of two distribution centres in the rural areas of Pembrokeshire, and one bordering on the edge of the Brecon Beacons National Park, potentially highlighting the impact of rural poverty within these areas. Additional distribution centres were also opened in the Rhondda Valley (Tonypandy), Port Talbot, Chepstow and the Vale of Neath. Furthermore, the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank also opened their fifth distribution centre in the city, working within the area of Splott.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
1998	1	-	-	1
2005	1	-	-	2
2006	-	-	-	2
2007	-	-	-	2
2008	3	1	-	6
2009	-	4	1	11
2010	2	3	6	22
2011	5	5	13	45
2012	10	9	13	77
2013	10	8	32	127
2014	6	6	12	151
2015	3	-	6	160

Table 5 Development of Wales' Food Banks (1998-2015)

As table 5 illustrates, Wales received a slower growth of newer numbers of food banks launching across Wales throughout both 2014 and 2015, compared with the high point reached in 2013. As has been depicted in Map 10 and shown in table 5, this slowed growth in food bank numbers still worked to increase the total amount of food banks across Wales, and was highlighted as a rise in total food bank numbers from 2013, a total of 127, through to the new total of 151 by the end of 2014. However, this is still representing an additional twenty-four food banks across Wales within the space of the year.

Moving through to 2015, table 5 shows that there has been a reduction in the opening of new food banks across Wales. Following the opening of only three new independent food banks within this year; Swansea Mosque, Saundersfoot and Pembroke Dock, the Trussell Trust did not open any new Main Foodbanks. However, the existing Trussell Trust Foodbanks did open six new Satellite Distribution Centres, extending the overall networked Foodbanks. This, as Map 11 shows new Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres opening in; Blackwood and District, Bridgend and Swansea. Furthermore, exemplifying the acknowledgement of the levels of deprivation within some areas, the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank within 2015 opened their sixth distribution centre within the City region of Cardiff. In the North, the Wrexham Foodbank extended its reach into both the rural and urban parts of its county, with an opening in Chirk, and a second distribution centre on the outskirts of the city.

This means that by the end of 2015 the Trussell Trust were now represented by one or more Foodbank in each of Wales' Local Authorities (plus multiple Satellite Distribution Centres within each Local Authority). The independent food banks, however, although they have a presence within most local authorities, they are not as well represented across the whole of Wales, as they seem to have struggled to maintain a position within the Heads of the Valleys Region. This area appears to be dominated by the expansion of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network.

Map 11 illustrates that since the beginning of data collection, the number of food banks, as emergency food aid providers, across Wales has grown significantly between 1998 and 2015. This has been reflected in the maps above, and the tables that accompany each map, expressing a total of 160 food banks across Wales. As both Map 10 and Map 11 illustrate, this total number of 160 food banks can be further broken down into forty-one independent food banks; geographically spread to operate across

both the North, Mid and South Wales. The maps confirm that there are 114 Trussell Trust Foodbanks (36 Foodbanks and 78 Satellite Distribution Centres) operating across all regions of Wales, and maintaining, a strategic position, as they operate within each local authority.

Food Poverty: A Political Environment

Addressing the growth of Welsh food banks across time, as shown in Map 4 through to Map 11 the incidental rise of new food bank openings can also be understood through the socio-political lens of current social policies, especially those that pertain to changes in social security and welfare. Changes to the ways in which people are able to claim social security, as illustrated within Chapter Three, have undergone in more recent times structural changes associated with the Welfare Reform Act 2012. Serving as a reminder, the Welfare Reform Act 2012 aimed to cut Welfare spending by £15 billion, following the Great Recession of 2008/2009. This was to be achieved by forcing changes, not just to the amount which can be claimed through welfare, but also by imposing fundamental alterations in the ways in which welfare assistance can be claimed (Shildrick et al, 2012: 216).

Cumulative Count of Food Banks Labour and Coalition
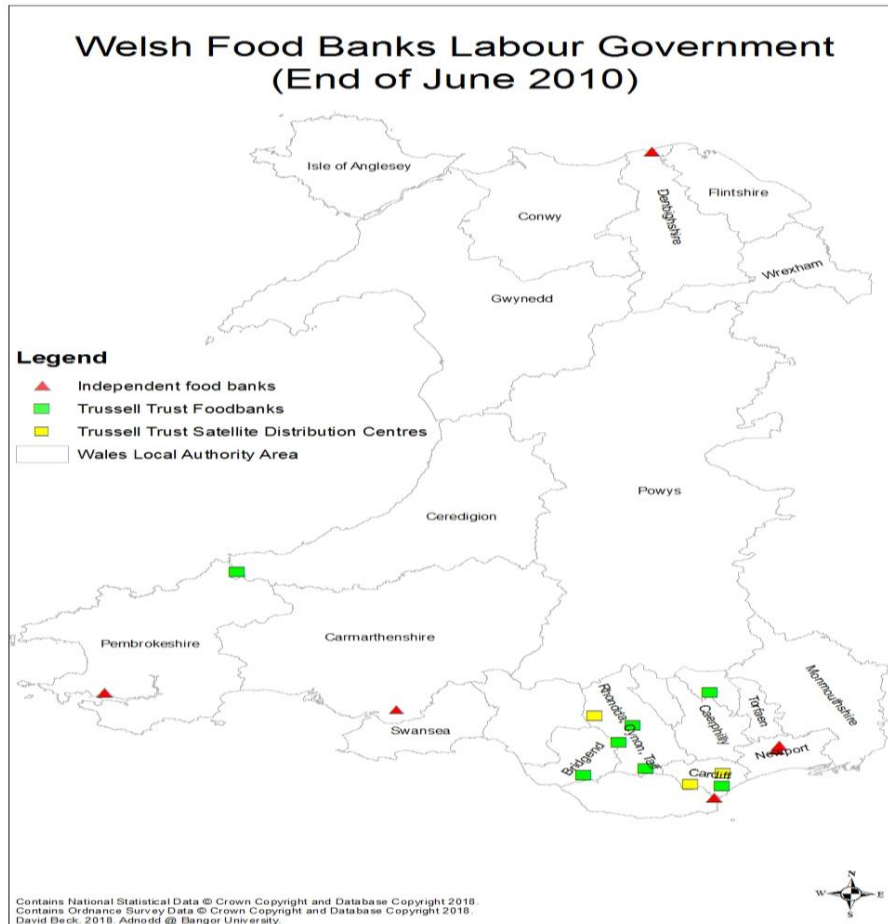
Map 12 The Welsh Food Bank Landscape and the Labour Government
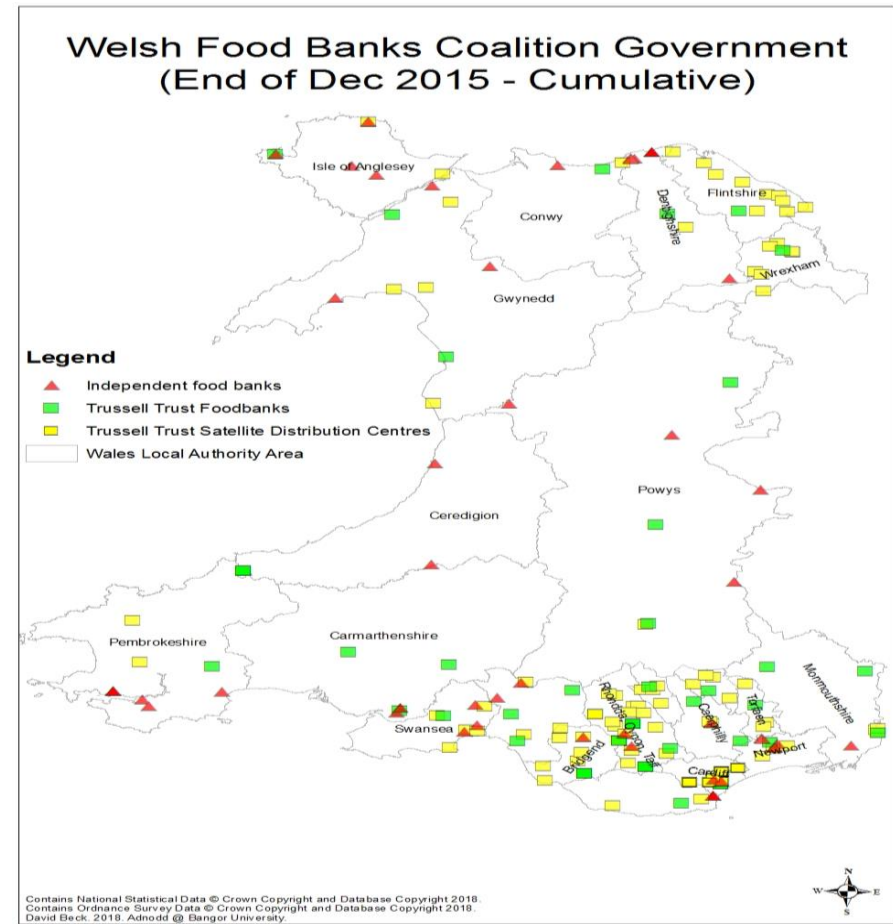
Map 13 The Welsh Food Bank Landscape and the Coalition Government

Illustrating that the growth of the Welsh food bank landscape resides within the policy changes of governments, Map 12 above illustrates the number of food banks that were present under the previous Labour Government of 1997-2010. As Map 12 exemplifies, these were mainly focused within the South Wales Region, and one in the North. Highlighted through the start of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, the spread of food banks, at this time, brought together a disparate extent of independent food banks spread across the South East and West of Wales working in Newport (x2), Penarth, Llanelli, and Milford Haven, in addition to the only North Wales food bank at the time based in Prestatyn.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
1998	1			1
2005	1			2
2006				2
2007				2
2008	3	1		6
2009		4	1	11
2010 (June)	1	2	2	16

Table 6 The Number of New Food Banks in Wales under the Labour Government (1997-2010)

Following the opening of the first food bank in Wales in Newport in 1998, the progression of numbers of food banks under the Labour Government rose from their start in 1998, through the twelve years of the Labour Government under both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown to finish with a high of sixteen food banks.
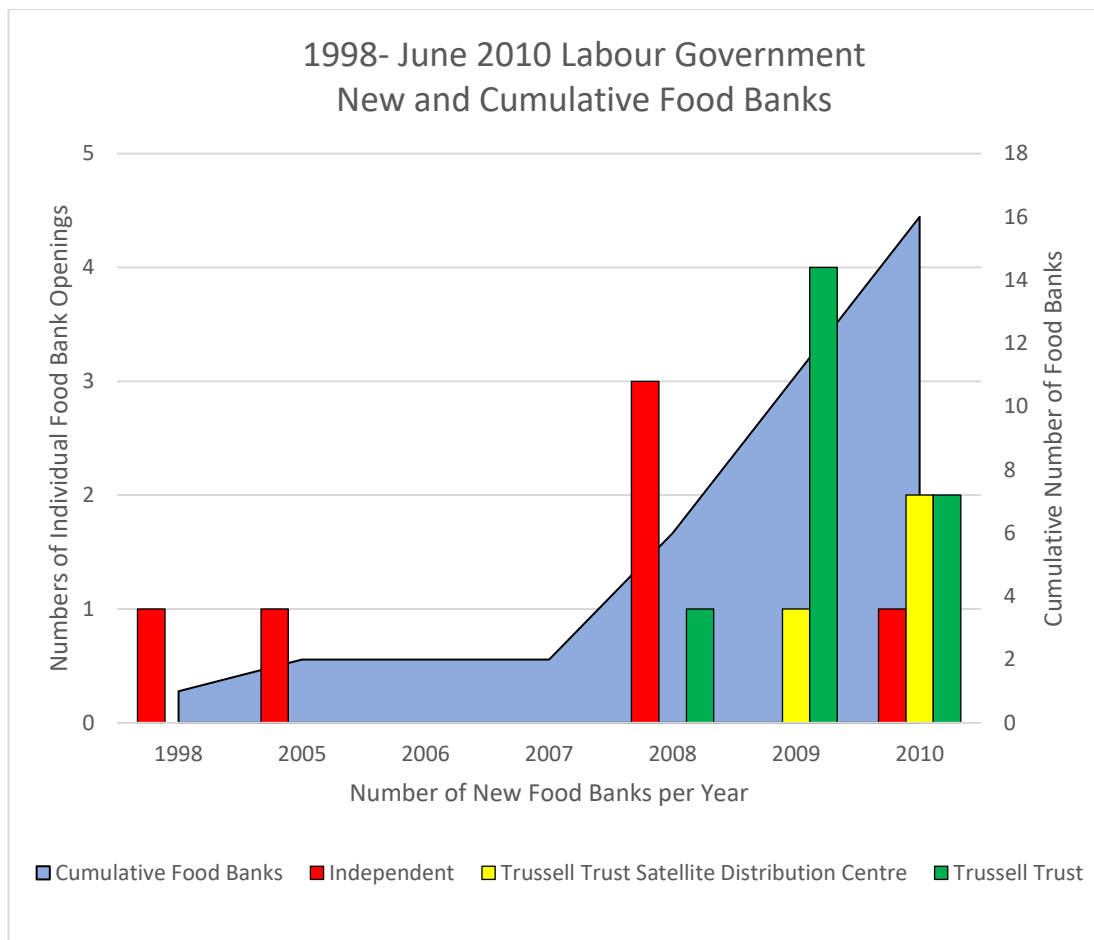
Figure 7 Individual and Cumulative count of the new openings of food banks in Wales under the Labour Government

As Figure 7 above highlights, the development of the Welsh food bank landscape remained fairly static between the openings of the first food bank in Newport in 1998, and the start of the financial crisis in 2008. By this time, 2008 and 2009 saw the introduction of a small, but significant amount of food banks, both organised by the independent sector and Trussell Trust Network. Cumulatively, Figure 1 also shows the rising distribution of food banks, escalating through an eighteen-month period (2008- June 2010) from a low of two, through the high point of sixteen, at which phase also signified the end of the Labour Government following the 2010 General Election.

Poverty Representations: Welfare Reform and Food Bank Openings

Map 13 above, further serves to illustrate how the change in government and the change in political direction concerning social security had a profound effect on the abilities for individuals to be able to manage financially. This has been illuminated through the spread of food insecurity, thus exemplified through the growth of the number of food banks across Wales. By 2010, numbers of both Trussell Trust and independent food banks begin to show greater presence within communities as more and more food banks open. Significant development of emergency food banks was witnessed between 2011 and 2013 with a steady, but substantial increase of openings for both the Trussell Trust and the independent food bank sector. In addition to this, there was observed a significant increase in openings of Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres, especially so in 2013, when in this single year, fifty new food banks opened their doors across Wales. This is split between; 32 Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres, coinciding with the opening of eight Trussell Trust Main Foodbanks and ten independent food banks. This resulted in pushing the total number of food banks in Wales to reach a high of 127, and represented the most food bank opening within one single year.

Over the next two years, food bank openings continued, however, at a slower rate, as 2014 saw twenty-four new food banks open, and in 2015, the number of new openings had receded to nine additional new food banks. This brought the total number of food banks in Wales to 160. This could be hinting at reaching the plateau point for newer food banks, as geographically a combination of independent and Trussell Trust food banks are currently serving more communities.

Year	Independent	Trussell Trust	Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre	Cumulative Food Banks
2010 (July-Dec)	1	1	4	22
2011	5	5	13	45
2012	10	9	13	77
2013	10	8	32	127
2014	6	6	12	151
2015	3	-	6	160

Table 7 The Numbers of New Food Banks in Wales under the Coalition Government (2010-2015)

Rising from the total of sixteen food banks by June 2010 established under the New Labour Government, Figure 7 illustrates the development of food banks across Wales, between the start of the Coalition Government in May 2010 and the end of data collection for this research by December 2015. The figures show how food bank numbers rose within the first six month of the Coalition Government to twenty-two, through to the end of data collection, finally finishing with a high of 160 food banks spread across Wales. Politically, this period embodied an additional increase of 144 food banks assimilated through both the independent and the Trussell Trust Network. Associated with the overall growth of poverty within Wales as the spread of austerity policies unfold, in particular as the policies enacted through the Welfare Reform Act 2012 came into effect. This had led to a growing number of people receiving benefit sanctions, as conditionality become part of the imperative of welfare reform. Patrick (2017: 117) describes benefit sanctions as being part of the conditionality placed upon benefit receipt, and is used as a method for undermining the supposed idea of 'welfare dependency'. In delivering welfare reform, the heightened conditionality has led to a growing demand for new food banks to open within and external to the Trussell Trust network, as more community groups respond to this growth in poverty.
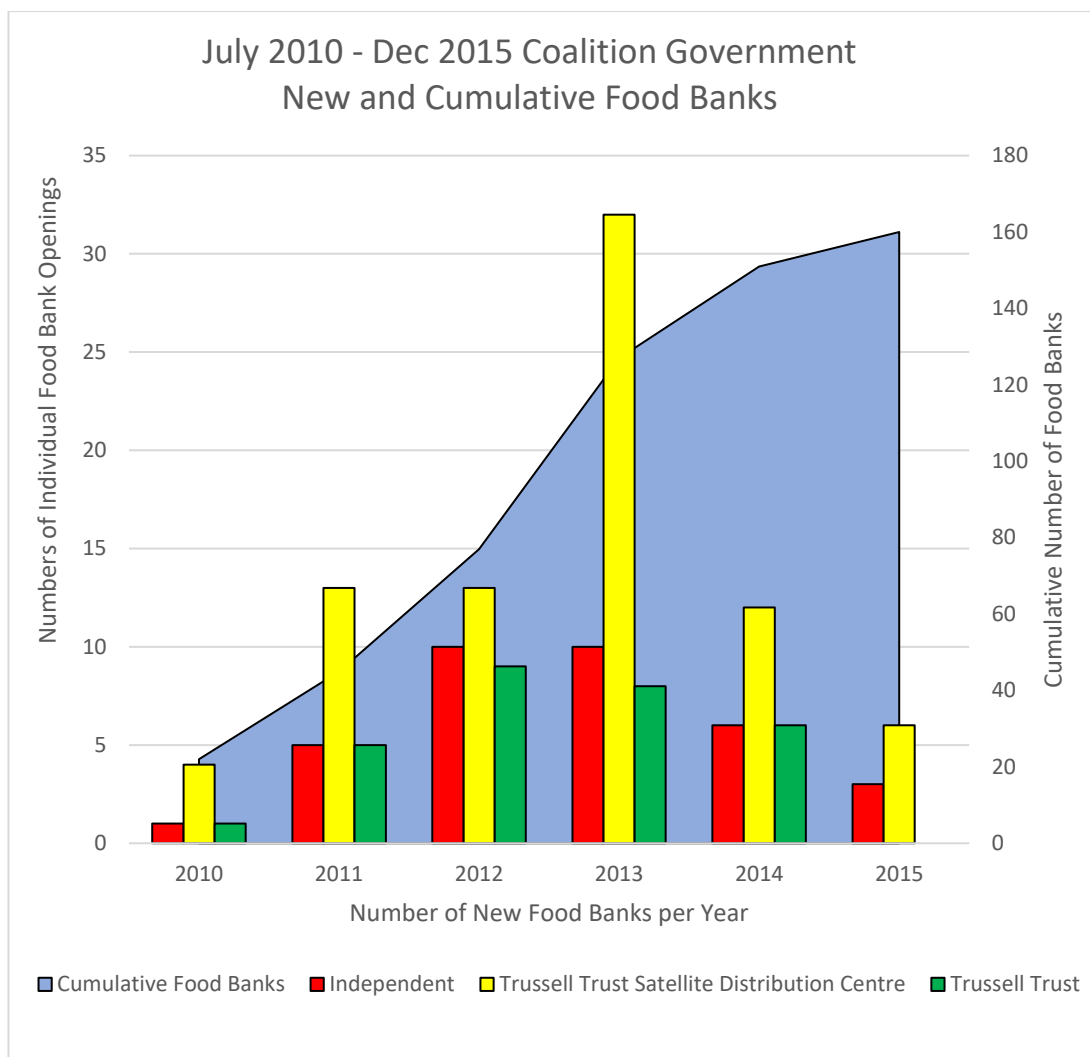
Figure 8 Individual and Cumulative count of the new openings of food banks in Wales under the Coalition Government

Evidence surrounding the growth of food poverty and the corresponding opening of food banks in Wales shows the political nature of food poverty, as food bank numbers have changed dramatically between the Labour Government and the Conservative-led Coalition Government correspondingly. As Figure 8 above illustrates, the opening of the highest number of food banks came in 2013 as a surge of Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres were opened across Wales in the wake of the sweeping changes applied to the conditionality of welfare assistance under the Welfare Reform Act 2012. However, it should also be noted that during this period that other related factors might have also contributed to this overall growth in food bank numbers. Rising

conditionality through the Welfare Reform Act 2012 also was concomitant with further structural issues such as the growth of in-work poverty and zero hour contracts, rising food prices and the additional coverage of food banking in the national media, again, all of which worked to generate the impact of structural issues associated with food poverty and food bank use. It is these issues which may have also led to some local organisations to decide that a food bank was indeed something which they could offer to people in need.
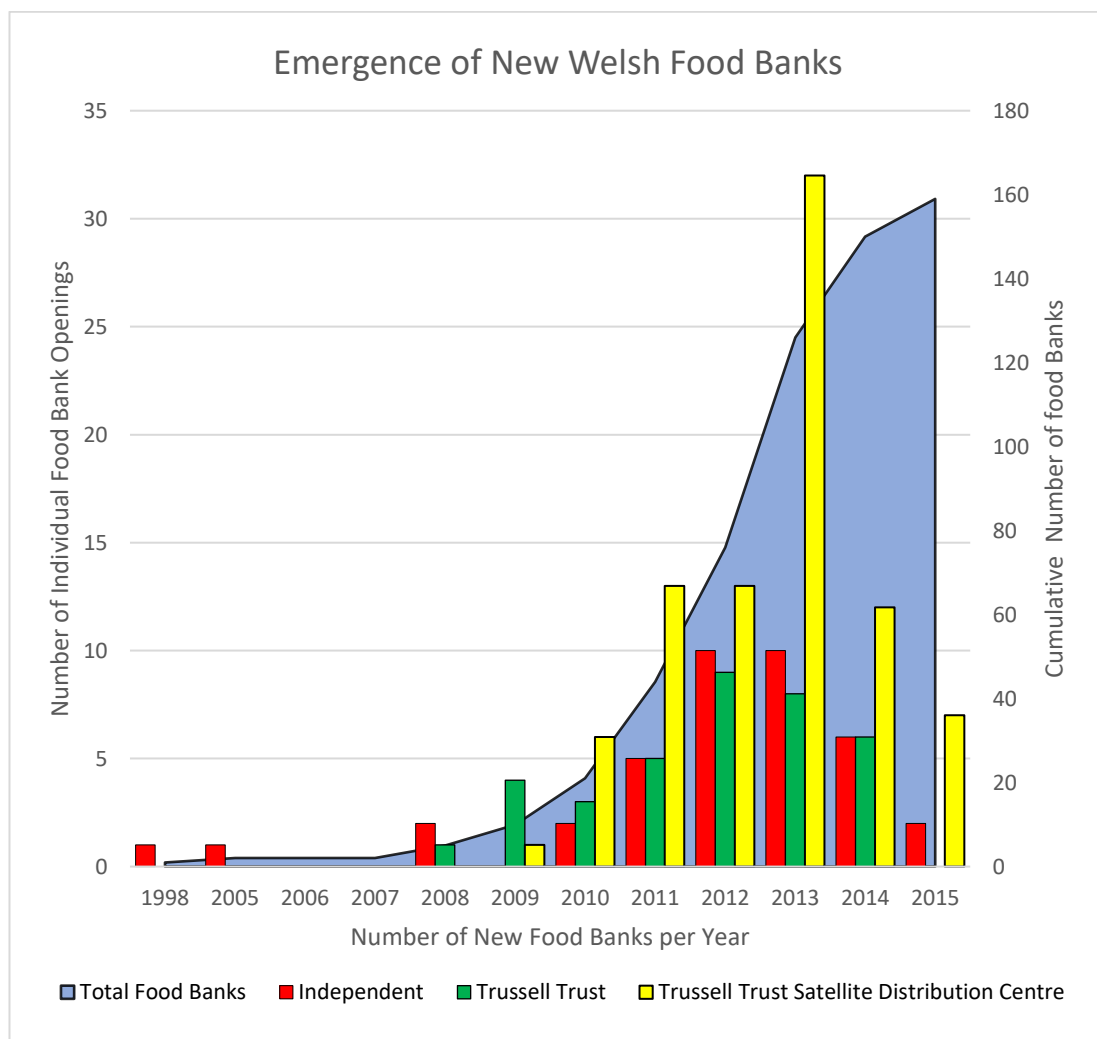
Figure 9 Individual and Cumulative count of the new openings of food banks in Wales from the first food bank through to the end of data collection

The escalation of food bank openings during each Government has been witnessed through both the independent and Trussell Trust Network of food banks. For example, the independent food banks across Wales rose from six food banks under the Labour Government to forty-one under the Coalition Government, representing a 583% growth. Similar with the Trussell Trust Foodbanks, a 414% increase was evidenced by an increase from seven Foodbanks under the Labour Government to thirty-six under the Coalition Government. The largest increase, however, was witnessed within the Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres, as they expanded from three under the Labour Government to a mighty eighty-three under the Coalition Government, thus representing a 2,666% increase within a four and a half year period. As a cumulative count, and taking the food bank landscape as a whole, food bank numbers across Wales rose by 900% within the four and a half years of the full five-year Conservative-led Coalition Government. As Figure 9 shows, the growth of food banks supplied either independently or by the Trussell Trust corresponds with the introduction of the Welfare Reform Act 2012, as the increase of people detrimentally affected by this policy triggered an increase in people seeking emergency food assistance.

Food Poverty Representations: High Point, Plateau, and Diversification of Delivery

As has been addressed above, the growth of the Welsh food bank landscape has highlighted that the slow and steady pace of food banks in Wales, beginning in 1998 developed into providing help through food banks to almost every community across Wales. The politically motivated opening of food banks, as a response to the rising levels of poverty, especially so through the introduction of the Welfare Reform Act

2012, is evidenced as hitting a high point in 2013. Attending to the data collected, which sought to identify a changing face of food poverty in Wales, one such change recorded identified that some food banks had also closed. Highlighted in Map 14 below, with the aim of reaching the rural population, the Flintshire Trussell Trust trialled several mobile Satellite Foodbanks in 2013. These were pop-up food banks in carparks open on certain days of the week. The trail lasted for 12 months and ended in 2014 with no plans for them to be reused[22]. In Pembroke, the charity PATCH closed one food bank due to a relocation, but had then reopened soon after the move. In Newport, the Raven House Trust, the first food bank in Wales, had also temporarily opened another food bank in November 2013 close to their main depot. This had then closed a matter of months later by April 2014[23].

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[22] Personal Communication (informal chat) with the North Wales Development Manager for the Trussell Trust Mr A Sturgess. 2015. September 2015.
[23] Personal Communication (telephone conversation) with the manager of the Raven House Trust food bank Mrs Margaret Smith. 2017. December 2017.
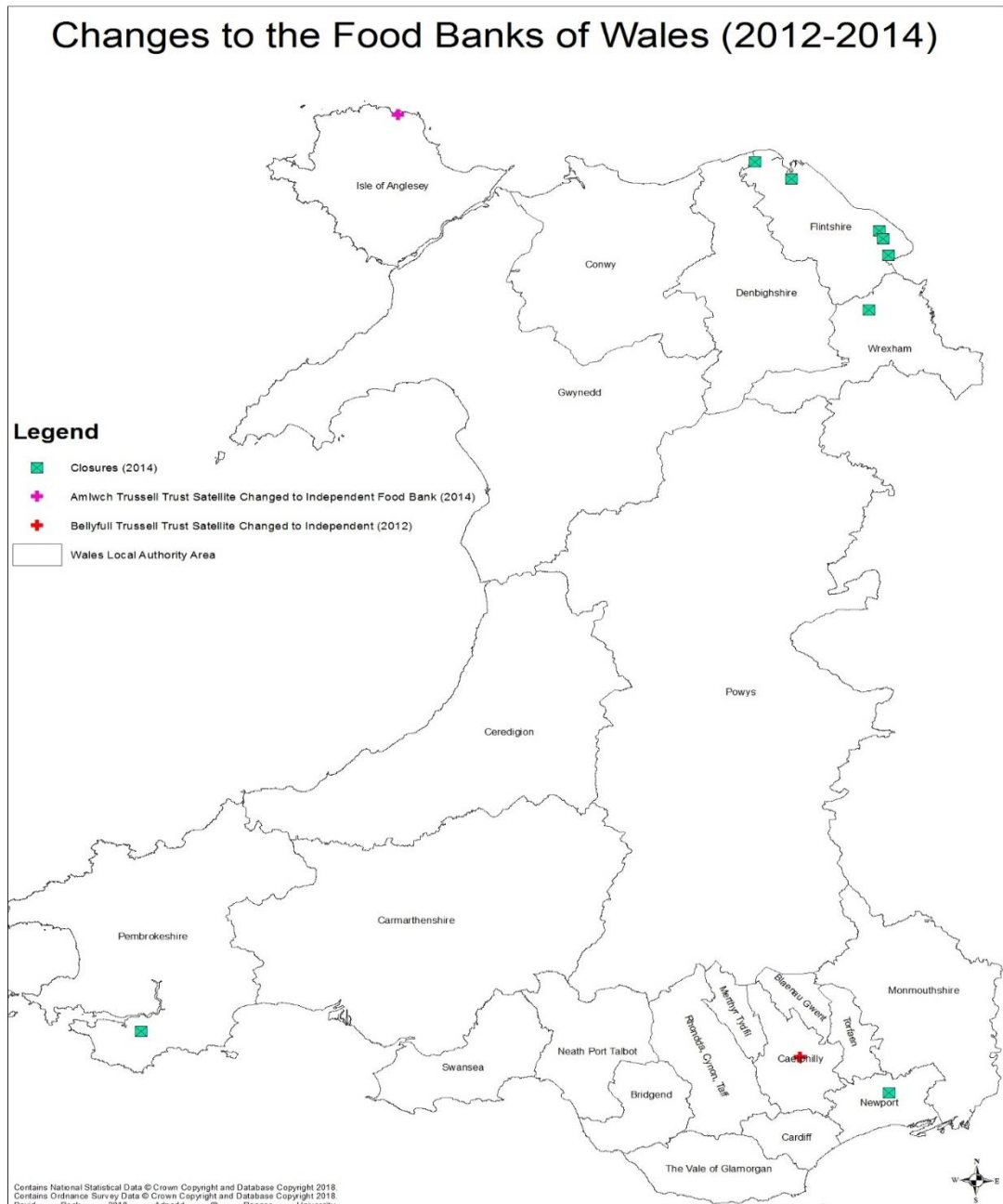
Map 14 The Closure and Change of Affiliation of Some Welsh Food Banks

The mapping exercise discovered that two Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres opening in 2012 and 2013 both made the decision, just one year later, to sever their ties with the Trussell Trust and, in doing so, they then established themselves as independent food banks. For one of these food banks, issues regarding the position of charitable status, charitable accounting and banking procedures were raised by the manager as being part of the reason why they had decided to leave the network. Further

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to this, the issue of directors pay, and the religious positioning of the Trussell Trust was an additional cause for this food bank becoming independent[24]. The second food bank who decided to sever ties with the Trussell Trust indicated that they did so due to the level of flexibility, and in particular, the use of discretion when supplying food parcels. The manager argued that there was a need to support some clients for longer periods than what the Trussell Trust would allow. In addition, the same food bank indicated that there were cost implications to remaining part of Trussell Trust, and that the management did not feel that this was a good use of finance at that time[25].

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the findings of a mapping exercise undertaken to offer a representative examination of the changing face of food poverty, evidenced through a changing face of food poverty. Providing an accurate indication of the number and geographical spread of Wales' food banks, and the landscape in which this has created. This chapter has also argued how changes in government and changes in social welfare, and the ways in which this is administered has resulted in the growth of food bank numbers.

As a response, food bank numbers have been evidenced to be a direct result of socio-political changes and illustrate how people become more vulnerable due to modifications made to social welfare policies writ-large the Welfare Reform Act 2012. It is this reform to welfare that has seen the most rapid growth of food banks as

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[24] Personal Communication (email correspondence) with the manager for Bellyfull food bank Pastor Dave Thomas. 2017. December 2017.
[25] Interview data with Amlwch manager

communities begin to provide emergency support for the most vulnerable within their society.

As food banks become more visible throughout society, they have also become more standardised and legitimised as a result. This standardisation of food banks is evident in the presence of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, as they operate as the only nationally recognised provider. Familiarity of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network as a 'brand' of food banks has been propelled through the media representation of the Trussell Trust, as being *the* food bank. This is more so due to their ability to be able to provide a nationally representative picture of the numbers of food insecure people. However, underrepresented within this discourse is the location, and thus acknowledgement of the impact that food banks outside of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network are having on providing food aid to the food insecure people of Wales. This is because of a lack of clarity over the location of the independent food aid providers, as this remains unrecognised, and therefore, potentially silent. This thesis' findings will make it possible to identify all food banks and the areas of food insecurity they serve.

The next findings chapter, Chapter Six, will reveal the understanding of food poverty and its manifestations through evidence provided by several food bank volunteers and coordinators, and the charitable referral organisations which they work with. Following this, Chapter Seven will present the voices of those who have come to use the food bank, as evidence will be provided by service users themselves over their understanding of food bank use in Wales, and will provide details of mapping the social experience of food poverty.

Chapter Six: The Experience of Food Bank Use - Voices of the Food Bank Providers

"Who are today's new 'undeserving' poor? The familiar tabloid assumption is that you will know them when you see them" (Garthwaite, 2016: 74)

Introduction

Those who are involved in operating Welsh food banks have lent their voices to this research. The findings chapters have been split into four separate parts. Chapter Five has presented the geospatial location of Welsh food banks, represented as a changing landscape of food poverty between 1998 and 2016. Chapter Six will present the findings of semi-structured interviews and focus groups conducted with food banks and their referral organisations across Wales. These findings have the intention of providing answers to the questions set out within the overall aims and objectives of this research thesis. Finally, Chapter Seven will bring forth the voices of those who have become part of the food bank system through use of the service, and again, these findings will be presented as they sit within the wider research aims and objectives. Separating the voices of the food bank operators and users into different chapters helps to understand the relationship that exists between the two sides of the food bank coin, to avoid the potential for any confusion, and to reward each group of respondents with clarity of analysis. Bringing together evidence from in-depth qualitative research interviews held with both food bank referral organisations and food bank coordinators and their volunteers, the arguments presented within this chapter have been used to give voice to those who are working hard within this changing landscape of social welfare.

Within this chapter, the service providers demonstrate how the changing face of food poverty has evolved in contemporary society, such as through the use of food banks. They also argue that this current situation has been influenced through a much longer period of change under discussion throughout this research, such as those argued within chapters Two and Three. As a reminder, the aim of this research is to examine the changing face of food poverty and the development of emergency food aid provisions in Wales. To do this, the research questions aim to understand;

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

In achieving the aims through the research questions above, evidence has been collected from focus groups with food bank volunteers and through semi-structured interviews with referral organisations and food bank coordinators across Wales. What the evidence substantiates is that the experience of food poverty and food bank use is one that merits academic attention. This chapter identifies the development of several themes that have emerged from the voices of food bank service providers, as they seek to explain how they have come to understand the current policy climate and the influence this has had on the use of food banks as a crisis intervention.

There are four main themes that have arisen from the interview data from the service providers of food banks that all feature within evidence that provide answers to the four research questions. The first area to be discussed is the impact of welfare reform and how this has facilitated the growing number of people seeking help from a food bank, and the subsequent rise in the number of food banks across Wales. The

understanding of the impacts associated with welfare reform has been key to providing answers addressing the identified research questions. The discussions within this chapter have highlight that the service providers identified issues of welfare retrenchment at the hands of welfare reform as having become pivotal in the structural causes of poverty. Therefore, to examine the changing face of food poverty, **welfare retrenchment** became a focused code. This is in light of the Welfare Reform Act 2012, and the removal of certain primary provisions within social security.

Following the examination of welfare retrenchment, further findings will be presented which consider how food banks have been understood by the people facilitating them. In addressing this situation, service providers link back to areas related to changes in social security and the way policies, and society in general have begun to operate within an individualistic ideology. This brought forth discussions of 'dependency', 'morality' and social distancing or the process of 'othering' as described by Lister (2004). What is key to this area under discussion, is that these conversations come from both service providers and service users, and therefore **deserving and underserving** became another focused code, and occupies the second area of discussion. Significantly, the idea of othering in relation to deserving and undeserving identities of food bank users will also be further presented in the following chapter (Voices of the Food Bank Users) as it crossed the boundary between arguments suggested by the providers and the users of food banks themselves.

Linked to the experience of food bank use is the theoretical position around the future projections of the food banks in Wales, and the role of social policy in being able to reduce the need for emergency food assistance. These arguments, presented by the food banks themselves highlight observed differences between the two food bank types with evidence presented from both volunteers and managers of Trussell Trust

Foodbanks and independent food banks. Data from these interviews will be presented arguing that **embedding** food banks as a response to declining social security, or as a replacement for welfare is of major concern for both groups. The embedding of food banks, due to welfare reform highlights that there is a **structure and agency** debate at the heart of food bank use, simultaneously squaring the circle through returning the findings back to an argument of welfare reform, this time as discussed by the 'Big Society'.

Food Poverty; A Structure or Agency Driven Ideology?

In approaching an examination of the rise of food poverty in Wales, evidence has been taken from various discussions with food bank providers and their referral organisations from across Wales. What has been found, is that in line with the debate presented in Chapter Three, the cause and existence of food poverty in modern day UK is still dominated by a narrative of structural or agency driven poverty.

In discussion with various actors involved in the service delivery side of food poverty alleviation, structural drivers of poverty dominated most of the conversation, and that the very notion that increasing poverty within a wealthy country begs questions over the role of development. For example, here one referral organisation focus group, who operate as a walk-in advocacy service and referrer to their local food bank, argued that the people whom they deal with on a daily basis are ones who are really struggling. They argue that the people whom they help are indicative of people who have been subject to policies that have begun to retrench the level of social security. What the focus group also argue, is that the poverty which is being experienced today is

reminiscent of the Victorian Era, and that they fear this is only the beginning of further retrenchment which could take us back to a similar period;

Janet   Yes, it is just like it was in the late 1800s.

Chris   I was going to say, it has gone back in time.

Janet   Yes, we were saying this morning weren't we. Because I said I had been watching the Corbyn stuff and all of that, and people castigating him, saying that he is trying to take us back to the 30s and the 40s. And I was like, no one has actually come back at them and said that the Tories have taken us back to the early 1800s.

Don't you see? Parish relief! That is what we are administrating now, poor relief. And I joked in the meeting saying; 'the ads will be out soon', and this was to the head of welfare rights. And he said; 'what are you on about'? 'The ads will be out soon for the Poor Law Guardians'. He went; 'don't be ridiculous'!

Bloody is though. That is what we are!

Ben   What we are all getting now is outdoor poor.

Chris   Yes. We will all be getting indoor poor next.

Janet   They will, the workhouses will be there.

As the focus group above discusses, the face of modern poverty has changed. It has been expressed as one which is reverting to the experience of poverty from around the time of the Industrial Revolution, and the rapid development of capital in the hands of the few. The argument regarding the retrenchment of services started to be more pronounced throughout the research. The understanding of welfare retrenchment has

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been argued by all service providers as being the reason behind the recent rise in food bank numbers, and that this is due to the Welfare Reform Act 2012. Many of the changes proposed by this reform to welfare are aimed at streamlining social security and introducing far more conditionality on claimants than was previously seen.

I asked each service provider interviewee about why they thought food bank numbers were on the increase, and what they understood to be behind the rising numbers of food bank openings across Wales. Here, in discussion with Helen, an independent food bank coordinator the cause of rising food bank use was clear;

Dave   Why do you think they are growing?

Helen   It's definitely austerity led. You know. Wage levels and zero hour contracts and all those things that make people think; 'I'm less stable, and less secure'.

However, looking at the data provided in the mapping chapter, it seems that some food banks open in areas of Wales which are understood to be not typically deprived, as they do not feature on the WIMD 2014 as being 'deprived'. In trying to understand why this may be the case, Helen offered evidence which suggests that ailing Anglican congregations may find that a food bank is an easy way to offer some form of help to their local population. Further to this point, the Coordinator also mentioned that in some instances, perhaps some food banks are opening as a national response, to a perceived need, and not entirely responding to actual local need;

Helen   All action is dependent on volunteers and I think, you know, big old Anglican churches fall short of volunteer power because, they do tend to have older congregations, and that sort of thing, sadly.

            […]

And I think, in one sense, I'm not been funny, but they are quite in easy thing for churches and stuff to do, because […] it's clear how you do it. They are fairly easy to run. They don't take a great deal of expertise. […] do you know what I mean? It's quite safe contact with needy people. And that sounds awful, but, do you know what I mean? I can imagine a lot of churches going, *'well we can't do much about, you know, the drug issues or whatever, but we could do a food bank, I think that we've got, four, five people here who would be committed to running a food bank, you know'*! And it feels do-able. And for that reason, I think a lot of churches and similar organisations have perhaps, got on the bandwagon, because it is more do-able than tackling a lot of the bigger issues in society.

The Face of Welfare Reform

Whatever the case for opening the food bank, the impact of welfare reform on creating food poverty is clear. For the providers of services linked to food banks (and the food banks themselves) the increased conditionality brought in via the Welfare Reform Act 2012 has been linked to an increase in their workload as agencies, many of which are in the voluntary sector, now report having to deal with a larger number of people seeking help and advice. One such service which has been cut, the Social Fund, has been understood to have been a key driver behind the increased use of food banks as one food bank volunteer in a focus group has identified;

Owen   There is no doubt about it, when this Crisis Fund seemed to disappear, and the agencies kind of seemed to take back step on taking responsibility, then the numbers just went up exponentially.

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One referral organisation was asked about the loss of the crisis fund, and what this meant for their service users. The respondent informed me how, under the slow rollout of Universal Credit, in her area single person claimants were the first recipients of this new model of reformed welfare payment. She also confirmed that within this group you are likely to find a number of vulnerable individuals, such as those with substance misuse problems, complications with accommodation and people with long-term unemployment issues. Should a problem occur, such as a benefit sanction or an unusually high utility bill, these are the people most likely to suffer, and least able to weather the storm;

Bev   Now that the local authorities become the provider of that money, it has kind of been devolved. And if you are a single bloke you haven't got a chance. You haven't got a hope in Hell of getting anything. A single bloke with no children no dependents, you get nothing basically.

Arguing that welfare retrenchment has become a substantial part of the Welfare Reform Act 2012, Bev also hints at how the shifting of the Crisis Fund over to the local authority to administer has been a catastrophe, as local authority budgets have been slashed also and the money for the Crisis Fund is not ring-fenced.

Bev works as an Employment Advisor for a company which aims to get people back into work. The company is a provider of the Conservative Government's Work Programme scheme as part of the Welfare Reform Act 2012. As a private company providing this service on behalf of the government, Bev identifies that there have been severe, and at times dangerous cost saving methods applied to the help which is offered to those whom she successfully places back in employment. She argues that prior to welfare reform getting someone back into work was relatively easy as the person

would be given a lump sum of money in lieu of their first pay-packet. This made their position sustainable, as individuals could navigate the gap between coming off benefits and earning a wage.

Bev   You see people wouldn't ask for anything at one point, when they used to come to my desk and say; *'Oh, I have found work'. 'Oh well done, congratulations, that is brilliant'* […] But, when people used to come to the desk, the first thing I would say would be *'brilliant go to the Job Centre now and ask them for your back to work grant'. 'How much is that'? '£250'. 'That is brilliant, that will take me right through till I get my wages, it will be a tight month, I will have to budget a lot lot more'.* But then they felt they couldn't ask for anything else because they were given their lot. And it is like you have been given that. Manage. You will soon get paid. And then once that got taken away, and I remember the first time that I ever asked my boss. I said *'what are we going to do with this person, they have found work'.* And we get paid a massive amount when they go into work, about £3000 per customer, and we don't spend a penny on them! We give them a bus ticket, a weekly bus ticket! So if they've got four weeks until they get paid, they get a four weekly bus ticket, and food vouchers. That is what we provide.

Dave   So the food voucher has become part of a package?

Bev   Yes! And we write it on all our notes. All the staff write it on all our notes. Because we don't let it slip through the net the fact that that is the only help that we are providing, because we are meant to provide in-work support, and that only in-work support that we provide is

contacting the employer ensuring that they have not signed back on benefits. That's what we are providing, and we sell the package, as 'Oh, we will support you for two years when you are in work'. We are not! We are making sure that we are getting every sustained payment every month that we keep them off benefits.

Dave   Wow, that is interesting. This food voucher and the bus ticket is now the only thing. You get paid £3000 per person that you get back into work.

Bev   And that is what we give!

Dave   And that money just is ploughed back into the business?

Bev   Yes.

Dave   And you just give them a bus ticket and a food voucher?

Bev   Yes.

Bev identifies that welfare reform has created a gap in social security which people moving into work could fall through, and that this gap has indeed been filled by her local food bank. This has become a relationship which she argues is fundamental to the role, so much so, that this has become part of the 'back to work' package which she offers. As an organisation which refers often to her local food bank I asked Bev about what she understands to be the reasons behind food bank referrals;

Bev   The main reason in my opinion, was […] the decline of the back to work job grant. On 1st April 2013, now, I don't know if there is any research on food banks getting busier following that period, but that

was the cut-off point. It used to be £100 for a single person, and it was £250 for a family. And once that stopped, there was nothing.

[…]

Bev   No I still stand by the majority of the ones that we issue are those going into work and not having anything to live on for a month. That is the majority that I feel I have issued. Again there are a lot, because I don't sanction, you know I won't sanction, but if I would, I know that I would be waiting there at the door, to say sorry, here have that. There is the delay, the benefit delay of when somebody is coming, been deemed fit for work and they are coming off the sick. There is that one, that is a biggie, and I've issued quite a few on them. But the majority I've issued are those that are going into work and have nothing to live on for the month.

Taking the understanding that poverty is set to worsen, and that welfare retrenchment has been triggered by the Welfare Reform Act 2012, a question regarding the potential impact on welfare organisations and the social services, and what effect this could have on those already experiencing food poverty was put to the referral organisations;

Chris   Yeah we should have a role, but it shouldn't be our responsibility. Yeah, and on a wider subject I think everything is being passed to the voluntary sector. Everything!

Janet   Oh, absolutely!

Chris   Yeah. They think that the voluntary sector, are here for all the problems and that really really annoys me. Everything just seems to be coming our way.

Janet   I think Cameron is influenced by that kind of Spirit of 45, when families and British Red Cross and Women's Institute all pulled together, you know to protect our communities.

Pulling this conversation together, and drawing a similarity with recent political ideologies, the focus group participants are placing blame for the rise of poverty on the current Conservative Government, and the fostering of a 'Big Society' ideology. As Levitas (2012) described earlier, the Big Society is a place whereby the Government removes itself from certain obligations within society and allows the charitable sector to operate, in what Smith (2010: 828-829) has described as a 'post-bureaucratic society'.

In line with the debate raised above by the referral organisation focus group, welfare retrenchment has paved the way for the Big Society, as an ideological position following on from the Big Society. The impact which this is having on food banks has been picked up by the volunteers of one food bank focus group held. Here, in a semi-structured interview, the coordinator of the same food bank shares the sentiment;

Helen   And increasingly, it just feels like, you know the government is making policies that we are having to pick up the fallout from, you know. They can't get money, so we literally are having to feed the people who would have been picked up by the system before.

Taking this line of enquiry further, a question was asked to the coordinator regarding the role of charities in being able to address a growing number of people experiencing poverty, and in particular food poverty;

Helen   But it shouldn't be our responsibility, you know, to meet the needs of the poverty of this country when it is created by poor government

policies, the greed of the wealthy few, all of those things. But it shouldn't be charities responsibility to plug the gaps.

Dave   Do you think that charities have picked up on where the welfare state is left off?

Helen   Yeah, well I think we are at the moment aren't we. Totally! You know, it is becoming the new welfare state, that charities just. Yeah. Tires people out. But it is ridiculous, it is, it is completely unsustainable and unacceptable you know. Not that people don't want to do it, but that is becoming the accepted norm people do do it.

Dave   Do you think it is the role of the charitable sector, such as the food bank, to address food poverty in the UK?

Helen   No! No! It is ridiculous that we are bunches of well-meaning volunteers, propping up, you know, as I say, putting the sticky plaster on this massive, massive wound. It is. It is terrible, you know, that it is becoming expected.

The idea proposed here by the coordinator of one food bank is that the service has now become an expectation under the Welfare Reform Act of 2012, and she serves to highlight the argument for modern poverty as being one that is structurally driven.

Deserving and Undeserving Poor, as Structure or Agency

As the role of structurally driven poverty has been discussed above, the potential for an understanding that the agent has some responsibility was never far from discussion throughout most interviews. For example, the individual service user, and their

experience of poverty and the role of food education and its contribution to food poverty for some volunteers was too closely linked for them to ignore;

Rachel I guess a lot is back down to education. You know, young girls who've got children who don't know, that, without sounding patronising about this now, but if you've got a leek, you can use the whole of the leek, you can use that for one dinner and then you can put the greens in a soup. Don't throw that away, you know simple as that you can. So that is education. You know that sounds quite patronising doesn't it. I don't mean it to sound patronising.

Enid No, no it doesn't, it is not.

Rachel It's like the leftover pasta or the leftover rice makes a salad.

Diana Yeah, if you buy a chicken you use half or three-quarters for one meal, and then you can make a beautiful chicken soup with some rice and vegetables the next day.

Owen Or you can make a meatloaf.

Rachel Yeah, you know. But they don't actually know how to do that.

Enid But its girls and boys who must learn that. Not just girls…

Yet the propensity for food poverty to be completely driven by the agent in this regard was further dismissed as the conversation continued to discuss how food skills had been structurally reduced in schools;

Enid I think actually the absence of school cookery has made a huge difference. And I firmly believe that boys and girls should have, what I call proper cookery lessons, which talks about nutritional

requirements, and teaches them everything from how to boil an egg to make a soup, to, you know, make proper food.

Rachel   Yeah, so if they are not getting that at home they at least get it in school.

Once again, reflecting on educational food skills as being a symptom of structurally driven food poverty, the following participant in another focus group still argued that this education can be an agency driven symptom through food skills and abilities, but also resided the ultimate blame on choice;

Thomas   Just going back to, you were talking about food education, people not being able to understand things. Dealing with a lot of younger people, they tend to get their money, forget what they have got to pay out, and go and buy takeaways. And they're are so expensive. And then there stuffed for the rest of the week, or the fortnight, because they've got no food, no money to do it. Because they have not had, they have either not been brought up to be able to cook, or do things, and they find themselves in poverty.

Taking this understanding that the experience of food poverty, as described by two different volunteer focus groups as being both structurally and agency driven, a similar point was raised within the referral organisation focus group. Here, the imposition of new methods of sourcing food has fostered fresh structural symptoms of food poverty, as people have shifted the values associated with food. Food values have moved away from shopping local and often, over to shopping for within the confines of the convenience offered by the large supermarkets;

Chris   People could grow their own food then, people had gardens, they had allotments and they grew their own food. We kept chickens, and I

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	remember my auntie kept chickens and my Taid [Grandfather] grew his own veg.
Janet	Supermarkets disempowered people in that regard haven't they, because it is all there in one shop.
	[…]
Janet	Because we don't think do we, because the mentality is that you get in your car in you nip down to Sainsbury's or Tesco and you fill your trolley and you do your online shop.
Ben	Yeah you don't even get out of the house.
Chris	You are more alienated I think from the source of your food than we ever have been. And look at kids that can't even identify a range of vegetables.
Janet	Yes but we are busier as well, you talk about this whole supermarket debate, I mean and I am supermarket shopper, I haven't got time to go to all the independent shops, so you know, for me the weekly supermarket shop is, is important.
Dave	So have we lost something?
Chris	We have lost the connection.
Janet	I think that the rise in supermarkets has precipitated the disconnection from food, definitely. And also de-skilled us.
Dave	Yes, that is what I mean, in that way have we become more food poor?
Janet	Yes. Yes. Definitely.

Dave   So, have we lost this connection? Have we influenced the next
            generation, with no connection to food? Does that start food poverty?
            Is that the start of people not knowing what to do with food, therefore
            they would be more dependent on…?

Chris   I did cooking at school, it was a very stereotypical girl thing to do,
            wasn't it? But I don't think we do that anymore. I know that when my
            kids went to school it was like, it was very very different. We had that
            basic skills.

Janet   But it does depend on your family doesn't it? Because if you are that
            way inclined with the ready meals and the convenience food kind of
            thing, then your children are going to grow up and carry on like that.

What is clear is that the participants approached this concern in two distinct ways; one, that food education in the family has changed over the generations between pre-war times and now, and that this includes distinctions made between the way people shop, prepare and cook food within the family. And two, how food education within schools and the structural training of food skills and abilities has challenged our perceptions of our own values associated with food. Both of these reasons, and in line with the arguments presented above, are indicative of the ways in which food poverty has increased within modern-day society, and why poverty persists in a developed nation. The realisation that contemporary poverty is driven by the structures of society is explicit.

Deserving or Undeserving – Structural Identities of the Hidden Poor

Addressing the changing face of food poverty and the ways in which families are able to navigate their way through difficult times, when they appear, was a question posed to the service delivery organisations. In a sombre response, the shared notion was that food poverty and poverty in general was commonly hidden within the family and that this was indicative of the way in which society has evolved to not 'lose face'. The very notion of 'keeping up with the Joneses', was discussed as how this not only was the cause of people's poverty, but the fact that it was also understood to prolong some people's experience of poverty became an area of significance throughout the research. The influence which this has on food poverty addresses the assumption that those already suffering with poverty will inevitably pay more for their goods, thus reducing their income for food;

Donna   There is more availability of credit, places like Bright House and stuff like that. You know teenagers will be going; *'Oh, mum why have we got that shitty tele you know, we've got to have a decent tele'*. There is family pressure. Society puts pressure on people. It used to be accepted that when you moved into a house that you did it up over the years, and that you had second-hand stuff. Everyone wants their house to look like a Next catalogue, if you haven't got, you're a poor person and your identifiable. It's hiding your poverty.

Dave   It's keeping up with the Joneses.

Donna   To hide their poverty though because if you don't have these things you can be identified as being a person who is less than.

The identification of being 'less than' within society acknowledges the Townsendian assessment of relative poverty, and that Donna argues that this has created a modern depiction of poverty. In approaching the association with the poor having to pay more for 'like' goods and service, the effect which this has on food poverty was then asked. Donna linked this to the reduced income some people have if they are trying to avoid being 'identified'. As exposed by the PSE Survey of 2012, in a reversal of the findings from the turn of the Century, where Rowntree exposed the food consumption habits of poorer families, that the chief wage earner (father) would have the lion's share of the food, Donna argues that the parents will be the ones who go without now;

Donna   Food poverty is here, […] food poverty is here it exists. There are people. There are mothers, every single day in every town who are skipping meals to feed their children! That is food poverty when you cannot feed your family adequately. When you do not have supplies in your cupboard and you've got no means of buying it and you go without food to feed your family.

               […]

Donna   Yeah so, it's here, it's happening. It's, in your street. It's all around you, you won't even know. You won't know. You won't know that your neighbours' gone without lunch today, because if she eats, there's nothing to give her kids for tea.

Dave   Ah, now that's an interesting area to look at, is in it? Family's having to make decisions...

Donna   They hide it though. No one would know.

This element of having to keep up with a modern consumer driven society was also confirmed by another referral organisation interviewee Sarah;

Sarah   Because you can understand the person who would hide it, you know from neighbours, you know, who, they don't need. We have lost the idea of community anyway, and neighbours don't really know who lives next door. But then, you know people are now hiding the poverty from within the family.

The impression of hiding poverty from neighbours and the community has a profound impact on not only generating poverty, but also, sustaining it. As poverty is usually shown through a lack of income, one reason behind why food poverty exists within a developed nation would also be simply because people do not have enough money. Corresponding with annual figures released by the Trussell Trust which show that benefit problems are the main driver behind food bank referrals, I addressed this as a question to a manager of a Job Centre Plus;

Dave   So, do you think that the sanctioning process works?

JC+   Yes. Yes. Well, it depends on what the outcomes are. Yes it does. It is there as a deterrent. And you know, there is a carrot and a stick. And if you don't have the stick, more people will fail to do what they do. So yeah, I do think the sanction process works.

The impact which sanctioning people's benefits has, is that they inevitably still need to feed themselves and/or their family, and this is where food banks have seen a rise in their numbers. However, the problem of acknowledging that food bank numbers are related to benefit sanctions was understood to be somewhat of a problem for the

Government. Here Donna describes how the JC+ have been able to off-load their food bank referral statistics onto other local (non-governmental) organisations;

Donna   We work really closely together. We are on first name terms with most of the advisers over there. They ring us up; *'could you help, I have got this guy here, absolutely desperate, we are not allowed to help him, can you fit him in?'*

Dave   That's interesting, because, I know that there was a debate within the government and the media over the Job Centres being involved in food banks.

Donna   They are not actually allowed to refer, but they will ring us and say; *'I've got Mr so-and-so here can I send him to you now'*, and we will do it for them.

            […]

Donna   So it's not that the Job Centre staff are crap or don't want to help, especially in a small local area like this where they will know the families, if they don't know the person who sat in front of them, they will know their aunty or, they want to help, but they are bound by what they can do.

The Social 'Other' – Deserving and Undeserving Poor

As described above, and within previous chapters, the very notion of a food bank is something rather new in the UK. From the foundational studies of poverty conducted by the likes of Rowntree, Booth and Townsend, representations that there has always

been an element of poverty in the UK have shown that there has usually been one system or another working to 'deal' with it. As the respondents above have stated, the rise of food banks has become a modern approach for dealing with the problem of poverty. This has been argued to be playing into the hands of the Conservative ideology of a Big Society, a community driven response to help the least well-off by providing services so that the Government doesn't have to. Having a community response to immediate problems is not new, as this was very much the case throughout other difficult times, such as throughout both World Wars and the collectivisation of the British and National Kitchens, or Welsh Valleys communities coming together throughout the miners strikes of the mid-1980s.

The service delivery respondents consider what abilities a food bank user has to move out of food poverty, and reflect upon how this is manageable in light of recent changes to social security. Also presented in this section of the findings is how changes in social security have altered people's perceptions of those who receive social security as a welfare benefit, and the challenges now faced in light of the reappearance of the deserving and the undeserving as a narrative of poverty in society.

The Changing Face of Communities

The mapping of Welsh food banks in Chapter Five has detailed how their number has grown since 1998. The rapid growth of food banks post 2008 has followed the escalation of multiple indicators of poverty corresponding with the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation. With this in mind, service delivery organisations were asked about their awareness of other food alleviation strategies, and what they thought people did before food banks were present in their community.

Although some referral organisations have been involved in some form of social welfare assistance before food banks were established, what was most evident, is that all service delivery organisations were like-minded in their assumption that the family formerly played a much more prominent role. Here, in a referral organisation interview, Sarah, who works as a tenancy support officer for a large social housing organisation in North Wales explains how, from her service users point of view, the role of the family in being able to bridge short-term financial difficulties not only extends to ensuring that food can be provided, but that this is what it means to be part of a family, and that there can be multiple levels of help which the family provides, and this ensures that this is reciprocal.

Sarah   I think people borrowed a lot from family. I think yeah, borrowing off family, just people who live on their own, they go home. If they are younger people on their own, they go home and live at their mums, or they go over for two or three nights a week and have a decent meal. Same with the kids. But I think there is very much a, *'this is me at the moment'*, and next time it might be the other person, and some families do help each other a bit that way. You often find that they owe family and friends money, and then you know, there will be, when I am going through an income and expenditure, there will be money that they owe their mum, their gran quite often as well. And yes, if they are not allowed a catalogue, because a lot of people have catalogues that they buy clothes from and furniture and things, and if they are not allowed one because of previous debt issues. Well it's not a catalogue, because I'm going to get it written off; *'well is not mine is my mum's catalogue I just give her money, she is the one who's got the goods for me'*. So,

yeah a lot of borrowing, a lot of under the table kind of dealings, and I suppose maybe sometimes elicit happenings, I suppose some people do work on the side and get money from various things, sell stuff on eBay, window cleaning, I don't know, little jobs like that to get a little bit of money, picking up other people shopping for them. So I think people try manage that way, to do what they can to get by sort of thing.

Talking through this question with volunteers of a food bank, the focus group shared the same thoughts as those expressed by Sarah, in that the role of the family was more prominent in people's lives, and that possibly we have become slightly more individualistic. Additionally, other elements such as careful cooking and waste management are proposed as preventative methods. However, it is the impact of the community which once again becomes the focus;

Dave   But how do you think, before food banks existed, people would have coped?

Rachel   Family more so then. I think there has been, I don't know a split in families as well now. It would have been neighbours as well wouldn't it, everybody would have rallied round in the community before, I think. There isn't that sense of community anymore, either way you could go on knock on Mrs Jones's door and ask to borrow a cup of sugar, you know. So I think it would have been just, people would have rallied around themselves maybe, self-sufficient. My father always grew his own vegetables in the garden. I mean I remember him handing me a ball and asking me what that was, and it was an actual cucumber, but it tasted better than anything. So you know my father would have

always been, always grew his own veg anyway, so if ever we fell on hard times we always knew there was food there.

Dianna   They borrowed from neighbours.

Rachel   Be less wasteful. Think carefully about what you are cooking, and what you are going to do with that piece meat, or bag of potatoes.

Owen   You would have asked for help from family, whether any was forthcoming that would be another matter.

Enid   I mean they [food banks] come about, because of the benefits, because the benefits system changed, that the food bank has filled the gap, so before maybe they didn't fall into that gap.

The idea raised that people were able to depend on help from family and friends in times of difficulty has seen the food bank start to fill the gap left behind, not just by receding social security, but the respondents also point the finger of blame at the loss of a society which looks after its most vulnerable. Although the responsibility of the family is questioned, it is also a verification of the loss of community.

Rachel   I have always spoken to tramps, because my mother always had them in off the street. And I would come home from school, and she would give them tea, and goats milk. They had goats because they were poor, so they had their own milk from the goats. And she'd say; *'they just want sweet tea, and maybe a piece of apple tart'*, and she would send them off with dry tea for later. So, I love talking to tramps, they are really interesting people. And that was my mother who is 87, you know. And that is how they, my mother, looked after the poor then. It's like, maybe we are not looking after each other enough, as communities

did, do you know what I mean, looking out for our neighbours, and people on the streets. Individually, because we are all too busy.

Dianna   Yes, we have all changed, everybody is wrapped up in their own lives.

Old Community Cohesion - New Individualism

In addressing the experiences of people having to use the food bank, the research further questions the role of the loss of the community and the rise of a more individualistic society. As Donna describes further, this loss of community has, to some extent become picked-up by the food banks;

Donna   For example, the Trussell Trust, I've rung up [name] over there. [Name], drove to [town] on the other side of [location] to deliver food for me and take it to a family's door.

Dave   [Town]! Wow. And that's next to [town]!

Donna   He drove all that way, out of hours to go and deliver food for me because I begged him for this family. They didn't have enough petrol in the car to get them into pick it up. It was too late on in the day to contact them, [name of independent food bank], so he actually drove there for me.

Dave   Wow, now that's nice!

Donna   This is why I love them all. There are advantages to being in a small community, and, there are advantages towards being, good God-fearing Chapel people. Because they will do this.

Dave   Can you explain a little more?

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Donna   I think that all the people who work there are good Christian people. They are good people. And, I think that shows dedication, that maybe someone who's being paid a wage, wouldn't do.

Dave   Ah, do you think that it is important then that it is voluntary?

Donna   I think that, that side of it. Would you do it if it was just your job?

Dave   Would you have that commitment to drive from [town] to [town]?

Donna   At closing time on a Friday, if I rang you and said '*I've got family there with no food'* and I couldn't get hold of the [name of independent food bank] because it was too late, it was my fault, but, I couldn't get hold of them at that time. They would have done it, but, I could ring the Chapel and he would drive them, and he took them food.

Dave   He doesn't live over on that side, I'm guessing?

Donna   No, in [town]!

Dave   So he's drove there, and drove back! And [town] is a long way.

Donna   And he's quite elderly. You know fair play.

The influence that the volunteers are able to apply has been argued by the service delivery interviewees as filling in the gap left behind by receding social security. Yet, the worry over the potential of a Big Society being able to completely fill the food poverty gap providing the municipal needs of a deprived community has been questioned by Donna;

Donna   It's a bit of a, this place is seen as a bit of a community hub, if you know what I mean. You know people come here and. If we don't know,

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something, we will find a man who can, so even if it's not welfare rights they will still come here and ask us. Erm. But, because it's a small community as well, it would be *'oh, I've got no food, I've got nothing'*, and *'well go up there and they will sort you out'.*

So, what does exist for people to move on, and move out of poverty, if families are less able to support each other? Being self-sufficient was mentioned by other participants from across the service delivery interviews, yet this was usually conveyed as a memory of times past. However, other service delivery interviewees spoke of the potential for people to navigate away from longer-term food poverty, if they could be encouraged to grow food;

Owen   You might say, if you lived rurally, you may, there is more of an opportunity to grow, you know, your own vegetables. And maybe a lot of it is education. Again, it goes back to that teaching people what you can do with a tiny little... I know not everybody will have a garden, I know they won't, they will be living in flats, and. Maybe some people have, and they can share a plot and grow, yeah, and grow stuff together. But it is about teaching them how to grow vegetables, isn't it! Because not everybody knows how to do that.

Enid   It's also affording the seed, because it's not cheap to grow vegetables, it's not cheap to grow your own. Unless you are doing it on a large scale.

Owen   Yeah, gardening is actually expensive.

Enid   Allotments though, I mean, which are hugely popular…

Linked with the educational losses in food skills as a knowledge base, it would be problematic to assume that those who were experiencing food poverty should be growing their own food as an answer to food poverty, as the conversation between two volunteers above acknowledges there is a high cost associated with starting, plus it is a long-term endeavour. Taking the point raised about growing food, either in pots or through an allotment, other participants, such as Sarah were also just as sceptical;

Dave   You have got, you know, you have got a nice urban area, but you've also got nice rural areas as well. What happened to people growing food?

Sarah   Yeah, it just doesn't happen much. It doesn't happen, not for the younger generation. One of our residential schemes has got an allotment part and people do the odd potatoes and stuff but, people don't know, the skills have been lost little bit.

Again, the underlying conversation revolving around peoples' abilities to be able to move on, and move out of food poverty seem to involve some form of association with food knowledge, education and skill.

Llinos   Well you know, you see a lot of people have not been brought up like we have. I was I was brought up to be able to cook meals, and make meals.

Shaun   Yeah I suppose we were, we you know, who were brought up during the war where there wasn't…

Sharon   My kids can. Both my kids can cook.

Shaun	For a lot of people, their mums and dads don't know how to cook. Like you have just been saying, it is a trap. What they did, and how they were brought up, they are going to do the same for their kids.
Thomas	It makes you wonder doesn't it.
Shaun	We don't realise what a lot of people, who haven't the first idea how to fry an egg even. I mean well that's stupid.
Judith	What we must remember is that we live in a different era than our time. We had the time probably, our mothers had the time to do it, because they stopped at home.
Thomas	Yes they didn't go to work.
Ffion	And they sell millions of Pounds' worth of ready meals every day, because people haven't got the time to do it.
Llinos	It's about education, it's educating people.

What is clear with the shared comments from the various interviews above is that food bank use is considered by all the service users to be due to a variety of reasons. These reasons revolve around the structural elements associated with poverty such as changes in education and work-life balance, but also that there is a strong sense that the important aspects of family, community and social solidarity has eroded as we have all become driven to hide our deficiencies and embody our individualism, even as a form of protection from those closest to us. It is these associations that the service providers worry is shackling people to their own poverty, and reducing their ability to be able to break away from the detrimental effects of food poverty. It is this final point which has been examined by the service delivery interviewees next.

Decision Making - The Deserving and The Undeserving Poor

The process of poverty, and its link to food poverty has been described by the participants as one which is driven by the structures of society, most influentially the changing nature of social security and the changing structure of local communities, and how this reduces people's ability to recover from the effects of poverty. In more recent times, this has been understood to have developed from changes within the way social security has been portrayed within the media, forcing a re-imagination of the deserving and the undeserving poor as an ideological perception through the rise of individualism (Shildrick et al, 2012: 168). The service delivery participants argue that divisions within society have been encouraging a retrenchment of community solidarity. This is represented throughout many conversations about the 'experience' of food bank use with the referral organisations, who inevitably have to make an informed decision about sending someone to a food bank following an assessment of 'need' i.e. do they deserve to go? This same sentiment was also expressed through conversations with the food bank staff themselves, as they raise concerns over potential abuse of food bank resources as the experience, or use of, could be exploited by those considered 'less-deserving'.

The participants of one referral organisation focus group here discuss how they feel about having to make the decision about deserving and underserving use of their local food bank, and that this is informed by the relationship which they have with the food bank itself. They argue that the only form of assessment they make about who to refer to the food bank is based on how many referrals the individual has had previously, and that they shy away from wanting to be involved in any form of assessment making;

Chris   And I think, for me, I think that, we are here to support, I struggle

             anyway with my background around means testing, because it is so

demeaning, and shameful. I think we are here to explore with that person their options, to signpost them, if they want to be signposted, to signpost assertively, if that would help, if that's what the person wants. CAB training you see, it is about offering options, and being non-judgemental. And it is hard because sometimes that does override your guts and I think we don't use our stomach brains enough. But then we can't quantify our evidence that if we just have a feeling that someone is trying to screw you over, you just can't say; *'I think you are trying to screw me over, sod off I am not giving you a voucher'*! We don't work that way, it is not right. So no. So yes it is all about, have they had their three?

Janet   And even then we would still think about it.

Chris   And even some of my staff have come to me and said *'well I have issued a voucher but I didn't feel right about it'*. So we will explore it and we will say; *'well did you phone the* [food bank]*?' 'Yes'. 'Have they had their three'? 'No'. 'Well then that is the* [food banks] *decision I'm afraid'*. Because we are not skilled in assessment. And assessment can sometimes boarder on interrogation and it is not that either, we are not here to do that.

Janet   No definitely not. We are there to find out their issues and to signpost effectively.

Interestingly, this changes the dynamics between the food bank and the referral organisation, as initially the reason for having an external organisation making referral decisions was so that the decision being made was not placed on the volunteers of the

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food bank. However, for this organisation, this relationship seems to have been reversed and the only criteria they use in order to make an assessment/referral is based on not exceeding the upper limit of three vouchers within one period. This was not typical for all referral organisations I spoke with as most did see themselves as being the decision makers;

Siobhan   If we just issued the food bank voucher to anyone who walked through the door who said they needed one, we'd hammer the organisations and it would be an ongoing cycle. You need to address the problem […] we could exhaust them! We could stretch their resources beyond what they can cope. And it doesn't help the client either. What's the point of them having to come here? And even in a genuine case. If they keep coming in, they have to go through the indignity of it. If we can make one welfare rights appointment available to them, sort out their benefits, appeal a decision, get them more money, then they won't need this. We call it emergency use only. You know, the criteria for us is that you are in crisis. You have no food and you have no money in your pocket to buy food. That is when we issue these [vouchers].

Yet, having to make this decision moves the discussion towards a further understanding of how a system of assessment can adopt feelings of shame and embarrassment for the individual. However, typically, food banks are happy to help anyone who is struggling, as food bank coordinator Helen confirms;

Helen   I'm aware that we serve a good proportion of people with addictions. A good proportion of people with addictions. Now […] I came into it thinking it would be your ordinary people who were hitting crisis for

some reason. Sudden redundancy, sudden illness, sudden bereavement, divorce, relationship breakdown whatever. Sudden loss of benefits, or the gap between hitting the crisis and claiming the benefit, and finding themselves literally with no money for a short period of time. But I think what we actually… We do see people like that. But what we actually see is a lot of people who have a far more chaotic lifestyle, and whose, you know, whatever money they do have coming in, you know food isn't their first priority. Now, I don't want to make judgements about people, and how they choose to spend their money, but, I get the impression that a fair few of them, possibly, it's not a question that they don't have any money coming in, but it is how that money is, is used.

As expressed above by Helen however, it is these generalised assumptions that all people suffering with addiction problems, or job insecurity have their deservedness brought into question. All the food banks I spoke with, both independent and Trussell Trust, work with, or something approximate to, the rule of allowing three referrals, and that after this amount of time the reason for referral (benefit sanction, loss of income etc.) should have been resolved by the referring organisation. However, I asked all respondents about this period and the ability of the food parcel to last. Here, in my conversation with Helen, I approached the question over her use of any such rule;

Helen   No, you see, we don't. Because we recognise that people's, you know, all the deserving people using food banks, for want of a better term, their circumstances weren't going to be sorted in the space of three food vouchers. We, we abandoned that idea because it takes longer than that for people to get on their feet, you know. And now with sanctions, we

are hearing that peoples' money is being stopped for up to 3 months. So, you know, three food parcels is nine days. What do you do for the rest of the three months?

This was the only food bank that I spoke with who had a policy of no referral vouchers needed to use the service. Other food banks worried about the potential for people to turn-up repeatedly if they had such an open-door policy. However, they were all insistent that if someone still needed help, they could offer it.

One focus group member explains that the rule of three is a flexible rule, especially given the changing social welfare landscape. If a service user approaches the food bank without having a referral (if they have used their entitlement for this period) the volunteers are allowed to issue further food at their discretion. This 'discretion' postulates a certain level of conditionality attached to food bank use and raises questions over the ability for all volunteers/coordinators to be able to make such a moral judgement. But, on whose morals? This flexibility and discretion allows the volunteer/coordinator to be able to make a decision between those whom they would like to offer further help to and those whom they may deem 'undeserving'. Essentially this outsources the role of Lipsky's street-level bureaucrat, or as framed by May (2014), as an outsourcing of moral decision making, as the usual route of professional referral has been bi-passed, and the decision-making process is now returned unto the hands of the food bank. Crucially, this addresses how, even within the food bank, there could exist resentment towards the undeserving poor, taken here to be the addict;

Evan   Oh, on the amount of vouchers. It helps us in a way that we are only supposed to give out three vouchers so all the people that we know are on the borderline, or drug addicts, or alcoholics, we can say *'sorry, you*

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have had your three vouchers'. On the other hand we have got the flexibility if we see a family with three kids and we know that they are starving, we can still give them food. So it still gives us a little flexibility.

Dave   Ah, that's with you being part of the Trussell Trust, independent, yet within an organisation.

Evan   Well the organisation, I mean, they are not absolutely strict on three vouchers it's just that that is the recommended, three vouchers, I suppose each food bank has the discretion too, especially with the situation as they are at the moment.

This flexibility could, however, see people going without food. Deserving or not. The volunteer here addresses how they are able to make 'street-level' decisions over someone's 'deservedness' for food, and that they sometimes feel that a decision should be made if the person who is asking for additional help appears to be 'deserving'. On the face, these decisions are made as to dispel fears of dependency and abuse of the food bank supplies, as Siobhan reflects;

Siobhan   You do have in your mind this deserving and undeserving poor thing. It is very very difficult not to. And I know from past team meetings that, that it is a concern for a lot of our volunteers. And, also expressed has been a concern that donors knew some of the people going to the food bank, that donor fatigue would kick in, for the same reason. Because people would say; *'well that's not who we want our money to go to, or our food to go to'*. And it's difficult because there are always going to be people who that you think, you're not really, you know,

ticking our boxes. But it is a constant battle of head and heart there.

And, you know, we haven't arrived at a solution yet. But, yeah,

certainly some people feel very much that they want the food to go to

the deserving poor, whoever they are. And there is a risk, you know

that, that people stop giving.

It is clear with the argument presented by Siobhan, a coordinator for an addiction

support charity, that the worry over who deserves, and who does not deserve to use a

food bank not only lies with those responsible for making the decision, but that there

is almost a fear that they need to keep this in line with what the public expects.

Influence from the media was a point raised by other such referral organisations, as

they expect to do battle with public perceptions and reality;

Ben   What worries me is people's attitudes to food banks.

Dave   What worries you about that?

Ben   Because we, as we said, we are being manipulated by the media, so if

               you are lucky enough, fortunate enough to have a job, be healthy, have

               an income and you know things like that, we are being drip fed this,

               that you know people on benefits, people that need the food vouchers

               are just scroungers and propping up their budget.

Chris   It's the media mentality isn't it, things like Benefit Street.

Janet   Oh, Benefit Street has done so much damage.

Chris   But people believe it. They really do.

Yet deserving or undeserving, food bank referral organisations were undivided in

agreement that if a person needs help it will be provided. One area of contention was

the difficulties of deciding if the assistance is needed because it is helping the family, or if in doing so, was this enabling expenditure on other things. As the discussions with various referral organisations moved towards a deeper understanding of the reasons behind referrals and the decision making process, and how this needed to fit in line with public perceptions, the issues of drugs and alcohol drew much attention as being one such area where the referral organisations usually expressed a sense of contestation. Here, Alice, who works for another company facilitating the Work Programme, discusses how everyone deserves;

Alice   My colleague has got a customer who is an alcoholic, and he's a jolly old chap, you know harmless, absolutely harmless. Probably he is fifty-nine, struggling. I mean there is not going to be an employer that is going to take him on, basically now, and that is an awful judgement to say but he is of that age. He looks like an alcoholic, he comes in for his appointments at about 10 o'clock in the morning absolutely stinking of alcohol. I think he asked about four or five times at each appointment *'please can I have a food bank voucher'*. And my colleague who is actually the level-headed one refused to give it to him. When she was off on annual leave and I was covering her diary I issued him one, because I knew he had an addiction, and his disposable income, whether it be right or wrong was going on what he thought he needed most, which was alcohol. And that is why she wouldn't issue it, because she said *'if he can afford alcohol he can afford food'*. And I said I couldn't see it like that. He showed me what he had in his little wallet and it was about £3.60, and said *'I can get my next bit of beer*

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from that, and I know that I am going to be hungry down the line'. And I just, myself, I issued it.

Dave   Do you think that she had seen the problem that the individual had as perpetuating an abuse of food banks?

Alice   Yes may be she did. She said; *'you know, there are people out there that need this food, and he wanted his alcohol'*, she said, and that's all. *'We shouldn't be subsidising his habit, where he can go there and spend that money, where he would have spent on food'.* So I suppose its people's opinions as well. You know like I say, it is a mental health problem, so regardless of that, he still needs to eat.

The relationship that exists between the food bank and their referral organisations becomes a dyadic affiliation, which simultaneously must coexist symbiotically. The staff of the food banks I spoke with understood this relationship to be fundamental to ensuring that the system worked as fairly as possible, and that those who need the help are the ones who are receiving the referrals. However, there was a concern for holes in the system to become exploited. Here, the coordinator of one food bank describes how she understands the embarrassment of using the food bank usually outweighs the perception that people using the food bank are doing so simply because it is free food;

Riley   I think, most people who come to us aren't thinking, *'great free food'.* They are thinking *'this is awful, I have even got to go and get my food from a food bank'.* There are possibly some, and now we are back to people with addiction related, you know chaotic lifestyles, who, perhaps not quite as blatantly as that, say to themselves, *'I can spend it all on something else, and then go to the* [food bank] *for food, for free*

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food'. But that does end up happening. […] I mean, it's terrible, it's difficult, is in it? Because you don't know about everybody who walks through the door. And increasingly, people are struggling to come with a referral form. If people come with a referral form, I have no qualms. […] People who come without a referral form, I am a bit more concerned, that again, it is just part of the chaos, and yeah, we are helping them, you know, make poor choices.

[…]

Dave   So how do you think the system could be abused?

Riley   Well, by, people recognising that they don't need to spend money on food, they can spend it on other things you know. It is as simple as that isn't it?

Riley argues that there is a high cost to free food, and that this is at the loss of dignity borne out through using a food bank. It seems that the referral organisations must walk a fine line within their decision-making process, as it ultimately asks for a distinction to be made over the deserving and the undeserving food bank user. The same ideas were also shared by some volunteer focus group participants. Here, Thomas discusses not only drugs and alcohol use as being a problem, but also what other possessions people have;

Thomas   I think we have got a dual problem here. There are a lot of people around here, particular, who come in here for food, but they have got all the problems that really need addressing. Like they have got a drink problem or drug problem, or whatever. So, we have some people that just come in here for a loaf of bread every week or every time you open,

but they are drinking or they are getting drugs or whatever, and the money they would be spending on food, they are now spending on drugs, because they have got habit. So that is one situation. The other situation is; people come in for food, sometimes, and then we serve them the food because they have got voucher, so they have cleared the [referral organisations] give them the voucher. And then when you follow them out the door they get in a car! Now you don't know whether they have borrowed the car, or whether they are actually driving around in a car. They can afford to drive a car, but they come to the food bank to get food.

The difficulty here lies with a further abstraction of the deserving and the underserving narrative, and the preconceived idea of what a *typical* food bank user should look like. This same point was referred to with my interview with Sarah. However, Sarah poignantly reminds us that due to recent structural changes in social welfare and employment there has been a rise in zero-hours precarious working contracts. She sympathises with the problem and links it back to the previous discussion of relative poverty;

Sarah   And you know people, if you get the smart phone, you have got the smart phone for another two years, you have got a contract what can you do? It is going to be there even if your benefits stop and you've got no money. The same as my phone will be there if everything went wrong in my life.

The distinction made between the deserving and the undeserving poor within a modern narrative of the food bank user harks back to ideas of idleness and fecklessness once

discussed pre-welfare state. From the conversations above, and propelled by a media demonisation of the least well off in society, the service providers have addressed how food bank users have become part of a new narrative of deserving and undeserving ideology. It is those who are least able to weather the changing social welfare landscape which have become viewed as either deserving of the help or otherwise not. However, for the organisations involved in providing food aid, such as a food bank, or external organisations facilitating their use, they find themselves at the coalface and walking the thin line of having to make tough decisions. In the final section, the remaining question about the future of food banks as a provision of food aid will be argued by the service providers. This is with reference to concerns raised in volunteer focus groups and coordinator in-depth interviews regarding their own food banks, and the structural problems associated with welfare reform and the debate between the deserving and the undeserving poor. In answering this question, evidence will be provided which paints a rather troubled future picture for the changing face of food poverty in Wales.

Retrenched Welfare Needs and the Food Bank Model

In approaching the final research question of this thesis, quantitative data regarding the growth in food bank numbers and the physical location of these banks has been evidenced at length in Chapter Five. However, the conversations held with the service providers also brought forward detailed arguments about the future role of the food bank in line with welfare changes and poverty. Detailed within this final argument is the projected role of the Welsh food banks, voiced by those providing the service. Here, they lift the veil on their fears for the future of food aid, insisting that further

erosion of social security could lead to the potential for food banks to become further embedded as a welfare provision, or as a political solution to welfare retrenchment.

I posed a question regarding the future of food banks in Wales to a food bank coordinator. He maintained that they are operating as an immediate crisis intervention, however, he was undivided in his assertion that food banks should not form any part of welfare provision;

Jack   Food banks are here because there is a crisis, I think food banks, a degree of food aid is always going to be needed, but the level they are currently functioning at, one would hope, it is only a temporary thing. Certainly, you know, we are not part of the welfare state. We are not part of the provision provided, that is why whilst it would be very nice to have some government money, you know it would be lovely to have some extra funding, actually I am not sure that would be the right way to go because then you become embedded as part of the government's solution to welfare problems, and this enables the government to be able to say that we have paid *x* number of money into welfare this year, when actually what they have done is funded food banks that shouldn't be there in the first place.

The worry over the embedding of food banks within the welfare system was voiced by participants within every semi-structured interview and focus group, and mentioned by all involved within the service delivery. Food bank volunteers within this conversation below were adamant that food banks should not be here, but whilst they are needed, they are prepared to volunteer;

Dave	Do we see a sense of institutionalisation of food banks? Where they have become part of the…
Shaun	Oh, it has definitely become part of it. Definitely.
Beryl	We hope that it won't be a permanent thing. People have a basic, or the government have a basic right to provide; housing, at you know, adequate housing for people, adequate amount of money to live properly, whether it be working, whether it be state assisted and also to have good education. These are basic rights that the government should provide for every…
Shaun	The National Health Service.
Beryl	Yes. The National Health Service. These are the basic needs that the people as a whole, that the government should be looking at and providing.
Dave	So how has it changed now with the rise of food poverty? Should the answer be providing them with a food bank?
Shaun	No. Because they should be provided with work.
Keith	And no, because that will make them permanent.

The assertion that food bank volunteers do not want to be involved in providing the service was clearly represented throughout all volunteer focus groups, as it was with the coordinator in-depth interviews too. They were undivided in the fact that they would rather not have to volunteer within a food bank, as this should not be a charity provision.

Ben   I think that if it gets much bigger the Foodbank are going to have to use the [church] as just a supermarket and find a smaller church.

Janet   Get a warehouse like they do in America.

Ben   They are going to have to. They are going to have to, because it is not big enough. It's already being used, I mean upstairs is practically all food bank.

Chris   I know she [Foodbank Coordinator] was saying, wasn't she, about needing new premises.

Janet   Yeah because it is all upstairs, all the little offices and meeting rooms are Foodbank rooms. And the amount of volunteers they use has tripled in the last two years because they have got not just people doing the weekend feed, they also feed the roofless, and the breakfast, on Thursday they have now got volunteers doing Foodbank in the afternoon, and you are looking at six or seven people per day in Foodbank. So the use of volunteers within the [Foodbank] has increased, and a lot of their volunteers are elderly as well.

Linking the growing numbers of food bank referrals made to their local food bank, the participants of this focus group connected the problem of growth in numbers to a host of associated problems (space, volunteers, and resources) and connected this to what they knew about food banking in other countries. The association with what happens in the USA is worrying, as researchers have also noted that the UK seems to be following the precedent set by countries where their food banks have become part of an embedded welfare provision.

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The embedding of UK food banks has been mused over by the volunteers and coordinators alike, both insistent that this is not what they would like to see happen. Of significant interest, however, was the discussions held between the different food banks and how they felt about each other and the potential for the future of the food bank. Here, for example one independent food bank coordinator sees the centralised power of Trussell Trust being quite a dominant voice in food banks and acting for good. She also expresses why her independent food bank did not want to become part of the Trussell Trust. This was conveyed as a fear over the potential for the food banks to become part of an institutionalised response within the welfare system, and how this would be rolled-out to emergency food aid providers, and who the favoured provider of a government programme would be;

Helen   It was working as it was, so why crop with a national organisation who provide some benefits, but charge a, what's the word. They are like a franchise; you buy into them effectively you know. So yeah, why do that, ours was up and running and working fine as it was, and I don't think that there was, that there was a need for that. Now as we have gone a long, obviously we are missing out on some benefits of being involved in something like Trussell, because we don't come under their, you know, food distributions, where they do collections in stores and that sort of thing. So our costs are higher on the buying food upfront but obviously we are saving on not being a member of the Trussell organisation. And it will be interesting to do the figures as how that balances out over the year. But I think, that is the basic reason. That we were up and running and it was working fine and we possibly didn't feel that we wanted to become part of something that is a national

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organisation as well, because again, it just feels like the whole thing is becoming too much of an accepted part of our society. But we should be working, for the day when food banks don't exist. Not working to build a fantastic network of food banks, you know. It feels a bit counterintuitive.

When questioned about the negativities of being independent the coordinator stressed that as a food bank, they feel excluded from donations, as Trussell Trust have national agreements with some of the largest supermarkets, rarely working with the independent sector. She did commend them on being able to draw attention to the problems of food poverty, but acknowledged that being part of the organisation would perpetuate the problem and contribute to the development of a 'Big Society', and that this is something which she would not like to see happen;

Helen   Although, you know, in many ways, I don't criticise Trussell, I think they do a fantastic job, but I think possibly they are, you know, some of their thinking hasn't gone far enough in terms of what they are inadvertently contributing to and forming as an accepted part of our society.

Dave   Do you ever see the food bank becoming part of Trussell Trust, given that you have just said that you miss out on certain benefits?

Helen   I doubt it, personally. I think amongst our own volunteers there, there is quite a discontent with Trussell as an organisation. So I doubt it to be honest. And again, because, of the whole thing of, well do we want this, a national organisation to get bigger and stronger, when really the

whole thing should be going away. To join forces with them would feel a little bit hypocritical in a way.

Fears for the food bank, as a service, becoming larger and stronger as welfare reform continues at a pace was considered by all interviewees to be a threat. They raised concerns over the forthcoming Universal Credit as one stage of welfare reform still yet to roll out, arguing that when Universal Credit finally does come to all people in Wales, food bank use will rise yet again. Added to this concern Sarah considered the impact on the food bank resources as families also become part of the Universal Credit system, arguing that this could become not just an area of social concern through the embedding of food banks, nonetheless, within a capitalist system, this could usher in the start of the corporate food bank;

Dave   How do you foresee the future for food banks then, over the next five years?

Sarah   I think it will become untenable in three, four years when Universal Credit comes in, as it becomes overwhelmingly big, and they will either become quite an institutionalised concern or it will collapse and they will have to review all.

Dave   An institutionalised concern?

Sarah   Like, it will become a corporate concern almost, because they can't manage now on their low levels with what is happening, and it has gone through the roof hasn't it? The figures and the families using it, and the turnover of food? But if Tax Credits go in with Universal Credit and that comes in for everybody in the next three years then you're going to have families consistently without food for five weeks, and that first

five-week period, and that will be everybody who is a benefit claimant. And it will be the whole family, not the jobseeker or the ESA. So I think that huge sudden over, overwhelming sort of referral is... How are the food banks going to cope with that? I don't know! So then what does it become? Does it become... Does it stay a small charity? Does it become something that the government tries to put into? And then it becomes Tesco run! Instead of Trussell Trust Foodbank it will be Tesco Foodbank. I don't know, I think that the need for it is going to grow massively isn't it? So people won't manage with the three food vouchers, because they are for three days aren't they? That's just over a week and a half isn't it?

As a final comment, I would like to offer thoughts from Donna the coordinator of a welfare rights charity. Here she brings together her thoughts on the use of food banks and how this has been created by the structural manifestations of contemporary poverty and food poverty. She reminds us about how this is driven by retrenchment of public services, welfare reform, modern society, and the fear of being identified as 'poor';

Dave   In your experience do you see any link between welfare reform and food bank use?

Donna   Hell yes! God bless you Mr Cameron.

            […] Hidden poverty is hiding something because of fear of shame. It happens in all areas of life, whether it's abuse, you know, financial difficulties, food poverty, whatever it is. And it is all about the way society views that. Well I'm not gonna change that. You're not gonna

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change that. None of us can. But what government should be looking at is how low they make people sink, and how bad people do sink, and they are not all Benefit Street residents. They don't wanna be there doing it. If you said to them; *'would you rather have the money to feed yourself, or are you alright just going in there and getting it for nothing'*? What percentage do you think would say; '*Ah, fuck it, I will have it from them yeah'*?

That's another debate isn't it!

Conclusion

Presenting the voice of the service delivery side of food banks, this chapter has detailed the concerns raised by those dealing directly with the rising tide of food poor in the UK; the charities, charged with assessing and making referrals. The food bank coordinators, whose main role is to work themselves out of a job and, the anxious volunteers, who are compelled to give their valuable time contributing to the principles set forth as part of a Big Society within Wales' food banks.

All three groups have expressed discontent for the need for food banks in the UK. Their words have been used to provide detailed answers to the research questions set out at the beginning of this thesis namely; what has caused the sudden increase in service users accessing the service? Why food poverty exists in a developed nation? What are the 'experiences' of people using food banks? Moreover, what are we to expect for the future of food banks?

In addressing these concerns, three focused codes were developed which aided the understanding of how referral organisations, coordinators and volunteers understood

the importance and the significance of the role they played. That in both, they had resorted to having to deal with the growing incidence of referrals made to food banks, which simultaneously allowed and prolonged its use. **Welfare retrenchment** was discussed by service delivery participants as they explained how the state has begun to remove its association with providing for the poor through social security. Here they were able to argue that indeed welfare reform was responsible for the growth in both referrals made to food banks, and the growth in total numbers of food banks across Wales.

The experience of poverty within a developed nation is understood to form part of someone's relative experience of poverty as they struggle to live daily life with their peers who may not share this experience. The second area that food bank service providers argued was important within context of the overall aim of this thesis was the understanding that they regularly must deal with perceptions around food bank users who are misrepresented through a media, occupying a retrenched and individualistic position, driven by identity thoughts of **structure or agency**. Described as a process of Othering**,** this facilitated a return to questions of welfare dependency and social security deservedness (**deserving and undeserving**), and attacks to the morality of people claiming food as a free good.

Finally, and displaying how the aims and objectives described within this thesis are interrelated and woven into the fabric of food bank use, the service providers argued how they have an innate worry over the potential future for the role which the food banks have begun to operate. Arguing that welfare retrenchment has encouraged the growth of the Big Society ideology, the service providers contend that they are fearful about their abilities to be able to provide this service as food banks slowly become an

excepted and expected part of society. They argue that this is, in effect, forcing the

embedding of food banks, as they become more and more established.

Chapter Seven: The Experience of Food Bank Use - Voices of the Food Bank Service Users

"Life is more expensive than we can tolerate" Linda Tirado (2014: 138)

The previous chapter has presented the voices of the service delivery side of food banks, and has gone some-way to providing answers to the main aim of this thesis. Chapter Seven will detail the understanding of food bank use, as told by those who have come to depend upon it as a service. In doing so, the service users of food banks have spoken about their use of food banks, detailing how and why they have come to need emergency food assistance from a food bank. Employing in-depth and shorter semi-structured interviews with food bank service users, this chapter considers the position which the service users of food banks have found themselves in and details their involvement within the food bank. These experiences have been expressed by the service users as it relates to their current position and locates the drivers creating and sustaining food bank demand, providing an answer which goes someway to meeting the overall aim of the thesis.

All interviews with service users were conducted in various food banks across Wales, and from both Trussell Trust and independent food banks, therefore, details of their recent referral were part of their existing crisis, and were accordingly disclosed as part of their first-hand experience of food poverty and food bank use. Within this chapter, the service users offer a detailed exploration of their experience of having to seek assistance from a food bank to help them navigate their immediate crisis. As a reminder, the aim of this thesis is to examine the changing face of food poverty and

the development of emergency food aid provisions in Wales. To do this the research questions posed addressed;

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – What is the future of the food bank?

Introduction

In approaching the experience of food poverty, the service users who have provided their voices for this research thesis have addressed areas of pertinent food poverty and food bank use. The conversations with food bank service users have been coded by a process of constructing line-by-line coding, followed by codes that have worked to address more of a focused explanation of food bank use. What is clear from conversations with service users is that they are also concerned about issues surrounding those raised by the service providers such as welfare retrenchment, justifying the need for help, and, the process of othering. However, these codes did not appear in isolation of one another, as the service users use of food banks has been understood to be part of a trajectory into, and out of, food poverty and food bank use, and form part of a 'tipping' (Garthwaite, 2016: 93) process into poverty. The codes also worked to identify how these trajectories into food poverty are associated with structural causes of poverty, most notably the changes implemented through the most recent welfare reform.

Correlating with the data presented in Chapter Six, the sustaining notion throughout all the interviews with service users was the inherent observation of the structural reasons for poverty in the UK. In approaching the research questions, the majority of service users revealed that they were at the food bank due to a benefit related crisis, and therefore **welfare retrenchment** became a focused code. These benefit issues related to either a delay in payments or an imposed sanction that had thus reduced their overall income. There were additional reasons for the use of food banks, such as; a low level of disposable income associated with high bills, or due to being the victim of financial abuse.

The reasons for food poverty existing in the UK was addressed through service users' stories of their personal trajectory into food poverty. Again, observing the impact of structural reasons for their poverty experience, typically at the hands of welfare reform, service users' structural trajectories became pronounced, and developed into the focused code of **structure and agency**, addressing the existence of food poverty in contemporary Wales. Both trajectories into and out of food poverty addressed research question three, as the service users discussed how they saw this situation as being temporary, and that they had strategies to navigate a path out of food poverty.

The ability to navigate their way out of poverty was also used against the social 'other', as they saw their situation as being 'not as bad as…', and that *they* were more likely to be 'back on their feet as soon as…'. Drawing on this as an area of contention, the service users exemplified characteristics of a 'deserving' and an 'undeserving' motive associated with some people's use of the food bank, and it is these two identities that formed the focused code **deserving and undeserving**. The service users were resolute that there are 'right' and 'wrong' reasons for using the food bank, therefore creating an internal hierarchy within food bank users over those who deserve and those who

are least deserving to make use of the food bank provision. Forming answers to the fourth question regarding the 'experience' of food bank use, service users defended *their* reasons for using the food bank, and in doing so brought presumptuous notions of othering as the service users explained *their* reasons for food bank use as being different and, at times, more appropriate than 'other' peoples use.

Finally, the service users discuss the potential for the food bank to become a victim of abuse at the hands of those service users whom they deem to be less deserving – identified to be the 'other'. The service users considered that using a food bank, whilst spending money on items which they viewed as being non-essential was a concern, recognising that this may lead to future challenges in resources and funding etc., and undermining the efforts of the food bank volunteers, and potentially encouraging a normalisation, or **embedding** of food banks as an adequate response. Returning the findings back to areas identified within Chapter Six, the underpinning apprehension is that a sense of individualisation exists within, and amongst the food bank users too, as they reflect upon their own, and other peoples use of the food bank as a matter of deserving and undeserving.

Welfare Reform – Conscious Cruelty

In approaching an understanding of the drivers associated with food bank use, service users were asked about what had caused them to need to be at the food bank. The stories told through biographical interviewing, conveyed evidence about food bank use as being associated with some form of immediate crisis, yet these crises were usually located as a small element of a longer-term problem. These long-term problems ranged from; extended (and intermediate) joblessness, homelessness,

addiction related problems and/or family breakdown to mention but a few. However, for the individual service user, dealing with the pressing issue of food poverty became their most immediate concern as they navigated their experience of welfare reform;

Dave   So what brings you to the food bank today?

David   I am on a sanction I am, from the dole. It is been like a four and a half month sanction now. It finishes this week, but it was only supposed to be two weeks at the start, and it is just been an ongoing thing, they have stretched it out for 4 and a half months.

Structural poverty, understood to be triggered by economic change driven by political institutions and processes, which extend far beyond the control of the individual (Lister, 2004:126) were at the centre of the experience of poverty and food bank use. In most conversations with service users, the longer-term problems associated with structural reasons for poverty were not directly acknowledged as contributing to the immediate problem. Talking with David further, he addresses the impact of structural changes made to welfare through welfare reform, and how Government systems were to blame for his food bank use;

Dave   So what led to this initial sanction?

David   It was supposed to have been an appointment that I was supposed to have failed to attend, but they didn't send the letter to my address for me to attend the appointment, so I said this to them, and they were arguing that they did send it. I was arguing that they didn't send it, I got the tribunal involved, they had got no proof that they did send it, so now the tribunal wants it all backdated, which I'm entitled to.

Dave   How come that happened?

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David   I don't know I have been questioning it but I am just hitting a brick wall with them all the time, it just seems to have been stretched out to a big long thing. You know. I have got a tribunal and all that involved, but, I am not getting any money. I have been in the situation where I have not been getting any money for 4 and a half months. I have lost my flat through it, because the housing benefit has not been getting paid of course, you know. So I have lost my flat, I have lost my missus. Basically I am on the street. It is just me and the dog now.

As David identifies, the impact of welfare reform has had both immediate and potentially long-lasting effects on his sense of well-being. A possible incorrect sanction applied to his income has triggered a watershed moment in his life. Through not being able to maintain his home and his family, David has suddenly found himself homeless and still without an income. Akin to David, George explains how he has also become the victim of welfare reform and, because of his experience of being homeless; George is also experiencing food poverty;

Dave   So, how come you have ended up at the food bank today?

George   Problems with me Job Seekers. Well, I'm homeless and I haven't had anything, any food for about two days. I just asked [referral organisation] if they could give us a voucher as I don't get paid until next week sometime.

Dave   Is that Job Seekers Allowance?

George   Yeah.

Dave   Are you homeless at the minute?

George   Yeah.

Although George is despondent about his current situation, he was also mindful that this was part of a long-standing mental health issue which he has been battling. The impact of mental health permeated through George's biographical interview as he addresses how his addiction to alcohol is used in conjunction with another mental health problem with which he suffers;

George   Well, I have been waiting for my psychiatrist to talk to me about my Schizophrenia.

Dave   Right, okay.

George   I have been drinking to get the thoughts out of my head. I split up with my misses two months ago. Just doing silly things, and well basically trying to get my life back together again. I have seen nicer times.

Dave   Okay. Please, if you don't mind, if you could talk me through what has happened over the past…?

George   Just, I split up with my ex-girlfriend. I have been an alcoholic for seventeen years. I started drinking again. I went off the drink for about six or seven weeks. I bumped into a friend. I had one drink, and ended up then having it again. But like I said, I'm waiting for drugs and alcohol misuse. I'm seeing [name] tomorrow, with [mental health unit] and all that, mental abuse and well, we are kind of slowly going through it you know.

George had had a sanction placed on his Job Seekers Allowance payments as he failed to attend an appointment at his local Job Centre Plus. He is currently living as

homeless, in a tent on a nearby field. He said that he was hoping to be awarded Employment Support Allowance as he suffers with both Schizophrenia and alcoholism, however, this was refused. Therefore, under his Job Seekers Allowance Agreement (the Claimant Commitment), George is still required to apply for a certain number of jobs per day and also required to turn up for an interview, should it be offered. Applying for jobs and being presentable at an interview whilst living in a tent in a field is one issue with which George has to contend. Another, and one which exemplifies the aim of this research in examining the changing face of food poverty, was George's more immediate issue which he has to contend with, and that was what he would do with his food given by the food bank;

Dave   So the food that you have just got, right, I'm thinking that you are going to be homeless tonight. How are you going to prepare the food?

George   I will get a fire going, outside. I don't know if you know the [location]. Oh, what is it called? It's in [location], the field. What is it called? Well, it is right beside the pub.

Dave   Oh, yeah, the big field?

George   Yeah. I have got a tent there, so, I will light a fire there and rustle something up.

Dave   Oh, wow, so have you got pans and stuff so you are able to cook it?

George   Yeah, well, I will just put the tin on the fire, and just open the tin, you know.

Like George, Iain too suffers from mental health issues associated with incidents which have happened to him in the past. Iain is a middle-aged man who suffers from

an addiction to both prescription and non-prescription drugs, and has been using them for the last twenty years. In my interview with Iain, he reports that he is struggling with maintaining a decent standard of living because of changes made to social security through the Welfare Reform Act 2012. The impact which subtle changes to his social security payments and the cost implications associated with the Spare Room Subsidy have been implicit within Iain's referral to the food bank;

Dave   What brings you to the food bank today?

Iain   The amount of money that I get isn't enough to live on. And, because
              I have to pay council tax and the bedroom tax and all the stuff like that,
              do you know what I mean? I have lived there for ten years and I didn't
              have to pay it when they gave me the flat. I get help off them paying it,
              but by the time… Because the electric is dead, everybody else has got
              central heating in the block, I haven't. I have still got the old storage
              heaters, so I can only afford to put one on in the front room, and I got
              an electric blanket for when I get in bed like. But like, by the time I
              have paid my bills I have got nothing left for food or nothing. Do you
              know what I mean? I am just struggling, do you know what I mean?

Dave   So have you used this food bank before?

Iain   Yes.

Dave   How many times do you think you have used it?

Iain   About five or six times.

Dave   Okay, is that over like twelve months?

Iain   Yes.

Dave   Have you used it before that as well?

Iain   No.

Iain acknowledges that his food bank use is a direct result of welfare reform, as before the imposition of the bedroom tax he didn't need to use the food bank. Struggling to maintain both food and shelter was acknowledged as becoming a problem for a majority of the service users whom I spoke with, as the impact of welfare reform, coupled with the cost of utility bills had started to have an impact on already vulnerable individuals, as Theresa explains;

Dave   Can you tell me why you are at the food bank today?

Theresa   I am here because of the… Well it has been a bit of a bad week actually. You know we all get bad weeks. I haven't got any central heating in my house yet, everybody in my flat has, and I haven't. But because of the family, you have to keep as warm as you can, so I'm using the convector heaters which is eating my electric and putting… I am on jobseekers allowance I am. So one blew one last week, so I had to replace it with another one, you can't have one, which I have in the past. And you know, you cope. When it's hard, you cry, and everything, you wonder what is going on, but, you do whatever it takes. […] But that is why I'm here today, because I had to buy another heater, and I thought well, if I get the heater for the heat upstairs I won't be able to have as much food. So I thought well, and I could probably do with becoming a bit thinner, and you know I can't deprive my son, you know…

Having to make the choice between heating and eating and having to buy essentials were commonly addressed in interviews conducted with people faced with using the food bank. Injecting a little light-hearted comedy into her desperate situation, Theresa addresses how she can sacrifice her food consumption in order to make the purchase of the new heater; however, she could not place the same restriction on her son. Theresa's position also further highlights the problematic association with the 'poverty premium' attached to being poor and being forced to pay more for services and goods. Structurally, the implications of a poverty premium on people attests to a clear cause and effect of food bank use.

The shifting debate – Is Poverty Ever Agency Driven?

People living on social security may already be considered as being more vulnerable than the rest of society, as any fluctuation in income can create serious financial problems. These financial problems may be short lived or could be ones that create further problems associated with the experience of poverty and food poverty. Therefore, it can be argued that the use of food banks is no more driven by the individual, than is the cause of their overall situation. As the service users above have been able to describe, on the surface, indicators of poverty and food bank use are thought of as being part of an agency driven incident. However, as the stories below reveal, blame had been foisted upon the individual, and the agent has, as identified in Chapter Six, become part of an individualistic rhetoric of shifting blame. Passing the guilt of poverty on to the agent effectively removes any connotation that the experience of contemporary individual poverty has a historic origin, and that structural elements need not be taken into account. In attempting to place value in how poverty begins for an individual, most service users expressed an awareness of how societal

structures beyond their control became decisive in the events which led to their experience of food poverty. According to his referral, Iain was at the food bank due to a financial crisis associated with the Spare Room Subsidy, however, allowing Iain the space to explain how this situation arose, he was able to detail the structural reasons behind his low income. Iain's story of poverty is poised to contest the structure and agency debate which runs through an argument over individualism, that poverty is caused by the individual, as the circumstances behind his longer-term poverty were disclosed as being not of his making, or of his individual 'life choices'. Individualism conveys the idea that we are all free agents and that we can exercise free-will over our individual life choices. However, Iain is able to defend his position as someone experiencing poverty and reoccurring food bank use not through any fault of his own, but because of incidents which were out of his control which happened to him as a child;

Iain I wouldn't be acting like this if it didn't happen to me as a kid, because there was violence as well, because I was born in the 70s. Fucking hell, my dad used to whip me with a horse whip if I went out in the street or if I was naughty or something. I got treated really badly. I think, I must have had ADHD, but in them days it wasn't recognised. I used to get tied into the cot as a baby by my ankles with stockings, and I can remember it because a bird came down the chimney, and it frightened me to death, I was screaming man, I thought I was going to die, you know. And they [parents] come up and they laughed and they said it is only a bird, and they let it go. But I didn't think it was funny tied to the cot, because I couldn't get out, you know what I mean? You know, I would never think of doing that to my kid. But they used to do it to me.

As a child, Iain was abused by his parents. Removed from his parents, he was then placed in a string of care homes where he was then sexually abused by staff and public officials associated with his local authority care system. As an adult, mental health issues ensued and Iain battled with post-traumatic stress disorder, prescription drug abuse and suicide attempts as he tried to control his situation. For Iain, this prescription drug abuse subsequently evolved into illegal drug use, family breakdown and he found himself in and out of prison. On this occasion, Iain's referral to the food bank was due to insufficient income as he is forced to transition from ESA over to JSA following a Work Capability Assessment. However, due to his health problems, he found it hard to make it to the appointment and ultimately had a sanction applied to his social security;

Iain   So I am not getting anything and I was relying on that to start a new life, you know what I mean? I have spent half of my life in prison.

Dave   Okay, can you just tell me what happened with that, spending half your life in prison?

Iain   Because I felt safer in prison. And I got involved in drugs as well, you know to blank things out. For twenty-five years as well. But I have sorted myself off them as well. But it was because I was hiding this secret for thirty-five years. And my head has just burnt out, do you know what I mean. I have been on the Valium for twenty-five years, and my head is just burnt out and that.

Dave   Ah, from the care home?

Iain   Yeah and the ring as well, that was attached to it as well. It wasn't just me, there was twenty victims from the care home, and then there was

another five from the other trial as well. So it wasn't just me. There was other people as well. It is hard to prove a crime that happened thirty-five years ago.

Dave   Coming from the care home to the, you know, into prison, and the drugs. You say that you are through all this, or that you are through the drugs part anyway, do you see one being a result of the other?

Iain   Well I took them to try and forget, because I have nightmares, I always have, I will wake up screaming, but, because I wear earplugs I can't hear it, so it takes a lot for me to wake up when I hear myself. So the neighbours hear me.

The trajectory into poverty and food poverty was communicated through most biographical interviews, as being a distressing story of structural failures. Although this is just a small extract from Iain's story about his life experience and path into poverty, his story addresses both the familial and the societal **structures** that have let him down, and shaped his trajectory into poverty and food bank use. Similarly, David described his reasons for using the food bank as being one associated with changes to welfare, and the rules around benefit claim and conditionality. More significantly, David addressed the direct impact which welfare reform is having on his ability to maintain a normal life. He also indicated how the recent changes in welfare had caused his trajectory into poverty through not being able to keep-up with his housing payments.

Societal Structures and Official Hindrances

For most individuals I spoke with in the food banks across Wales, the trajectory into food poverty was one which followed similar structural pathways. As a recovering alcoholic looking to get back into work, Duncan explains that he is facing a prodigious task as potential employers assess his worthiness for employment. Furthering the argument for the deserving and the undeserving poor, Duncan describes how his experience of food poverty is due to his benefits being suspended because he failed a Disclosure and Barring Service background check. More than qualified to do the job that he applied for, Duncan was refused the position although his conviction is 'spent', therefore it may be considered that structural failings are preventing and obstructing people's access to suitable employment;

Duncan   Because I've been in trouble with the law in the past and things, I have applied for jobs and things. But then I get a CRB check on me, yeah, because I used to be an alcoholic and the violence and things, I got turned down for a job last week because of my violent past. You know. But I did, but I have said, you know, 'I don't drink anymore, I don't get in trouble anymore, I've changed my lifestyle completely'. But you know, there're not willing to give people a chance and things, you know.

Dave   And was this a job that the Job Centre had asked you to apply for?

Duncan   Yeah. And I applied for it, you know. Because they wouldn't accept me in the job, they sanctioned my money.

Dave   Even though you had applied?

Duncan	Even though I applied for it, so. I'm doing what they are saying, but, it's still not benefiting me, no? So, I can't really win.
Dave	So, is that not what you are supposed to do?
Duncan	Exactly, yeah. You know! They said 'right, sign, fill-in an application form and send it off today', and I've done exactly that. I had the job interview in the Job Centre. He's got quite a big company around here. It's for a labourer, and I'm a qualified plasterer by trade, and that's what I was applying for. Even my job advisory person was there, and they even heard the bloke say 'right I will get in touch' or whatever. I had a phone call a few days later, went to the Job Centre, and said they haven't accepted me for the job role.
Dave	That you are qualified to do!
Duncan	Yeah, that I'm qualified for, and they still sanctioned my money. They are being quite difficult with people that really need support and things, and you don't really get much support

Duncan's trajectory into food poverty was marked by a significant detail in his past preventing him from moving forwards. As with Iain, and other focused semi-structured interviews the impact of historic events became indicative of future life chances, as all interviewees expressed a significant incident which had occurred in their life associated with their vulnerability today. In Cameron's interview, he explains how he has become a victim of financial abuse from his so called 'friends', and that this has pushed him into needing to use the food bank today. Part of a longer story bound up with his collapsed military career, subsequent alcohol abuse, drug use and family breakdown, Cameron eventually fell victim to heroin abuse;

Cameron	And what brought me here today is because, I was err, I went back down to my home town about week ago, and then I left my [bank] card and that up here yeah, and some people have took money out of it, which has left me absolutely strung.
Dave	So somebody has stolen money from your account.
Cameron	Yeah. And that's just led me here today.
Dave	Was that your ESA money?
Cameron	Yeah! But the lads up here who I owed money to and that… and I had said, you know, I freely said 'yeah take the money out that I owe you'. But they are saying that they have not received anything, and that they've not taken anything out or anything like that. So they are still saying that I owe them money but, someone has took money out me account, you know what I mean!

Associated with Cameron's most immediate crisis at the hands of theft and financial abuse from people he owes money to, exists his story in identifying a definite trajectory into the poverty which he is experiencing today, as Cameron continues;

Cameron	Yeah I am all right around the kitchen yeah. Well I was in the Army for three and half years, so, I got the basics, yeah.
Dave	What happened?
Cameron	Well, I come out to look after my mum and dad, and then everything just went wrong. I'm hoping I can try and get back one day like, I've just got to sort my mental state out and all that, and then, we are laughing.

Dave   So, when you left the army was that, do you attribute that to being the start of the problem?

Cameron   Yeah! Because I just went downhill and drank more, because in the Army you drink don't you? It's a drink thing. And I just carried on drinking, like that and then drinking, and arguing with the ex, and then it just went downhill, and she couldn't cope with me drinking, then I went on to drug misuse, and then I just carried on going down and down and down, and we broke up, and I just fucked my life up. So now I've got to try and build it back up again.

Dave   So how come there was a jump from the military, to using alcohol to using heroin was it an easy process?

Cameron   Yeah it is I think yeah, to go down. People help you go downhill; people will help you go downhill quite quick. People don't mind you going downhill rapidly they like watching that I think, some people get a kick out of it. So they are helping, they would rather just watch you get dragged down, than try and build you up, yeah? That's the way I see it.

The drivers behind Cameron's experience of food poverty address both structural reasons for his poverty, such as the lack of care and support for military personnel, and those suffering from mental ill health. He also recognises the part which he has played in his own journey. Whilst it is difficult for people with mental health problems, such as addiction, to manage in the face of a crisis, all of the interviewees who participated in biographical interviews distinguished that their struggle with poverty was due to a number of structural circumstances which were beyond their control;

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Esther   Because I've had countless problems with benefits and accommodation
            which has left me with no money or nothing, but you know the… I
            mean, this [the food bank] has got me through some tough times.

Dave   So what problems have you been having with your benefits?

Esther   Erm, well I've, I've been on the sick. I actually failed my medical the
            other week erm, so they stopped all my money. Which I'm a bit
            unhappy about. But you know it can be anything, I mean, for instance
            when I was homeless, it was really hard to get any money off anyone
            because I didn't have an address, I was having to use different
            addresses for like you know, "care of" and all that, and you know like
            just really difficult, just actually getting them to pay you in the first
            place, so that's when, so that's when service like this [food bank] come
            in handy.

Dave   So have your benefits been stopped now?

Esther   Yeah yeah, they have been stopped. I mean I've sort of made a new
            claim to Jobseekers, but, because of the delay in that, it means that I'm
            kind of, there is a week or two where I've got bugger all, you know,
            luckily there are these such things [the food bank].

Addressing the concerns raised within Chapter Six, the structural causes of people's
poverty and resultant food poverty can, as in the cases identified above, be attributed
to welfare reform. The changing face of the welfare system has, for all service users
interviewed been the direct cause of their need in seeking emergency food aid from a
food bank. However, this was, in all cases never an easy option. The embarrassment

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and stigma attached to using the food bank was usually suffered as a means of last resort.

The Final Avenue for Help

The trajectories into food poverty have been expressed by the people who are currently using the food bank system to navigate a safe journey out of their current crisis. Arguably caused by structural mechanisms, the food banks are held in high regard by those unfortunate enough to have to use them. As Esther has declared above, she considers it fortunate that the food banks are there to help, and feelings of gratitude were a common expression. Before a food bank is used however, interviewees expressed ways in which they had initially tried to secure food from other channels. Drawing on arguments raised in Chapter Six, about communities having developed an individualistic outlook and the loss of community/family solidarity, arguments raised within biographical interviews discussed how using the food bank was never their first option, and that they only resorted to this after they had exhausted all other avenues of securing food first. Typically, these avenues were family and friends;

Andrea   So now the Job Centre decided to give me a voucher for the food bank because I'm depending upon my mother, my brother, my sister, which have all got their own houses to keep, their own little family to keep, so. That's why they eventually gave me one to come here. So I came here today to pick it up the food.

Dave   So you've been living like this since February?

Andrea   Yeah.

Dave   And it's taken them two months to get all this in place?

Andrea   Yes. Two months.

Dave   How have you been coping with food?

Andrea   I've been having to basically go up to my mam's house, because I don't drive I have to rely on the bus which costs to go up to my mams, which costs to go to my sister, and my brothers. They help me, by giving me some food if they go shopping weekly, they've been buying me a few bits and bobs. I can't expect them to buy me a full shop, because they are buying themselves full shops, but, at least they have been helping me. If I didn't have the help that I've had off my mam, or my brother, or my sister, I've no idea.

Dave   Do they know that you are here today?

Andrea   Yeah. They told me to basically, if they [the food bank] give you help, take it, because you can't keep going the way you're going with having to depend upon us. Even though we don't mind, but we've got our own bills to pay. You know every time you've been in trouble; we are there to help you. So they just told me to go and to just speak to them and see what they can offer.

These sentiments of family being in a position to help were, on occasions rare during interviews. Having a family, with whom vulnerable individuals can rely upon during difficult times, could be considered one way in which service users could navigate clear of needing to use a food bank. However, as expressed by the service users, there is a large requirement for the family, as a whole, to not be in a similar poverty situation;

Caroline   But, it's the embarrassment of coming here and taking the food from someone else, when usually, I don't know, you'd struggle and survive.

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Dave   Can you usually…

Caroline   Because there are a lot of people who don't know about these places.

Dave   Do you think that that is a good thing, or a bad thing?

Caroline   Erm, no because if there is people who are struggling, especially, like, like my daughter has had to go to food bank and she's got three children. But she didn't know about it until, until I told her about it because I was told, and then I told my daughter. And she said, you know I will speak to a health visitor, and that, so that's how she got to the food bank.

Dave   So your daughter has been as well?

Caroline   Yes.

Coming from a family which is also struggling was common within the food banks I visited. As Chapter Five has shown, areas experiencing multiple deprivation are also centres of concentrated food bank use, and where the broad experience of poverty is shared amongst the community. For Caroline, the experience of poverty was shared not only between her family, but also throughout her circle of friends;

Dave   The first time that you needed to mention needing a food bank to the [name of referral organisation] how did you find that?

Caroline   It was, I don't know, I didn't know how to go about it. I didn't know how to ask.

Dave   Did you go in there specifically to ask, or did you go in there with a different problem and they said well…

Caroline   Well I went with a few neighbours, and I felt a bit easier going in with someone else, rather than go on my own and ask. Because I think if I, if I had, you know, come the first time, I don't think I would have done it. I would have preferred not to, you know. But the encouragement of my neighbours who needed it themselves, we all come together, we all went home together.

Dave   Oh, so there was a few of you who needed it?

Caroline   Yeah, there was another two people in my area, that needed it.

Contrary to the argument of individualism expressed in Chapter Six, whereby poverty has been framed within a narrative of the 'undeserving poor' being the agents of their own poverty, with my interview with Caroline I found that she still held a strong sense of community spirit, and a general understanding that there is a need to look after other members within her community. Caroline explains how she has been the recipient of help from within the community before visiting the food bank;

Caroline   I do get myself in a tangle sometimes, because if I'm stuck, I will go and borrow off someone and get into debt, you know! Do you wanna lend? Do you wanna lend? And then you get yourself into debt, and then you've got to pay it back. And then you are stuck to buy anything, do you know what I mean. Because you've borrowed and you don't realise, it's a silly way to try and live, by borrowing.

Dave   And are you borrowing from friends and family or from companies?

Caroline   Friends. Companies. I have borrowed from a company, but, it's like £100 on top.

Dave   Are you also debt with friends?

Caroline   Yeah, I have been yeah. And I've got to pay them back as well.

Dave   Do you find that that happens a lot?

Caroline   Erm, I don't know, once every couple of weeks maybe. You know on

the 'short week' when you don't get nothing. Because you get paid

fortnightly and because it used to be a weekly payment scheme, but

then they changed it to fortnightly, and people seem to get into debt on

that week that they don't get nothing. And then they get stuck and then

they borrow, and it all adds up then, and their borrowing for whatever

they need.

Ideas of Ending Food Poverty

As described above, the journey of poverty is one that the food bank service user

typically employs a number of preventative strategies before resorting to help from a

food bank, and has been described by many as being the lowest point of their journey.

The trajectory out of food poverty was coded for during analysis as a direct response

to the situation expressed by the service users. The idea that they could see a way out

of food poverty was discussed by many service users as they explained how using the

food bank today was helping them to get over an immediate crisis, and that with this

help, they would soon be back on their feet, as Tony explains;

Tony   They stopped my benefits, and then the food bank offered me a three-

day food parcel, so I thought yeah, brill. And it was just to tide you

over, you know, that is what it is supposed to do, just to tide you over,

out of a crisis. It's like, there are a lot of people that are having their

benefits stopped, their benefits sanctioned. I have known cases that have been in the food bank, because of drugs and alcohol reasons. It's not in my case, but I know of cases where it is. But when they use it, it's like a lifeline for them, I think it is all right. But it paid off for me, like I said, it's given me them three days' grace. It takes the government more than that to sort the money out.

This immediate sense of being helped by the food bank to cover a crisis period is, as Tony suggests, for three days' worth of food. However, he also maintains that it can take the official structural channels longer than three days to resolve any financial problem and incorrect sanctions. Longer-term ideas of moving out of food poverty, and eventually poverty were advocated by most, as being the most sustainable way to end the longer-term crisis;

Boris   Yeah, that's what I want, I want a job, I want a house, I want money in my pocket yeah. I mean that's why I'm going to go into the Navy, possibly the army, yeah so I can have money and a career and a chance to, fucking, live a decent life, because I'm only young, I'm only twenty yeah. Not fucking getting a food bank and that.

Dave   Do you think the navy would be a good move?

Boris   Yeah. Fucking right, I would be able to get away from this shit hole of a place and get on with my life yeah!

Although this seems to be a long-term plan for Boris, most ideas of lessening the need for a food bank involved more immediate steps, with an eventual longer-term goal in mind. Here Amber, who was still under the age of twenty explains how she intends on ending her crisis;

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Dave   How do you see a way out of this?

Amber   Erm, just taking each day it comes. Erm. Go to college after, when I finished school. And I wanna be a child carer, or childminder, or photographer.

Dave   That's fantastic.

Amber   Yeah. And then get my own flat, and then to try to go from there.

From the interviews conducted, asking the question concerning ending the need for food banks, most interviewees suggested that the situation would get better following more immediate changes. Returning to David, his homelessness and food bank use were intertwined within his story, and that his homelessness was a direct consequence of welfare reform and bureaucratic mistakes. Here David describes how he intends to move out of poverty;

Dave   How do you foresee a possible way out of this?

David   Hopefully get it sorted out from the tribunal and get my money backdated, and get my dole back up and running again.

Dave   So do you see that as your way out of using food banks?

David   Yes it is the only way that I will be able to stop using it really, is to get my money sorted out.

For David, the simple way out of food poverty was also seen as being the most immediate available to him. The confidence of having social security, especially for the most vulnerable individuals in our society, was also mentioned by all food bank service users. However, having his Job Seekers Allowance back up and running again,

addresses his trajectory of recovery only within the short term, as he expressed no longer term plan to enter into work.

The felt experience of food poverty was very real for the service users who participated in the biographical interviews, as has been revealed above. Service users have to learn how to navigate their way through the food bank referral system, which has been understood, referred to as part of their 'trajectory'. However, to provide a fuller understanding of the changing face of food poverty, and how this has effected the lives of those experiencing this, service users offered poignant evidence regarding their experience of both poverty and the consequence of food poverty. Furthering the underlying argument presented in Chapter Six that there is a contention between the **deserving and the undeserving** poor which permeates through the food bank referral system. The service users explain how the subject of deservedness within food bank influences their own perceptions of who should be using a food bank.

Social Distancing as a Justification

Being able to socially distance yourself away from a certain group was found at all levels within this research, where the service users positioned themselves away from those whom they deemed to be less deserving of help from a food bank. The perception of being 'deserving' is linked, not just to the **structure and agency** debate of poverty, but also to the concept of othering and that, those who are deemed to be 'misusing' the food banks are thought to be less deserving of the help offered. This was argued by some to be a misappropriation of free food, as this allowed for the freeing up money to be spent elsewhere. In creating these identities, all the food bank users whom I spoke to positioned themselves away from those whom they deemed were undeserving. One such typical view shared within the service user community was

over the use of food banks as being a method to free-up money which could be spent on drugs and or alcohol, as Gabe makes clear here;

Gabe   But, from an outsider's point of view, I have seen a lot of people misuse the service. That's something I've noticed. Erm. Which is a bit of a shame really because it [the food bank] is good.

Dave   So what brought you here today?

Gabe   I've been having some problems with my benefits. Erm. My money has actually been stopped this week. Which has led me, which has left me with nothing, so to speak. I have very little family or friends to rely on.

Dave   Oh yes?

Gabe   Erm, so, you know, I kind of use this service as and when I do, need to. But, you know like I was saying before, I've noticed there is a lot of people misusing it. Either because of drug related, or drug or alcohol, related problems.

Conceptualising the view that social distancing is a method of justification over their own situation being more deserving than other people's situations, most food bank users involved in this research were able to position themselves away from those whom they described as being 'undeserving'. Gabe above, liked to refer to himself as an outsider when it comes to his food bank use, and represents a clear identification of othering as he offers a self-imposed social distance. Lister (2004: 101) has explored this further by explaining how the demarcation between 'them' and 'us' (the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' as above), or the deserving and the undeserving brings forth the argument of 'moral contamination' of the group and people aim to distance themselves socially. Through my conversation with Gabe this moral contamination was offered

as those who have substance misuse problems and their legitimacy over resultant food bank use as a contamination of what is moral. For Gabe, this was seen as being incompatible with food bank use, as he actively associates any need for help from a food bank due to drug addiction as a misuse of the service;

Gabe   A lot of substance, like, the whole substance misuse thing, erm, you know, this service itself might get used by people who maybe have maybe spent their money on drugs or alcohol, or, you know they might owe all their money out for debts for such things, and then that's when this service gets you know misused.

Dave   Yeah, so can you see that being a problem?

Gabe   Yeah. Yeah, definitely! Because it's, it's almost ruining it for the people that are actually using it for a good reason.

Dave   Right okay. And what do you define as a good reason?

Gabe   Particularly problems with finances and accommodation I would say, a problem of the most important, erm. A lot of people are losing their benefits these days, you know it happens to the best of us, so. I'd define that as being a good reason to use the service.

Dave   And are these problems that you have experienced as well?

Gabe   Yeah yeah, yeah. I've been through it a lot, yeah, I mean I've been using the service on and off for about a couple years like.

Problems with finance and accommodation for Gabe were seen as legitimate reasons for using the food bank, however, not issues with drugs or alcohol. Surprisingly however, spending money on debts also fell into the category of 'undeserving' poor for Gabe. Issues of food bank referral reasons, for Gabe, formed along lines of deserving and undeserving, and his own reasons associated with finance and accommodation were placed as being justified. This reflective assumption is being used by himself to show that his use of the food bank is legitimate over other, less genuine motives. Conversations with service users varied in the way they spoke about food bank use, and how they reflected on other people's use of the food bank. Here, Michael discusses his experience of those who are using the food bank as a means to support their addiction, and that this, for the public, painted an unrepresentative picture of those who use of the food bank, as in his view this was unjustified;

| Michael | But a lot of people have abused it, and I have noticed that. […] I have seen a couple of times in [town] myself, and I thought to myself, people like these drug dealers, off their heads on drugs, wasting all their benefit money, and going into the Job Centre and kicking off and then they are giving them a ticket to go to the food bank. I have seen it. It is terrible. It is disgusting. When there are genuine people out there who need it. |

Michael is able to provide a picture of the types of people he considers undeserving of the help offered by the food bank. All discussions of food bank referrals with service users addressed the argument of the deserving and the undeserving poor, as they could adequately describe those who they feel should be allowed to visit the food bank and those who they thought should not be allowed. It is this line over the deserving and undeserving poor that permeated through the discussions that I conducted with both

food bank providers, addressed in Chapter Six, and here with the service users. For example, most conversations which I had with service users revolved around core reasons for their own visit as being allowed, and opposed those reasons for people who have spent their money on what *they* consider to be an unnecessary expenditure, and is very much a reflection of the same argument presented within discussions with food bank providers. Food bank users were, in all cases, able to offer a justification for their own use of the food bank as being a legitimate reason;

Gabe   As I say, I've noticed a lot of people abusing the service and it's annoyed me a bit really, because it's almost like they don't need it. But, just for the simple fact that they *can*, get it! They *will* get it! You know what I mean like. Genuinely, like today, I like *really* needed this, I'm not just doing this on the blag. But I've seen, a lot of people do that, which is a bit annoying really, because it's, it's almost spoiling the service and potentially putting the service in jeopardy.

Dave   So do you see you being a service user of food banks differently than other people?

Gabe   Yeah definitely! I think that I use it to its full nature, whereas a lot of people I know just, just, just use it for the sake of it and the fact that they can get one, even when they are getting money, they will still get the food bank. Yeah I've seen that a few times.

Portraying this sense of justification over food bank use, corresponded with the line-by-line coding of othering as a social distancing exercise amongst the food bank

service users. Effectively, this standpoint works to identify the resurgence of a deserving and an undeserving poor discussion in modern-day food poverty situations. However, what is particular about this research, is that this questioning is also being done within the same peer-group, as food bank users are, in effect, assessing each other's deservedness and creating a hierarchy;

Dave   So would you say that that is food poverty? Having to use a food bank?

Margaret   The people on the streets I would say that is food poverty.

Dave   What about the people using the food bank?

Margaret   If in need, yes, definitely.

Dave   So is this food poverty as well?

Margaret   I wouldn't say it is food poverty. I would say that it is helping.

Hiding Poverty – The Embarrassment and Shame of Food Bank Use

Removing the identification of being in food poverty was presented by most service users, as they would usually identify another group of individuals as being in a worse situation than their own. This was more often than not reflected onto the street homeless, as they were viewed as being 'the real food poor'. For the service users, food bank use, was thought of as a transitory journey, and that *real* food poverty was linked to homelessness and linked to deserving help from a food bank. Again, as this was addressed by the service users, this served to create a social distance between those who have a little, and those who have even less, as they (the homeless) were thought of as being the real 'need' for help from a food bank;

Dave	Can you tell me, if I asked you, what does food poverty mean to you? Can you tell me, what's the first thing that comes to your mind?
Jacob	Shamed about it! I'm ashamed coming in here! And I think that, other people, are a lot worse off than me. And I shouldn't really be coming here. But on the other hand, I'm hungry. You know, and there are people with children, elderly people, and, I do feel, I do feel embarrassed, and ashamed. It's, erm, I don't know. I honestly don't know.

The experience of food poverty was one which was addressed as being a shameful circumstance, and one which caused a certain amount of embarrassment. The identification of begging for food was a common acknowledgment, and one which strikes a critical engagement with the narrative of 'hiding one's poverty' addressed by the service providers. Returning to Tony, he is able to rationalise his decision to not allow his son to know the true extent of the poverty that his family faces;

Dave	Does he know about the situation? I don't mean just about the food from here.
Tony	No. I try to keep that away from him. I mean. I want him just to focus on his school and things you know, I don't want him to worry about, 'am I going to eat today, am, I not going to eat today'. You know I don't really want him to be thinking down that road, you know!
Dave	So he won't know where this food has come from today?

Tony	No! No! I mean, he's only thirteen yeah, I don't want him to start worrying about where he's going to get his next meal from you know.
Dave	Yeah.
Tony	To be fair, he shouldn't have to worry about that at that age, no. you know!

Hiding the impact of food poverty was expressed by many service users whom I spoke with as they battled with the pressures of society. However, for Tony, this situation seemed to be a rather striking one. He continued to describe his current experience of food poverty, and explained that the food bank wasn't the first place in which he has been able to access free food;

Tony	Yeah [name of soup kitchen]. And they give you like two meals a day, to take away. So I go there with my partner and we get a meal each, and then we split it between the three of us.
Dave	So, you'll split this meal between the three of you?
Tony	Yeah, I'll get a meal for myself, and my partner will do the same, and we'll just split it between us. We have to do that to survive yeah, there is no other way at the moment no, until I can get into work.
Dave	Do you know of any other strategies of being able to provide food? You know, as a family provider?
Tony	Before today, yeah, I have had to go at the back of KFC bins, because they throw loads of chicken and things out, and in bags and things, and I've had to get chicken out of them. You know. Like when Morrison's

and that, you want to see the food that they throw away. And the bins, the bins are full of food. It could go out today or tomorrow, and there is loads of food, that they throw, and they pour like blue dye over it so that nobody can have it.

The awareness of having to go to significant lengths in order to secure food was expressed by all service users who spoke with me. For example, stories often involved having to provide food, either for their families, or for themselves. Here Sam told of a time when she was so hungry that she had resorted to crime in order to feed herself;

Sam   I once got caught stealing some cheese slices in [town] one time, and that is when I was going to see [son] for a day out. It was because I was purely starving, and I felt faint.

Likewise, Dominic explains how he faired over the Christmas period, and what may be considered as 'normal' in terms of Christmas dinner, becomes a very demoralising situation for people experiencing food poverty;

Dominic   I went to the Salvation Army for my dinner. I wasn't going to go, because it would mean that I would have to walk for 2 miles, but they came and picked me up. I was made up then. It was something to do. Have a nice dinner and chat to a few people. Otherwise I would have been sat at home on my own all day. I didn't even bother drinking. I can't afford to drink.

Going to significant lengths to secure food was also expressed as part of their trajectory, and as part of their wider food poverty experience, as they negotiate the changing landscape of welfare reform. The feeling that they are now having to resort to begging for food was shared by all who used the food bank;

Gordon   I have never been in this situation before in my life. Not where I've

            been so desperate were I have had to come begging for food no.

Dave   Is that what you see this as, as begging for food?

Gordon   I see it as a place where there is support and the help, obviously, but it

            is no place where I like to come. I like to be manly, and to support

            myself. I don't like to have to come asking for food, do you know what

            I mean?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the feeling of embarrassment permeated through every biographical

interview conducted with the service users. Dealing with changes in welfare support

at the hands of the Welfare Reform Act 2012 has been acknowledged by food bank

users as being part of their trajectory into food poverty, and one which works to sustain

and to keep them there. This language of welfare retrenchment was correspondingly

acknowledged by the service providers in Chapter Six, and therefore, serves as

corroboration to the plight of people forced to seek help from the food bank for food.

This journey, as discussed by the service users above, is typically acknowledged as

being the last stop (hopefully) in the food bank journey, as the service users actively

seek to highlight the connection between reduction in welfare and the need for a help

from a food bank. Approaching the trajectories into food poverty, the biographical

interviews with service users worked to provide them with a voice, and to allow them

to be able to use their own words to highlight what they see as being the cause of their

poverty, and their food poverty. It is these experienced trajectories which are then

argued by the service users to be their motivation to be able to move on and move out of food poverty, as most address their intended trajectories out of this situation.

For most, the experience of food poverty was one which was marked by the absence of dignity, and became a symbol of failure, shame and embarrassment. However, what was very striking about these conversations was that at almost every stage, the service users actively fought against seeing themselves as a 'typical' food bank user, and sought to remove themselves from this social stereotyping. The impact of creating the 'social other', as an ideological emblem of who *they* thought should be using the food bank may have been employed as a protective mechanism for this embarrassment. In doing so, service users were able to offer a further consideration to that raised by service providers around the issue of the deserving and the undeserving food poor and how this is attached to the structure/agency debate as a cause of poverty.

The next chapter will provide a comparative design analysis highlighting models of emergency food aid providers through the use of three case studies. Looking at one example of one city centre Foodbank, part of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, one independent food bank and one social enterprise café.

Chapter Eight: The Experience of Food Poverty - Case Studies of Different Emergency Food Aid Providers

"The people are in effect living a reduced version of their former lives.

Instead of raging against their destiny they have made things tolerable by lowering their standards" (George Orwell, 1937: 80)

Introduction

Highlighted throughout this thesis has been the recognition that the alleviation of food poverty in contemporary Wales has been commendably undertaken by the charitable sector. Within this charitable sector of emergency food provisioning, previous chapters have argued that food aid has been provided, in the main, by 'food banks', and that it is these charitable food banks which work tirelessly to meet the needs of a growing number of food insecure people across Wales, and the UK. It has also been specified that there are two types of food banks providing this service; the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network and those independent of this network described as the 'independent' sector.

Detailing the roles in which emergency food aid providers now play within society, this chapter aims to provide an understanding of the different types of emergency food aid which is available. Further to this, this chapter, through a representative case study analysis of three separate case studies, aims to strengthen the understanding of how welfare reform has increased the prevalence of emergency food aid providers such as food banks. This chapter also attempts to further the understanding of how each provider not only contributes to tackling and/or reducing food poverty, but how they understand the causes behind those using the service.

Underlining the potential for a number of alternative providers of emergency food aid to be able to tackle food poverty, and how people in food poverty are able to access these, this chapter serves to provide an in-depth focus on the findings of semi-structured interviews with service providers (coordinators). These have been taken from the two main food bank providers in Wales (one Trussell Trust Foodbank and, one Independent food bank). This is offered as a way of showing how food banks work within the understanding that the help they offer is, as Perry et al (2014) argue for 'emergency use only'. Attention will be furthered by examining the strengths and weaknesses of both the cases as an example of representativeness of food aid providers. Further to this, the final case presents the findings of a semi-structured interview with the manager of a social enterprise café based in Caernarfon specialising in developing skills and confidence based training within catering hoping to end the cycle of poverty and food poverty by providing training in food skills for young adults.

In achieving the overall aim of the thesis, this chapter has approached the case study participants with the intention of being able to examine the research questions;

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

The aim of this chapter is to present an examination of three types of food providers currently operating in Wales with the aim of generating a better understanding of how food poverty can be appropriately tackled. Each of the featured cases throughout this

chapter have different, yet also, in some cases, similar approaches to tackling and ending food poverty. Each of the food aid providers offer a unique insight into, not just the understanding of how they tackle food poverty in the immediacy, but also, how they do (or do not) tackle the underlying causes of food poverty. Reducing the underlying causes of food poverty has been argued by Lambie-Mumford to be important as charitable initiatives, such as food banks and other emergency food aid providers are only capable of providing relief from the symptoms of food poverty, and not able to address the underlying reasons (2015: 23). Given this, examining the ability of food aid providers to not just deliver food relief, this chapter will also present key arguments from food aid providers around the question of whose role is it to tackle the underlying problems associated with the rise in food poverty.

Case Study - Cardiff Foodbank: Trussell Trust

As detailed in Chapter Three, the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network was launched in 2004 with its first Foodbank in Salisbury, Wiltshire. Prior to this, under a different name, the Trussell Trust was (and to a certain extent still is) involved with overseas development in Bulgaria feeding homeless children and their families. However, it was a phone call from a desperate parent that prompted the start of the Trussell Trust's work on food aid here in the UK. The Trussell Trust Foodbank Network aims to confront short-term crisis through the provision of a food parcel, as the Trust has begun to highlight recognition that there exists a 'hidden hunger' for people in the UK (Trussell Trust, n.d.). By 2008, the network spread to Wales with the opening of the Ebbw Vale Foodbank, shortly followed in 2009 with the opening of the Cardiff Foodbank.
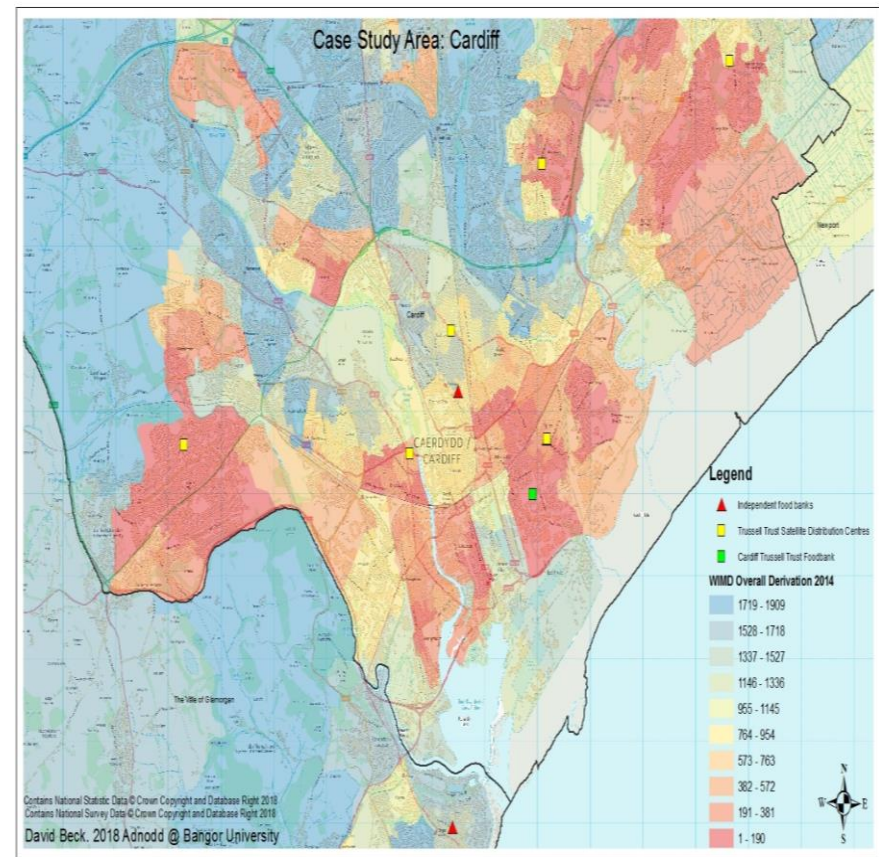
Communities First and the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank
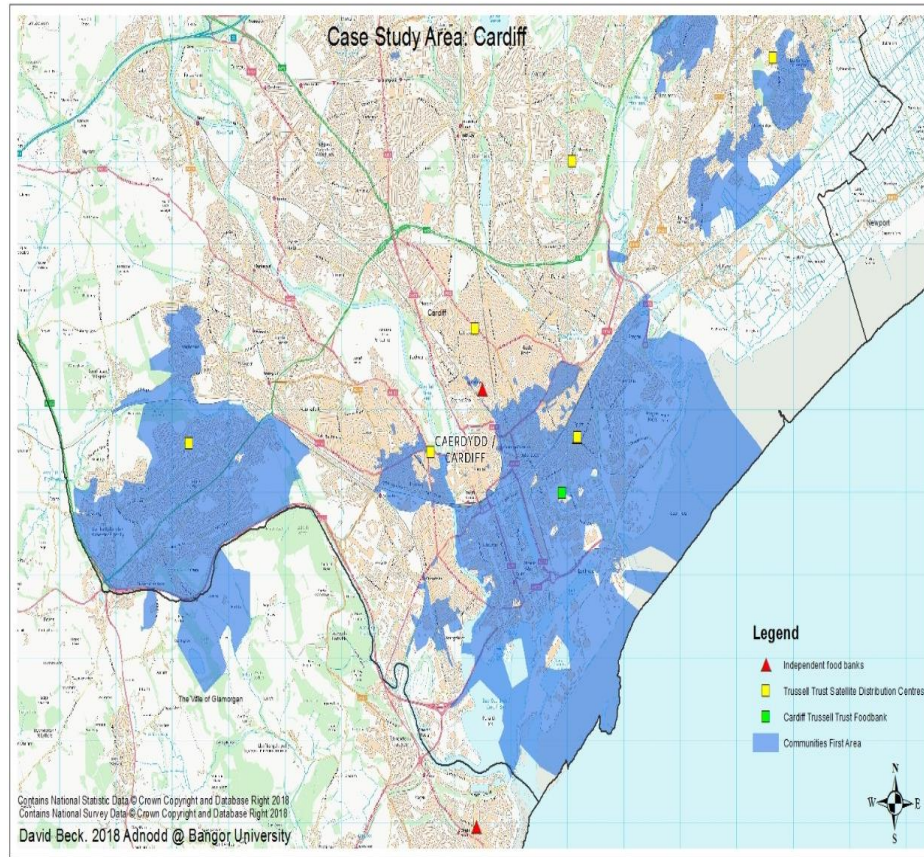
Map 15 The Communities First areas of Cardiff and the location of the Cardiff Trussell Trust and the independent Al Manar food bank

WIMD 2014 and Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank

Map 16 The WIMD 2014 and the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, its associated Satellite Distribution Centres and the location of the Al Manar independent food bank

Following a talk given at their local church in Cardiff by the Trussell Trust, two members of the congregation were motivated to start up their own Trussell Trust Foodbank. Here, Joyce, the Manager of this Trussell Trust Foodbank, known as the Cardiff Foodbank, discusses how the initial idea of setting up as a Trussell Trust Foodbank followed from a presentation given by another Foodbank manager, and that the Trussell Trust seemed to be the most practical option;

Dave   How and why was the decision made to become part of the Trussell Trust?

Joyce   The decision was there because they [the directors] knew [Name] who was [part of] the first Foodbank in Wales. He had come and spoken at their church. So the first thing they had heard of food banks was via [Name] […] and he talked about the levels of deprivation in Cardiff, the numbers of children in poverty, and all that statistical stuff, as well as some anecdotal stuff, and that motivated them, [Name] in particular, who started it to, well, she was perhaps at a point in her life where she had the time and the space and the wanting to do something, and thought that that was a cause that she wanted to do something about.

Dave   Was there a religious motivation behind it?

Joyce   Yes. So it was very much about […] right time, right place. So, being in the position of having the time, looking for something to do, feeling like it was her Christian duty to give something back and to support vulnerable people, and then this talk came

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> along at the same time, and made her say '*that's* what I want to
> do'.

Lambie-Mumford has opened the discussion regarding the growth of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network in her article entitled 'Every Town Should Have One: Emergency Food Banking in the UK' arguing that food bank growth maps against the upheavals in social policy and social security (2012: 73). As Joyce has made clear here, the motivation to start the Foodbank was associated with the recognition that poverty exists within Cardiff alongside the desire to do something about it. In addition, faith played a large role in the establishment of the Cardiff Foodbank, especially so as the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network is a Christian charity which facilitates their Foodbanks predominantly through churches.

Asked about the importance of being part of the Trussell Trust, as opposed to being independent, and how this decision was reached, Joyce highlights that it was the structures which being a part of the Trussell Trust brings which had given the directors a sense of stability and security. This helped in knowing that assistance is being provided to the most vulnerable in society. As has been discussed within previous chapters, these structures are in place to ensure that food is given out appropriately, and that communication between referral organisations and the food bank can be maintained to ensure that the service user is receiving the required help to end the crisis period;

Joyce   What was attractive was, the processes had already been
                       worked out, the infrastructure was there, so the website and the
                       database and all the statistical stuff like that, which is a useful
                       resource. They issue an operating manual, so that gives you

some clues as to how your volunteers should behave […] in terms of things like three vouchers, and all of those sorts of things had already been made. And they looked at those and thought, actually, they are quite reasonable […]. I think that the key question for anybody that is about to start giving food out to people is how do you decide who gets it? And being part of the Trussell Trust answers that question quite easily, because that is not a decision that you are making, it is a decision that somebody else is making, somebody with assessment making skills are making that decision, so that takes it away from your volunteers having to say yes or no to somebody.

Foodbank - Deserving and Undeserving Poor, Structure and Agency

Above, Joyce has explained that having the guidance from the Trussell Trust, and having someone else to make the decision on behalf of the volunteers, allows them to feel at ease that they do not have to question the deservedness of someone's claim for food aid. Yet, providing help for people in need is proving to be difficult given the changes that have occurred in social policy around employment contracts and the use of zero-hours contracts. As Joyce explains, she can identify three types of service users at the Cardiff Foodbank;

Joyce   Most of our users, in terms of age range, they tend to be over 25s and they tend to be families. […] the main service users would be people who tend to have been unemployed for some time, either due to ill health; we do get a proportion of substance misusers, mental health, offenders, that sort of client group.

And the other bit of the bulk, if you like, are the people who are on long-term sickness, for whatever reason, disabilities and ill health, people who have lost their jobs over ill health and that sort of thing. And then, about, I think it's probably around a third, certainly the second reason for coming to a Foodbank is low income. […] we think, it's looking like, half of those are in work. […] It's looking like, almost a third of users are in work in some form or another. Now, that might be part-time work, zero-hours-contract, all that sort of stuff.

Given the identification of types of users at the Cardiff Foodbank, the acknowledgement of a high percentage of service users are there due to structural reasons such as low pay and insecure incomes, and that Joyce identifies that this predominantly effects working families. Therefore, any acknowledgement of a deserving and undeserving poor rhetoric throughout food bank use ideally needs to be considered within a question of; is the need structurally driven, or agency driven?

The Trussell Trust has calculated that between 2016 and 2018, there has been a doubling of referrals to their food banks due to benefits not being enough to cover the cost of living. This figure is understood to be 'the biggest single, and fastest growing reason for referral to a Foodbank', Rising from 7,401 in April 2016 to 14,095 by March 2018 (Trussell Trust, n.d.)

This point is made clear below as Joyce discusses the role of food banks being able to help people navigate away from structural causes (and symptoms) of poverty, as some people had resorted to an option of last recourse and criminality, as a way to obtain food;

Joyce   The police came to me last year asking could they access the vouchers because the level of crime, petty crime around shoplifting for bread and things like that had gone up so much that they wanted to be able to offer, they said that obviously we have got to prosecute if they have committed the crime, but we want to be able to offer them an alternative, at least for now. […] And that's the other sad thing about food banks, is that people leave it until they are absolutely at their wits end, with absolutely no other option before they come to us.

As Joyce has argued, it is the Foodbank that is now being relied upon by statutory organisations as a way of dealing with symptoms of the growth in poverty, highlighting that this is structurally driven. In acknowledging that the food bank is a place of last resort, Cardiff Foodbank works with its partner referral organisations to be able to deliver the Foodbank service. This working relationship, as discussed in previous chapters, is based around the Foodbank being made use of for crisis intervention following an assessment being made by a front-line care provider. Working within the limits set by the Trussell Trust, Cardiff Foodbank provide food on three occasions within a six-month period. This means that the responsibility lays with the referring organisation to work with *their* client to resolve any underlying structural issues that are contributing to their poverty. As Joyce argues below, having these Trussell Trust systems in place allows the Cardiff Foodbank to be able to help the most vulnerable in society, and also to ensure that people are getting the most appropriate help that they need;

Joyce   I had a community psychiatric nurse whom rung up recently asking if he could issue a fifth voucher for somebody. Now, the

reasons were very valid, and the reasons had been valid the previous four times. But as I said to him, my problem isn't the reasons, he does fit the criteria, and this absolutely makes sense. My problem is, is that this is the fifth time in a row that you have phoned me now. So what I'm saying to you is what are *you* doing about the underlying problem? What are *you* doing to resolve this? Because he cannot have a voucher indefinitely! And the reality is, that this guy had mental health problems, and that he had some spending compulsions and kept spending all his money on something else. And whilst I understand that and yes, absolutely, I agree this time, but, this is absolutely the last one, because this is not what we do. We are here for the crisis, and this is *your* responsibility. We allow people the headspace to sort the crisis out; we give you a couple of week's breathing space. Your job is to resolve the crisis, and if you are coming back every week for another voucher, then I have to ask you, what are *you* doing?

In approaching the deserving and the undeserving food bank user, and how this can be influenced by either the structural or agency driven reasons behind poverty and food bank use, Joyce was asked about what she understands a food bank to be and what a food bank should be doing in tackling the causes of poverty;

Joyce   For me, it's about providing food that doesn't cost you any money. That would be my definition. So, for me, I think a food bank is about providing emergency assistance to get you over the crisis, over the hump. It gives you the space to be able to

have some time and energy, some headspace to sort out what's going on. So I think that's what a food bank is. But I am aware that there are models out there of places that are food banks who, either want to, or do, support people on a much longer term basis. I'm personally not sure that is what a food bank should be doing. But, that is open to debate.

In being in a position to help through providing food aid, the Foodbank proposes to help cover the immediate shock of any crisis that limits people's abilities to be able to buy food. Joyce acknowledges that sustaining people with any long-term help should not be something which the Foodbank aims to provide, and lends support to the Trussell Trust's rule around the three voucher system, as it can become a method by which referring organisations funnel people in need to the Foodbank, instead of tackling their underlying problems.

Foodbank – Proportional Representation and Dominance

As explained above, the Trussell Trust, as with most food banks, have relationships with organisations who are involved in assessing needs and referring appropriately. However, the Trussell Trust, unlike their independent counterparts, also maintain a working relationship with large supermarkets and uses these effectively to be able to supply their Foodbank network with enough donated food throughout the year. This typically comprises of four collections per year; two nationally organised food drives per year, involving every Trussell Trust Foodbank within the Network holding a food drive in their local Tesco store and, two additional annual food drives arranged locally by individual Foodbanks and their local Tesco store. This is then complimented by a top-up cash donation from Tesco of 30 percent. The Foodbank is also allowed to hold

a permanent collection basket in store, which is available all year round for customers to donate weekly.

Figure 10 A Permanent Food Collection Basket in Tesco (permission Tesco, 2014)

Asked about the prevalence of the Trussell Trust nationally and its partnership with large supermarkets, Joyce was aware that partnerships such as this possibly had a detrimental effect on the stability of independent food banks, and their access to stock. Joyce understood that access to large donations such as provided through supermarkets *was* competitive and that as this was part of a restricted market given the rise of people claiming food aid and the levels of donations;

Dave   How does this relationship with Tesco strike you with people who wouldn't be involved, so, thinking about the independent food banks?

Joyce   It is the slightly uncomfortable side of it, is that, my job is to keep the food supply coming in, so I will go and negotiate with as many supermarkets as I can, logistically, you know, so that I can manage to do collections and have permanent collection points do all of those things. Of course that then does mean that, A), they are probably more likely to deal with me because we are Trussell Trust Foodbank and they may very well have heard of that now, and B) it does mean that the smaller food banks don't then get that access. So then, from a social policy point of view I have issues with that, yet, from a business organisational point of view, I'm like; 'well, I got there first'. […] But of course, we are actually in competition really, with all of the independents, just in terms of, well, there is only so much supply.

Acknowledging that the Trussell Trust are the principal force within food banking, Joyce is aware that there should be no sense of competition between the Trussell Trust and the independent food banks, yet recognising that, on some level, competition does exist. Refining her statement, Joyce identifies there should be no place for competition, and would like to work with other independent food banks, yet she worries about if this would be allowed within the Trussell Trust structures;

Joyce   I think it would be naïve to say that there isn't competition. There is a finite resource. If you look, just in terms of how many supermarkets there are in any locality, if you want a collection point, or you want a donation box in there, the reality is, is that the Trussell Trust is going to be there before you are probably.

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The Trussell Trust is probably going to be accepted before some very local church, or somebody who the organisation has never heard of. So, I think that is a potential difficulty for the independents, but, I would quite happily work with an independent. […] There are areas of the city that we are not covering; now, there is no reason why we couldn't work in partnership with an independent in order to achieve that, it doesn't have to be our food bank down there. […] That is not a conversation that I have had with the Trussell Trust though.

As the Trussell Trust is a network of Foodbanks, each individual Foodbank collects data on the reasons for use, and statistical data around types of users. Discussing the presence of the Trussell Trust in Wales, Joyce is aware that the organisation that she represents is large enough to be statistically valid in painting a picture of food bank use in Wales. However, she is also mindful that a truer representation of what is happening within Wales is not being represented, and that this is potentially due to the geographical dominance of the Trussell Trust;

Dave   I think, 2009 makes you one of the oldest Foodbanks in Wales?

Joyce   Yes, we weren't quite the first, [Name] just beat us to it.

Dave   Yes, yes, […] however, I have found that there is an independent one that started in 1998.

Joyce   Yes! I was going to say, I would be very surprised if there aren't ones that are older than that. I think that that is the problem, isn't it! It is because the Trussell Trust is so well known, and because it is a network. And, actually, from a journalist point

of view, much easier to be able to go to the Trussell Trust and get a countrywide view, rather than trying to identify all of these hundreds of little ones that are dotted around the place.

Organisational Structure

The Trussell Trust Foodbank in Cardiff operates differently than any other Foodbank in Wales. No food is given out at the Cardiff Foodbank, as this acts as a warehouse for the food that is collected, much like the American food bank – food pantry system. Here at the Cardiff Foodbank Cardiff Bay Business Centre depot, food is collected, processed and stored before being transferred out to individual Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres across the city.
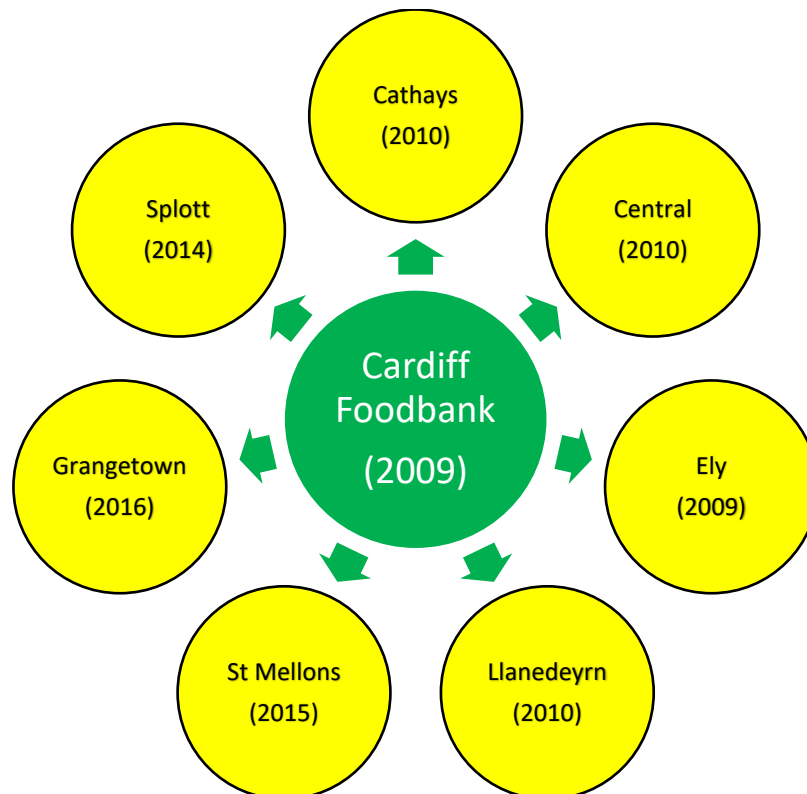
Figure 11 'Hub and Spoke' Model of food bank delivery

In understanding the organisational structure of the Cardiff Foodbank further, and discussing the future, in-line with the acknowledgement that Cardiff Foodbank is more akin to the structures seen within the USA food banking system, Joyce explains how the organisational structure of the Cardiff Foodbank is quite novel within the UK food banking sector. Joyce is able to offer a number of observations regarding how the usual model of delivering food poverty alleviation through a food bank doesn't quite fit with the present structure of the Cardiff Foodbank. One such instance in particular, is how one statutory body who also operate as an organisation involved in sending people to the food bank fails to work within this structure;

Joyce   Well the Job Centre send people here. If they are sanctioned and they say 'well, what am I supposed to do?' they say 'oh, go to the Foodbank'. […] and now what they do is they will send people here, but they send people here, which is where we don't issue food from. Which I have told them a hundred and one times. […] So, effectively, what happens is that people walk here from town, which takes fifteen to twenty minutes at least, and if they are lucky enough to time it on a day that we *are* here, they are then told, 'well, we don't actually give the food out from here'.

Operating as a warehouse the food is collected through donations, organised by food type and date, and then stored within the warehouse by a team of volunteers until it is needed to be dispatched out to one of the seven Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centres around Cardiff. Discussing the relationship which she has built with the supermarkets in Cardiff, as mentioned above, Joyce describes how, over the previous

Christmas, the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank was inundated with donations, and that this was enough to more than cover the referrals made by referral organisations;

Joyce
If you take last Christmas. Our requests for help went up by fifty percent, but our donations went up by more than that. We had a massive amount came in. In the last full week before Christmas we had eight thousand kilos came in. You couldn't move in that warehouse, you could not have put another tin of beans in that warehouse, it was bulging.

Figure 12 Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank Warehouse

Figure 13 Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank Warehouse

The Food Banks of Cardiff

Trussell Trust	Independent
Warehouse - Unit N5 (2009) (no food given out from here)	'We Feed' at Al Manar Mosque (2014)
Ely (2009)	
Central (2010)	
Cathays (2010)	
Llandedeyrn (2010)	
Splott (2014)	
St Mellons (2015)	
Grangetown (2016)	

Table 8 Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, and its Satellite Distribution Centres, and the Independent Al Manar Food Bank, Cardiff

The Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank has seen continued growth geographically across the city. Starting out as one of the first Trussell Trust Foodbanks in Wales it occupies a key central location in Wales' most populated city, which may mean that the 'hub and spoke' model adopted by the Cardiff Foodbank suits the intense urban environment. Added to this, being the most predominant food bank in the capital city of Wales brings with it some political influence that Joyce feels wouldn't be achievable from any independent organisation;

Joyce   The other benefit, if you like, of being part of the Trussell Trust is that they are increasingly well known and they are increasingly being asked to participate in various debates and discussions. I know that they are involved within the Welsh Assembly and the debates which are going on at the moment around food poverty and potential solutions and things. So, it is a way of feeding that in on to a political level. […] And I think, for an independent, you are only representing the area which you are in.

Recognising the dominance of the Trussell Trust and the national representativeness of the organisation has worked in developing the Trusts prestige as they are seen as the food bank experts. As Joyce has highlighted, the Trussell Trust is able to form a national picture representing food bank use, and in doing so have created the socio-political capital needed to be involved political discussions, both in Wales and the UK Governments. However, this raises the potential for the data and voices of people who are involved with independent food banks to be overlooked.

Case Study Conclusion

This case study focus on the Cardiff Trussell Trust has shown how the individual Foodbanks within the network are able to work within their own unique structures in their ability to be able to provide people with access to food. The Cardiff Trussell Trust has placed its self within a distinctive position within the food banking landscape of the UK, as it begins to emulate the food banks which exist within the USA and Canada, in that it also operates as a remote delivery storage facility to its partner Foodbank Distribution Centres across the city. Noted to be associated with the rise in crime as people begin to feel the pinch of poverty, the Foodbank network, as described by Joyce has started to become further embedded within the structural framework of social welfare, through its links with becoming part of a care package offered by statutory organisations in an effort to reduce offending. This link, and others such as the relationship with large food retailers, further strengthens the Trussell Trust's position as the more dominant food bank organisation of Wales, and throughout the rest of the UK, and further associates with the recognition offered by Riches (2002) and the process of food bank entrenchment as a social welfare response.
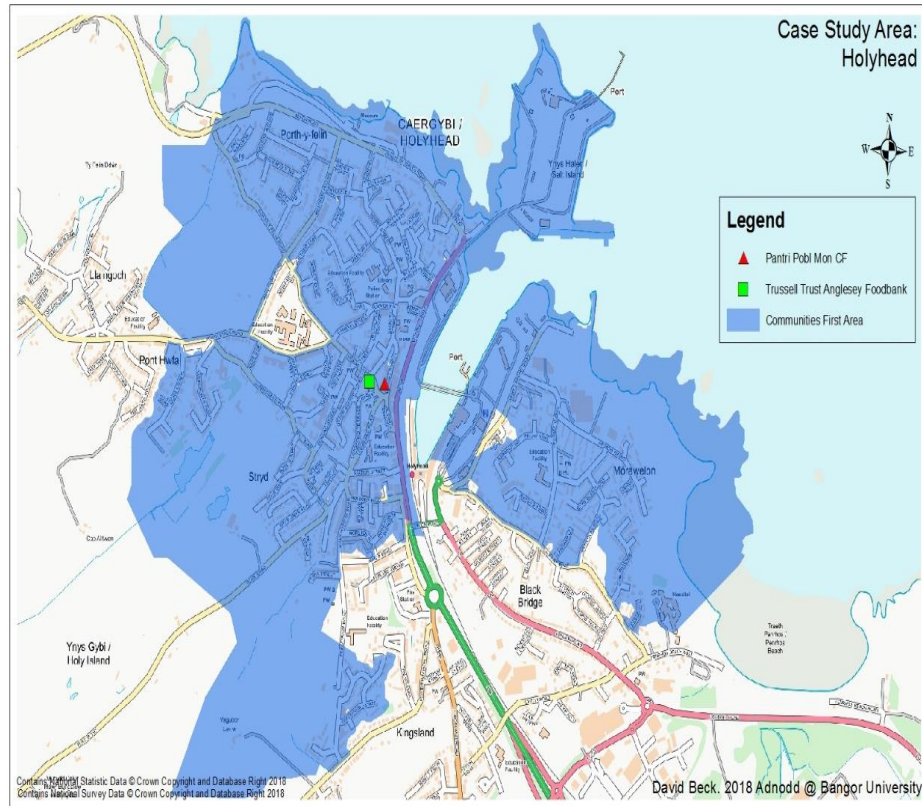
Case Study - Pantri Pobl: Ynys Môn Communities First

The Welsh Government have committed themselves to tackling poverty within its most deprived communities (gov.wales, 2012: 1). In doing so, the Government, through its Tackling Poverty Action Plan aims to; increase skills and qualifications for people living in the most deprived areas and, to reduce the immediate effects of poverty whilst working to prevent longer-term poverty (gov.wales, 2012: 3). One way the Welsh Government set out to achieve this was through a wide-ranging community development programme initiated in 2001 named 'Communities First'. This

community development programme focusses on the most disadvantaged communities across Wales and is delivered within each of the 22 Welsh local authorities.

As the facilitator of the Communities First Programme in Anglesey, the Ynys Môn Communities First office, and location for the Pantri Pobl food bank is located within the heart of the Communities First area as illustrated in Map 17 below. Also, as commensurate with the remit of the Communities First Programme, this also sits within an area of high multiple deprivation according to the WIMD 2014 illustrated in Map 18.

Communities First Holyhead and the Pantri Pobl

Map 17 Residing within the Communities First Area Holyhead's two food banks

WIMD 2014 and the Pantri Pobl
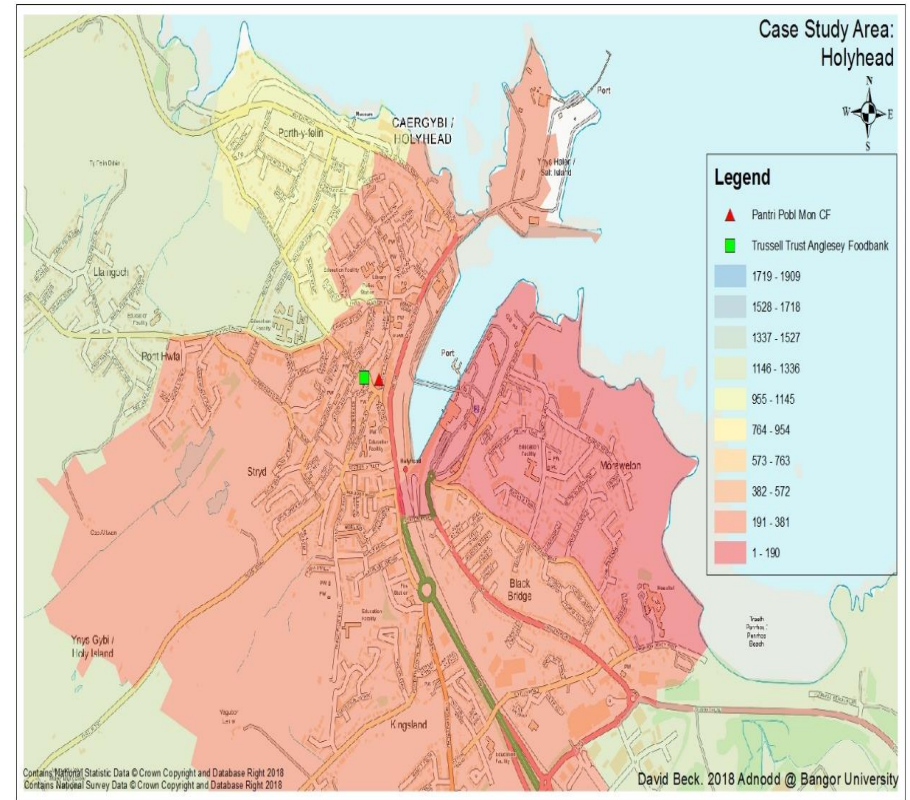
Map 18 The WIMD 2014 and the location of Holyhead's two food banks

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Isaac works for Ynys Môn Communities First (known more recently as Môn CF) and acts as the financial inclusion officer. Here, Isaac explains what the Môn CF Programme offers;

Isaac   It's working within deprived areas, and that it is Welsh Government led, obviously, just to help with regeneration of anything from jobs right through to financial inclusion and youth work. We also have a training academy within our facility as well. So it is just helping the general public who have been struggling to see if we can get them out of that cycle.

In getting people out of the cycle of deprivation, Môn CF places emphasis on empowering people to develop resilience against poverty. This is done by creating the structures needed to end their own potential long-term poverty by up-skilling the community and tackling the wider structural deficits found at the route of poverty;

Dave   Can you tell me about the community engagement work that you or your organisation is involved with?

Isaac   Anything from youth work to, we actually have a schools liaison officer who works within the primary schools and the secondary schools, so, if any parents have any underlying issues with their children's education, in that respect, then there is someone there that they can communicate with, and obviously the officer can communicate with the school and raise their concerns. There is the training element and the volunteering element as well, again, just to build up C.V. based qualifications and to build that confidence up and, possibly in some instances

give new ideas of what areas they would like to work in. Obviously, with myself, there is the financial inclusion, I work with the Credit Union as well, North Wales Credit Union and Money Line Wales to look at the savings and the more affordable loans that are out there. And then there is the Jobs Team. They are working hard on the Jobs Growth Wales and the LIFT Project to get, you know, people in the local areas, or people within our boundaries shall we say, back into work.

Working within the community in order to develop Wales's economy was the impetus behind the Communities First Programme, tackling any obvious signs of localised deprivation. Within Holyhead can be found two food banks, both a Trussell Trust Foodbank (Banc Bwyd Ynys Môn/Anglesey Foodbank) which opened in June 2013, and an independent food bank (Pantri Pobl/Peoples Pantry), run by Môn CF. Moreover, the island of Ynys Môn itself has six food banks split between both the Trussell Trust and independent operators.

Opening in March 2012, the Môn CF food bank 'Pantri Pobl', was the first food bank to open on the Island. As the Communities First Programme went through structural changes at the national political level, delivery bodies on Anglesey working in a number of small separate Communities First areas were brought together as the Communities First Cluster Ynys Môn. This meant that the Pantri Pobl could now also be delivered from two locations (Holyhead and Llangefni);

Dave   Can you tell me about the period of time just before the start of the food bank, and what led to your food bank becoming established?

Isaac   There was a slight increase in petty crimes such as shoplifting within the Anglesey area with regards to food, so I know that the Citizens Advice Bureau and, what was the, Plas Cybi and Barnardo's got together and decided on what they could do to help relieve that stress to the people and to give them a service. Two years ago, I believe it was, everybody actually came together and thought that they would actually set-up their own food bank, and take it from there basically. And, obviously, lessons have been learned along the way of how to refer and who to refer to, or, who we are getting our referrals from, just to get the general information out there.

Isaac identifies that the food bank was set up in 2012 as a reaction to an increase in poverty, but also as a preventative strategy against any further issues associated with crime and people from the community having a criminal record, as this may further any structural association with poverty and social exclusion and limit chances of employment. He also indicates that this response was to prevent local business feeling the pressure of which poverty can help create. As described in the previous chapters, food banks are understood to act as a *response* to poverty, and that they can only help to alleviate the immediate experience without *preventing* the situation from occurring in the first place. However, Môn CF was set up as a mechanism to prevent immediate poverty, and to reduce the potential for there to be long-term poverty, therefore, is the setting-up of the Pantri Pobl, in-effect, a means of complimenting the preventative actions already being taken, or, is it an identification that structural poverty, within areas of high deprivation being an insurmountable challenge?

Dave	You identified that the food bank was set-up as a response to theft, was that food driven theft? People stealing food?
Isaac	Yes definitely. Or products that people could sell basically to feed themselves, but mainly stealing food, definitely…last resort I'm thinking personally. The mentality of having to keep themselves and make sure that their children are fed first.

As Isaac has identified, Communities First was initially set up to tackle the structural causes of poverty, highlighting that preventing poverty is better than curing its symptoms. The food bank element has become part of a service that they can also offer, however, it is the ending of the cycle of poverty which is still the organisations main role;

Isaac	The people that we get through the doors, it's just to give them that general help, of what we can signpost them to, or whether we can help with anything, from, you know, benefits checks right through to utility bill checks and things…basically, just to get them out of the cycle of the problems that they have got at present.

Organisational Structure

The food bank landscape which exists on Ynys Môn identifies that there are six food banks on the Island; split 2:4 between the Trussell Trust and the independent sector. With the identification that the Communities First organisation Môn CF is a provider of an independent food bank on Ynys Môn, it therefore, also acts as the lead body for

all other independent food banks on the Island, as resources and usage data are shared and fed into the Môn CF statistics.

Trussell Trust	Independent
Trussell Trust Holyhead	Môn CF's Pantri Pobl (Holyhead) (2012)
Trussell Trust Satellite Distribution Centre Beaumaris	Môn CF's Pantri Pobl (Llangefni) (2012)
	Rural Delivery Food Bank (Llynfaes) (2013)
	The People of Anglesey Food Bank (Amlwch) (2014)

Table 9 Ynys Mon's Six Food Banks

As the Communities First Programme intends to tackle the root causes of poverty, having the ability to be able to draw on a wealth of statistical information on the causes of poverty is what Môn CF aims for in its ability to be as effective as possible. Here, Isaac highlights how, bringing together all the data that is available from all food bank providers from Anglesey would help in their task, and as such, has led to the formation of a partnership of food bank providers from within the independent sector;

Isaac   Since staring back in May, we have actually linked up with the
                 other independent food banks from within the Island as well.
                 Just to get the general idea, and more stats, as far as, you know,
                 who is being helped and how they are being helped. There is a
                 rural food bank on the Island and we have also just linked up
                 with Amlwch, which is the Anglesey Food Bank. They were
                 part of Trussell Trust, but actually they moved away and went

independent themselves. For what reasons, I couldn't really go into, you would have to discuss with them to be honest with you. […] So, we are getting bigger now, as far as linking up all the independent ones to get the truer picture of Anglesey, the only thing that is letting us down now is the Trussell Trust figures.
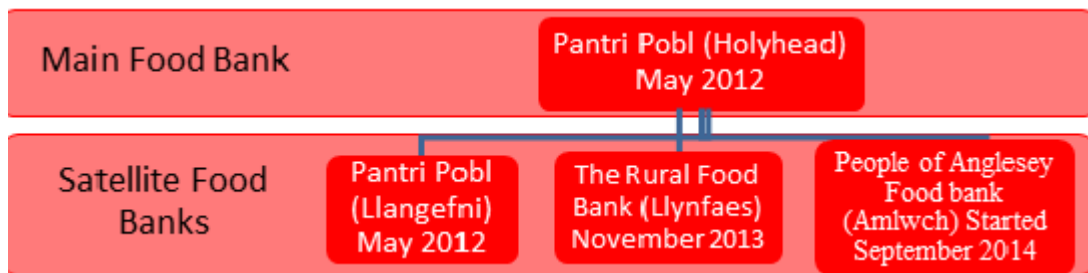

Figure 14 The Independent Food Bank Landscape Ynys Môn and Year in Which They Opened

Asked about the availability for the figures from the Trussell Trust through a closer partnership, Isaac was certain that the relationship which exists between the two food bank providers being separate was reasonable, especially so, given that Môn CF works with the majority of food banks on the Island. For Môn CF, Isaac considers any closer links with the Trussell Trust to be either unnecessary, or even detrimental to the organisation;

Dave
Given the media which usually sounds the figures of food banks, I think that it is predominantly the Trussell Trust figures that they use in the media. Do you think that this would be beneficial, in a sense, do you ever see yourself becoming part of the Trussell Trust?

Isaac
I can't see us becoming a part of the Trussell Trust personally, no. Not given the numbers that we are doing and the people that

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we have helped and signposted them to the right areas. I think that that would probably be a little bit of a backward step if we were to do that.

The Trussell Trust's Anglesey Foodbank opened in June 2013, a little over twelve months after the opening of Pantri Pobl. Initially, Pantri Pobl's idea was to open as a Trussell Trust Foodbank, however, as Isaac explains, as a strong organisation already with roots established within the community through their work tackling the structural causes of poverty, they commanded a very formidable position to be able to set-up their own independent food bank.

Dave   How was this decision reached to be independent?

Isaac   I know that the partnership approached the Trussell Trust initially to discuss the idea of having the Trussell Trust within the Communities First. And, obviously the fee element was a bit of a bugbear to the directors that went out to have a meeting with them. Basically what they asked was whether they could reinvest that money into actually purchasing the food, which was turned down. So, they thought, well, okay, we'd rather use that fee to buy the food and to just start up their own thing as an independent one.

Dave   Do you find that this is important to your organisation, to be not part of the Trussell Trust?

Isaac   For me personally, obviously, the more stats and working relationship we can get with any food bank is going to be beneficial to Citizens Advice as being part of this partnership

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and being able to lobby local government and national government, for the need of help for food banks. Unfortunately, we do not get the communication through from the Trussell Trust. I'll be honest with you, we don't get anything back from them. Location wise, we are probably fifty meters away from the Trussell Trust centre. […] So, no, it's not important to me, in my mind, that we are not a part of the Trussell Trust.

Although Môn CF came from a strong position in understanding the process needed for establishing the Pantri Pobl, they have noticed that since the arrival of the Trussell Trust's Anglesey Foodbank, that the dominance which the Trussell Trust is able to exert over donations, due to having national status has caused a slight concern for Môn CF and their abilities to be able to collect enough food for all their partner food banks;

Dave	I'm just thinking about Tesco, and your connection with Morrisons, would you like more of a connection with larger, national supermarkets?
Isaac	For the produce which is there, yes!
Dave	Do you feel excluded at any point?
Isaac	Definitely! Definitely! We have never actually approached Tesco. We have been told… well, I had a big meeting with a couple of the volunteers, or the lead volunteers from the Trussell, back in May, I think it was, and, they actually approached us to see whether they could have a food drive within Morrisons. Which my answer was 'give use a food drive in Tesco', which was turned down. So, we have gone on a

	gentleman's agreement that you stay in Tesco and we will stay in Morrisons.
Dave	That is interesting, isn't it, that you are both trying to reach the same goal in helping people, yet there is that kind of element of competition there, isn't there?
Isaac	Yes! Yes! Why they turned us down, I don't know. But, there you go! You can imagine why!

Figure 15 Pantri Pobl Permanent Food Collection Basket (permission Pantri Pobl, 2014)

Tackling the Structural Causes of Food Poverty

In maintaining its commitments to tackling the underlying structural causes of poverty, Môn CF's Pantri Pobl is now also able to provide immediate help to people struggling with food poverty, acknowledging this as a symptom of structural poverty. It is this ability to appropriately signpost service users which Isaac underlines as being what sets the Pantri Pobl apart from the Anglesey Trussell Trust Foodbank. The issue of signposting is considered by Isaac to be vital in ending the cycle of poverty, and he fears that the Trussell Trust may not be able to offer the same level of signposting that Ynys Môn Communities First offer.

Isaac	As far as I'm aware, I'm not a hundred percent sure, that the Trussell Trust actually signpost them to anywhere. I may be wrong, but, you know, obviously getting feedback from clients that have used *them* before that we have helped, they have told us that, you know, no help has been there for them in that respect, when they have used a Trussell.
Dave	So, do you have clients who use both yourself and the Trussell Trust?
Isaac	I know of a couple that have used both. Not at the same time, but obviously, talking with other people, they feel that there is more benefit to use us, because we can help them a little bit more than what they were getting up in the Trussell Trust.
Dave	So, you can provide them with this more complete service?
Isaac	Yeah. Signposting them to the right areas of what their need is basically yeah.

The level of help which is available from a community organisation, especially so if this is one which is run by people from within the community may go some way to addressing the embedded value of the organisation within the community. Moreover, as Isaac identifies, it is this ability to be able to work with the individual, and help meet their needs (immediate and longer term) which he feels sets Môn CF apart from the national organisation of the Trussell Trust. As Isaac has highlighted, the locational distance between the Pantri Pobl and the Trussell Trust is remarkable at around only fifty meters away, yet as Isaac argues, there is a lack of dialogue between the organisations, and that this is not a good situation for both food banks to be in;

Isaac   I personally think that it could be open to abuse if we are not careful, and we have asked if we can have that communication with them, which hasn't come forward basically.

The abuse that Isaac speaks of addresses a potential problem that he recognises could occur, given that there are two providers of emergency food aid within the same small town, and that there is no formal or informal contact between the two food banks. Added to this, Isaac also recognises that the potential for some form of overuse of his own food bank could become identified as abuse too. However, he argues that; what makes Môn CF and the Pantri Pobl distinctive from the Anglesey Trussell Trust Foodbank was their way of confronting any potential for abuse to occur, reiterating Môn CF's commitment to tackling the structural causes of poverty. For Isaac, working with his service users, and encouraging them to recognise the reasons behind their poverty is vital, and that Môn CF is there to provide support;

Isaac   You do get the element that, for want for a better word, try-it-on, but, obviously with our procedures here, we do get. We ask

a few questions basically; to find out what the circumstances are, to try and weed-away that element, if you like.

Dave   So you can identify that some people could probably abuse the service?

Isaac   We do get them trying yes. But, obviously, with the referral forms that we have got in place, and the history of what we find, that basically, through that information, our food bank will only do it for a maximum of three times over a twelve-month period. […] It's just getting them out of the reliance of having to use the food bank for their own good as well as ours. Obviously, we have got a responsibility to the people that donate to us, of having to make sure that they [the food parcels] are going to the right people.

As Isaac identifies, working with their service users is important as a method for reducing reliance on the food bank as a service. This is also done so that they can maintain its provisions and donations, as identities of people receiving help can become interspersed with external and imposed identification of the deserving and the underserving poor.

Case Study Conclusion

In recognising and reacting to the changing face of poverty associated with Anglesey, Ynys Môn Communities First has managed to maintain a focus on tackling the structural causes of poverty, by incorporating a focus on fixing the symptoms of food poverty. In continuing its approach to challenging social exclusion and the structural

manifestations of poverty, Môn CF had, like with Cardiff Trussell Trust also recognised an increase in crime associated with the rise in poverty in 2012. As a response, the start of Pantri Pobl became a way of providing a more inclusive attitude to tackling long-term poverty and short-term food poverty by providing immediate relief to structural problems.

As its government funded remit is to tackle the structural causes of localised poverty, the Communities First Programme represents an organisation that should be embedded within the community. However, the sense of competition from their local Trussell Trust Foodbank pervades, establishing a fear over the dominance of the Trussell Trust. Realising that competition should not readily be associated with providing emergency food aid, Môn CF appreciate that the ability to be able to share data on the structural cause of food poverty with an organisation with national representativeness, such as the Trussell Trust would be of a distinct advantage.

Case Study - Te a Cofi: Gisda

Established in 1985, Gisda was conceived as a charity supporting young people aged between 14 and 25 in and around the Caernarfon area. Dealing mainly with issues of homelessness, the charity soon developed into a social enterprise encompassing many other projects enabling sustainable services for vulnerable young people (Gisda, n.d.). Caernarfon, as seen through the WIMD 2014 data in Map 3 (Chapter Four), and in Map 19 and 20 below, highlights a certain level of deprivation which exists within localised areas of the town, and thus part of Caernarfon is home to a Communities First Programme area.
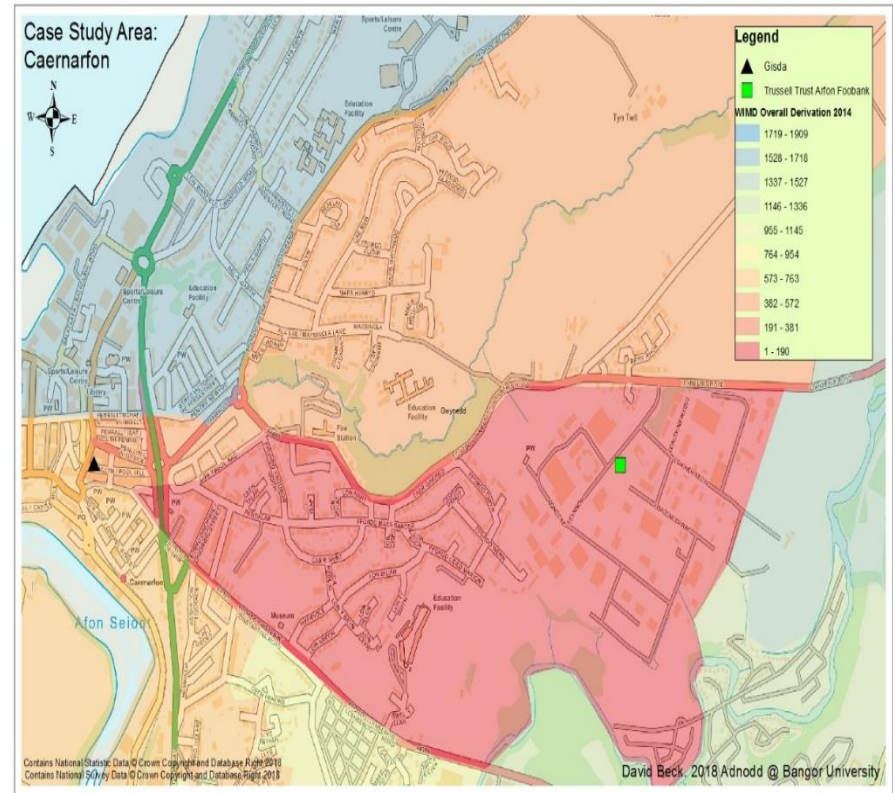
Communities First Caernarfon and Te a Cofi at GISDA
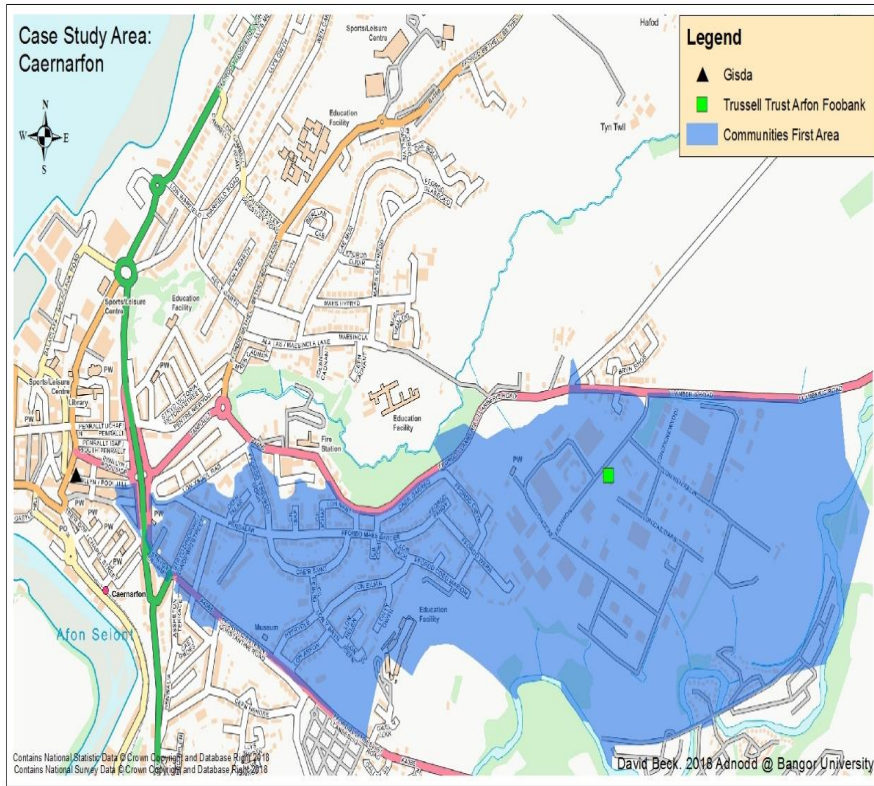
Map 19 Gisda and Te a Cofi sits on the outskirts of the Communities First area close to the Arfon Trussell Trust Foodbank

WIMD 2014 Caernarfon and Te a Cofi at GISDA

Map 20 WIMD 2014 and the location of GISDA coffeeshop Te a Cofi and the Arfon Trussell Trust Foodbank

With its focus on developing community resilience, Gisda's community focussed projects stemmed ideas such as; 'Rhieni Ifanc Ni' (Young Parents Project), offering training opportunities and confidence building for young parents within Gwynedd, alongside help with childcare costs enabling the young parents to be able to stay within fulltime education. 'Symud Ymlaen' (Moving Forward) is a project aimed at confidence building for young people who have recently left the care system, or those who have been involved with youth offending services. This project is aimed at providing training and placements with a host of local organisations by supporting paid employment placements for up to six months. 'Mentro Mlaen' (Venturing Forward), similarly supports young people's transitions into work through developing self-confidence and skills. Within this project, young people are provided with work placements and work experience within local organisations, and, internally within Gisda's other projects. One such project that benefits from Mentro Mlaen and the people that they help is 'Te a Cofi', a project which is also organised by Gisda (Gisda, n.d).

Opened in 2014, the Gisda coffee shop 'Te a Cofi' is an informal training centre for young people in Gwynedd, aiming to develop their catering skills, with the hope that this can ease the transition into employment within, and beyond the catering industry (Gisda, n.d.). This is done by providing their volunteers with transferable skills in areas such as; customer care, cash handling, first aid and catering specific skills such as food hygiene and basic cooking. It is developing theses essential skills that Gisda hopes can improve the lives of local young people and help them to be able to reduce the potential for them to experience food insecurity.

Addressing Structural Causes and Immediate Need

Opening the Te a Cofi Café, the idea, as explained by Gisda Chief Executive Anne, was to develop some form of training centre for local youths, as a way of battling against structural reasons associated with unemployment within the age group 16-24 year olds. This also includes those from the local area who are understood to be experiencing difficulties accessing more mainstream forms of work experience. In achieving this, Te a Cofi works to tackle food poverty on two fronts. First, as explained below, there is the work done through Te a Cofi's catering training which provides vulnerable people with the tools to be able to navigate away from the structural reasons associated with poverty;

Anne When we first opened the café, the vision at the time was to provide work experience for vulnerable young people who wouldn't have the opportunity elsewhere. And we have still got that. I'd say twenty-five percent, maximum of our volunteers. The rest are, well, a lot with learning disabilities, learning difficulties, who basically, no one will provide an opportunity for them to volunteer.

In providing opportunities via training, Gisda, through Te a Cofi, hope to be able to offer young people the basic skills needed to help them to enter the work place. It is with this development of skills which Te a Cofi are using in order to fight food poverty over the long-term. This is done through arming young people with the abilities to be able to move into employment, and to reduce their potential of falling victim to food poverty through having developed an awareness of how to cook and prepare simple food;

Francis Well, Te a Cofi is a social enterprise. It's a training centre basically in catering for, for anybody who wants to volunteer. We are open to any

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volunteers really. But we do try and use as many of our service users as we can, to give them opportunities that they possibly wouldn't get elsewhere, and that gives them opportunity to the move into employment. So we train them up, give them food hygiene, customer care, barista skills, the basics in what they need really to get a job. And once they have done that, we can move them on to other projects that we run within Gisda to try and find them employment, so we offer them help with C.V's and job interviews too.

Anne We have just bought this building, and when we get money, we want to extend the kitchen and extend down into the basement so that we have got more capacity to do things like this training.

Francis Yeah, so what we will have then, is we will have the kitchen to do the training, so we will be able to take volunteers […] in a purposeful kitchen downstairs to do the training. So we will be able to take people out and say 'right, let's go downstairs, I'll take two of you, let's go and do some cakes'. They get peace and quiet and they get trained on what to do. How to do a curry, how to do a soup and it will actually be a purposeful kitchen for that purpose.

Explaining further how Te a Cofi fits within the context of challenging and reducing food poverty, the café manager Francis explains that Te a Cofi, given its interests in supporting people through reducing the structural causes of poverty, had initially set out to have Te a Cofi as a training café, and that it should run, with all intents and purposes, as a normal town centre café. However, following recognition from within the Gisda management that there are a large number of people within Caernarfon who

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are not within Gisda's responsibility who are struggling through poverty, the remit of the Café altered slightly so that it can start to offer its help to the more wider general public;

Anne   There is a gap in Caernarfon for the over twenty-fives […] there should be some form of provision for the over twenty-fives really because the food bank is based in Cibyn, and it's quite far out and if you go to other cities and towns there is always something for the over twenty-fives. And what we see in Caernarfon is that there is a huge problem amongst homelessness and poverty for the over twenty-fives. There is Gisda for the younger ones, but nothing for the over twenty-fives.

It was based upon this awareness that Te a Cofi decided that it would also be able to work with all people of Caernarfon, regardless of age. In doing so, the café decided that it would also start to tackle the immediate symptoms of food poverty by offering free items of food to anyone who asks for it. Within the first six months of opening, the management of the café had decided to formalise a system whereby any person could claim a free item of food and drink from the café. This was done though promoting a 'suspended item' which aimed at encouraging paying customers to donate money towards the payment of an extra item, which can subsequently be claimed by a person in need;

Francis   When we first opened, we weren't in a position yet to be able to give something away for free, and we had a group of people who kept coming in, and they just wanted shelter. They didn't have any money to buy anything, and I'd said to Anne, I'd like to find a way that we can provide for them without having to dig in to a pot of money that we

don't have. So I started to look into it, and I found that there is a scheme called the suspended coffee […] which is trying to get some of *them* to give us money so we can put that towards food. So that's where it came from basically it was just looking for a way for us to be sustainable but yet being able to provide something for people who are in need.

Figure 16 Te a Cofi's Suspended Items Board (permission GISDA, 2017)

The 'suspended item', has its origins in the Italian tradition of wealthier people 'suspending' a coffee for the local poor in 1900's Naples. Still known generally as a suspended coffee, Gisda will allow any paying customer to suspend any item, so that someone in need can redeem it.

Te a Cofi is tackling food poverty on two fronts, both proactively in confronting the immediacy of emergency food aid through the introduction of a suspended item, and proactively through longer-term skills development in the training work which they

do with the under twenty-fives. These are subsequently both contributed to through voluntary action from within the community; as participants within the skills development training, and through donating items to be suspended. Attaining a regular customer base, therefore, is important to maintaining the viability of the café and being appreciative towards the community embeddedness of the café is a part of this;

Dave   The suspended item, does that happen every day? Do you find that someone suspends something every day?

Francis   Oh yes!

Anne   Yes we have been really lucky with customers, we have got some really loyal customers.

Dave   What is the typical timeframe between someone suspending an item and the item being claimed?

Francis   Oh not long! I'd say within a couple of hours it's gone.

            […]

Francis   There are times when somebody will come in and there are no items suspended, but we can still help them out, I'll still give something. And what I'll tell the staff is that next time somebody donates, just keep an eye on it, because it has already been claimed, so there is an element of flexibility there.

Addressing the Deserving and the Underserving Poor

The introduction of the suspended item through the Te a Cofi café as addressed above, is founded within a principle of inclusivity. What this suspended item aims to do is to

provide an immediate answer to food poverty within Caernarfon, by allowing access to an item that has been paid for by a member of the public. Discussing the feel of the café, and how Te a Cofi fits within the local environment, especially in relation to their regular customer base, and its regular donors to the suspended item approach, the manager Francis confirms that the café is embedded within the local community, just as any other café would be. In identifying Te a Cofi's regular customer base, Francis and Anne confirm that there is no distinction made between the deserving and the undeserving customer;

Anne   You can buy a coffee or breakfast, or food, or whatever, and then we will put a receipt up on the board, and then if somebody can't afford to buy a coffee they can just take the receipt. And it is quite discrete really.

[…]

Francis   The idea behind it is that we don't ask any questions. So, somebody will come in, a lot of people will have read about it on the boards that we have got around the café, and people will either buy something specific, or, they will just give us a donation. We then divvy the donation into, sort of; breakfast baps or different things and drinks. Then we will put them all up on the board and then, basically, when someone comes in, they grab a ticket from the door on their way in, they will come up to the counter, and it is dealt with almost as it is a transaction, they don't have to feel shameful having to beg for it, they can just see from the door-way. They just look in 'oh, there is something there, I will take it'. They will come in and grab it, take it to the counter. There are no questions asked, so we don't say, you know

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'what are your needs to be wanting this? Fine, you need it, you can have it'.

[…]

Anne   There is a huge heroin problem. So, I really like the fact that they come in here, whereas they are banned from every other café. Here, at least they can get something to eat and a coffee.

It is this inclusivity approach which Te a Cofi prides its self upon, in being able to challenge the growth of food poverty within Caernarfon. For the management team, this is being achieved due to the embeddedness of the café within the local community, and how Te a Cofi encourages and facilitates an inclusive atmosphere;

Anne   It's really nice, you know, I am really proud of that, that it *is* a café for everyone.

Francis   It's good that it has never been classified as, well, that's where *they* go, and that's where *we* go. It's open for everybody and that's the way we have always tried to keep it.

Anne   We have had a lot of support from the council staff...

Francis   HSBC staff come in here. It's great for them because we are obviously next door. […] We get people from the local shops come in, and we will pop over with food for them when it's ready.

Anne   And I think it does help as well that I live in Caernarfon, Francis lives in Caernarfon, and Francis's very involved within the community with other groups, such as Caernarfon's food festival, and I'm involved with

other things, so, it's having that connection, and that interaction that does help with the support.

Within this approach to inclusivity, Te a Cofi also seek to maintain local strength within their community through sourcing food locally. Discussing the ways in which Gisda works to support people, they have also recognised that more can be done on tackling food poverty through developing food growing skills, and retaining local professional skills within the food industry serves as part of the food sourcing for Te a Cofi;

Anne   I am aware that at Gisda we should be doing more where food poverty is concerned to be honest with you. I'd like for us to be able to have our own allotment and look into different models of growing food ourselves and use that, so that that becomes more of the norm really. We need to grow food ourselves, so that food doesn't have to travel miles, or so that you can get it all within your local area.

Dave   Do you think that being able to source locally is important?

Francis   Definitely. Definitely, because if you source locally you are creating jobs within other areas, you know, so you are helping again by creating jobs, and creating jobs means that there are then jobs there for young people. And, you know, also, a lot of what we find is that a lot of businesses will start supporting each other, they will give you opportunities, and they will support you when you are fundraising.

Te a Cofi has employed a multi method approach to tackling the existence of localised poverty within Caernarfon by combining both immediate help with the development of longer-term preventative skills. As has been detailed within this case study, the help

which Te a Cofi provides is facilitated through an inclusive setting of a normal town centre café whereby both people in need are able to sit and share food with people who are in a position to give a little extra. This approach goes some way towards removing the embarrassment and stigma associated with food poverty, by providing the convivial atmosphere of a coffee shop. Summing up her thoughts on the progress of the Te a Cofi project, Anne Gisda's Chief Executive however, understood that food poverty was an immediate issue, but also one that needed long term preventative action. Face to face with the changing face of poverty within Caernarfon, and actively involved within reducing poverty through improving structural drivers, Anne was anxious in her assessment of Te a Cofi;

Anne   This is not the answer, them coming in here. Not at all. But it's better than nothing.

Case Study Conclusion

Confronting the structural causes of localised poverty in Caernarfon, Gisda has a long history of being involved in challenging youth social exclusion. Deciding to expand into ensuring that the structural causes of food poverty could be reduced, Gisda's Te a Cofi responded early to the recognised growth of food insecurity within Caernarfon.

Working to provide a solution to food poverty, Te a Cofi approaches tackling food poverty in three ways. Firstly, the skills that can be developed through involvement within the project are specifically designed to help local youths to be able to reduce the structural factors that hide behind their exclusion from the workplace. By providing them with the essential skills and training needs allows local youths to be able to meet the needs of local employers. Second, the service user is able to further

prevent the experience of food poverty by being able to apply these skills in knowing what to do with food, thus tackling one of the structural deficits associated with food poverty. Finally, continuing with the recognition of the felt experience of more immediate food poverty, the introduction of the suspended item specifically allows for the embedding of socially inclusive values of both Gisda and the community, as they work together to reduce food poverty for all.

Conclusion

The role of the emergency food aid provider, as exemplified in the above three case studies has been illustrated through three diverse methods, and serves to represent the challenges which they individually encounter through a changing face of food poverty. The focus provided by the three case studies serves to accentuate the ways in which different providers have risen to the challenge of meeting the growing need for food aid in their local area, and how they have been able to adapt their specific organisational structure to meeting this need. Nationally, representation has been provided through a detailed analysis of the experience of just one Trussell Trust Foodbank operation within Cardiff, yet it serves to illuminate the challenges that they face both locally and on a national level. In addition, more local independent food aid providers also highlight their own concerns and fears for the growth of food poverty, and how they also worry about the dominance of any one provider, argued to be potentially undermining their local value within the community. However, as this chapter has highlighted, food banks are just one strand of how emergency food aid can be accomplished, as different providers have diversified their resources to meet this growing need.

Firstly, as exemplified in the case study of both Môn CF and Cardiff Trussell Trust, the work of food banks in general have come to be considered as leading the provision of emergency food aid available to people struggling with food poverty. Although originating through different beginnings, both Pantri Pobl and Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank operate within a similar framework of rules and regulations. Yet, as discussed within the individual cases above, the differing levels of resources, such as; food, volunteers, collection and use of statistical data and, access to supermarkets etc. of the individual organisations are, in some situations, seen to highlight an atmosphere of competition between the two types of providers. However, in a similar vein, both the Trussell Trust and independent food banks in general acknowledge that they have become forerunners to a changing face of food poverty, and that they are now starting to emulate more of a normalised, or embedded route to tackling food poverty. The social enterprise approach to solving longer term food poverty, as advanced by Gisda's Te a Cofi reflects a more socially inclusive attitude to food poverty, and works well to lessen the discrimination and divisiveness of food poverty in terms of deserving and undeserving. Being part of a café achieves this by striking a major difference between the impersonal manner of the food bank and the social inclusion offered through communal eating.

What these three case studies have endeavoured to do, is to provide clarity over the multiple ways in which the structural elements of poverty and food poverty are being tackled by third sector organisations. The cases are examples of how the retrenchment of social welfare and the principles of 'The Big Society', discussed in Chapter Four, have generated an emergency response to structural problems causing poverty. In helping reduce food poverty, and maintain social inclusion and participation, tackling

the changing face of food poverty seems to require a holistic approach, and one that exemplifies the embedded value of the organisation within the community.

The next chapter will provide an analytical discussion around how the arguments presented within the findings chapters are located within the existing literature provided in chapter two, and how these new findings of more contemporary research are able to further academic knowledge about poverty and food poverty in Wales and further afield.

Chapter Nine: Changing Face of Food Poverty Discussion

"It is of course scandalous that we have developed a food system which produces vast quantities of unwanted food whilst at the same time there are people dependent on hand-outs" (Leather, 1996: 50).

This discussion chapter will further the experiential understanding of food poverty which has been presented in the four preceding findings chapters. This will be discussed within reference to the existing knowledge reviewed in Chapters Two and Three. Locating the identity of the deserving and undeserving poor as the over-arching narrative grounded within the interview data, the findings chapters have provided answers to the overall aim of the thesis using the research questions listed below. The theoretical discussions presented will encourage the analytical development of the empirical findings associated with achieving the overall research aim of developing a coherent examination of the changing face of food poverty and the development of emergency food aid provisions in Wales. In reaching this aim, this discussion chapter will provide a critical examination of the findings chapters and how these have addressed the research questions set out in Chapter One;

1. What has caused the sudden increase in people accessing emergency food aid services?

2. Why food poverty exists in the UK?

3. What are the experiences of people using food banks?

4. Food bank provision – what is the future of the food bank?

Introduction

The experience of food bank use has been a relatively new aspect within current poverty discourse, especially for the UK. As was discussed in previous chapters, the causes of poverty and the characteristics of those who are in poverty has changed, taking the timeframe from Booth and Rowntree in the early 1900's through to current reflections of the 'poor'. As Seabrook (2013) has eluded to the definition of those who are poor takes many forms and to describe them takes many names. This same sentiment has been echoed throughout most of the current research for this thesis. Approaching simultaneously the literature examined, generating a context for the research and the social constructivist conceptual framework used to explore the social policy background of food poverty, this chapter encourages theoretical discussion regarding the lived experience of contemporary food poverty in Wales. Taking the arguments presented from a historical framework of the experience of early food poverty provided by the likes of Booth and Rowntree, and, addressing the familiarity of absolute poverty, the chapter will discuss theories associated with the continuation of the narrative of **structure and agency** driven poverty. In doing so, the chapter will show how this sits within a modern-day context of food poverty and food bank use, as it works to describe the deserving and the undeserving poor. Links will also be forged between these findings and the refocussing of contemporary theoretical perspectives on the growth of food poverty and food banking within the theoretical framework of conditionality. Further to this, the findings discussed within this chapter go some way to addressing the relative concept of today's experience of food poverty by addressing the trajectories which takes people into, and out of food poverty in Wales, and the idea of hiding this experience through a process of othering, as expressed through an acknowledgment and display of embarrassment. Again, this goes someway to

addressing a **deserving and undeserving** identity of food bank users. These trajectories are argued to be the result of socio-political changes which have occurred not just in Wales, but as a consequence of **welfare retrenchment** and changes in government policies. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the contribution that this thesis and its findings have made to the socio-political landscape of food poverty. Taking lead from the literature surrounding the USA and Canadian food banking systems, the final section will examine the theoretical trajectory of Wales' food banks with reference to the four findings chapters and examining the potential for the **embedding** of food banks as a response to rising levels of food poverty.

The Changing Narrative of Poverty and Food Poverty in Wales

Within this thesis, it has been argued that being able to contextualise food poverty plays an integral role in the ways in which poverty can be agreed upon. This agreement has come from early research into the living standards of the poor presented by the likes of Booth (1890) and Rowntree (1902, 1935, and 1942) whereby their research integrated poverty and food insecurity to draw-up associated levels of deprivation. This created both a qualitative and quantifiable typology of people who were defined as fitting into certain categories according to their level of poverty and the food that was available to them. The categorisation of poverty was easier to see and understand during this time, especially when viewed objectively by the early social reformers, yet, it was the slow introduction of social security, beginning with the changes introduced under the 1901 Liberal Government, shown in Figure 1 (Chapter 3) that started to forge a changing face of poverty in the UK. As the embryonic stages of the welfare state were introduced, the poor started to have access to (albeit very limited) pockets of social security assistance which would be available during times of hardship.

Moreover, as Figure 1 (Chapter Three) identifies, substantial changes were again applied to the social security available to people during the Post-War period as the Attlee Government began to work on the recommendations of Sir William Beveridge's report. Understood to be social security that was available for all in society, the findings chapters have revealed a changing narrative in the level of acceptability of social security over the last few decades, leading to heightened stigmatisation for some claimants, and the need to justify their position.

Lister (2013) had initially identified the narrowing of the acceptance of social security as being part of the broader changes to the ways in which welfare dependency over social security was spoken about, and that this happened under both the Conservative Government (1979-1997) and the New Labour Government (1997-2010) which followed. The service providers within this research further argued that there has been a continuation of this narrative and, unfairly, a demonisation of social security claim as an 'entitlement', and that this sense of entitlement for the public at large was something to be scoffed at.

Taking this narrative continuation further, Lister's (2013) acknowledgement of a changing view of social security, as argued within Chapter Two, detailed that since the mid-1980s, the drivers of poverty, and the ways in which it is spoken about, have been coerced along an individualistic direction. This has shown that the experience of poverty is said to be the fault of the individual and not associated with any such structural reasons of; race, gender or class etc. Leather (1996: 14) has argued that any sense of food insecurity should have been dismissed by the introduction of social security benefits that were aimed at the nutritionally insecure. However, this thesis finds that this is most certainly not the case for modern-day Britain, as we have seen the rise of the food insecure and the national roll-out of food banks.

The findings within this thesis also confirm the assertion, discussed in detail within Chapter Two, that there exists an identification of rising individualism as a contention regarding who deserves welfare and who does not. What this has done is to enable a return of the language of 'deserving and undeserving poor' once seen during the times of the Poor Law. They also take this a step further by tracing the growth of food banks, as the findings have confirmed that this continuation of a deserving and undeserving poor demarcation, both within the service providers, and, amongst the service users themselves, has been encouraged through the retrenchment of social security.

Identifying the Trajectories into and out of Poverty

Theorising food bank use as being part of a linear process, Garthwaite (2016) described the movement into seeking assistance from the food bank as being associated with a 'tipping point'. For Garthwaite, this tipping point addresses an immediate incident that has tipped someone into needing to use a food bank, and is further described as a life-changing event. For this current research, Garthwaite's tipping point mechanism has been traced further back within the life-course of the service user and can more adequately be described as a trajectory into poverty. This process, as described by the service users within this thesis, usually involves some form of long-standing association with poverty experienced by the individual, and is typically understood to be people who are usually just managing to keep their heads above the financial watermark. A tipping point is something that can, therefore, be argued to spin someone's life into a spiral of poverty, debt and eventual food bank use. However, the findings of this research suggest that understanding the life-course of the individual provides a holistic analysis of the structural reasons which have led them to encounter a tipping point, and as such, a referral to the food bank. Utilising

Garthwaite's perspective, this thesis documents that food bank use is bound-up within an understanding that there is a journey, or a trajectory of structural poverty for food bank users.

Understood to be 'trajectories of suffering and disorderly processes' by Riemann and Schütze (1991), the function of a biographical interview approach encouraged the service users to be able to explore their own trajectory as a story bound-up within their food poverty journey. In effect, the biographical interviewing approach encouraged the trajectories of people's stories of suffering to be explored, as the narrative of their decline into food poverty became explicit. Contributing to Garthwaite's position regarding tipping points, the findings within this thesis have brought a depth of clarity to understanding the life courses and possible tipping points that have brought people to their current position of seeking help from the food bank. What is important to also maintain, as advocated by Lambie-Mumford and Dowler (2015), is that using the food bank is reasoned to be the lowest point within an individual's food poverty journey. This same sentiment was also present within this research, however, the evidence that has been presented in Chapter Seven takes this theory further by allowing the service users to explain, in their own words their trajectory into food poverty. The biographical interviewing thus encouraged the participant to be able to talk openly and freely about their experience in its most current time frame. Analysing the data, and allowing for the development of constructed codes, it is clear to see that food bank use is linked to **structural** drivers of long-term poverty, and that these structural drivers have eventually pushed people into needing to seek emergency food aid. This thesis supports evidence presented within the literature review that the current drivers of food bank use such as; low incomes, social security delays, changes in social security payments and sanctions applied to people's social security claims are part of structural

drivers of food bank use. Yet, this thesis also takes the position that these triggers are part of wider structural symptoms of a more generalised shift in public attitude towards social security, as argued by Shildrick and MacDonald (2013) identified as an encouragement of individualism.

Garthwaite (2016: 93) has also identified people's trajectories into poverty, labelling them as a 'tipping point'. However, for this thesis, the discussion of tipping points, identified by Garthwaite, has been developed to understand the fullness of the story embodied by the food bank user. Following from people's trajectories into poverty, the findings point to how the service users expected their situation to improve following the visit to the food bank. Identified as a trajectory out of food poverty, this prediction was based on the fact that the food bank had temporarily removed the concerns over food insecurity, and provided them with a platform in which to move forward. This acknowledges Lambie-Mumford et al (2014) indication that the use of a food bank is considered the lowest point on the food poverty journey.

The trajectories into and out of food poverty addresses the ways in which the service users are able to explain and to contextualise their reasons for using the food bank. For every service user who provided evidence for this research, the underpinning argument and reason for the need to use the food bank that day could be traced back to an incident, a certain event or period in time that had caused their life to take an unexpected shift into a trajectory of poverty. This was an event within the history of their life which, as understood by Riemann and Schütze (1991) to have been a turning point and had set them on this path. What was clear was that this structural event was something that was beyond their control, either as the result of something that had happened to them as a child, for example, or, as the direct result of not being able to implement successful management strategies to deal with change as it happens.

At this same time, Riches and Silvasti (2014: 1) have argued that during this period of Neoliberalism there is a widespread dismantling of publically funded social security nets in states that operate them. This places a requirement for people to be able to stand on their own two feet, and that those who are not able are viewed as being to blame for their own failings. Moreover, it is here, where the view of people using the food bank may become misperceived by the general public, as people taking advantage of free food. Likewise, as explored within Chapter Two, Garthwaite also proposed that the attitudes which exists around the deservedness of food aid returns the discussion of genuine need back to the Poor Law, and that these attitudes permeated throughout her research (2016: 73). The argument put forward through the media is that some food bank users are making a choice to use the food bank so that social security can be spent elsewhere, and thus favouring an agency driven motivation behind food bank use. However, the evidence within this thesis reflects the assessment put forward by Lister (2004: 126) that poverty is not always the fault of the individual agent, but is at times, driven by structural changes impacting on people's abilities to manage. For example, the economist Paul Albritton (2009: 26) referred to the growth of food poverty as being linked to the profit demanded by the expansion of capitalism. He argues that this creates structural barriers through Neoliberal policies which, in effect, places the blame for food poverty on the abilities of the consumer to pay, and ignores the profit which is demanded by the capitalist system in which it operates.

Consistent with Ronson and Caraher's (2016) findings, that Neoliberalism and social security are, in fact incompatible, this then, ultimately leads to the demonisation of those who are in receipt of social security. This has been exemplified by participants within this thesis as they have sought to describe how social security has become devalued as less of a 'right' and more of a source of shame and stigma. For the service

users, having to provide a reason for being in receipt of some form of social security was associated with having to justify their reason for using the food bank. Justifying *their need* was used as a mechanism for defending *their use* of the food bank, as service users simultaneously engaged and reflected on their feelings of embarrassment with having to claim food assistance. In justifying *their need*, the service users also engaged within creating a social hierarchy within the recognition of perceived need amongst fellow food bank users, a point that featured most heavily within conversations with service users such as Gabe and Margret. It is this process of othering and the forming of hierarchical internal identities, which this thesis develops an understanding of the theoretical framework of conditionality.

The expression of stigma and embarrassment, and how this can be bound up with feelings of self-approval for the service user following a referral chimed true with Garthwaite's identification of food bank users and the embarrassment of using a food bank (2016). However, the evidence presented within this thesis has demonstrated how the feeling of approval had little to no effect on being able to lessen the embarrassment of being in the food bank.

Identifying the Deserving and the Undeserving Poor

Connected to this further changing narrative of approval and embarrassment is the underlying theoretical concept which still exists around the deservedness of food aid through food bank use. The perception of othering and wanting to create a social distance from those deemed underserving, theorised by Krumer-Nevo (2002), Lister (2004) and Shildrick et al (2012), and many others, became expressed through the justifications offered by food bank users. Food bank users tended to position themselves as deserving of the help offered by the food bank. This can be theorised as

being linked to the application of the referral process whereby service users are, in effect, assessed of their 'need' for the free food. However, as Purdam, Garratt and Esmail have commented, although this is viewed characteristically as free food, there is a high social cost attached to the loss of valued-self through the social shame and embarrassment felt through what is considered to be begging for food (2015: 1079).

For the service users, as the findings have established, there was also an expression of self-deservedness. This was done as a process of what MacDonald and Marsh (2005) explain as a 'distancing narrative', understood to be employed by people experiencing poverty with the aim of trying to maintain some form of respectability. Within this, the findings point to how the service users sought to identify those who they believed should be deserving of help from the food bank, including themselves, and those who they felt do not deserve help. Characteristically, this involved anyone who acknowledged experiencing a similar situation as to what they were, such as someone who was also having difficulties with bills or accommodation. They were, however, despondent with the prospect of people who had spent their money improvidently and then using the food bank. This was seen as a method of abuse, and in doing so, service users sought to create a social distance between themselves and this 'other'.

Creating a void between 'them' and the 'other', as proposed by MacDonald and Marsh (2005), the findings within this research compliment their understanding about the shifting of the label and therefore the stigma attached to being identified as 'poor'. In agreement with MacDonald and Marsh (2005), the findings within this thesis point to a similar narrative of food bank users shifting the label of 'poor' or 'undeserving'. Together with the use of emergency food from a food bank, this 'other' was typically seen as those who had found their way to the food bank due to consequences of moral failure understood to be agent driven.

The distinction between those who are 'deserving' of food help and those who are 'undeserving' was an underlying theme throughout the research. Disconcertingly, this was expressed from both food bank service users above, but even more so from those providing the service as outlined throughout many discussions with both the volunteers within the food banks, and also, from their referring organisations. Drawing on May's (2014) theory on the role of 'moral outsourcing', the findings confirm that food bank referral organisations find themselves engaged in decision making with regards to accessing/denying admittance to the food bank. This suggests that the referral organisations are obligated to make a distinction between those who deserve help from the food bank, and those who do not, and that this establishes an acknowledgement of the deserving and the undeserving poor narrative.

Exploring the potential for an attitude of deserving and undeserving to occur within the food bank, the findings identified that there existed an air of referral uncertainty within some service providers. For example, Garthwaite (2016: 43) has highlighted that food banks operate on varying levels of rules governing their use, and that the linked referring organisations are made aware of these rules. This ensures that the food bank is able to help service users with the immediacy of their crisis, but also places a limit around the potential 'over-use' of their finite resources. This set of rules, as addressed by Lambie-Mumford (2013) in effect, works to ensure that the referring organisation takes the responsibility for helping the service user to tackle the cause of the crisis in which they face, to reduce the potential for further help required from the food bank.

With this in mind, the findings highlight that the referral organisations have to navigate what has become quite a treacherous path, constantly having to make decisions over who they judged to be 'deserving' of the help offered by the food bank. Having to

make this choice, referral organisations acknowledged that they sometimes disagreed, morally, with some of the reasons behind people's explanations for needing to use a food bank, but frequently felt it was also their duty to help. In making this judgement, the referral organisations acknowledged that, in some instances, the agency of the service user might also be a factor in their situation causing their poverty. Typically, this involved mismanagement of finances that had resulted in money spent on things considered a lifestyle choice such as drugs. This, coupled with a long-running hardening of public attitudes towards the 'benefits culture' proposed by Davey Smith et al (2001), maintaining a positive public image of food banks was also part of the moral judgement made by the referring organisations. Although, in the main, referring organisations attached structural reasons behind food poverty, they also acknowledged the potential for the food banks to lose public support, in the form of declining donations, if they were seen to be helping people who appeared to be using the food bank due to perceived morally-deficient reasons caused by the agent themselves. These frequently included food bank user associations with crime, probation or drug and alcohol misuse, but also included homelessness and overspending of social security.

In the main, using the food bank because of a drug or alcohol habit was considered by the referral organisations as permitting drug abuse, by freeing-up money to be spent on drugs, and not helping the individual. However, the referral agents felt they had to walk a fine-line as they also acknowledged that habitual drug use is associated with mental health problems such as addiction, and therefore, the referral organisations recognised that the addiction would potentially take precedence over the need to buy food. In circumstances such as this, and where food bank referral involved other family members i.e. children, the referral organisations adopted further the identification of

the deserving poor, and transferred this upon the children. In doing so, they recognised that parental drug addiction would affect the whole family, and that this was not a situation caused by the children. Therefore, felt justified that in making a referral to the food bank for the parent, they were ensuring that the children were fed, as they *deserved* the help, a point recognised by Fisher (2017: 28).

Decisions such as these were also understood to be typically based on being able to ensure that the public acceptability of the food bank could be maintained. As the findings have also shown, needing to be able to maintain the public perception that the food bank is there to help the *most deserving* was considered highly important. This was also in line with ensuring that the food bank could maintain its donations levels too, as it is the public who donate to food banks. This reinforces the point raised by Fisher (2017: 28) that the use of children as the "poster child of hunger" may have detracted from the real discussion of who is deserving and undeserving, as he argues that addressing childhood food poverty gains support because children are the least responsible for their situation (Fisher, 2017: 30).

Structure and Agency Driven Poverty

In identifying concerns over people using the food bank due to what, on the surface could be seen as agent driven causes, understood to be 'life-style choices', or improvident spending for example, service providers were steadfast in their argument that tipping points such as these always had underlying influence from structural causes. Corresponding with arguments presented by the service users, the service providers explained how these problems arose, not due to life-style choices, but because of the fundamental practicalities of trying to maintain the standard of living that is expected within society. Those who are experiencing poverty are usually

thought of as being in that position due to making improvident decisions, such as taking out high interest loans, however, as Tirado (2014) has made clear, trying to exist within a society which is not poor means that people have to take whatever is made available to them, including food banks. Hirsch (2013) has understood this to be attendant to the reality that the poor inevitably pay more for services which their affluent counterparts have better access to. This attracts questions around the choices that are made available to the least well off in our society. For example, if something is *expected* in society, such as Christmas presents, and the only option is an unsecured high interest loan from a doorstep collection agency, then the reality of this, is that there really is no 'choice'.

Confirmed through this research by the referral organisations, avoiding the stigma of being seen to be 'less than' (what is expected) saw people engaging in, what may seem to be illogical steps, which resulted in increasing their poverty. This notion of poor people making poor decisions (Tirado, 2014) is theoretically argued by the referral organisations to be applied by the service users as a method of hiding their poverty from the society around them. Understood that this is influenced by structural indicators, and confirms MacDonald and Marsh's conclusion that people employ such strategies as a method of their denying poverty (2005).

In agreement with Peter Townsend's (1979) position on poverty being relative, the findings expose how modern-day poverty and food bank use is driven by the structural changes within society and people's inability to maintain a standard of living that is socially acceptable, and where this occurs, people work to remove this label. For example, the findings have highlighted how the identification of 'not being as poor as…' is a description which runs through conversations with service users within the thesis, as people work to shift the label of poverty on to others who they consider to

be poorer, or the 'real poor'. This confirms theoretical notions of 'othering' offered by Lister (2004) and how people use this to deny their poverty acknowledged by MacDonald and Marsh (2005), Shildrick and MacDonald (2013).

This level of moral outsourcing, and its link attendant to the ways in which poverty in a developed nation is hidden, sits at the heart of this thesis. It also attends to the further development of an understanding of the path towards the potential further retrenchment of social security, and how society will be left to deal with this as a social problem, and not one of political consequence.

Moral Outsourcing

As detailed within Chapter Three, food banks, in the main, are operated through church organisations, by and large compelled by a moral obligation of feeding the needy, deserving or otherwise, and that they establish links with external organisations who make referral judgements on their behalf. For May (2014) however, and important for this thesis, this represents an outsourcing of decision making over food bank referrals (framed as a 'moral outsourcing'), indicating that the verdict over food bank use rests almost exclusively with the referring organisation, and not the food bank. For the food banks, typically operated by the church congregation members this, in effect, works to externalise any obligation for them to be involved in identifying a *'deserving'* or an *'undeserving'* food bank user, helping them to retain their moral/religious obligation of being non-judgemental. This was a point referred to eloquently by the manager of the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, as she stated that when starting up a food bank, the key question is how to make the decision over who gets the food, and more importantly, who does not. Moreover, she furthered that being

part of the Trussell Trust answers this question, because you do not make that decision, it is made by an external organisation. However, it should also be acknowledged that this isn't just a Trussell Trust policy, as validated by Isaac and the rules covering the use of the Pantri Pobl (and possibly other independent food banks). There is a similar process at work within the independent food banks which works to create a morality-based approach to food bank use given that donations come from the public.

Acknowledging that they must walk a fine-line in maintaining the food bank as an emergency use crisis intervention service, the referral organisations have shown that there exists a consciousness of fear that they could reduce the food banks resources (described as donor fatigue) if they were seen by the public (the donors of food) to be helping the undeserving poor. The undeserving poor were typically acknowledged as being the drug user, alcoholic, or those considered to be making a 'choice' to be in receipt of benefits etc. In the main, this group was publicly viewed as being undeserving of help, as they had improvidently spent their money on what was thought to be a 'lifestyle choice', and therefore freeing-up money to be spent on their lifestyle of addiction.

However, within this thesis, it has been evidenced that any discussion over the deservedness of food bank use can also be attached to a discussion over the structure or agency reasons behind its use. As argued within the findings chapters, structurally, people were experiencing extended periods of hardship due to changes made to social security through welfare reform. Moreover, changes made as part of the Welfare Reform Act 2012 had potentially worsened the circumstances for people already deemed to be 'struggling', as exemplified by Cameron, George and Iain in Chapter Seven.

For Cameron, George and Iain, their use of the food bank was directly linked to welfare reform, and in particular the Welfare Reform Act 2012. However, it can also be argued that their position had been exacerbated further due to spending their money on their addiction to alcohol and/or drugs. Here, the judgments made by the referring organisations begin to walk a fine line between maintaining the public image of the food bank as a space for support, whilst ensuring that it does not become a self-defeating act, as Siobhan makes clear in Chapter Six describing donors not wanting to help the undeserving poor.

Yet it is this identification of an 'undeserving poor' that is the most significant for this thesis. Approaching the retrenchment of social security, the rise of food bank use, and food bank numbers overall, the use of biographical and semi-structured interviewing with service users allowed for them to have a platform in discussing their lives, and their lived experience of poverty (Lister, 2004).

In discussing his situation, Iain was vivid in his response that there were structural reasons behind his need to use the food bank. Significantly, for Iain, his food bank need was driven by external factors that had been fundamental very early in his life, and of which had caused irreparable damage to his sense of stability. As my discussion with Iain unfolded, and asked about his reason for being at the food bank on that occasion, Iain initially had associated his need for the food bank to be driven by structural factors associated with his declining finances associated with the 'Bedroom Tax' and movement over to JSA from ESA, and struggling financial situation. On the face of it, Iain presented himself as a typical candidate for someone needing to use the food bank due to structural driven reasons. However, he then conferred that the remainder of his income had been spent on his heroin addiction.

Understanding the structural reasons behind food bank use was identified through the association with the impact of the Welfare Reform Act 2012, as noted by Iain. However, the involvement of a heroin addiction created a scenario that perhaps there are to be acknowledged some agency driven explanations that compound people's abilities to be able to manage structural accounts of poverty. Iain's food bank use would, quite rightly, be understood by those external to food banking (the public, the media), but also by some inside food banking (decision makers such as referral organisations and volunteers) to have been attributed to his heroin abuse, as this spending is superfluous to need. Conversely, understanding the trajectory of which life had taken for Iain, exposed through his interview, it was clear to see that there was a direct association between child sexual abuse at the hands of public officials, and Iain's decline into heroin abuse and food bank use. Used as a way for his doctor to help Iain block recurring memories and help with his mental health, prescription drugs such as Valium had been given to Iain for over twenty-five years. However, as Iain describes, the Valium had 'burnt his head out', and so he was subsequently prescribed opioids. This association with opioids, and through finding himself in prison, he slipped into non-prescription drugs such as heroin as a way to block the memories and voices in his head associated with his past.

Navigating the position which a service user such as Iain would place upon a food bank organisation attends to the distinction made by May (2014), in that the food bank, therefore, outsources this decision to an associated agency, and that it is up to that agency to make the decision. Yet, as the example of Iain has shown, on the surface identities of structural driven poverty may be clouded by outsider cries of agency driven 'reasons'. By understanding the return of an acknowledgement towards an

undeserving/deserving identity surrounding the food bank user, the moral outsourcing of decisions over who is allowed to use the food bank becomes a decisive step.

Internalised Decision Making

As Garthwaite (2016: 44) has argued, one of the key reasons why her research focussed on the Trussell Trust Foodbank was because of the referral system that it employs, contending that each Foodbank utilises its relationships with its local referring organisations, as they are best placed to make appropriate referrals. Conversely however, Garthwaite advances that some food banks within the independent sector may *"require evidence of personal identification or hardship"*, and that facilitating this position as a volunteer and as a researcher would make her research unethical (2016: 44). Yet, as the findings have shown, from the independent food bank managers and volunteers across Wales whom I spoke with, and with their associated referral organisations, this is just simply not the case, as they too employ similar (if not identical) rules of referral that the Trussell Trust have in place. These rules of referral ensure that the referral organisation acts within a 'gatekeeper' position over referrals to emergency food aid (Loopstra et al, 2015: 6), and also forces the outsourcing of the decision over who gets food and who does not.

As acknowledged by Poppendieck (1998) within Chapter Two, this is done through the lens of making an informed assessment. However, for one such referral organisation which I spoke with, the respondent Chris stated that she did not feel skilled in being able to make an assessment over 'deservedness' of help. She maintained that the only criteria which she felt comfortable in applying when making a decision for a referral was to check with the local Trussell Trust Foodbank to see if

an individual had received help already, and whether they had used their allocated three uses for this period.

However, where some independent food banks may differ from their Trussell Trust counterparts may be associated with the depth of governance that is applied to these rules. It was argued through several interviews that the Trussell Trust has a robust referral system within its structure, and that this is in place to protect itself against abuse and fraudulent claims. In addition, this structure is there to be able to maintain a certain level of support for the service user, and with an overall aim of not encouraging dependency. In doing so, the individual Trussell Trust Foodbanks have to maintain a certain level of commitment to both the organisation and its national representativeness, whilst upholding its ethical (and political) credibility. The independent sector, on the other hand, although they still have to maintain an ethical position, they are not directly accountable to any nationally recognised organisation. This point has been reinforced through the discussion with the manager of the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, as she makes clear that the position of the Cardiff Trussell Trust, and the Trussell Trust as a nationally representative organisation, ensures that there is a level of reliability to their statistics. This reliability and national representativeness position the Trussell Trust in being able to provide a level of political influence.

From the findings, it is clear that the independent food banks also employed a Trussell Trust style 'rule of three' governing their use, however, their level of accountability stops at this point. This thesis takes the view that this gives the independent food banks far more flexibility to be able to provide further help (a fourth, fifth or six referral). The case study example of Pantri Pobl shows that this is used to be able to

tackle the structural causes of food poverty, whilst recognising its protracted symptoms.

The findings chapters have offered evidence showing that through the imposition of the Welfare Reform Act 2012, access to social security had become restricted and noticeably punitive. In some cases, this had extended the hardship that some service users were experiencing, and food bank service providers had noted that, in some cases, restricting food bank use to just three referrals over a set period might no longer be sufficient. In addressing this, the findings have shown how the Trussell Trust volunteers also acknowledged that the 'rule of three' is flexible enough that it can meet the new challenges posed by the Welfare Reform Act 2012, and that they are able to offer further help, should a service user request further referrals through the referral system.

In spite of this, food banks also see a number of people who circumvent the normal referral procedure, and will arrive at the food bank without having been processed by an appropriate referring organisation. Considered to be 'walk-ins', the food banks usually try to revert people back to a referring organisation so that they can be assessed and signposted appropriately. Yet, in light of the difficulties that now extend peoples need for food aid, some walk-in service users are bypassing the referring agencies - as they know that they have exceeded their allowance of three referrals - and therefore arrive at the food bank in hope that they can secure further help. It is at this point where the flexibility, identified by a Trussell Trust volunteer in this research allows them to be able to offer further help.

This flexibility, however, also addresses how the Foodbank coordinator now becomes responsible for upholding the moral decision making for the deservedness of 'walk-

in' service users, and is able to make a decision whether or not to provide further food aid. Within the findings chapter, the 'deserving' service user was portrayed by the Foodbank volunteers as being a struggling family or single parent, and that the Foodbank would be most likely able to offer this type of service user additional food aid. In contrast, the drug user or alcoholic may be less likely to be offered further food aid as the Foodbank would not like to be seen as facilitating this lifestyle, and thus represents this type of person as being 'undeserving' of extra help. It is here where food banks which have use limitation rules employ this flexibility to allow them to justify *their own* moral decision to offer further help or not. Ideologically, this is used to dispel public fears of dependency and potential abuse of resources, yet objectively, it is a development of the deserving/undeserving valued judgement, and takes further May's (2014) position of moral outsourcing. In taking May's recognition of the outsourcing of moral decisions, this final stage seeks to recognise a reverted level of internal decision making, which returns the burden of the moral decision upon the food bank itself.

Welfare Retrenchment: Neoliberal State

In identifying a driver for the increase in food poverty, and thus the increase in those needing to seek help from the food bank, participants within this research were undivided in their judgement that rising food bank use was caused by the retrenchment seen within the access available for social security. The findings which have been presented within Chapter Five, illustrated through the use of geospatial maps also support the position argued by the interview respondents, by detailing the development of food banks under successive governments, and how these have been influenced by changes within social policy. The findings chapters, detailed through both qualitative

interviews with service users and service providers, and augmented with biannual maps, have also shown how the intensification of new openings of food banks in 2012 and 2013 coincided with the start of socio-political changes under the Welfare Reform Act 2012. Thus, this thesis argues that the cause of food poverty, and thus the current food bank use escalation, is structurally driven through socio-political changes encouraged through the Welfare Reform Act 2012, and a rising need for food aid, not, as Lord Freud has claimed, driven by people's desire for free food.

The stagnation or decline of incomes, especially for those least able to endure this has, according to the Trussell Trust, been the main factor pushing people over the financial edge and into food poverty. Their latest data for Wales (and similar for the rest of the UK) has shown a year on year increase in the numbers of people requiring food aid and accessing the three day emergency food assistance packages provided by the Trussell Trust. For the end of the financial year figures (April 1st 2017-March 31st 2018), the Trussell Trust report that 98,350[26] meals were given out from the Foodbanks which form part of the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network, which includes all Trussell Trust Foodbanks plus all the Satellite Distribution Centres which have been exemplified through the geospatial maps illustrated in Chapter Five. However, what this figure fails to show is the representative number of meals distributed through the independent food banks spread across Wales, also which Chapter Five has revealed.

The impact of the changes brought forward through the Welfare Reform Act 2012, and the resultant development of food banks, has been recognised by the service providers. For the referral organisations, they were able to consider this from an

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[26] Data available from the Trussell Trust website: https://www.trusselltrust.org/news-and-blog/latest-stats/end-year-stats/#fy-2017-2018 (accessed 01/05/2018)

objective perspective, and were thus able to provide impartial evidence about their role and how this had changed in light of the changes applied to social security and the ways in which their work had been forced to change. For the service users, however, the impact of welfare retrenchment was felt more severely, as welfare reform was confirmed as being the direct cause for their food poverty. Within this research, it was found that the majority of those interviewed within Wales's food banks were there because of an issue associated with the Welfare Reform Act 2012; such as changes applied to social security, benefit reductions, loss of the back to work grant and the obligation to have to pay the Bedroom Tax. Again, returning to the figures supplied by the Trussell Trust, and in acknowledgement of the strength of the input which the Trussell Trust is able to provide as a national reflection of food bank referrals, the Trussell Trust data for the financial year ending 31st March 2018 shows that the main driver behind Trussell Trust Foodbank use is associated with low incomes (28.49%), followed by benefit delays (23.74%) and benefit changes (17.73%). Interestingly, and for the strength of this thesis, these main categories for Trussell Trust Foodbank use can be attributed to structural factors of poverty, and not concerned with reasons associated with poverty caused by the agent themselves. This is especially highlighted through the structural factors associated with the reform procedures instigated through the Welfare Reform Act 2012, as explained within Chapters Two and Three, in which social security underwent root and branch reform, both in the way it is assessed and in how it is delivered. Representatively, and corresponding to this change, Chapter Five has illustrated how the changes in social security had triggered a rise in food poverty numbers, exemplified through the opening of, and acknowledging the highest year on year increase in new food banks across Wales from 2012 to 2013.

Although the help provided by the food bank unmistakeably affords people some form of temporary assistance, the evidence has shown that for the most vulnerable in our society, it is the continued support of a strong and functional social security programme that was presented as providing people with a suitable platform from which people could navigate away from food poverty. Understood by both the service providers and food poverty academics, food banks are seen as being a temporary provision, or a 'sticking plaster' over a gaping wound' (Power, 2012).

Welfare Reform

The changing political landscape combined with the ensuing modifications made within social policy over the last century have been addressed in Chapters Two and Three respectively. However, within the context of this research focus has been placed upon the more recent development of food insecurity and food poverty as stated in the use of emergency food aid provided by food banks. Food insecurity, expressed within this research as an acknowledgment of food poverty has been described by various scholars within the earlier chapters of this thesis as being: an individual lacking adequate income or sufficient access to food or, any number of social exclusionary factors which may limit a person's consumption of food. The food bank providers within this thesis specified a pertinent argument locating the rise in food poverty as being associated with a mirrored decline in social security. This was especially marked following the changing socio-political landscape post 2010 and the instigation of austerity policies, most notably the Welfare Reform Act 2012 by the Coalition Government as the geospatial/temporal mapping of food bank openings in Chapter Five has shown.

Contrary to the identification of the causes of their own experience of food poverty, portrayed within this thesis by the service users of food banks in Wales, the Government denies any such general assertion that food poverty, or food bank use is linked to welfare reform. Instead, the Prime Minister has insisted that; "there are many complex reasons why people go to food banks" (Teresa May, 2017[27]). This position is nothing new for the Government to take, as twelve months after the start of Welfare Reform, the Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change, Edward Davey MP also argued that; "it is completely wrong to suggest that there is a statistical link between the Government's benefit reforms and the provision of food banks" (Davey, 2013).

This suggests that the Government are positioning themselves away from an identification that poverty and food bank use are associated with any structural problems of welfare reform. More recently, in the run-up to the 2017 General Election this position has been echoed by the Minister of State for Courts and Justice, the Conservative Dominic Rabb MP, stating that; "the typical user of food banks is not someone who is languishing in poverty; it is someone who has a cash flow problem. Episodically" (Rabb, 2017[28]).

Continuing with the argument that the use of food banks is not driven by structural problems, but problems associated with individual people making choices. As the former Minister for Welfare Reform, the Conservative Peer Lord Freud made clear in Chapter Two, that food bank use is on the increase due to the fact that more people know that they are there, the Conservative Member of Parliament Jacob Rees Mogg has again distanced any association with welfare reform being a driver of food poverty

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[27] Part of an interview for the Andrew Marr Show. BBC2
[28] Part of an interview for the BBC News. 2017.

and food bank use, contending that; "the real reason for the rise in numbers is that people know that they are there" (Mogg, 2017[29]).

As Lambie-Mumford argued, the rise in the numbers of Foodbank openings, within the franchised network of Trussell Trust, across the UK saw a steady rise between 1997 and 2010. Marking the end of the Labour Government, Lambie-Mumford maintains that across the UK there were fifty-four Trussell Trust Foodbank openings. Two years later, following the election of the coalition government, the Trussell Trust had reported a surge of Foodbank openings as a direct response to spending cuts and the restructuring of welfare provision, with numbers of openings reaching over two hundred (2012: 78). Lambie-Mumford's results are consistent with the findings of this thesis, explained within Chapter Five, which have shown that during the first two years of the Coalition Government there was also a surge in the total number of food bank openings, both from within the independent sector, and from within the Trussell Trust Foodbank network throughout Wales. This simultaneous rise in both independent and Trussell Trust networked Foodbanks has shown that food banks are opening as a response to a marked rise in need led demand, as the impact of austerity is levied on social security payments, benefit restrictions and spending cuts.

The changes included within the Welfare Reform Act 2012 were argued by food bank service providers as being the tipping point for many of their service users into economic hardship. Addressing Garthwaite's position on 'tipping points' (2016), food bank referral organisations within this thesis, such as local welfare assistance charities, drugs and alcohol rehabilitation charities and social landlords all offered confirmation through experience of how changes in social security, and its administration post 2012,

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[29] Part of an interview with Jacob Rees Mogg MP for the LBC Radio Station. 2017

was the reason behind most of their referrals. What this thesis finds, is that welfare retrenchment has caused a substantial rise in people experiencing a sudden relative poverty, due largely, to the impact of the Welfare Reform Act 2012. In addition to the influence the Welfare Reform Act 2012 has had on poverty, people have seen the extra burden of rising food costs (Kollewe, 2017), and the rise of in-work poverty (Swaffield et al, 2017). Owing to this reported rise in relative poverty, the food bank has become a vital provision which referral organisations have come to depend upon as a means of helping their service users bridge the financial gap caused by a rapidly retrenching social security. Unfortunately, as argued by Graham Riches, this has resulted in the food bank becoming the residual welfare safety net for both the statutory and non-statutory bodies (1986: 59).

Substantial evidence of the impact of the Welfare Reform Act 2012 has been shown through the collection of geospatial data associated with the location of Wales's food banks. Through the imposition of welfare conditionality and benefit sanctions, the idea of the Welfare Reform Act 2012 is to encourage behavioural change in people accessing social security and to make this more conditional and punitive (Watts et al, 2014). This has worked to not only force a growing number of people into relative poverty, but initiated the rapid development of food banks across Wales and the rest of the UK as a direct response. The food banks developed as a response to the widespread retrenchment of social security and act now as part of a residual welfare safety net. Both the service providers and the service users, within this thesis have attached the growth of food banks to the impact of welfare reform and the overall retrenchment of social security. This is consistent with arguments presented by Graham Riches in Canada (1986, 1989, 1997, 2002, 2014), Jan Poppendieck in the

USA (1998), Tiina Silvasti in Finland (2015), Jay Wiggan (2012) and Rachel Loopstra et al (2015) here in the UK.

These findings also lend support to wider research into the global understanding of food poverty and its drivers. For example, in Canada, Graham Riches (2014) has demonstrated that since the early 1980s there has been an increase in food poverty and a growth in food bank numbers. The same is true for research conducted by Janet Poppendieck in the USA who has proven that the use of food banks has become an institutionalised provision of how welfare is now administered, and linked this to the retrenchment of social security through Welfare Reform. Arguing that food banks enable governments to offload some of their responsibilities towards social security, especially during times of welfare retrenchment, Riches similarly outlined how food banks were allowed to take hold in Canada, warning that the UK is following a similar path through reforms made to social security in 2012.

Riches (2014) and Poppendieck (1998) predictions are supported by the quantitative and qualitative data provided in the findings chapters. Here, the impact of welfare reform has been substantiated and explained as both a geographical and biographical experience. Through the geospatial mapping of food bank locations, and, more practically, the dates in which they opened, the findings strengthen this connection between food bank assistance being a direct result of the Welfare Reform Act 2012.

Acting as a 'shunting yard', the evidence presented within this thesis supports that of Ronson and Caraher's (2016) use of Seibel's (1989) theoretical positioning regarding the voluntary sector. This thesis also finds that the proliferation of the voluntary run food banks encourages a concerned public to believe that food poverty is being solved. As Ronson and Caraher argue, food banks act as no more than a 'shunting-yard' - a

charitable attempt to solve socio-political problems which they cannot solve (1989: 178). This serves, in effect, to deflect the real issue, that of welfare reform as the main cause of food poverty away from the political sphere and entrusts responsibility for addressing the problems of retrenchment onto civil society. However, consistent with the growing number of food bank users, and food bank openings, this thesis also concurs with Seibel's theory that the food banks are providing a resource for the vulnerable and appeasing (to a certain extent) the general public.

This is a situation that has appeared before in social policy, as Sutton (2016: 110) argued; that food banks are the modern 'rationing' of food for poor people. Detailing an extensive account of food poverty, Sutton's critique on the role of food riots and the introduction of rationing during the First and Second World Wars' was in part, he argues, as a means to prevent full-scale riots over access to food. Considering the food bank to be a modern way of preventing food riots, as some people struggle to have reasonable access food, Sutton (2016) compliments the theory put forward by Ronson and Caraher (2016) that the food bank is performing as a 'shunting yard' for the political inability to address food poverty as a social policy problem. Therefore, as argued by the service providers within this thesis, the role-out of the food banks within the principals of the Big Society, in light of austerity, has been proven as a required means of quashing the public opinion into accepting charitable assistance.

Food Banks; A 'Big Society' Response

As the literature has pointed to in both Chapters Two and Three, there has been a continual evolving relationship between social policy and food, particularly with respect to social security and increases in food poverty since the beginning of the 20th Century. For example, Sutton (2016) argued that changes to social policy had been the

cause of social unrest and many riots during the early part of the Century. Moreover, Sutton (ibid) also argued that during the social changes witnessed throughout the early-mid 20th Century, the nation had more of a sense of collectivisation, a point also argued by Midwinter (1994), Davey Smith et al (2001) and Lister (2013). An important finding of this research is that there has been an erosion of the understanding of collectivisation, and people 'looking out' for one another as demonstrated by the comments made by the participants. The findings point to this as being an expression of a loss of community cohesion and social solidarity as people have become more individualistic. The notion of this type of change was mentioned by several food bank service users who spoke of their food poverty journey, and resultant food bank use, as being one that recognised the help that was available from within the immediate family in the first instance. This type of change, theorised by Ferdinand Tönnies is an illustration of a 'Gemeinschaft / Gesellschaft' change, where emphasis is now placed on maintaining the 'self' as an individual unit. Lister (2004) acknowledged the impact of social capital in being able to negotiate being a recipient of welfare, arguing that there is a certain strength that exists within societies and localities that reflect other people in similar situations. Added to this, the bearing that social networks have, especially those of kin, neighbours and friends on people's ability to navigate relative poverty have been shown in this research, and complimentary to the claim made by Lister (2004) to be best placed to be able to provide both emotional and material support. The service providers and service users both confirmed that this is especially so in lower income communities where reciprocity of help was held in high regard, as being able to draw on social resources is described by Lister (2004: 133) as one of many coping strategies employed by people experiencing poverty.

As discussed within both Chapters Two and Three, the flagship policy within the Conservative 2010 manifesto was the introduction of the Big Society, billed as a state ideology of small governance through encouraging the development of community driven provisions, either as a private enterprise or as a charitable donation. The ideology of the 'Big Society' was, in essence, aimed at re-establishing some form of community collectivisation, by placing more significance on the role of community involvement. Which, when viewed optimistically, a 'Big' or 'Shared Society' of community-supplied resources could deliver some of the community resources and services required. However, the real driver behind the Big Society was not to re-establish community solidarity in the face of declining social ties, as Levitas (2012) had confirmed. The Big Society was designed to encourage local citizen activation in areas from which the statutory authorities had withdrawn. The role of the Big Society, in line with Levitas' assumption above (2012) has been confirmed and even substantiated by some of the very people involved in delivering Big Society services, such as those voiced by a number of the service providers detailed within the findings in chapter six. Here, they expressed how they understood that by being a volunteer within the food bank was encouraging the proliferation of the Big Society, as it was allowing the Government to negate its responsibilities to social security.

Food Banks; an Embedded Provision

Riches (2014) has forecast a warning regarding the potential for the embeddedness of UK food banks, as has been the case in Canada, a point noted as being currently resisted by the service providers in this thesis. However, as the referral organisations within this thesis have argued, the very use of food banks as a method of providing people with access to emergency food, simply because they have no further access to

the statutory help they need, means that charitable provisions are now becoming responsible for substituting elements of statutory social security. This argument is made ever more obvious when the inclusion of a food bank referral becomes part of a safety-net 'package' offered to individuals, as identified within this thesis, discussed by interviewees who are involved in food bank referrals as providers of the Work Programme. Within this thesis, it has been argued that this form of 'support' is now being offered as part of the care package given over to their clients, and therefore, used as a method of support due to the rapid retrenchment of welfare. The findings within this thesis contribute to the critical analysis provided by Poppendieck (1998), in that the inclusion of help from a food bank is now viewed by some referral organisations as being part of the service that they feel the need to offer.

As discussed above, the changes brought about by the Welfare Reform Act 2012 compelled some charitable organisations to become (by de-facto) members of the Big Society by providing referrals to food banks. For example, the findings have highlighted how structural changes included within the Welfare Reform Act 2012 brought about the end of the Job Grant, which was a pot of money ring-fenced for helping people make the transition from unemployment to employment. However, now, under welfare reform, after a Job Seeker has found employment no further entitlement is made available to social security, forcing the hand of charitable organisations to bridge the gap between starting employment and payday. This highlights one such structural cause associated with food bank referrals that is consistent with Ronson and Caraher's (2016) declaration, namely that food bank users have very little choice and, in fact, are funnelled towards the food bank as a method of enabling welfare reforms to take place.

The service providers recognised their role in the Big Society as being the first stage of food banks becoming embedded as part of a solution to reduction in welfare payments, as the food banks act more and more in response to retrenchment of social security. This is concurrent with Riches' theory (2002) that after the retreat of the established welfare state and modest social rights, a more Neoliberal, re-commodification of social benefits is seen. Following this loss of entitlement for social security, food banks emerge and act as a weather vane for a changing social policy. Following arguments put forward by charitable organisations involved in making food bank referrals; that they have witnessed a retrenchment of the welfare state and tightening of their finances, they argued that the next plausible step would be to see food banks become more enmeshed as a welfare response. This works to promote the argument that they also offer, that working within the language of 'austerity', they will eventually become a replacement of statutory financial social security. In keeping with Riches' (2002) notion that the food banks will eventually become a replacement for state delivered social security, following this three-stage process, the evidence which has been presented within the findings of this thesis highlight that the process of food banks becoming embedded as part of a welfare response is currently underway.

The Trussell Trust Foodbank network, as argued by one of its managers, fits the picture of a nationally recognised brand of foodbank. Stage-two of embedding food banks as a social security response would see the development of a strong partnership between national food companies and the food bank movement. As volunteers from one of the Trussell Trust Foodbank focus groups acknowledged, Tesco provide a twice-yearly 'Neighbourhood Food Collections' at stores nationwide with food going direct to the Trussell Trust. Additional to this there is a further two collections organised between the Trussell Trust franchisee and their local Tesco store. As Fisher

(2017) identified; that it is these links between corporate organisations and hunger that should be avoided if food poverty is to be tackled. Fisher (ibid) argues that in an approach to tackling food poverty, and not addressing its root causes, hunger becomes open to corporate philanthropy, in a similar vein to that of Seibel (1989); corporations now appear to be possible solution providers for tackling food poverty.

However, is the start of embedding food banks as a corporate response, part of what Fisher (2017: 31) termed the 'anti-hunger industrial complex'? Within this complex, food providers, such as large supermarkets are encouraged to become involved in demonstrating 'corporate social responsibility' towards communities, and have been encouraged to take an active role in the plight of the food poor. More recent acknowledgement of this link came anew through the partnership agreement to the sum of twenty million pound between Asda, the food redistribution charity Fareshare and the Trussell Trust (The Trussell Trust, 2018).

For Riches (2002), the final stage for food banks becoming part of the fabric of social security would see an increasing influence and relationship with national government, and a national food bank provider emerging as part of the 'safety net' (2002: 652). Partly underway, this thesis has shown how welfare reform and the retrenchment of welfare provisions has been part of the Big Society ideology, attaching to the acknowledgement of Jan Poppendieck (1998), who indicates that the third stage in food bank entrenching involves the food banks becoming (in part) funded by the government.

Examination of the findings in this thesis point to there being a fourth stage needed for food banks to become truly entrenched as a part of welfare provisioning. This fourth-stage would see the wider public acceptance of food banks as being an adequate

substitute within welfare, as Seibel's (1989) Shunting Yard theory acknowledged. Acceptance of food banks in society means that food banks become recognised as a legitimate method of food sourcing for society, and they correspond with changes made throughout social policy structures, such as changes made through welfare reform. Acceptance has also been 'normalised', perhaps even 'encouraged', emboldened through the changing language of; 'welfare', 'culture of benefit dependency' and the demise of words such as 'social security'. What this has sought to do is to reinforce the narrative that poverty is the result of the individual agent and deflecting any notion that poverty is caused by the structures of society.

This level of social recognition of food banks was evidenced recently by an argument between the supermarket Asda and its customers that came in early February 2016 following the removal of food bank collection baskets. This national policy by Asda saw the removal of all unmanned charity collection baskets in stores across the country (Harris, 2016) signalling the end of Asda customers charitable donations to local food banks. However, following a social media uproar, and a challenge put forward by the charities affected, including the Trussell Trust and other food banks, Asda decided to reinstate the collection baskets (Harris, 2016b). The citing of food bank collection baskets at the end of supermarket tills are now commonplace. Their removal and the subsequent disquiet this created only serves to show how there has been a development of social acceptability for food banks as people realise the value of them for those in need, fuelling the process of food banks becoming embedded not just within society, but within our social conscience.

The geospatial mapping findings have shown that the growth of the food banking landscape reflects Garthwaite's (2016) acknowledgement that media representation of food banks has also developed along a similar trajectory, highlighting an increase in

media attention around the time of the Welfare Reform Act 2012. However, the increased media attention around food banks seems to have only served to develop an acceptance of them within public consciousness, supporting Ronson and Caraher's (2016) use of Seibel's (1996) theory of 'successful failures' explained in Chapter Two.

Food Banks; Food Aid Landscape and Provision Dominance

In acknowledging that food banks now have developed a level of social acceptability, the case study interview with the manager of the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank served to develop the idea that food bank provision, and especially that which surrounds the dominance of the Trussell Trust in being *the* food bank provider became evident. Especially how this was understood in reference to the role in which other independent food banks were seen to be part of a competitive market. The need to 'secure' representation within the finite number of supermarkets around a typical Foodbank was considered by the manager, as being vitally important in being able to ensure that the Foodbank could receive as much donated food as possible. As addressed by Lambie-Mumford (2018); food banks now work to develop a range of professionalised processes to enable them to respond to the perceived need, such as partnering with local supermarkets and other food providers (Fareshare etc.), and in doing so have assumed responsibility for food insecurity. For the manager of the Cardiff Trussell Trust Foodbank, the food bank landscape was seen to be a competitive 'market'. Understood in that light, the manager explained that through being part of a larger, more public facing organisation, such as the Trussell Trust, also brought with it strength in numbers. This was subsequently argued as being especially important for securing donations, wielding political influence, and access to the Welsh Government - which may then be denied to the independent sector.

The supremacy of the Trussell Trust described within Chapter Two, position them through the help of the media to be portrayed as being *the* food bank provider for Wales and the rest of the UK. This however, has been questioned within this research, and, through the production of geospatial maps in Chapter Five, the Trussell Trust have been revealed to be representative of potentially two-thirds of the actual food bank landscape in Wales. Moreover, the geospatial maps that have been produced within this thesis offer an advanced reflection of the true nature of food bank distribution. Acknowledging that the Trussell Trust occupy potentially two-thirds of the food bank provision of Wales, and that the remainder is considered to be the 'independent' sector, it is important to consider, as the case study of both Gisda and the Pantri Pobl made clear, that the power of the independent food aid providers should also be recognised. This is significant as a method for highlighting other approaches of solving food poverty, away from facilitating the embedded response of the single provider, acknowledged by Riches.

For Pantri Pobl, and with some of the other independent food banks which this research has highlighted, this has been shown to be demonstrative of the intrinsic values associated with being a small, local provider within a small community, and not having to follow succinct guidelines governed by a national organisation. As has been argued by the manager of the case study example of the Pantri Pobl, the manager was able to express a fundamental understanding of the area and of the people with whom the Pantri aims to serve. Likewise, what was considered noteworthy of being independent was that they aimed to be able to make their rules fit the people whom they serve. Working on a larger scale, for the Pantri Pobl, being part of a recognised Welsh Government funded development project such as Communities First also gave them a distinct level of political influence within Wales, perhaps on a level different

to that of the Trussell Trust. For the Pantri Pobl, this served to illustrate the ways in which the Communities First Programme aimed to tackle the root causes of poverty, and not just provide the temporary relief offering of food aid. However, where this need was also recognised, the ability to be able to offer temporary relief through food aid was also something that the Pantri provided, and served as a respite technique whilst the larger root issues of poverty were challenged.

Understanding food banks to be potential 'spaces of care' as Cloke, May and Williams (2016) have argued, the potential for them to become viewed as an (in)effective response to a problem of which they cannot solve, sees that they may only serve to camouflage the individualised underlying issues which surround structural causes of poverty. The work of Pantri Pobl, as part of the Communities First programme, was understood and shown to be working towards un-camouflaging the inherent association with structural drivers of poverty, and working towards creating a more prosperous Wales.

However, as a fundamentally different approach to food aid provision, as seen through the typical 'food bank', the case study of Gisda has been demonstrated as attending to a more socially inclusive approach to tackling food poverty, and removing the stigma which can be associated with claiming free food. The coffee shop 'Te a Cofi' sees the introduction of socially acceptable consumption of free food in an inclusive atmosphere, and that this is facilitated through a shared social space no different from any other high street café. The ability to be able to ask for food which is free at the point of consumption, paid for in advance through a redistributive scheme, and the space in which to sit and eat it, attends to the reduction of the shame and stigma associated with food bank use, as addressed by Purdam, Garratt and Esmail (2015), and confirmed by interviewees within this thesis.

Similarly with the approach taken by Pantri Pobl, Gisda also acknowledged the strength of prevention as being a better way to attack the issue of food poverty. Acknowledging that they do not have the capacity to be able to do this on a political level, the food skills training courses provided by the café attended to the understanding of how food poverty can, and should be approached differently than those employed by the current model of food banking.

We Should Never Accept That Food Poverty has a Place in This Country

Poppendieck (1998) has warned that once the food bank genie has been let out of the bottle, it is impossible to put back in. This declaration, in unison with the findings of this thesis raises an issue regarding the 'normalisation' of food banks going forward. Worryingly, the acknowledgement of normalisation, however, was demonstrable within the food banking landscape, and the contentious growth of the food bank as an appropriate response to rising levels of poverty. If welfare reform and the hardening of attitudes towards social security has created a perfect storm for food bank development, and the acceptance of embedded food banks as part-and-parcel of the reforms made to modern social security, then the social acceptance of food banks, would also need to develop, making the use of the food bank socially permissible.

However, as the findings have detailed, the use of a food bank as socially permissible is highly contested since it has connotations of embarrassment and social stigma as users repositioned themselves through a hierarchical process of othering and identity politics of the deserving and the undeserving poor. Fundamentally, any form of normalisation would need to redress the barrier of embarrassment associated with having to use the food bank. For example, however thankful the service users were for the help offered by the food bank, they still, in all cases, described their situation as

being shameful and embarrassing. This thought was clearly shared amongst the service users, but the findings show how this was also considered by the food bank volunteers and their coordinators, who worked hard to offer the food bank as a place of refuge, or as Cloke, May and Williams (2016) termed a space of care, without focussing on the uneasiness of the situation.

Furthermore, the sense of discomfort played a significant role for the referral organisations. As the findings highlight, although within the food bank there existed a sense of shame and embarrassment conveyed by the service users, this was considered to be less embarrassing than what they felt having to explain to the referring organisation that they were in need of emergency food provision. Other researchers have not readily acknowledged this situation – as a large proportion of embarrassment offloading happens within the office of the organisation making the referral.

As the findings within this thesis recommend, any approach to the normalisation of food bank use within society would be the final stage of embeddedness. Food poverty scholars have agreed upon this situation - where food banks have already become part of the social welfare provision. Janet Poppendieck and Graham Riches traced the growth of the American and Canadian food banking landscapes (respectively) back to subtle changes in social policies that worked, initially to retrench social security, and stigmatise people in receipt of welfare. Charting a similar trajectory, the evidence presented within this thesis has posited how the language used concerning social security of the 1980s was part of a structural deviation, altering the ways in which people understood 'welfare'. Furthermore, evidenced by the maps in Chapter Five, and the qualitative interviews within Chapters Six through Eight, the Welfare Reform Act 2012 has begun to pave the way for food banks to become an accepted substitute

for social security, especially for people experiencing poverty as a result of their own agency.

In addressing the research questions, this chapter has combined the theoretical discussions held through established work on food poverty with the voices of those involved in Wales' current food bank landscape. It has been confirmed that the increase in people accessing food banks is a direct consequence of structural changes to social security, most notable through the Welfare Reform Act 2012. However, this has become part of a wider assault on welfare as witnessed through the manipulation of the language of social security and attaching a label of deservedness (research question one). Food banks have been argued to exist in Wales, and throughout the rest of the UK, due to the increasing **welfare retrenchment** of social security, as a result of the Welfare Reform Act (2012), and the immediate response of local charities trying to help alleviate the crisis. However, it is advanced that this has inadvertently played into the hands of the 'Big Society' ideology, allowing the Government to retreat further from welfare security (research question two). Research questions one and two look at poverty through an objective lens, however, poverty is inexorably a subjective matter. As such, examining the experiences of people suffering through their life journey into and out of food poverty, research question three provided substantial qualitative evidence in support of food bank use being the result of **structural** problems, and the individualisation of service users forced a resurgence of a **deserving and undeserving** narrative to emerge (research question three). Concerns raised by the providers of food banks and their referring organisations highlight that the proliferation of food banks as a response to the retrenchment of social security is, inadvertently, allowing the government to look the other way. It is this traditional Conservative approach to having a small government that will eventually encourage

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the acceptance, and thus **embedding**, of food banks as part of a future welfare response (research question four).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has clarified the reasons for the development of Wales' food bank landscape, and has positioned this as being part of a changing narrative of social security deservedness through structural barriers. Illustrated by the voices of those who have direct involvement with food banks, either as providers or users, this thesis has argued that food bank use is part of a structural trajectory into poverty, and one that has its roots within the development of individualism and a changing language of welfare throughout society. These structural forces have been capitalised upon and encompassed into modern social policies aimed at reducing the overall social security budget following the 2010 election of the Conservative led Coalition Government. As the findings have evidenced, this Government presided over the majority of new food banks opening their doors, and neglecting the growing number of people experiencing relative poverty. For the food banks themselves, and their referral organisations, the main driver of food bank use is the distinct rise in food poverty as a result of retrenchment within social welfare provisions. The rise of the food bank, as a provider of emergency food aid for people experiencing poverty in Wales, is a new socio-political issue. This is a situation confirmed by the service users themselves, as they were able to verify that their need for food aid was due to structural problems associated with welfare reform. The findings also acknowledge that there exists a level of individualisation and social positioning within the food bank users as they sought to justify their use of the food bank through social distancing. This was understood as

being a defence mechanism employed to maintain respectability over their social circumstance, as the use of the food bank is understandably embarrassing.

Food bank providers wanted to offer the food bank as a place of solace and acceptance as a method of empathy with the service users, as they tried to reduce the feeling of embarrassment. However, in doing so, the food bank service begins to develop recognition as becoming more and more an accepted/embedded part of social security. Riches (1997) was able to plot a clear plan for the institutionalisation of food banks within modern welfare and in doing so, the service providers were able to acknowledge that this was already well and truly in progress.

Considered one of the most corresponding forms of the 'Big Society', food banks have begun to operate where the Government has forsaken its obligation to its citizens. In doing so, it becomes clear to see that the idea of the 'Big Society' only serves to allow the government to hide the existence of poverty. It refuses to acknowledge that poverty exists by allowing voluntary groups in society do the work that maybe the government should be doing.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has sought to examine the role that emergency food aid plays within the modern concept of food poverty. In doing so, the research has examined both the lived experience of food poverty and the socio-political context in which food banks (as a response to rising food poverty) have proliferated. Employing a social constructionist perspective this thesis has allowed for the voices of those involved within food banks, both the service providers and the service users, to be able to articulate their understandings of food poverty and food bank use - to articulate their experience and negotiation of the changing face of food poverty.

The qualitative research methods deployed have allowed the research participants to address the overall research aim of understanding the changing face of food poverty in Wales. This has been achieved via addressing key research questions concerning changing areas of social policy, such as; what is causing the rise of food poverty, why food poverty exists in a wealthy country, the experiences of food poverty, and what is the future of further emergency food provisioning.

Combining my academic background in Geography and Social Policy, my aim, facilitated through my research questions, endeavoured to bring a voice to the people involved in providing and receiving emergency food aid. This included exemplifying both the Trussell Trust Foodbank Network and the independent food bank sector equally, to reflect a truer picture of the geographical distribution of Wales' food banks. The research has therefore, sought to investigate, not just the geographical representation of food banking, but also to analyse the felt experience of navigating a path through changes in current social policies associated with a rise in food insecurity.

These policy changes have been routed within a decline in support for generous welfare benefits, and in part, driven by an increase in neoliberal approaches such as individuality and welfare reform. Harking back to political identities of poverty, this neoliberal approach has seen the resurgence of a deserving and an underserving narrative of the food poor, as they battle against structural and agency arguments associated with poverty

Explicating the food bank

As a volunteer at an independent food bank in 2012, I was surprised to hear through the media the acknowledgement of the rising numbers of people attending food banks across the UK. However, the figures quoted were for the Trussell Trust only. I reflected upon the fact that independent food banks' figures would not have been included within these national statistics. I was left wondering how many other independent food banks there were.

Aiming to bring a truer representation of the numbers of food banks in Wales, this thesis has therefore, examined the geographical representation of all food banks across Wales. Viewing the Trussell Trust and independent sector as providers of emergency food aid, illustrated within the mapping chapter (Chapter Five) and explained to be the result of socio-political changes, driven by policies aimed at welfare reform. Allied to this, Chapter Six and Seven have built upon the findings of both Chapters Two and Three in showing how there exists a political and media narrative to view food banks as the result of declining morality, linked with an increase of individualistic neoliberal attitudes. It was these attitudes that were understood to view poverty, and thus food bank use as an agency driven reason.

However, steadfast in their resolve, the respondents of both Chapters Six and Seven, are able to refute this assertion over agency blame, and show that there have been deliberate changes in policy which have negatively affected people, and thus the rise of food poverty is linked to structural changes. This verification provided by both the users and the providers of food banks supports the evidence presented within Chapter Five marking the geopolitical rise of food banks, and mapped against the changes in social welfare engendering welfare retrenchment. These changes have also illustrated how food banks are becoming an accepted form of embedded welfare provisioning. The most significant change in social welfare to have triggered the momentous rise in food banks is the Welfare Reform Act (2012). However, as has been understood through the evidence presented within Chapters Two and Three, this welfare change is also part of the changing narrative ascribed to 'social security', as the wording starts to reflect one of negativity, encouraging a life of 'benefit-dependency' instead of 'social-security'.

Offering a critique over the 'need' of emergency food aid, driven by demand created for a 'free good', this thesis has shown how the development of social attitudes towards the view of benefit dependency in the age of austerity, has created a narrative focussed on the rise of the deserving and undeserving. This narrative, pursued by structural or agency reason was found to exist, not only within the providers of food aid, but also within the donors of food, the food bank referring organisations, the volunteers and coordinators of food banks working on the frontline, and the food bank users themselves. Theoretical assumptions of the future of the food bank, due to this approach of deserving and undeserving attitude, combined with the retrenchment of welfare perceives that the normalisation of food bank use is encouraging a structural

embedding of them within the future of welfare provisioning and as a definitive recognition of a changing face of food poverty.

Limitations

The journey through this research thesis has been to understand the changing face of food poverty. However, as a study which has worked to bring together both quantitative maps and qualitative interviews, it is important to convey that this research has aimed to be as representative as possible to the changing face of food poverty in Wales. The quantitative geospatial data illustrated within Chapter Five is representative of the locations of all food banks across Wales, as captured within the data collection time-period, and has relied upon data which has been both captured from the Trussell Trust geospatial data, and desk-based data collection searching for independent food banks. This data is highly dependent upon the food banks and media sources presenting reliable and accurate information. As with all qualitative social science research, it is unwise to generalise over the findings that have been presented within this thesis. For this research, I interviewed seventy-two participants utilising a number of qualitative methods including biographical interviews, semi structured interview and focus groups. Whilst these interviews are robust in their ability to represent the changing face of food poverty in Wales, they should not be viewed as telling the story for all those who have been involved with emergency food aid, thus the stories told are limited to these participants. As poverty is an emotive subject, it should also be noted that some participants might have either over-exaggerated or under-exaggerated their position, or not been wholly truthful about their experience of poverty.

Future Research - Welfare Reform: The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act (2015) and Universal Credit

This research has examined the changing face of food poverty in Wales and has focused on the structural impact of the Welfare Reform Act (2012) as being the main driver of structural food poverty, and a raison d'être of food bank use. As social security is not an area of devolved social policy in Wales this act is one that is executed and administered by the UK government. With limited powers, and highlighting a potential area for future research on policy implications at the devolved level, the Welsh Government in April 2015 introduced The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act (2015). This Act requires that all public-sector bodies across Wales have to think about the long-term impact of their decisions working along seven key indicators; a prosperous Wales, a resilient Wales, a healthier Wales, a more equal Wales, a Wales of cohesive communities, a Wales of vibrant culture and a vibrant Welsh language and, a globally responsible Wales.

Further research within the area of food poverty would be to examine the extent of the Well-Being of Future Generations (Wales) Act in its ability to offer some form of shelter from the un-devolved issue of social security. This would aim to assess if this new Wales Act offers a certain level of protection against welfare reform for the well-being of future generations against decisions made in Westminster.

In addition to this, Universal Credit is understood to be the most significant shake-up of the way in which social security is provided for, by simplifying the benefits system into one monthly payment, thus encouraging incentives to work (Patrick, 2017: 46). The steady rollout of Universal Credit, as a further step taken in the name of the Welfare Reform Act (2012), has not been featured heavily within this thesis, although it has been mentioned and acknowledged. This acknowledgement, understandably

came from the service providers, mainly from the referring organisations, as this is something which will become of major concern to them as Wales approaches full-service Universal Credit (expected by July 2019).

Confounded by a number of political setbacks and U-turns, and issues with implementation and lack of digital infrastructure training, skills and inclusivity, the position and relevance of Universal Credit, and the impact which this could have on the people of Wales (and the rest of the UK) deserves further research space of its own. This research would aim to examine to what extent Universal Credit is working in its ambition to increase labour market participation, as its main intention, and what are the negative externalities of this new policy on areas such as food security.

Afterthought

Throughout the previous century, a trajectory of social reformers such as Booth, Rowntree, Webb and Beveridge aimed to achieve something almost impossible. It was to highlight the plight of the poor, and to enforce political change by illuminating the wretched living conditions which they endured. Reflecting on the trajectory which this thesis has taken, I have sought to further their argument in the acknowledgement that we have once more, returned to a time of significant poverty, whereby the generous social security system, which these social reformers worked to establish has become so eroded, that people once more must depend upon charitable assistance. Unfortunately, for those not able to make it in a neoliberal era, they are once more, compounded by deserving and undeserving views of agency driven poverty.

"Then, after a time, when these people, being reduced to the last extreme of misery,

cried out that they and their children were dying of hunger, the System grudgingly

unlocked the doors of the great warehouses, and taking out a small part of the things

that were stored within, distributed it amongst the famished workers, at the same

time reminding them that it was Charity,"

(The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists by Robert Tressell, 1914)

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Example Memo (Iain)

<u>Memo 1</u>

Iain was at the food bank today because the amount of money that he gets each week is not enough to live on. However, Iain possibly has the most interesting story out of all the interviewees. Iain has a fantastic story regarding his deterioration into his food bank use and this is associated with more of his long term poverty and the abuse which she suffered as a child.

Iain went to the Salvation Army for his Christmas dinner.

Iain's long term deterioration started as a child and the abuse which he suffered at the hands of his parents, and other people who were later on in his life set to look after him. Iain is the sixth child in his family (now in his 40s), and has in his own mind been able to associate this with being a child of about two years old as the start of his own deterioration. He said that as a child he remembers being scared by a bird which came down his chimney in his bedroom, and that he was scared because he couldn't move because his parents had tied his feet to his cot with a pair of stockings. So as the bird came down the chimney absolutely terrified him. He said that his parents did this to him because he was the child that they never wanted. This deterioration is also seen through his behaviour in school and again, this could be potential turning point in his life. Iain was moved out of his school and placed into the care homes of North Wales. These care homes have been recently in the news due to the sexual abuse which happened in them at the hands of the people who are supposed to be taking care of children. Iain was a victim of child sexual abuse in the care homes of North Wales.

He says that he was raped on a number of occasions. After he left the care system he started to become involved with drug abuse as a coping strategy for the mental abuse of reliving the sexual abuse he suffered. Unfortunately, this drug use is direct link to the abuse which he suffered as a child, and has never been able to regain a normal life. This has created a hectic lifestyle for Iain and his partner to whom he has a few children with. His partner was also associated with her own hectic lifestyle as an alcoholic and this combination of two people with troubled backgrounds together may have proved to be too difficult for the relationship to last. Their relationship finally broke down when Iain discusses a comment which his partner made about his history; *"well, I called her a slag or something, and she said 'well its better than being fucked up the arse by a man'. So I hit her in that eye. But man, she shouldn't have said it. It really hurt me, you know I mean".*

Unfortunately, the recovery for Iain may be very very difficult as he has a lots of history in his background which may hinder his recovery to any form of normality. May be what is normal for Iain is something very different to normal for everybody else as he has been in and out of care and has suffered at the hands of this care since he was very young.

Most of Iain's interview he spoke about his deterioration. This is a clear deterioration throughout his whole life which has caused this trajectory into food bank use today and is a fantastic example of this.

Memo 2

The conversation with Iain starts of very confused, like he is trying to say as much as is possible about his story as soon as he can. His story in his first paragraph comes across as an introduction to the remainder of the story which will unfold.

He is very honest and forthcoming with his discussion of his life, and how this has affected his life today. He describes in quite intimate detail the deterioration that he has had in his life.

He has a very clear trajectory which would be useful to map as a linear process.

There is quite a lot of discussion about his distaste for both the government and the legal/statutory authorities, as he has a deep distrust in any of them. This is linked to his abuse in the care system, and how this was perpetrated by figures of authority, but his distrust for them has once again been heightened due to the crime he was a victim of not receiving any compensation following the conviction of his abusers. He did not receive any compensation as he has an outstanding conviction. Could there be an argument to say that had he not been a victim of this awful crime, then perhaps he may not have gone on to be an offender, as his life may have taken a different turn.

Iain's story is one that places itself at the forefront of structural and agency driven poverty, and the refocusing of identity of the typical food bank user, and works well within an identity of the typical food bank user as being an undeserving case driven by his agency motives of heroin use. Yet, scratch beneath the surface, and it is clear that his structural reasons are the real cause of his food bank use. He did not chose the abuse which he has sustained throughout his life history, and is further a victim of welfare reform. Yet, he would be selected as the ideal candidate for the undeserving food bank user, as no one else will know his story.

Appendix 2 College Ethics Approval Form

COLEG BUSNES, Y GYFRAITH, ADDYSG A GWYDDORAU CYMDEITHAS
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS, LAW, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Dear David

Re: **The changing face of food poverty in Wales**
Thank you for your recent revised application to the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee.

The committee has considered your application and I am now able to give permission, on behalf of the CBLESS Research Ethics Committee, for the commencement of your research project.

I wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Diane Seddon

Chair, CBLESS Research Ethics Committee

cc: Mr Hefin Gwilym

Appendix 3 Sample Recruitment Form

The Changing Face of Food Poverty

David Beck, a researcher at Bangor University is conducting research into food poverty. This study will be looking at the way in which food poverty has changed over the last Century and why food poverty still exists within a developed nation such as the UK.

The researcher (David Beck) is sending you this letter and information sheet to invite you to take part in this study. This would involve talking to him about your experience of food bank use and the food bank service, where relevant, about recommendations you may have towards the service and the referral service. It is expected that the conversation will take around an hour to complete and is a chance for you to talk about your experience of food banks. Information shared during interview is strictly confidential – you will not be identified in any outputs arising from this study.

Further details about the study can be found in the Information Sheet that is enclosed with this letter. It is up to you to decide whether you would like to take part. If you decide that you would like to take part, please complete the consent form and return it to Dave or to Bangor University using the freepost envelope provided.

If you have any questions or would like to know more about the study, please contact in the first instance David Beck by email: d.j.beck@bangor.ac.uk or my supervisor Dr. Eifiona T. Lane by telephone on 01248 383233 or by email using the following address: eifiona.thomaslane@bangor.ac.uk

Unless an arrangement has already been made, the interview will be held at a time and place of your convenience.

Yours sincerely

Beck.

MR. D Beck
PhD Candidate
School of Social Sciences,
Bangor University,
Bangor, Gwynedd, LL57 2DG

Appendix 4 Recruitment Information Pack

The Changing Face of Food Poverty

Information Sheet for Potential Study Participants

Introduction:
Recent data from the Trussell Trust has shown a rise in food bank use across the UK of nearly 1 million people.

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information and discuss it with relatives and/or friends if you wish.

What is the purpose of the study?
This study seeks to discuss the changing face of food poverty as it is understood by both those faced with the potential impact of depending on emergency food assistance schemes such as food banks. It considers the challenges faced by individuals and the effectiveness of any services or support that might be received.

It is hoped that the findings from this study will be helpful in shaping future policy over food poverty situations, and have a direct influence on how food poverty can be addressed in the future.

Why have I been asked?
Your local food bank has kindly passed this information to you on behalf of the researcher. Please be assured that they have not passed your contact or personal details on to any other party.

As a person who has been directed to the food bank, you are being asked if you would like to take part in a discussion regarding the rise in food bank use throughout the UK, and the effectiveness of the service.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Your decision will not affect any services or support that you receive. If you decide to take part you should contact the researcher David Beck by completing the consent form and returning it in the free-post envelope provided to Bangor University, or reply to the email address (d.beck@bangor.ac.uk). Alternatively you could ask to speak to a food bank volunteer who will pass on your contact details. Please remember to keep this information sheet.

What will happen if I decide to take part?
You are invited to take part in *one* confidential discussion about your life as it applies to the experience of food bank use. The researcher will come to see you at a mutually convenient time and at a mutually convenient place to talk with you about your experience of food banks. This is expected to take approximately 1 hour and will involve recounting your earliest memories of what has led you to need to use a food bank today. If you are not sure about talking to someone about your experiences face-to-face, there are other alternatives such as a telephone chat or writing about your experiences. Also, please feel free to have someone else present at the discussion, for

example a friend of yours. The information you provide will be very important to the research and you will be provided with a summary version of the completed work.

There are no right or wrong answers and the discussion can be completed in the language of your choice. The discussion will be recorded with your consent.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?
Yes. I will respect you privacy and anonymity. Your contact details will be stored on a confidential database and I will not talk about you by name to anyone. The information you share will be treated in confidence. You will not be identified in any reports or publications.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?
You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. If you decide to withdraw, your decision will not affect any services or support that you receive from the food bank.

What will happen to the results of the study?
We will make recommendations based on findings of this study and will present these in a final report submitted to Bangor University as part of a research dissertation. For your part played in this, you will be provided a summary copy of the results.

You will not be identified in any reports or publications.

About the research team
The researcher is David Beck a research student in the School of Social Sciences at Bangor University with supervision by Dr. Eifiona Thomas Lane and Mr Hefin Gwilym who have considerable experience of research within geography and social sciences.

Approvals granted
The research has received approval from the College of Business, Social Sciences and Law, Ethics Committee, Bangor University.

Contact for further information:
If you would like any further information or discuss alternatives to an interview, please contact David Beck by email d.j.beck@bangor.ac.uk

If you want to make a complaint about the research, please contact: Professor Molyneux, Head of the College of Business, Social Science and Law, College Road, Bangor, LL57 2DG; telephone: 01248-383231, email: p.molyneux@bangor.ac.uk

Please send the completed form below back to me in the envelope provided.

No stamp necessary, or, if we have already arranged a meeting, you can bring it with you.

The Changing Face of Food Poverty

Please tick the boxes that apply to you.

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for this study ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw

at any time without giving a reason ☐

I understand that my contact details will be stored on a confidential database ☐

I consent for anonymised quotations from my interview to be used in ☐

publications

You do not have to provide all your contact details. Just bear in mind that I have to be able to get in touch with you to arrange the interview.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Post code: _____

Telephone number:_____
(Landline and/or mobile)

Email: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Please return this form in the freepost envelope provided. Thank you

Appendix 5 Sample Food Bank Manager Interview Schedule

i. Can you tell me about the period of time just before the start of the food bank?

 o What led to the food bank becoming established?

  (Motivation, recognition of need – look at WIMD rank for statistical data and official data about if the area is poor).

  Explore areas of 'need', if mentioned – how, why, who, what sort of need, age groupings, (un)linked to the church (if in a church).

  Religion?

  Explore the help associated with these early users. Are these people still now users of the food bank?

   NO-was this because of your intervention

   YES- do you feel your help wasn't enough?

ii. Can you explain to me why you think people started using food banks

 o Social welfare cuts

 o Food is dear where they live (food deserts) rural/urban regions

 o Because it's free?

iii. How and why was the decision reached for the food bank to be an independent food bank?

 o How and why is this important to your organisation?

 o Do you ever see the food bank becoming part of the Trussell Trust?

 o Do you work with/or are you willing to work with the Trussell Trust

 o Are there any links with other organisations, after the client has collected their food (further signposting)?

- o Are you part of a larger network of food banks?

iv. Have you been involved/your organisation been involved in setting-up further food banks or another type of food aid such as a soup kitchen, either here, or in another location?

- o What do you see as the benefits to this
- o And are they part of the organisation?
- o Would you like to/ do you see potential to?

v. Can you explain to me what, if any, previous food aid was provisions had you been giving out prior to becoming an established food bank?

- o What was the motivation for this?

vi. Can you tell me about the other forms of community engagement work you/your organisation been involved in before setting up as a food bank?

- o Not necessarily involving food
- o Influence on the food bank?

vii. Can you explain to me what your role is within the food bank?

- o Paid or unpaid role? (here enquire about managerial level volunteering)
- o If the food bank becomes busier, do you see this becoming a paid role (if unpaid now)
- o Why do you think this is an important distinction
- o What your role entails?
- o Have you been involved in a similar role before?

viii. Can you tell me about where do you get your food from?

- o Donor fatigue, cost implications
- o Food drives (Trussell Trust food drives)

- Links to other organisations (Trussell Trust food drives, Fareshare (Crest), Tesco)

ix. How do you feel about redistributing unwanted/surplus food?

(Thinking about social obligation, but also environmental impact, but also should they eat food which others do not want)?

x. How do you feel about the effectiveness of food banks in being able to tackle food poverty over both the short and long-term?

- Health implications, dependency implications, institutionalisation and abuse
- Is there anything you would like to be doing/or think the food bank should be doing?

xi. You mentioned about your service users earlier. Can you tell me, in general terms, about who your service users are?

- About your ability to meet the needs of *any* service user?
  - Ethic minority backgrounds, restrictive diets or who have even deeper needs bound-up within their poverty?
  - Mental health, homelessness
- The type of referral organisation you see referrals from (Rehabilitation charities, Housing associations, CAB etc.)
- Kettle packs, non-cook packs, gluten free
- Halal etc.

xii. Can you tell me about the process of how a person comes to receive food from your food bank?

- Do you think food banks, or their referral organisations should be allowed to ask personal questions about why food assistance is needed?

- Triage / vetting / gatekeeper

xiii.   Do you think the food banking system can be open to abuse?

- o How do you think the system can be abused?

- o What sort of abuse is this, and who does it come from?

- o How, if at all, is abuse regulated / managed / dealt with?

- o Loss of embarrassment?

- o Media/politicised influence

xiv.   With your interactions with service users in mind, and the notion that the food banks are becoming more of an everyday occurrence, have you noticed any changes in the conduct of service users?

- o What do you think is behind this (loss of embarrassment, media influence et)

- o Loss of embarrassment between first visit and subsequent visits for individual service users

- o Or in the general conduct/presence of service users

- o Media/political influence

xv. Can you tell me about your feelings towards the growth of food banks?

- o Is this client led, austerity led, media driven? Or because it's free food?

- o Lord Freud - Do you think that the very presence of food banks has created more demand? The idea of a free good

- o Should we have food banks?

xvi.   Thinking about the difference between the independent sector and the Trussell Trust, do you see potential for working together?

- o In what form - Sharing good ideas, sharing food/resources (food drives)

- o Is there any sense of competition

- Between you and TT/ between you and other food banks

xvii.   UK Food banks have only been around in their current form for 10 or so years. Can you explain to me in your view, or memory, what people experiencing food poverty would did before food banks?

- Food banks may be needed now, but hopefully not in the future. Do they agree?

xviii.   Can you tell me about your service users,

- Is there any typical type of service user?
  - Singles, families, homeless, youth, middle aged
- Would you like to include/reduce your list of referral organisations
  - Why?

xix.   Do you think it is the role of the charitable sector to address food poverty in the UK?

- What about just poverty

xx. How do you foresee the next five years for this food bank.

- And for food banks in general?
- Do you have a plan for decommissioning the food bank?
- Long-term plan for investment in the food bank?

Appendix 6 Sample Referral organisation Interview Schedule

i. How long has the organisation been operating within this location?

   o What is the main function of the organisation?

   o Do you work with particular groups of society?

   o Have you been working for them for a long time?

   o Have you seen things change during this time period (recent years/longer)?

   o In your previous roles, was this working along similar lines?

ii. Can you tell me about the origins of your connection to the food banks in the local area?

   o What does this mean for your organisation

   o How do you feel about food banks

   o Can you explain what food poverty means to you

iii. Why did you choose to become a referral organisation?

   o Did you approach the food bank, or did they approach you

   o Was there a choice/meeting over involvement?

   o Is your lead body also involved (local/national in scale)

iv. How important is this link to the work of your organisation?

   o Has the food bank link become part of the care package you offer to your service users

   o Have you seen a rise in the numbers of people that you are helping/coming to you for help over matters which would be considered as requiring referral to a food bank (what is the time period)

      ▪ Can you discuss what you think are the reasons behind this?

v. Given the type of work your organisation is involved with, had you been providing some sort of similar service before the connection with the food bank had been established?

   o What are your feelings about the need for this link now

vi. Has there been increased volume in the need for your services over the last number of years.

   o Has this led to an increase in your organisation referring people to food banks?

      ▪ What do you think is the cause for this (political, media, loss of embarrassment, opportunistic)

   o Can you give a time period

vii. How do you think people coped previously?

   o Are these strategies which you think people have lost the ability to do/struggle to do/cannot do any more

   o What is your/your organisations stance on encouraging people to try these strategies first?

It is understood that the referral organisations, such as yourself, act as the gatekeepers to food banks, making the assessments over whether an individual should be directed to a food bank or not.

- Would you say that this the case for your organisation?

With this in mind;

xxi. On average, how many referrals to food banks do you/your organisation make over the course of a typical week/typical day?

- o Could you offer an estimate over what percentage of your service users who come to you for the help, which your organisation was set up to provide, how many of these do you actually refer to the food bank?

- o Can you go into further detail over the nature and reasons for these referrals?

- o Can you identify peak/slack times throughout the year for referral

xxii. Are you provided training from the food bank/your manager about how to do referrals, what to look for, the type of questions to ask etc.

- o Who provides this training?

- o Can you explain a little more about what are the criteria

- o Have you noticed changing circumstances from the clients perspective since you became a referrer

xxiii. Do people generally asked to be referred, do you offer, or is it sometimes implied throughout the conversation either by them, or by you?

- o It has been discussed through other interviews that I have conducted that sometimes some referral organisations will give out food bank referrals either too often, or without making any proper assessment of the client's needs, and can be used as a method of satisfying the service user (because this was the main reason for them calling anyway). Can you identify with this practice?

- o If the opportunity for a referral has been mentioned by the service user, have you ever made the decision that a food bank referral isn't needed?

xxiv. Can you talk me through a typical assessment of a service user?

- o Is this standard for all service users

- What areas are you looking for them to describe in order to ensure they are in need of help from a food bank?

- Do you ask intrusive questions to make an assessment

- If you have made an assessment, how do you feel about the food bank, if they feel justified, being able to refuse this referral?

xxv.   Do you generally see the same individuals regularly?

- Can you identify a loss of embarrassment over food bank use for those whom you do see more often?

- Cold you explain to me what affect this has upon the service they receive from you

- What do you think is causing this?

xxvi.   What do you think about abuse of food banks?

- Do you think that all of these are for genuine reasons or do some people see there is an opportunity to get a chance to be referred to a food bank, and are just using you as a means to this end?

  - Looking at systems of abuse, or lord Freud comment

xxvii.   Do you think food banks, or their referral organisations should be allowed to ask personal questions about why food assistance is needed?

- Well-meaning volunteers, not necessarily trained in social welfare

- Does this imply that there can be a deserving and an underserving poor?

xxviii.   Are you in regular contact with the food banks you refer to?

- Did they provide you with referral criteria that people should meet in order to be referred?

- If you refer to more than one, do you notice any difference in how they operate?

xxix.   Do you refer to both Trussell Trust and independent food banks?

- Do you refer to more than one food bank?

- Do they operate/ require different reasons for referral?

    - Do service users ask to be referred to one food bank over another?

        - Why do you think this is the case?

xxx.   How do you feel about the effectiveness of food banks in being able to tackle food poverty over both the short and long-term?

- Health implications, dependency implications, institutionalisation and abuse

- What do you think they should be doing differently?

xxxi.   In your experience, do you see any link between welfare reform and food bank use?

xxxii.   Do you think it is the role of the charitable sector to address food poverty in the UK?

- In what ways do you think this could be achieved best?

xxxiii.   How do you foresee the next few years for your organisation and its connections with the food bank.

- And for food banks in general?

Appendix 7 Sample Recording Consent Form

Coleg Busnes, Gwyddorau Cymdeithas a'r
Gyfraith,Prifysgol Bangor
College of Business, Social Sciences and Law, Bangor
University
Gwynedd LL57 2DG
Ffon/Tel: (01248) 388728
Elusen Gofrestrig Rhif/Registered charity 1141565

The Changing Face of Food Poverty

Manager Consent to Record Interview

To be completed by the interviewee prior to interview.

Please tick boxes that apply to you

I agree for this research interview to be recorded and for the recording to be used for the purposes that have been explained to me. ☐

I understand that all the information I provide will be treated as **strictly confidential.** ☐

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 8 Coding Process Diagram

Writing up

Development of Theoretical Code

Development of Focused Codes

Initial Coding: line-by-line

Data Collection:
- Biographical Interviews
- Focus Groups
- Focused/Thematic Semi-Structured Interviews

Initial Coding: line-by-line

Data Collection: Pilot Interview

Research Aim and Research Questions

Memoing Writing

Theoretical Code:

- **Embedding**

Focused codes developed and utilised as chapter sub-headings:

- **Deserving and Undeserving**
- **Structure and Agency**
- **Welfare Reform**

Sample line-by-line codes later developed into focused codes:

- Othering…
- Blame
- Hierarchy
- Personal Situation
- Abuse
- Recovery
- Benefit Delay
- Sanction
- Chaotic Lifestyle
- Deterioration of self
- No Family Help
- Belonging

Appendix 9 Sample Line-by-Line Coding

This first example is taken from the interview with Gabe, where he is describing why he is visiting the food bank on the day of our interview, and he is describing his understandings behind the reasons for food bank use.

The line-by-line coding has identified that there is a clear process of othering recognised by Gabe concerning the hierarchical positioning in which he identifies within respect to who should be helped by the food bank, and those who should not.

Following this, the example below was taken from the interview with a group of food bank volunteers from a Trussell Trust Foodbank, where the development of the initial codes became more focused, and increased their level of abstraction. Initial codes, which were describing actions, such as 'othering', 'abused' and 'sanctioned', became more focused as the identity of food bank users started to emerge. Through working with memos that stretched across interviews, the analytical thinking space which this created helped formulate initial codes into more focused codes. 'Othering', and

'Justification' as initial codes, became understood to be representative as an identity of the food bank user, but aligned itself within a hierarchical position, and therefore, led to the development of the focused codes of 'deserving and the undeserving'.

We don't have to. We don't want to have to do this, we do it because it is a necessity. We don't want to encourage people to come here and just take food and not help themselves out of the poverty, and go to the government, and get their rightful money. You know.

So, I was going to say…

Oh, on the amount of vouchers. It helps us in a way that we are only supposed to give out three vouchers so all the people that we know are on the borderline, or drug addicts, or alcoholics, we can say sorry, you have had your three vouchers. On the other hand we have got the flexibility if we see a family with three kids and we know that they are starving, we can still give them food. So it still gives us a little flexibility.

David Beck
Justification over who they would like to give food to. This justification is leading to a creation of a deserving and undeserving identity. Even from within the food bank.

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Appendix 10 Trussell Trust Email Questionnaire

1. Name of food bank	
2. Trussell Trust or Independent?	
3. Address of main branch (including post code)	
4. Date opened	(MM/YY)
5. Number of distribution centres people can collect their food from (associated satellite food banks)	
6. Addresses of these satellite food banks (please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)	a) – b) – c) – d) –
7. Date which these satellite food banks began providing food	a) – (MM/YY) b) – (MM/YY) c) – (MM/YY) d) – (MM/YY)
8. Do you have a mobile food bank	

9. If so, where does this operate from	
10. Have any of your branches (main or satellite branches) closed or made any changes (affiliation etc.)	Address and Date

Do you know of any other **independent** food banks close by?

If so, could you tell me who they are –

I would like to thank you for participating in this Bangor University Research project looking at food bank use. This project is being run as part of a study looking at the growth of Foodbanks throughout Wales as part of a research PhD for Bangor University with supervision from Mr Hefin Gwilym and Dr Eifiona Thomas Lane.

Please could this completed questionnaire please be returned to me (Dave Beck) at Bangor University by way of return email, or via the freepost envelope provided.

If you would like to discuss this research further please contact either myself, Dave Beck   d.j.beck@bangor.ac.uk   or   my   supervisor   Hefin   Gwilym h.gwylim@bangor.ac.uk